

# The Anglican PEACEMAKER

The newsletter of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship (Annual Report issue)

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The theme of this issue concerns the future of nuclear weapons. Aware of the perfect storm of threats faced by humanity in the 21st century, will those in power see sense and make real progress towards nuclear abolition, the global zero ambition which is now much talked about by retired politicians? Or paradoxically, will they justify the possession of such weapons because of uncertainty about the dangers ahead? In his memoirs, Tony Blair argues that future uncertainty is a key reason for retaining Trident.

The opening article is based on papers and discussion at the 2010 Council for Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament (CCADD) conference, entitled "A new dawn in the nuclear age?" which exactly relates to our theme.

Other items include APF's involvement in NCPO events at the Greenbelt Arts Festival and the role of chaplains in Britain's armed forces with special reference to the Afghanistan conflict. We return to nuclear issues in the arts' pages.

Tony Kempster

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The world is once again at a critical point in its efforts to stem nuclear weapons' proliferation and move globally toward their elimination. The credibility of pleas to curtail proliferation depends on how the two nuclear superpowers and, eventually, the other nuclear weapon states join in a serious effort to eliminate all nuclear weapons in accordance with their obligations under Article IV of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

This mandate has been recognised by significant numbers of high officials in the US politics, most notably Henry Kissinger, George Schultz, William Perry and Sam Nunn (see Max Kampelman's paper "Religion and nuclear politics: there's power in the 'ought'" in TAP 9.1). Their influence in persuading the pursuit of zero nuclear weapons as a realistic, although long term, goal has broadened the influence of the ethical arguments for significant nuclear arms reduction to the policy community and facilitated the will to negotiate the New START Treaty. Pacifist readers will have the clear opinion that nuclear weapons should be abolished and some may ask why we need to discuss the details of process. But we believe that when campaigning on such issues it is important to understand the stumbling blocks to change. It is by dealing with these that the difficult step to global zero might be realised.

## A NEW DAWN IN THE NUCLEAR AGE?

A report by Tony Kempster based on papers and discussion from the CCADD international conference held at Hilversum (The Netherlands) in September 2010. All the papers will be on the CCADD website ([www.ccadd.org.uk](http://www.ccadd.org.uk)) in due course. Tony is a member of CCADD with special responsibility for organising meetings.

The conference involved some 40 delegates from eleven countries including the USA, Russia and Israel. Among them were senior army officers, civil servants, academics, peace activists and theology students, all with a common wish to examine the issues from a Christian perspective. The opening address was given by Mr Emert van Middelkoop, Minister of Defence for the Netherlands. In a frank discussion he emphasised the importance of nuclear disarmament, speaking particularly from the perspective of a NATO country under the US nuclear umbrella.

A crucial question running through the conference is the extent to which recent developments are cause for optimism about the prospect of nuclear disarmament or whether they are largely gestures by politicians.

### The nuclear weapons policy of the USA and its implications for global disarmament

Victor Alessi and Pierce Corden, civil servants concerned with US nuclear weapons policy spelt out recent developments. America's nuclear weapons policy, together with that of Russia, is central to any move towards nuclear disarmament. In his Prague speech last year, President Obama renewed America's commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons, although he has said that nuclear zero is unlikely to be achieved in his lifetime. This speech was followed by renewed negotiations to reduce nuclear weapons.

On 8 April 2010 the US and Russia signed a new strategic arms control treaty (START) under which the numbers of deployed strategic nuclear weapons will be significantly reduced to levels below those of earlier treaties. This treaty, which is still to be ratified, is the latest in a long series of nuclear control treaties and is evidence of a renewed interest by the two nuclear superpowers in reducing the number of nuclear weapons. Although the treaty does not go as far as many would like, it is consistent with the longer term US goal. Supporters of the new treaty would hold that it is not a

trivial step toward disarmament, but a significant movement by both parties to fulfil obligations under Article VI of the NPT. It signalled to many a commitment to the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons.

The stakes are too high for the US and Russia not to succeed in ratifying the treaty and then moving on to further negotiations, possibly involving the other nuclear states. Reduction of the nuclear weapons threat and the willingness to deal effectively with proliferation threats such as posed by North Korea and Iran may well depend on whether it comes into force with all the appropriate players as parties.



Pierce Corden

Also of interest to the world is the question of whether the US is willing to reconsider its rejection of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT).

As the US and Russia and, eventually the other nuclear weapons states gradually reduce toward zero, those countries under the US umbrella must feel secure enough to continue their nuclear weapons abstinence. A key to success in eventually attaining zero nuclear weapons is confidence in verifying a worldwide ban of such weapons. Most experts would agree that this is not possible at this time. One way to seek the goal of verifiability would be for nuclear weapon states, who know most about how to develop and test a nuclear device to work together on new measures, to give confidence in the viability of a nuclear weapons ban.

The conference session also argued that the US nuclear agenda should have been broader, particularly with respect revitalising strategic dialogue with China and the introduction of stronger powers to reduce and secure fissile material.

#### **The future of the Non-Proliferation Regime after the Review Conference May 2010**

Tom Sauer, professor of international politics at Antwerp University, gave a positive report on the NPT review conference, the successes of which he attributed to the fact that most participant knew that this was crunch time and that another failure would have serious repercussions for the whole non-proliferation regime. He also believed that President Obama's personal role was of major importance. The President had moved the concept of nuclear elimination



Tom Sauer

from being an idea (most observers would call it a utopian idea) to the table of the real world. His speech in Prague and the actions he took thereafter (change of declaratory policy in

the US Nuclear Posture Review; nuclear terrorism summit, New START; transparency on numbers of weapons) makes it harder for the sceptics to be heard.

Tom considered that the most controversial outcome was the proposal for a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East and the convening of a meeting in 2012 which would include all relevant countries including Israel. This specific topic was dealt with by Sharon Dolev, a peace activist from Israel and we thought it appropriate to give voice to her views in some detail (see the International Page 6).

Another important development was the mention of a Nuclear Weapons Convention set up to define a road towards the elimination of nuclear weapons under a concrete time scale.

He said that two elements missing from the disarmament section of the NPT conference report were the future of tactical nuclear weapons because of pressure from the USA and Russia; and reference to the US-India deal which enables India to build more nuclear weapons because of US pressure

#### **Tactical nuclear weapons in Europe**

General Hugh Beach (UK) discussed NATO's nuclear weapons policy in Europe. The policy emerged between 1967 and 1972, under the general rubric of "flexible response" coupled with the adoption of a policy of "first use" of nuclear weapons if NATO's conventional defences were overwhelmed. Now with the dismemberment of the Warsaw Pact and of the Soviet Union, followed by the expansion of NATO, its conventional forces are considerably larger than Russia's.

NATO's has since made dramatic reductions in deployed nuclear weapons but there has been no change in doctrine. This has led to calls to end their deployment completely by a large number of nations within the NPT. Such action would make sense because the maintenance of weapons is expensive and there are safety considerations surrounding their storage. Political moves in a number of western-european NATO countries are now opening the way for a general reconsideration of existing policy. The US European Command (USEUCOM), once the principal advocate for nuclear weapons in Europe, no longer supports their presence.

However NATO governments in the recently-joined central and eastern-european states still attach importance to retaining nuclear weapons on European soil. They see them mainly in symbolic terms and appear concerned that withdrawal of these weapons could undermine the credibility of the US nuclear umbrella and might lead to an unravelling of the NATO alliance. But are these security worries real – they might have been in the 1960s but not now?

