

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

The newsletter of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

April 2011

Volume 11, Issue 1 ISSN 1474-4902 Price per issue £2 Price per year £7.50 (post-paid UK) £10 (post-paid overseas)



The Crusader 2010 sculpture by Gerry Judah (see page 12)

The suddenness of the people's rebellions in North Africa and the Middle East and their political complexity raise many questions, not least about their repercussions, which may be comparable to the fall of the Berlin Wall and breakup of the Soviet Union and affect every corner of the globe.

The ethics of the military intervention in Libya is the current concern of the peace movement but there are many wider issues including the underlying causes of the rebellions and how they have spread so quickly from one country to another. An understanding of these may help the movement respond more effectively next time the UK and other countries commit to a hasty military action justified by the "responsibility to protect".

This issue of TAP will address some of these questions focusing particularly on the triggers for rebellion and the role of the social media.

Other items include the ethics of our ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan; and the 80th birthday celebration of Mikhail Gorbachev whose vision created the circumstances for peaceful rebellion in eastern Europe. Then there is mention of several pieces of peace art to soften the whole.

Tony Kempster

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This Arab Rebellion of 2011 has the feel of a contagious disease. It erupted in Tunisia, made its way east to Egypt, Yemen and Bahrain, doubled back to Libya and then to Syria. In Tunisia and Egypt, political freedom seems to have prevailed with relative ease, amid popular joy. But in Libya, the counterrevolution made its stand, and a despot without mercy declared war on his own people.

Three months ago the rulers seemed firmly in control, although some economic stresses were beginning to show. But revolutionary change, was nowhere on the horizon. Now it is anybody's guess where it will all lead.

The key questions are these. Why did the rebellions occur when they did? Are they fundamentally different from previous rebellions? What were the triggers? Were the social media as instrumental as some people have claimed? Were the outcomes predictable? Did women have a much greater role than ever before? Did the international community act in the most effective way particularly with respect to the possibility of intervention in Libya? Does a peaceful revolution produce a better long-term outcome than one born in military conflict and killing?

The opening article, based largely on published work attempts to answer some of these questions.

THE HOW AND WHY OF THIS ARAB SPRING

Background to rebellion

(Opening section based on an article by Fouad Ajami in the *International Herald*.)

Upheavals in Arab politics began in the 1950s and 60s, when leaders rose and fell with regularity. They were assassinated or defied by political forces that had their own sources of strength and belief. Monarchs were overthrown with relative ease as new men, often from more humble social classes, came to power through the military and through radical political parties.

By the 1980s, new political animals had taken control in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Algeria and Yemen: repressive "national security states" with awesome means of control and terror. The new men were cruel and repressive, they reordered the political landscape and a world of control had settled on Arabs. And the regimens were generally supported and armed by western countries.

Average men and women made their accommodation with things, retreating into the privacy of their homes.

Yet as they aged, the coup-makers of yesteryear sprouted rapacious dynasties devouring all that could be had by way of riches and vanity. These sons, these new rulers hadn't descended from the sky. They had emerged out of the Arab world's sins of omission and commission. Today's rebellions are animated by a desire to be cleansed of the stain and guilt of having given in to the despots for so long.



For the Tunisian martyr, Mohammed Bouazizi

There is no overstating the importance of the fact that these Arab rebellions are the work of the Arabs themselves. For decades, Arabs walked and cowered in fear. Now they seem eager to take freedom's ride. Wisely, they are paying no heed to those who wish to speak to them of liberty's risks. There is no marker, no dividing line that establishes with a precision when and why the Arab people grew weary of the dictators. But this rebellion was an inevitable response to the stagnation of the Arab economies. The so-called youth bulge made for a combustible background; a new generation with knowledge of the world beyond came into its own. The revolution was waiting to happen, and one deed of despair in Tunisia, a street vendor who out of frustration set himself on fire.

Other causal factors

We should add climate change here. Countries like Tunisia and Egypt have been experiencing soaring food prices, which are

at an all-time high after extreme weather – especially last year's heat wave in Russia and heavy rains in Canada – took its toll on agriculture. The rebellions may well be a first real indication of what the world can expect from the relationship between global warming and conflict (discussed in TAP 10.1).

But on the other hand – to the combined bewilderment and relief of the US and Europe –

there is little evidence of the factors that were universally supposed to be driving populist politics in the Middle East: Islamic fundamentalism couple with anti-Zionism and anti-Americanism. At no point during weeks of the passionate revolt did either the US or Israeli embassies become a target of the crowd's fury, even though both are within easy reach of Tahrir Square.