Clearly a decision should be made which might be seen as a move towards nuclear weapons abolition. It is to be hoped that the resistant nations will recognise the value of this and that forward-basing of the weapons is no longer tactically useful and, in fact, creates additional risks and insecurities including possible acquisition by terrorists. Though elimination would be most sensible, if need be the withdrawn weapons could still be stored on the US mainland and in Siberia, to await dismantlement as US-Russian negotiations enter the next phase of deeper cuts.

Other sessions on nuclear weapons included: **Nuclear zero: moral duty or moral hazard?** Martin Birdseye from the UK explained a technique he had developed, Nuclear Morality Flowchart which enables people, by giving answers to specific questions, to determine logically the position they hold on the morality of nuclear weapons.

In another session, an **ethical analysis of nuclear deterrence** by Tyler Wigg-Stevenson (USA) was examined. This posited that nuclear deterrence is no longer a relevant strategic issue because it doesn't work anymore. There are many reasons not to use nuclear weapons, regardless of nuclear deterrence; our long record on nuclear non-use, especially over the past two decades, is due less to the threat of nuclear punishment and more to the fact that it has not been in anyone's interest to launch a nuclear attack. Furthermore, in any foreseeable

*'A key to success in eventually attaining zero nuclear weapons is confidence in verifying a worldwide ban.'*

# IT IS MORE THAN JUST NUCLEAR WEAPONS

## ► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, MARY ROE

Dear Friends,

It seems as if we don't hear much these days about the activities of CND and still less about Christian CND. Is this because the threat of nuclear warfare has receded? If that is so, then why are the US and Europe getting so wound up about Iran's nuclear-power programme? And why are we so reluctant to set in motion the reduction of our vast stock of nuclear weaponry, including Trident? If we were indeed in the process of downsizing our nuclear armoury, with the clear aim of abolishing such WMD worldwide, as promised, then it might be said that the deterrent function of our proliferation until now has worked and that CND and CCND were mistaken to try to abandon it before that end was achieved. But no, it seems as if the various national governments, at least, are still living in the long shadow of past fear. They have become dependent upon their ability to threaten world destruction in the same way as people who are diabetic must continue with their insulin injections for the rest of their lives. We have become incurably sick in our compulsion to grab power, land, oil, water - or at least almost all the ruling elite have reached the point where normal negotiations, trade and accommodation of everyone's interests and well-being are no longer possible. In this case, then perhaps CND, the Campaign against nuclear "Defence", was bound to fail.

Although, as a pacifist, I have always been ready to join in demonstrations, sign petitions, etc. organized by CND, I felt, right from the start, that the campaign was making a false distinction between nuclear and conventional weaponry which, in the end, would prove far from helpful. To imply that nuclear armaments are "something else", quite different from anything that went before, is to imply that the mass killing and maiming of thousands of people, including non-combatants, by "the usual methods" of bombs, tanks, machine guns, landmines, etc. is a perfectly acceptable aspect of human life so long as our side is the one

inflicting the damage and we can convince ourselves of some justification for our actions.

But the first atomic bombs were not so different in kind from the conventional bombs which flattened Dresden; for example. They were a logical progression along the road to hell which started with clubs and stones, through spears, catapults, bows and arrows, muskets, grenades and, recently, but probably not finally, THE BOMB!

If we believe the words of our Lord and of the prophets who preceded him, we must realise that it is not enough just to make a half-hearted attempt to place an artificial limit on how much harm we may do and how many of our neighbours it is acceptable to kill in one go. We must repent our destructive actions now, and not wait for future generations to apologise for us in fifty or a hundred years' time (see "An apology for the Hiroshima bombing" on page 4), if there's anyone around then to make or receive such an apology. We need to obey the Sixth Commandment: "Thou shalt not kill" (it is not good enough to modify that to, "Thou shalt not kill more than 5,000 at any one time with just one weapon") and, above all, to implement the command of Jesus to love our enemies and not render evil for evil. Still less should we be the instigators of that evil in the first place.

On a more hopeful note, I believe that more and more ordinary people all over the world are getting thoroughly sick of wars and violence and are ready to be shown a more positive, peaceful way towards health and prosperity. The people have always known, in their hearts, that violence is not God's will for his creation. Way back to the days of Noah, when the greedy Sumerians over-irrigated the already fertile

land between the Tigris and Euphrates, (ring any bells?) causing the great flood, those intelligent and inventive people who actually had invented the wheel were not content to use their invention for constructive purposes, but went on to attach blades to their chariot wheels in order to cause greater devastation among their enemies. That is why, in the earliest versions of the Noah story (Gen. 6) God was perceived as regretting that he had "made man on this earth, that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually; *he has become violent...*" (italics indicate original text.)

Are we in our generation once more at the crossroads where we can either go along with the headlong rush to destroy the world or use our discoveries (including nuclear power, DNA, etc.) to bring God's kingdom on earth a little closer? We can do the latter only if we abandon the costly pursuit of ever deadlier weapons and the production of the comparatively less horrific "traditional" ones, and use all God's gifts for the benefit of the whole of Creation.

Put another way: the pacifist position is now *the only* way left us. We pray for our brothers and sisters all over the world, and especially those in positions of leadership, that they may see the truth and walk in its light before it is too late.

## SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH NOW OPPOSED TO TRIDENT

By the Very Revd David Mumford,  
APF Governing Body member

The Easter 2010 message from Scottish Church leaders marks a further step by the Scottish Episcopal Church in its opposition to weapons of mass destruction.

The full text of the message is online at the SEC's website but the crucial paragraphs are as follows:

"Christian moral reasoning leads us away from violence towards loving relationships with others. Violence is expressed in threat as well as in deed. The indiscriminate nature of nuclear weapons makes it impossible to justify them as weapons of war as their effect cannot be considered as either limited or proportionate. Therefore, the very possession of nuclear weapons is unjust and thus wrong."

"Christ came for the whole world and the security of the whole world is Christ's concern. Nuclear weapons by their very existence undermine the security of the whole world and are inconsistent with the traditional theories of just war. We believe that tackling injustice, poverty and inequality would lead to a safer world for all."

Policy making in the SEC is not straightforward. A resolution of general synod is binding - but as some of us found this year in our unsuccessful attempts to get a resolution about Trident onto the agenda, it is difficult for individuals to get an item discussed unless it already has the support of a diocese or of a provincial board.

The provincial Church in Society committee could make a statement - but the present committee are very chary about anything that might be seen as lobbying and prefer general statements of principle to anything that might be prudentially effective.

A further factor which makes for delay is the desire to do things ecumenically. So a resolution on Afghanistan asking the committee to consider whether British involvement still met just war criteria sent to the committee last year was referred to Action for Churches Together in Scotland who, in turn, have referred it to their interfaith committee. A response may emerge in the next year or so.

The bishops are aware of the areas in which they lack expertise and they do not wish to be overwhelmed by demands that they make statements on everything. Both the bishops and the Church in Society Committee are still



'The pacifist position is now the only way left us.'



# Look sideways to get the message

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY  
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT



Greenbelt Christian Arts Festival 2010:  
“The art of looking sideways”

Some appropriate words from the poem “Sideways” by Kester Brewin (2010) from the Greenbelt programme.

They told me to look ahead, stay ahead  
get up, look down on others,  
look behind me, stay focused,  
suspicious, aware of the competition.  
Up. Down.  
Behind. In front.  
Winning. Losing.  
These were my axes.  
Until I looked to one side  
saw others alongside me  
a dusty road to a new city  
who is the third who walks always beside you?  
Cross-nailed at some splintered origin  
he didn't look just up to father  
or down to mother; no  
my salvation was in the sideways  
glance of that true brother:

APF was represented at the festival by Sue Gilmurray, Donna Hicks (member from the US), and myself. We were members of the team of people running the Peace Zone organised by the Network of Christian Peace Organisations. It was wonderful to see that quite a number of NCPO's 28 organisations had representatives there, and many of them were young Christian peacemakers.

The Peace Zone focused on activities for young people and children. It included a Gaza-type wall with removable bricks on which peace messages could be written; and peace crane and badge making.

A session on the communal stage explained the principles of non-violent action and reconciliation; and included songs written and sung by Sue Gilmurray. Sue also showcased a



Sue Gilmurray with dolls



new line in knitwear sweaters for dolls with logos of different peace organizations, that she has created. Children were enthralled and many knitting patterns (which will be soon be available on the Movement for the Abolition of War website) were taken home by regular knitters.

I organised and chaired a debate on the role of military chaplains, entitled “Christian warriors: to challenge or to minister”. The participants were Symon Hill, associate director of the Ekklesia think tank and Mike Elliot a senior chaplain in the RAF. A report of the debate is on page 11.

Bruce Kent, representing Christian CND regaled an audience packed into the racecourse grandstand with “A Christian challenge to Britain's war culture”. He argued that Britain's approach to international issues such as global warming and terrorism has been confrontational and self-serving; and went on to explore how a commitment to peacemaking and justice can lead us towards alternative and more equitable solutions.

## Summer-Melbu: “a culture of peace – a necessary utopia”

In July, I had a delightful visit to the Arctic Circle to speak at an annual summer festival in Melbu, Norway which involved a whole range of events including literature and philosophy seminars, art exhibitions; and concerts with many different forms of music. I spoke on environmental challenges and their implications for military conflict in the conference peace issues; and did much singing in conference sessions and on the ferries between the Norwegian islands.



So onto political things. There have been so many issues associated with war and peace over the last few months, so the following remarks are very brief.

## An apology for the Hiroshima bombing

The USA together with Britain has, at last apologised for using atomic bombs in WWII, or they have at least acknowledged the suffering caused. But it is relevant to ask just what this means so long after the event. Surely if you apologise for killing civilians surely you have to do it quickly for humanitarian

‘Britain’s approach to international issues such as global warming and terrorism has been confrontational and self-serving.’

reasons. Wait too long and do it for what seem to be political reasons, as is the case here, and it loses its effect. It also raises some questions about whether war crimes have an expiry date. How far back should one go, and when would the illegal 2003 invasion come up for its turn? Listening to the continuing political defence of the US and British actions, clearly it will not be very soon.

### This year's anniversary of 9/11

Another ceremony at ground zero; and Robert Fisk writes in *The Independent*: "Nine years, two wars, hundreds of thousands dead – and nothing learnt. The madness of 9/11 is more entrenched than ever".

### Afghanistan and Pakistan

There is a general recognition that the war in Afghanistan cannot be won. All the Taliban have to do to win is not to lose. The Americans won't stay and everybody knows it. The focus has come to rest on the inevitable need to talk with all the militant groups in Afghanistan. While the most important players are ready to talk peace, the US remains confused and still has to straighten out its policy. This confusion is once again taking its toll, especially in Pakistan.

One of the fears raised in the West at the prospect of withdrawing troops from Afghanistan is that it will lead to a Taliban-controlled nuclear Pakistan. That fear betrays a total ignorance about the evolution of the Taliban movement as well as the impact of the "War on terror" (see Book Look page 7) on Pakistan. There was no Pakistani involvement in 9/11. Nor, throughout the period of the Taliban regime in Kabul was there Talibanisation in Pakistan. But now Pakistan has become involved in fighting another country's war and is suffering the consequences with suicide attacks and the economic fabric is deteriorating because of the conditions that the IMF has imposed for loans encouraged by the USA. The war in Afghanistan is justified as a stabilizing force for Pakistan, whereas in truth the country is collapsing under the pressure. It is like Cambodia in the Vietnam War.

There is only one solution to this chaos. This is to implement an immediate ceasefire and commence talks with all militant groups in Afghanistan. Either America leaves or Pakistan withdraws from this war.

The troops who returned from Iraq in August deserve a long rest with their families, but the US military machine, compared with any other in history, is hyper-resourced and with such a profit motive is raring to go.

For now its energies will be focused on Afghanistan. But President Obama's July 2011 deadline for starting to pull out is non-negotiable, he says, and although many units will remain behind, the bulk of the US Army and almost all the Navy and Air Force may look in vain for front lines on which to demonstrate their usefulness. The sensible answer to the question of what they will do in the absence of new and urgent threats to US national security in that they will clip the grass on the bases and conduct joint exercises with their allies to help preserve a glorious new Pax Americana.

The crazy conspiratorial answer is that new and urgent threats will have to be found because America as at present constructed cannot endure a long peace. It has too many soldiers, too many foreign policy fantasies that depend on them, too many interests that exist by serving them and altogether too much kit. The film-maker Michael Moore was crazy like this. So was the wisest president of the postwar era, Dwight D Eisenhower:

America's next war may well be fought in Yemen, albeit undeclared and probably by military advisers. After that it could be Somalia, or Georgia or almost any of the former Soviet "stans", and when it comes, a surprisingly bipartisan array of think-tank jockeys will explain it as a muscular defence of freedoms the price and value of which Europeans simply don't understand.

So what can be done about this?

Time at  
ground zero,  
Hiroshima



conflicts, there is simply no threat or foreseeable conflict which a conventional response cannot deter as readily as the promise of nuclear reprisal. Quite a number of people did not agree with this view which deserves more consideration.

Tyler's also pointed out that nuclear deterrence, like nuclear weapons themselves, can never truly be abolished: without some spontaneous act of global amnesia, our species will always know how to make the Bomb and thus always have a latent capacity to threaten its use.

### So is this a new dawn?

We do find ourselves a little way along the road to the elimination of nuclear weapons once and for all. The progressive spirit revealed by today's leaders inspires optimism; but it is well to remember that proponents of nuclear weapons persist in the US, Russia, France, Pakistan, Israel and elsewhere, and some continue to provoke rising powers such as Iran, Brazil and Turkey to resist non-proliferation rules.

Even if complete nuclear disarmament is technically feasible, some states will continue to find power and security in these weapons. Here is the ambivalence that we find with political leaders in the nuclear weapon states. As Richard Rhodes puts it in his recent book, *The twilight of the bombs* (see Book Look, page 7). "We have feared nuclear weapons even as we have tried to convince ourselves that they protect us, and so we have found it possible neither to employ them or to break them and throw them away." Resolving this ambivalence requires co-operative action both of the old and new powers, north and south, east and west. We know how to do it; the question is whether we have the will.

influenced by the fact that the Church of Scotland tends to make statements on many issues and the SEC does not want to be steamrollered by its big Presbyterian brother. So the bishops are unlikely to make statements on issues that are not recommended to them by the Church in Society Committee – and the Church in Society Committee is only likely to encourage them to make general statements – so the SEC is in favour of peace and the environment but with few concrete suggestions as to how these issues can be effectively furthered. However if the other church leaders are in agreement on an issue then the Primus (the bishop who among other tasks has the responsibility of representing the SEC in its relations with other churches) can sign a message or declaration and this is then taken as representing the mind of the SEC. The previous primus, Idris Jones, had been willing in March 2007 to commit the SEC to opposing the renewal of the Trident programme on the grounds that the money could be better spent on education provision and health care and that renewal was against commitments given by the UK government under the Non Proliferation Treaty. However there was no clear SEC call for the immediate decommissioning of the present Trident capacity and the then Primus was most concerned that the employment of defence related workers should be protected. The 2010 statement is much more rigorous in its doctrinal phrasing. It takes just war teaching seriously and recognises that nuclear weapons are inconsistent with the just war criterion of proportionality. It states that the very possession of nuclear weapons is unjust. Perhaps here there should have been a caveat to state that the real problem is possession with a conditional intent to use but the conclusion that nuclear weapons are wrong is in line with just war theory.