Of course, this does not mean that allies of al-Qa'ida will not seek to exploit the growing chaos in Libya in particular, striving to turn it into a new Somalia-sur-Med. Nor does it guarantee that any other revolts will produce stable democracies. Because the real cause of these revolutions, beyond all the chatter of social networks, are many deep-rooted problems that are liable to get worse in coming years, and that is largely beyond the power of anyone to control.

The trigger and the social dynamics of rebellion

A large part of the problem of understanding how modern rebellions come about is the reporting of them. The media tend to play up any violence and euphoric moments of success are condensed to slogans. Then there is the propaganda from both sides which confuses the facts. What falls through the cracks is the process by which the actions of an often small dissident circle are translated into a mass movement involving a sufficient cross-section of society to sweep away a tyrant.

In *Resistance and rebellion* (2011), Robert Petersen argues that there are three distinct phases to the process. The first is the most critical: the slow shift in the largest part of the population from what he calls regime neutrality to what he describes as "a widespread but unorganised and unarmed resistance". The behaviour associated with this phase is one which typically involves anti-regime graffiti, singing nationalist songs, handing out or accepting anti-regime literature and participating in spontaneous demonstrations.

The second phase is locally organised rebellion (which may involve the use of arms). And the third phase is maintaining that rebellion.

Critically he says: "It is about the first actors". There are the people prepared to oppose the regime, but it is also about those people you see who will drive within a few hundred metres of a demonstration to see if there are enough people for them to join in as well. Petersen believes that social media has been helpful in the recent uprisings, precisely because it increased the number of those "first actors" on the street.

The key moment comes when people ask themselves why they are not joining up. This is the tipping point.

There also seems to be a necessity to focus on key identifiable victims in the population. In Tunisia that figure was Mohammed Bouzizi, the fruit seller from Sidi Bouzid who set himself on fire. In Egypt early focus was provided by the murder of Khaled Said, who was savagely beaten by the police in Alexandria last June and whose name became a rallying call for the activist networks who participated in the first big demonstration against the regime.

In the 1986 fall of Ferdinand Marcos, it was the long-held suspicion of Filipinos that the dictator had helped cover up the assassination of Benigno Aquino at Manila airport in 1983.

And the use of violence by the regime under challenge acts as a further crucial trigger for escalation by protesters against the regime. This is not simple because the state use of violence – acts as a reminder of its brutal nature at a time when it is more vulnerable that it realises. It is also because the use of state violence confronts those who are still part of the state with a moral and strategic question: whether to tolerate the use of force and hope the regime survives, or peel away and join the opposition. This is where the situation in Libya is at the moment.

There are different considerations for those in the military, police or special-forces, defined by their role. They are required to make a choice; whether they can switch sides and hope the people accept their new narrative in the new world after the regime, or stick by it to the end.

Autocratic regimes, by their very nature, are not equipped with sufficient flexibility or institutional and individual self-awareness to survive by negotiating with people power at the moment of greatest threat, when it becomes obvious that it poses an existential challenge to the regime. "Coup-proofing" is the way in which regimes consolidate a small mafia-like inner core made up of cronies, family, tribal or ethnic interest while using incentives to encourage the security forces, both military and police, to protect the regime while monitoring each other. This makes them very inflexible in dealing with rebellion. This perhaps explains why the repressive dictatorial regimes in North Africa and the Middle East, regarded as stable and invulnerable by outside observers can collapse as quickly as they can, not least when a key element like the military – as happened in Egypt and Tunisia – removed its support.

In the end, however, the success of a rebellion depends on crossing of a fear barrier by enough people, not simply the small group of dedicated dissidents. The judgement that the risk is worth it and the rebellion might actually succeed.

Albert Camus asked "what is a rebel?" and answering his own question, said: "A man who says no." It is at the point, when fear is gone, that whole nations say no. And it is when tyrants fall.

Predicting when dictators fail

The US military tries to predict political instability and according to Debora Mackenzie (*New Scientist*, 2011) the results apparently remain poor. However, scientists who study mathematically complex systems claim they can do better and are planning to study recent events to devise better ways to predict a fall.