‘Any reference to Israel as a nuclear weapon state is solely according to foreign sources.’

## A Middle East free of WMD?

Shortened version of the paper by Ms Sharon Dolev from the CCADD international conference

Sharon Dolev leads the Peace and Disarmament campaign for Greenpeace in Israel and is the head of the Regional Peace Movement in support of the Arab Peace Initiative. We hear much criticism of Israel's military policies from outside and it is refreshing to hear an activist speak from within the country. Sharon leads the Peace and Disarmament campaign for Greenpeace in Israel and is the head of the Regional Peace Movement in support of the Arab Peace Initiative.



She spoke frankly about the situation in the Middle East as follows and wished it to be noted that “Any reference to Israel as a nuclear weapon state is solely according to foreign sources”. Israel has never declared that it has nuclear weapons but is believed to have a significant number. Out of 9 (or 10) nuclear weapon states, Israel receives the most attention. Some of the reasons are the special attention Israel always receives; the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and occupation; the fact that Israel is a nuclear weapon state outside the NPT; and perhaps the policy of ambiguity itself (what you don't see always makes you more intrigued). However, one thing is certain: the fact that Israel is a nuclear weapon state in one of the most unstable regions of the world draws significant further attention to it and its nuclear programme. The Middle East with its instability, militant movements and global dependence on its carbon energy resources make it a focal point of world attention as well. Creating stability in the Middle East is a crucial international goal. However it is a long-term one that requires the true will of many players. This will necessarily involve reform and investments in education, infrastructure, water, human rights, renewable energy systems, agriculture and more.

A first move should be the removal of one of the main obstacles, the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is currently being used to block progress on a wide variety of issues. Here the Arab Peace Initiative (API) provides an important opportunity because it has the potential to create positive flow-on effects to Arab states. Instead of a local agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, followed by state-by-state agreements, a pan-Arab-Israeli agreement based on the API does not leave any state behind.

At the 1995 NPT Review Conference, Arab states threatened to block attempts to make the world's only global nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation pact permanent, forcing the adoption of the ME Resolution which calls for the establishment of a regional Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ). This resolution is problematic for several reasons because only Israel has a nuclear arsenal while several countries in the region are believed to possess WMDs, so discussion of a WMD zone is preferable. The resolution has in fact prevented progress both on the issues it deals with and in the wider disarmament debate. And, of course in other ways, we can say that it is a very good excuse for the other states not to move forward with disarmament talks. Another thing that we need to think about is the lack of trust between countries of the Middle East. In this case, it is not enough to talk about a WMD free zone, but also to foster

the creation of a Nuclear Technology Free Middle East.

At the last NPT review, a proposal was made for the holding of an international conference outside the NPT, to which Israel will be invited. The decision is everything we could have hoped for, aside from the short timeframe allotted to securing blanket state involvement. If we want Israel to join, and we do, some conditions need to exist that do not seem ripe for now, among them a brave, open leadership in both Iran and Israel that is interested in joining such talks.

I do not really know what it will take to encourage Iran to join talks. It might be the ability to refine oil, respect, strengthening the current government etc.

Unfortunately, there is no encouragement from within or outside for Israel to join such talks. Here we need cooperation and pressure domestically and internationally for Israel to join talks. This discourse should address Israel's fears instead of just overlooking them. The question we should ask ourselves is: what will bring Israel to the table? What kind of obligations, what promised status?

### WEEK OF PRAYER FOR WORLD PEACE

#### A note by Sue Claydon, APF Vice-chair

This year as every year, The Anglican Peacemaker includes a leaflet for the Week of Prayer for World Peace in this issue of TAP. On the leaflet, you will notice a brief background to the week, but I wonder how many APF members realise that this was an APF initiative?

In a memorandum to Archbishop Ramsey about the ‘Suggested World Week of Prayer for Peace’, we said:

“In the turmoil of a world increasingly dominated by violence and characterised by bewilderment and confusion created by the apparent impotence of man to alleviate sufferings caused by injustice except by more recourse to violence, it seems to us that an unprecedented spiritual initiative is urgently required. The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship therefore wished to commend the idea of a World Week of Prayer for Peace.

It would seem appropriate for the Anglican Church to take the initiative in this matter particularly in view of the strong resolutions of the 1968 Lambeth Conference on the importance of prayer (4), condemning war (8), on the need for consultation regarding world peace (10) and on the desirability of co-operation with other faiths (11).”

This was followed by the publication of “A call to prayer for world peace and to study related issues”:

The Call was signed by: +George Appleton; Edward Carpenter; Bernard Chamberlain, Cr; L. John Collins; Tom Corbishley, SJ; Nadir Dinshaw; Frank Field; David Harding; Sidney Hinkes; John Hough; +Trevor Huddleston, CR; Jack Jenner; Kenneth Lee; Macleod of Fuinary; Harry o. Morton; William W. Simpson; Kenneth Slack; +Wilfred Westall; Gordon Wilson.

On reading these documents, it seems to me a sad reflection that this Week of Prayer for World Peace is just as needed today as it was 36 years ago. Somehow, it seems to have slipped off the agenda of many, especially our parishes.

This year, the week coincides with One World Week. If this is being celebrated locally, maybe you could reintroduce the link with WPWP.

There is also a schools leaflet and this might be something to offer for an assembly at your local school.

Whatever you may be able to do, it would be interesting to hear from you, as one of the commitments of APF is to keep this special week active. Hopefully, next year we will be able to report on various activities to give more ideas to individual members and parishes.

# Book Look

## ► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

### David Fisher and Brian Wicker (eds) (2010)

Just War on terror? A Christian and Muslim response  
Ashgate

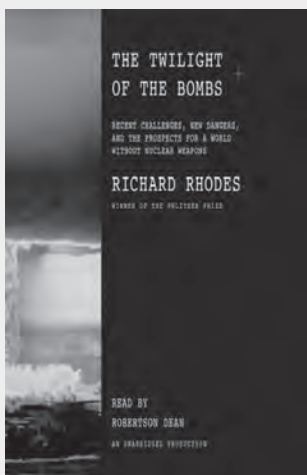
Drawing on Just War teaching as developed within Christian and Muslim traditions, this book examines whether, and how, liberal democracies can combat the new global terrorism both effectively and justly. The authors, including distinguished authors from both sides of the Atlantic, Christian and Muslim theologians, former senior civil servants and a General, deploy a wide range of experience and expertise to address one of the most pressing ethical challenges to contemporary society.

The book was initiated and produced under the auspice of the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament, and many of the contributors write from a Christian standpoint.

From a pacifist perspective the title of the book has little meaning because we would see the response to terrorism as an international policing issue not a war.

### Richard Rhodes (2010)

*The twilight of the bombs: recent challenges, new dangers and the prospects of a world without nuclear weapons.*  
Knopf Publishers



The past twenty years have transformed our relationship with nuclear weapons drastically. Rhodes makes clear how the five original nuclear powers—Russia, Great Britain, France, China, and especially the United States—have struggled with new realities. The early 1990s was a critical time.

As the Soviet Union crumbled, the US sought to reduce its own nuclear arsenal in an effort to ease global tensions. Germany had been reunified, leaving Nato tactical nuclear missiles and artillery on its territory with no reasonable purpose. Nuclear weapons on US surface ships were inspiring anti-nuclear passions in Japan and New Zealand. South Korea wanted the US to remove tactical nuclear weapons from its territory, but Washington did not want to look weak to North Korea by doing so.

On the Soviet side, Viktor Mikhailov, the dominant director of a Soviet nuclear weapons research institute and a member of the committee that selected US targets for annihilation, came to the US in 1988 as part of a Reagan-Gorbachev effort to demonstrate the feasibility of banning nuclear testing. "When we walked around Washington, New York and Las Vegas," Mikhailov recalled in his

memoirs, "I could not imagine ... those wondrous cities as 'military targets'. Sometimes those thoughts simply terrified me and made me shudder."

We also see how the present day represents a nuclear turning point and what hope exists for our future. Rhodes assesses the emerging threat of nuclear terrorism and offers advice on how our complicated relationships with North Korea and South Asia should evolve. Finally, he imagines what a post-nuclear world might look like, suggesting what might make it possible.

Once again foreign policy circles are speculating that Israel will bomb Iran to stop, or at least slow, its march towards nuclear weapons. The political history of nuclear weapons is repeating itself: one country gets the ultimate weapon of mass destruction, feels smug and secure for a while, then tries desperately to keep its adversaries from joining the club.

### Tony Blair (2010)

*A journey*  
Hutchinson

This is an unusual book - part spiritual confession, part legal brief for the defence, part celebrity gossip, part-primer for would-be world leaders. It has also been said that it could also serve as a standard text for psychologists.

But the real revelation in Tony Blair's autobiography is his unnerving conviction that, in politics, he has been answering destiny's call. Early on, there is a feeling of reckless invincibility, a penchant for self dramatisation; a deluded detachment from the advice of colleagues and officials, and, above all, an over-simplistic view of the world as a place of good versus evil.

One cannot rid oneself of the uneasy feeling that Blair enjoys war - its stark simplicity, its historic drama, its emotion. Informed of the attacks on the World Trade Center, Blair claims to have felt "eerily calm... There was no other course; no other option, no alternative path. It was war ...

The colossal joke that history has played on those of us who supported Blair back in 1994 was that he appeared at that time as a quintessential normal guy - refreshingly sensible, modest, non-ideological, sympathetic and pragmatic. How were we to know that he would turn into this warmonger, not content with one pre-emptive war against Iraq, but now blithely advocating a second against Iran?

No it is Iraq rightly dominates the memoirs. . . With nobody else to blame, he is nevertheless full of self-pity. But I fear the reader's sympathies are more likely to be with the 100,000 or more Iraqis who died in the aftermath of that vainglorious and ill-thought-out adventure.

The lesson from all this must be that leaders should not be given such powers particularly over such an important issue as waging war.

Tony Blair's memoir ends with the conundrum of his career so far: "It has never been entirely clear whether the journey I have taken is one of triumph of person over politics, or of the politics over the person.

This is not a routine political autobiography.

Naturally it was written in the hope, in part, of rehabilitating the author's reputation. Yet the moral certainty that bursts out of every page makes it more than the usual attempt to justify the unjustifiable. It is a testament from a man, who believes that once they understand his motives and methods, his detractors will see the error of their ways and come late to repentance.

The messianic tone is confirmed and intensified by the occasional admission of guilt. Blair attributes virtually all his acknowledged mistakes to failure to implement his own ideas with speed and to the extent that their merits justified. No one reading *A journey* could believe that its advance and royalties were donated to the Royal British Legion in order to salve a troubled conscience. Blair believes that he was right to invade Iraq in 2003 with the absolute certainty that is simultaneously his political strength and his intellectual weakness. The strength of the conviction is not matched by clarity of expression. Blair writes that he "can't regret the decision to go to war" but the reasons given for the lack of regret - knowing what he must know now - are unintelligible.

### The special relationship (2010)

A fictional film to make sense of *The journey*?  
directed by Peter Morgan

It is hard not to add a piece about this film when considering the relationship that developed between Blair and Bush. Morgan's film is about the relationship between Blair and Bill Clinton (and also about their wives). It is portrayed as a relationship between like-minded leaders talking excitedly about legacy and promise and working in harmony to reach the Northern Ireland agreement, and much less equably on the Kosovo conflict, where they have different objectives. Here Blair's coup de theatre - the Chicago speech in which he ignited American opinion on troops for Kosovo while Clinton fiddled with his stained reputation over the Monica Lewinsky affair.

Having done good and got glory, Blair had the taste for it. By the end, Morgan had beautifully identified the seeds of his later hubris and self-delusion. When advised by Clinton to be cautious about establishing too close a relationship with the newly-elected Bush - Blair jumps in head first.



The film is really worth seeing if for nothing else than the flawless double act between Michael Sheen who plays Blair and Dennis Quaid as Clinton.

# Diary of Events

## ▶ LOCAL AND NATIONAL

**1 October** Celebration of the International Day of Nonviolence at the St Ethelburga's Centre, Bishopsgate, London, 5.30 to 6.45 pm. Organised by Pax Christi: [www.paxchristi.org.uk](http://www.paxchristi.org.uk).

**2 October** Annual response to the international call for a week of protest against US missile defence by the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in space. [www.space4peace.org](http://www.space4peace.org). This involves a protest around the Menwith Hill base at 1 pm.

**9-10 October** CND Annual Conference at Mary Ward House, Tavistock Place, London. Speakers include Caroline Lucas, Jeremy Corbyn, Arielle Denis from France and Reiner Braun from Germany. It begins at 10.00 am.

**29-31 October** Pilgrimage to Peace at Coventry, Christian CND's 40th anniversary event. This is a three day event beginning at 6.00 on Friday 29th when Bruce Kent is giving the keynote speech. Saturday 30th is the main day and includes a welcome and address by APF Counsellor, Canon Paul Oestreich at 10.30 am. Visit <http://ccnd.gn.apc.org> for further information.

[www.cnduk.org](http://www.cnduk.org); 020 7700 2393.

**6 November** CAAT's National Gathering, Conway Hall, London. 020 7281 0297 or [www.caat.org.uk/events](http://www.caat.org.uk/events).

**14 November** Movement for the Abolition of War's Annual Remembrance Sunday Lecture, this year to be given by Professor Philippe Sands and entitled "War and law: Iraq's legacy, Chilcot's challenges". 2.00 pm at the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Road, London.

**28 December** Holy Innocents event beginning at 11 am at St Martins-in-the-Fields with witness at Westminster Abbey organised by APF under the auspice of NCPO. Further details will be given in the next issue of TAP.

### Annual General Meeting

The APF AGM will be held at Coventry Cathedral/Coventry University on 30 October. The date and location have been chosen because this is one of the days of the Christian CND's "Pilgrimage to Peace" and members will be able to attend some of the events if they wish (see above).

We meet at 12.30 pm in the Cathedral for a bring-your-own lunch and the meeting will begin at 2.00 with the aim of finishing by 4.00. Between 4.15 and 6.00 there are creative workshops one of which is being run by Sue Gilmurray.

**If you intend coming to the AGM please contact Tony Kempster (01908 510642) and he will send you further details about where in the Cathedral the meeting will be held.**

### Nominations for the Governing Body

APF is also seeking nominations to its Governing Body. If you would like to become considered for this, please contact the general secretary for further details (address on page 8).

### OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

#### Chairperson, Mrs Mary Roe

1 North Lodge, Bicester House, Kings End, Bicester OX12 6NT  
01869 321639 [maryproel@btinternet.com](mailto:maryproel@btinternet.com)

#### Vice-chairperson: Mrs Sue Claydon

Bridge House, Whittlesey Road, March, Cambridgeshire,  
PE15 0AH 013546 54214 [sue.claydon@tesco.net](mailto:sue.claydon@tesco.net)

#### Assistant vice-chairperson: David Ramanaukas

15 Morton's Close, Siddal, Halifax HX3 9BW.  
01422 330770 [david.ramanaukas@christianpacifist.com](mailto:david.ramanaukas@christianpacifist.com)

#### Honorary Secretary: Dr Tony Kempster

11, Weavers End, Hanslope, Milton Keynes, MK19 7PA  
01908 510642 [ajkempster@aol.com](mailto:ajkempster@aol.com)

#### Honorary Treasurer: Mr Roger Payne

33 Glynswood, Chinnor, Oxfordshire, OX39 4JE  
01844 351959 [rjpayne@o2.co.uk](mailto:rjpayne@o2.co.uk)

#### Membership Secretary: Mrs Sue Gilmurray

1 Wilford Drive, Ely CB6 1TL  
01353 668495 [sue.gilmurray@anglia.ac.uk](mailto:sue.gilmurray@anglia.ac.uk)

If you would like to join the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and are in agreement with the pledge:

'We communicant members of the Anglican Communion or Christians in communion with it, believing that our membership of the Christian Church involves the complete repudiation of modern war, pledge ourselves to renounce war and all preparation to wage war, and to work for the construction of Christian peace in the world.'

Then please (✓) box **one** in the form below.

If you are sympathetic to the view expressed in the pledge but feel unable to commit yourself to it, you may like to become an associate of the APF and receive the Fellowship's newsletter and notice of our various open events, then please (✓) box **two**.

Send your completed form to the Membership Secretary:- **Sue Gilmurray, 1, Wilford Drive, Ely, Cambridgeshire, CB6 1TL.**

☐ **I am in agreement with the pledge and wish to become a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.**

☐ **I wish to become an Associate of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.**

**Name and designation (Revd, Dr, Mr, Mrs etc):**

*please print clearly and give your Christian name first.*

**Address** .....

**Year of birth** .....

**Diocese** .....

I enclose a cheque for ..... as my first subscription (*makes cheque payable to the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship*)

Please ✓ if you are a UK-income tax payer and want your donation to be treated as a Gift Aid donation.

APF can then reclaim income tax paid on the donation.

Please ✓ if you want to make a regular monthly or annual subscription using a Standing Order

I heard of APF through .....

**Signed** .....

**Date** .....

Application for  
MEMBERSHIP



# Film Look

## ► RECENT FILMS REVIEWED

### Nuclear tipping point (2010)

Written and directed by Ben Goddard  
US Nuclear Security Project film

This documentary film is essentially a conversation with four men intimately involved in American diplomacy and national security over the last four decades. Former Secretary of State George Shultz, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry and former Senator Sam Nunn share the personal experiences that led them to write two *Wall Street Journal* op-eds, in support of a world free of nuclear weapons and the steps needed to get there. Their efforts have reframed the global debate on nuclear issues and, according to the *New York Times*, "sent waves through the global policy establishment."

"Nuclear weapons today present tremendous dangers, but also an historic opportunity. US leadership will be required to take the world to the next stage — to a solid consensus for reversing reliance on nuclear weapons globally as a vital contribution to preventing their proliferation into potentially dangerous hands,



and ultimately ending them as a threat to the world." From *The Wall Street Journal Op-ed* by George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn, January, 2007

Two decades after the end of the Cold War, the chance of nuclear war is almost zero. But the likelihood of a nuclear detonation in one of America's cities has risen substantially. It is this conviction that has driven the quartet of former powerful officials - all firmly dedicated in the past to maintaining a large nuclear deterrent - now to seek a world free of nuclear weapons.

As nations like Iran and Pakistan and North Korea get nuclear bombs, then the probability increases that one or more of those bombs will fall into the hands of a terror group.

Henry Kissinger (Former Secretary of State) says "Classical notion of deterrence was that there were some consequences before which aggressors and evildoers would recoil. In the world of suicide bombers, that calculation doesn't operate in any comparable way". "If the existing nuclear countries cannot develop some restraints among themselves - in other words, if nothing fundamental changes, then I would expect that the use of nuclear weapons in some 10-year period is very possible."

For more information on the Nuclear Security Project, please visit [www.nuclearsecurityproject.org](http://www.nuclearsecurityproject.org).

### Countdown to zero (2010)

Directed by Lucy Walker

This is a documentary film which argues that the likelihood of the use of nuclear weapons has increased since the end of the Cold War due to terrorism, nuclear proliferation, theft of nuclear materials and weapons, and other factors.

Walker uses as her springboard a speech before the UN by President Kennedy where he invoked "a sword of Damocles" hanging over civilization because "accident, miscalculation or madness" could trigger a nuclear event. She then proceeds to lay out all the various and not unlikely scenarios by which that sword could fall. Big-time talking heads include Jimmy Carter, Mikhail Gorbachev, Valerie Plame Wilson, and Pervez Musharraf are used effectively to give authority to the grim facts.

Nukes are a subject that we have long made a semi-conscious decision to ignore. Walker powerfully revives the subject, touching on how



we could have a nuclear detonation from terrorists or the Dr Strangelove scenario - a "legitimate" attack by accident. Walker has interviewed former intelligence and military personnel and statesmen, including Gorbachev and Tony Blair. There are some extraordinary facts, the most stunning of which is that we came far closer to nuclear war in 1995 than we did during the Cuban missile crisis. That year, a Norwegian scientific research rocket was mistaken for a US attack by the Soviets, and generals marched into president Boris Yeltsin's office with the strike codes: protocol demanded a retaliatory attack, but Yeltsin simply refused to believe it and the crisis passed. Walker's film implies that it was a good thing the generals happened to find Yeltsin sober; but it might have been that a few drinks had put him in a generous, forgiving mood. Either way, history owes Yeltsin a greater debt than any of us realised.

### The ghost (2010)

(based on the book by Robert Harris)

Directed by Roman Polanski

This is a film giving light relief to the documentaries above. It is here because in the complex world of Anglo-American relationships something like this might really have happened.

The Ghost is a contemporary political thriller by the best-selling English novelist and journalist Robert Harris. In 2007, Tony Blair resigned and Harris dropped his other work to write the political thriller upon which the film is based. So astonishing are the implied allegations that, had it concerned a lesser figure and were Harris a less eminent novelist, Britain's libel laws might have rendered publication impossible.

The ghost of the title refers both to a professional ghost-writer, and to his immediate predecessor who, as the action opens, has just drowned in mysterious circumstances. The dead man has been ghosting the autobiography of a recently unseated British

prime minister. The latter is one Adam Lang, a thinly-disguised version of Blair. The fictional counterpart of Cherie Blair is depicted as a sinister manipulator of her husband. The replacement ghost writer (whose name is not disclosed) suspects that his predecessor has been murdered and stumbles across evidence of possible motive, buried in Lang's Cambridge past.

Meanwhile Lang, like his real-life counterpart, has been accused by his enemies of war crimes. A leaked memorandum has revealed that he secretly approved the transfer of UK citizens to Guantanamo Bay to face interrogation and possible torture. Unlike Blair, Lang thus appears in imminent threat of indictment at the International Criminal Court.

The narrator tussles to reconcile his obligation to complete the ghosting job with its attendant abundant payment on the one hand and, on the other, the pressing need, as he sees it, to reveal Lang's true allegiances.