Complex systems with many interrelated variables, such as ecosystems or societies, can accumulate stresses while showing no obvious change – until they reach a point where a small stress can trigger a sudden shift to another stable state. For example, forests accumulate kindling until a spark ignites a fire. The key to predicting regime shifts, says Marten Scheffer of the University of Wageningen, is to look beyond individual



Open Window (above)
In collaboration with cartoonmovement.com – global network of political cartoonists – each month *New Internationalist* features a different cartoonist from around the world. In the April issue there is this cartoon by Aracadio Esquivel from Costa Rica.



Who will encourage the encouragers?

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, MARY ROE

Dear Friends,

We often hear people ask, "Who will care for the carers?" I don't know the answer to that one, but the question on my mind to-day is, "Who will encourage the encouragers?" All my life I have tried to encourage people: school children to learn, adult Christians including ordinands to study their faith and calling more deeply, politicians to have the courage to stick to their principles and aspirations for the good of the people they represent, and so on. As your chairman, I hope that, with the constant help of the indefatigable Governing Body, I have encouraged some of you to make decisions and pursue your search for peaceful solutions to the world's problems, such as the two Gulf wars, the situation in Israel/Palestine and others. But I confess that, at the moment, I do not feel my usual emotions of sadness, compassion, anger, or the compelling urge to do something; rather, I feel depressed and almost overwhelmed by the vastness of the human tragedies unfolding in so many different places in the world – Libya and neighbouring countries, many parts of West Africa, as well as the ever rising death toll among civilians in Afghanistan and, of course, the Holy Land. And my guess is that some of you may be feeling much the same.

One recent event which has thoroughly disturbed me is the reluctance of the government of Pakistan to do anything about the blasphemy laws in that country and the imposition of the death penalty for anyone who tries to introduce more civilised legislation or whose neighbours want to express some grudge against them by means of a trumped up charge of blasphemy. Whether religion is the cause of most wars and violence, as some people claim, or, as we would argue, merely the excuse for human wickedness to go unchallenged, makes little difference to the victims but it is something that people of all faiths need to address – urgently. What constitutes blasphemy? We understand it as disrespect towards God, but in Islam that seems to be extended to disrespect for the Prophet, Mohammed, and this is where the danger lies. I believe that Muslims, whose faith is based on the God of Abraham, as portrayed in what we call the Old Testament would agree that every human being is made in the image of God. It therefore follows, surely, that to kill, torture or maim God's image, in the form of another human being, must be the greatest blasphemy of all.

And this is why APF and all truly pacifist movements are a vital element in the practice of our Christian faith. We go beyond the concerns of organizations such as, for example, the Stop the War Coalition, or the Movement for the Abolition of War and demand that all those who belong to one of the "Faiths of the Book" refrain from defacing the image of God, in themselves as well as their victims, by their use of violence as a means to whatever end they have in view.

Talking does help, and I feel a bit more positive than when I started to share these thoughts with you all. We draw a lot of strength from like-minded friends. However, I do think we could do a great deal more to support and encourage our fellow pilgrims, and hope that we shall follow up one or two suggestions for ways of doing this, such as through greater use of the internet, Facebook, etc. for those of us who are in a position to do so, and all other means of expressing the "Fellowship" which is a vital part of our name. Lent is a good time for extra prayers for those who are suffering the effects of violence, wherever they are, and I pray that the light of a truly joyful Easter will be shining at the end of this tunnel.

PS Since I signed off this letter, the situation in Libya, Bahrain, and neighbouring countries has become even less stable; and the threat of harm or death to civilians much greater. Contemplating these developments could well have taken me back to the depression I expressed in my first paragraph but, thanks to God, I have attended two Lent meditations at which

the leaders, neither of whom would call themselves pacifists, spoke passionately and compellingly against the continuing and escalating conflicts in this generation. Both described warfare of any kind as contrary to God's will for the world, as revealed in Jesus and I am hopeful that such people will not only support and encourage us but will also be able to influence those in positions of power to abandon their faith in violence, torture and weaponry. Amen, Lord; may it be so.

APF is 75 years old next year

The GB is now developing plans for events to celebrate this event. The Archbishop of Canterbury has invited us to use the chapel at Lambeth Palace for our service of renewal and commitment. This is appropriate because Lambeth was the destination of the original procession in April 1937, and we could walk the original route to there. The proposed date for this is either Saturday 31st March or Saturday 14th April (still to be confirmed). We will be building several other events around this day.