Meanwhile Lang is increasingly under siege from the media and families of dead soldiers, yet is shielded from truth in the house's security bubble. When the Ghost escapes, he takes his predecessor's car, and the sat-nav speaks to him from beyond the grave, directing him deeper into trouble. The layers and suspense grow and, not to give the plot away, it emerges that the CIA have been manipulating British politics. The interesting fact is how.

The film ends brutally, leaving a stench of corruption in the air and doubts in the viewer's mind. Here is a thriller that eschews surface spectacle, while slowly revealing the iceberg beneath, something only a veteran director such as Polanski would have the courage to attempt.



# Accounts for the year ended 5/4/2010

## Treasurer's comments

These accounts have been prepared wholly on a receipts and payments basis in accordance with the requirements of the Charity Commissioners. The first year in seven when there is a healthy surplus mainly due to a legacy. General subscriptions include 2 years tax refunds. The main expenditure is the successful Anglican Peacemaker. The reserves are now more than sufficient to meet the policy requirement to maintain more than one years normal expenses. A copy of the Independent Examiners report is available from the Treasurer.

Roger Payne

## 1. Receipt & Payments Account (General Purpose Fund)

		2009/2010	2008/2009			
Receipts	Notes	£	£			
Subscriptions	a1	10840.64	10525.10	Office Expenses: Note s1: Year 2009/10 -		
Donations & Legacies	a2	5687.00	145.89	Includes £500 contribution for computer		
General Activities	a3	77.50	4441.09	system of Trustee Tony Kempster	1130.00	630.00
Income from Assets	a4	165.48	872.48	Postage	46.27	325.36
Miscellaneous	a5	0.00	169.35	Hire of Rooms	260.60	146.21
Total Receipts		16770.62	16153.91	Conference Fees	0.00	0.00
				Insurances	585.17	530.62
Payments				Sundries (Paypal fees)	0.00	1.50
Administration	b1, s1	3187.18	3235.32	Sub Total	3187.18	3235.32
Literature & Publications	b2	6369.49	9647.99			
Conferences and Retreats	b3	400.00	6706.78	Note b2: Literature and Publications		
Affiliations & Grants	b4	1055.00	470.00	Anglican Peacemaker Postage & Printing inc. Annual report	5918.93	7683.35
Total Payments		11011.67	20060.09	Literature, badges, web site, CD's	450.56	1964.64
Net Receipts/(Payments)		5758.95	-3906.18	Sub Total	6369.49	9647.99
Cash Funds		24176.52	18417.57	Note b3: Conferences & Lambeth		
				Conferences & Retreats	400.00	3273.52
				Lambeth 2008	0.00	3433.26
				Sub Total	400.00	6706.78

## 2. Receipt & Payments Account (NZ Literature Fund)

Receipts		2009/2010	2008/2009			
Income from Assets		2.79	22.61	Note b4: Affiliations and Grants		
Payments				Affiliations	555.00	30.00
Literature & Publications		150.00	200.00	Donations	500.00	440.00
Net Receipts/(Payments)		-147.21	-177.39	Sub Total	1055.00	470.00
Cash Funds		235.79	383.00	Non-Monetary Assets		
					2009/2010	2008/2009
					£	£

## 3. Statement of Assets and Liabilities

Monetary Assets		2009/2010	2008/2009			
CBF Deposit Fund		20973.34	18473.34	Note d1: Stocks of publications		
National Westminster Current Account		3435.47	323.73	Consists of 45 different types of leaflets, CD's, tapes, books		
Paypal Account		3.50	3.50	used to promote the work of APF.		
Total Monetary funds		24412.31	18800.57	Publications are valued at realisable cost.	Total Value	500.45
Debtors						531.69
Income tax recoverable	c1	163.50	1726.81	Note d2: Office Furniture and Equipment		
Liabilities				Items are valued at cost.	Purchase Date	
Creditors		0.00	0.00	Display Boards	May-98	480.58
Non-Monetary Assets				Fujitsu notebook computer	Dec-01	762.55
Literature stocks	d1	500.45	531.69	HP Computer	Dec-01	629.78
Office furniture and equipment	d2	3086.78	4669.99	Software	Dec-01	309.14
				Dell notebook computer scrapped Sept 2009	Feb-04	0.00
				Projector	Sep-07	399.48
				Banners	Jul-08	505.25
				Sub Total		3086.78

## INDEPENDENT EXAMINERS REPORT

I have examined the relevant books and vouchers and am satisfied that the above account is correct.

An Independent Examiners report has been submitted to the Governing Body.

Signed Richard Harries

Notes to accounts	General Purpose Funds	2009/2010	2008/2009
		£	£
RECEIPTS			
Note a1: Subscriptions			
Annual Subscriptions		2785.14	4032.56
Gift Aid Subscriptions & Donations		4725.30	6492.54
Income Tax Refunds		3330.20	0.00
Sub Total		10840.64	10525.10
Note a2: Donations			
Donations		87.00	145.89
Legacies & Estates		5600.00	0.00
Sub Total		5687.00	145.89
Note a3: General Activities			
Sale of Literature, badges, etc.		77.50	457.39
Sale of Finest Hour CD's & Tapes.		0.00	15.00
APF Conferences & Retreats		0.00	3583.00
Lambeth 2008		0.00	385.70
Sub Total		77.50	4441.09
Note a4: Income from Assets			
Deposit Interest		159.12	872.48
HMRC Interest		6.36	0.00
Sub Total		165.48	872.48
Note a5: Miscellaneous			
Insurance refund		0.00	15.34
Cancelled Cheques		0.00	154.01
Sub Total		0.00	169.35

PAYMENTS	2009/2010	2008/2009
	£	£
Note b1: Administration		
Travelling	1044.46	1366.93
Advertising	0.00	0.00
Stationery and Printing	120.68	234.70

Registered Charity  
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# CHRISTIAN WARRIORS: TO CHALLENGE OR TO MINISTER?

## The role of chaplains in the armed forces

Abridged text of the debate held at the Greenbelt Arts Festival between Symon Hill, news editor of The Friend and an associate director of the Ekklesia think-tank, and Mike Elliot, senior chaplain at RAF Cottesmore/Wittering.



Mike speaking with Symon seated

The event took place in front of a full house in the Sovereign Lounge at the Cheltenham Racecourse. The event was organised and chaired by Tony Kempster and you can obtain a transcript of the debate including questions from the floor from him.

### Symon Hill makes the challenge

It is great to speak at Greenbelt because of the diversity of opinions and genuine debate and real engagement that take place.

The armed forces is just about the only institution in Britain that cannot be criticised. We can criticise the monarchy the Church of England, the BBC; but to criticise the armed force is met with a negative reaction from the media. Even within the peace movement, the opposition to war rarely includes any criticism of soldiers.

This lack of questioning worries me because Jesus calls us to question. So I want to examine how we might think more open-mindedly about the armed forces and the Christian response.

I have a great admiration for members of the armed forces and their chaplains who go into situations I cannot imagine and risk death and danger. However there are other groups of people who face similar challenges and put themselves into equal danger. Unarmed forces, aid workers, human rights monitors go into war zones around the world and do not receive homecoming parades and applause from the media.

I speak here as a pacifist, but whether we believe in pacifism or that military violence can be justified sometimes, I suggest that, as Christians, the armed forces are deeply problematic for both ideologies. The armed forces do good work when they deliver aid, assist in disasters and so on; but the core purpose is to engage in and threaten violence and death. The armed forces are not able to naturally follow their conscience: they are required to obey orders and, unlike others who can resign if necessary, are required to stay in post for a period of years except in exceptional circumstances. This is very problematic for anyone seeking to witness to the teachings of Jesus which call us to live in a different form of power: Jesus didn't come and say I have come to bring some slight improvements to the world. He proclaims a radical alternative to the values of the world. We are called to witness to the power of God which is more forceful and yet more subtle than the power of armies.

*'We are called to witness to the power of God which is more forceful and yet more subtle than the power of armies.'*

Jesus talked about non-violence in a context of power. He says when you are abused by people with more power than you, by your masters – by your husbands, by the soldiers – don't resort to violence, don't cower in submission but stand firmly, turn the other cheek and assert your dignity.

Unfortunately Jesus' radical message was soon compromised. In the 4th century when the Roman Empire domesticated Christianity, it merged into Christendom and became allied with power and wealth and cultural norms.

Christendom is declining in our multi-faith society, a trend which Christians should welcome because it frees us from the compromises made and allows us to turn again to the teachings of Jesus. At present, the legacy hangs over us and affects our witness to peace. To give you just one example related to the Methodist Church. The Methodist Church has been at the forefront of campaigns against the attempt to renew the trident nuclear system. I admire them for that, but was all the more disappointed this year when they produced a booklet celebrating 150 years of ministry to the armed forces with virtually no discussion of the ethical complexities, and no suggestion that having ministers to the armed forces is itself a problematic or even controversial issue.

But let me emphasise I am not suggesting that members armed forces should be without chaplains. The problem is that chaplains become members of the armed forces, swearing oaths of allegiance and having to some extent affirm that system. How much stronger would the Methodist church witness against nuclear weapons be if they said that if British soldiers are ordered to deploy nuclear weapons then Methodist chaplains will encourage those soldiers to disobey their orders.

I have never heard of an example of a military chaplain encouraging disobedience of orders. If there are any examples – if Mike or any of you have any examples I would love to be proved wrong on this.

Whatever the situation, having an institution engaged in violence and providing uncritical chaplaincy to that institution is fundamentally at odds with the message of Jesus. He calls us to witness to a different power, to a higher reality that is greater than the short term nature of political convenience. We need a different attitude to violence and a different attitude to the armed forces.

### Mike Elliot replies

Thank you. It is rather refreshing to hear somebody engaging in the debate from a perspective that is critical but also recognises the difficulties we face when we are in the forces. May I begin with a few observations and a few corrections.

Military people in this country do have the opportunity if to use conscientious objection if they are given an order which they consider to be an illegitimate or illegal. Equally they have the option to leave the military should they wish, although the time that must served beforehand depends on the task in hand and the location within the forces.

Symon's comment that the chaplaincy is somehow uncritical would not do justice to its role as prophet when difficult statements sometimes have to be made to those in authority: "Thus says the Lord". Such uncomfortable times are not unusual to the chaplain.

Then on the issue of criticism, it seems to me that the armed services are fair game in the media at the present time, especially when it comes to financial cuts.

Concerning recognition of others who risk their lives in war zones, may I suggest that the Churches should campaign for homecoming celebrations. And I certainly want to pay



## The Light: portraits of Hibakusha

On 6 August 1945, the lives of Setsuko Morita, her husband, Noboro, and those of everyone they knew changed forever: They were children outdoors as the Enola Gay dropped the bomb.



Setsuko and Noboro Morita

Their portraits are among those of 65 survivors of Hiroshima in an exhibition at the Brunei Gallery, SOAS, Russel Square, London, free, until 8 October. It is the first time the portraits of Hibakusha (literally "bomb-affected people") have been seen outside Japan.

The Morita's are quiet people who married when they were 18 but were never fortunate enough to have children – almost certainly as a result of their injuries. They have come to London driven by the same urge which created the exhibition: to bear witness to what happened so it will not happen again.

Each painting is accompanied by a detailed description of each subject's haunting recollection of exactly how they came to survive and be found after the bombing.

The portraits are by Professor Hideo Ohya, a renowned artist in Japan, and by colleagues and postgraduate students at Hiroshima city university. A postwar baby, it was only when he moved from Tokyo to head the art faculty that he realised how limited his understanding of Hiroshima had been. As he began to meet survivors he realised the youngest were approaching old age and there would soon be no firsthand witnesses.

Noboru Morita looks calm and cheerful but that is one of the side-effects he bears. He has been on anti-depressants for 20 years. His wife in her portrait as in life, looks tranquil and immaculate. Only when she pushes back her sleeves do the scars show.

One of the exhibitions aims is to remind us all that we are human with a responsibility for each other's well being and that such dreadful things should never be forgotten.

## A gut-churning metal corpse – the true art of the Iraq war

It could be two mangled bodies, lying side by side. In fact, it's the charred remains of a car, destroyed in a 2007 truck bomb attack among the stalls of Al-Mutanabbi Street in Baghdad, Iraq. With his new work, Baghdad, 5 March 2007, at the Imperial War Museum in London, the Turner-prize-winning artist Jeremy Deller shows us the wreckage of war – the attack killed 38 people. Nobody ever claimed responsibility.



The artist acquired the car in 2008 for a bid to put it on the fourth plinth in Trafalgar Square, but lost out to Antony Gormley. Instead, Deller turned it into an installation designed to draw attention to the huge rise in civilian victims. At the start of the 20th century, 10% of war casualties were civilians, but now the figure is 90%. "It's unusual to see anything from the conflict in Iraq 'in life,'" said Deller, "so I was interested in being able to show this car to the public".

The Imperial War Museum, supporter of war art since the early 20th century, has rightly recognised that Deller's car is the true art of war.

# The Anglican PEACEMAKER

September 2010



tribute to all those in whatever capacity who stand up to their moral beliefs on behalf of the poor, hungry or starving and offer their time and skills in such places.

Symon spoke about the parables of Jesus, I want to share with you this morning just three stories that have shaped my thinking. The first story took place when I was a teenager and concerned a lady, a family friend in Coventry. She had been a conscientious objector during the war and had spent her time working in a hospital as her war effort. We discussed this and it was intriguing that, instead of speaking strongly about her actions, she said that she wasn't sure that she had made the right decision.

The second story was when I was 17 years old, going to Israel for the first time. While staying with a family, I met a Jewish man coming to the end of his years and asked him about the war. He rolled up his sleeve to reveal his tattoo and told me his story about being in Auschwitz. It left me deeply moved to think that such atrocity could happen in a so called civilized land. My third story is about a conversation with an Afghan interpreter, two years ago, when I was at Kandahar airfield. He was talking about his first child, a daughter, that had just been born and his hopes for the future. OK maybe he had an axe to grind, but he said to me with a straight face: "Without you being here there would not be a future for my daughter".

Three stories which sum up the complexities, and the questions and the challenges that face us when we consider whether or not it is appropriate to have some form of protection, some form of deterrent.

You see as far as I am concerned the position of the pacifist is an idealist position – one that I hope will never become silent – one we all hear and reflect upon year on year. But the reality is that since 3600 BC there have been some 14,500 wars – mankind is not very good at bringing wars to an end. Equally we know that we live in a fallen society and war is the fruit of sin.

I believe that God calls us to minister to people irrespective of who they might be. I have always believed my ministry has been one of reaching out to individuals that may never come near our churches. In a war zone or in a home base we are able to connect and minister to them. So they do not forget that they are spiritual beings as well as physical and emotional ones.

The presentations were followed by 30 minutes of questions from the floor many of them challenging.

It is the editorial policy of  
The Anglican Peacemaker to include a range of articles  
expressing a variety of opinions. The views expressed are not  
necessarily those of the editors nor of the APF.  
The editor for this edition was Tony Kempster.  
Letters and contributions for the next edition should  
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