If any members have ideas or reflections on this perhaps they would let Mary Roe have them.

Christchurch earthquake prayer by Sande Ramage

In solidarity with our branch New Zealand we would like to include here the prayer published in their March newsletter. Our hearts go out to those affected by the earthquake which has ravaged Christchurch.

God – the world is in an uproar
While ordinary people in the Middle East
call for justice and a fair way of life,
the ground rolls beneath Christchurch again.

It is incongruous that I sit here looking out at green trees
and a still horizon beckoning me to hope
while troops are opening fire on demonstrators in Libya
and the Cathedral tower shatters.

Life is not fair – life is not just.
Nor is it able to be taken in measured doses.
Chaos can mean that there is nowhere else to go
and nothing left to do
but to cry out to you
as though you are a silent ear;
hearing our cries
absorbing them unto yourself
and crying with us.

Even as bullets fly and buildings disintegrate,
may compassion rise in all of us
to be the God that walks and talks in the world today.

Note by Jason Cowley from the New Statesman of 28 March 2011

In October 1967, the American poet Robert Lowell, who was jailed for his pacifism during the Second World War, marched on the Pentagon in Washington as part of the anti-Vietnam war demonstration. Before a crowd of as many as 200,000 people and alongside Norman Mailer, he read the final stanza from one of his finest poems of public address, "Waking early Sunday morning":

Pity the planet, all joy gone
from this sweet volcanic cone;
peace to our children when they fall
in small war on the heels of small
war – until the end of time
to police the earth, a ghost
orbiting forever lost
in our monotonous sublime.

Lowell understood the burden, loneliness and corruption of America's chosen role as world policeman. He had a premonition of what the future held for a nation that was, because of its imperial ambition and sense of its own higher moral purpose, destined repeatedly to be ensnared in conflict in distant foreign lands.

*'Even as bullets
fly and
buildings
disintegrate,
may
compassion
rise in all of us
to be the God
that walks and
talks in the
world today.'*

Witnesses and celebrations

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT



On 30 March, I was privileged to attend Mikhail Gorbachev's 80th Birthday celebrations at the Albert Hall as a guest. I was there as vice-president of the International Peace Bureau (IPB) and took Sue Gilmurray (APF membership secretary) as my accompaniment. (See article on the International, page 6.)

'The world would be a better place, if more people in authority had the confidence to say: "I just don't know," and be respected for it.'

Peace comes dropping slow but war erupts

As I write, it has been about four months since the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi inspired protests in Tunisia, and then across the Middle East. This has not proved long enough for the Tunisians to find out when, or even if, they might get the chance to take part in a general election. But it has proved long enough for the world to become mired in further bloody, oily controversy in the region. Peace comes dropping slow but war erupts.

Was intervention in Libya right? Was it wrong? Was it briefly right, now wrong? There are plenty of people who will line up, with passionate certainty, behind one more moral stance or the other, citing Kosovo, citing Iraq, looking for templates, seeking out rules, taking positions, sounding fantastically sure. But there is no clarity, and there can't be. Nothing is certain, except uncertainty.

Certainty, anyway, can be an ugly terrible thing; the tool of the strongman, the dictator, the person who isn't listening to anybody else any more, if he ever did. The world would be a better place, if more people in authority had the confidence to say: "I just don't know," and be respected for it.

IPB statement on the situation in Libya

APF is a member organization of the International Peace Bureau (Geneva). At its board meeting in Barcelona in March, IPB published a statement on the Libyan conflict which is essentially a pacifist statement. The statement has been endorsed by APF and a note to this effect with the critical paragraph was published in the *Church Times* of 25 March entitled "Opinions on Libya range from anxious to angry".

Non-military methods have not been utterly exhausted...

The most urgent task and the most effective way to carry out the UN-mandated "Responsibility to protect" the civilian population, is to engage immediately both the Gaddafi regime and the rebels in serious negotiations.

The full statement is on the APF website:-

www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk or can be obtained by calling 01908 510642.

Holy Innocents' Day events in London last December

As is usual practice, APF organised the Holy Innocents' Day service at St Martin-in-the-Fields and the witness which follows outside Westminster Abbey, under the auspice of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations. The service entitled "And the children still are crying" was held to remember and pray for the child victims of war.

This year's service was special in two ways. It included hymns and readings by Andrew Pratt from his collection *Reclaiming praise: hymns from a spiritual journey* (Stainer and Bell, 2006) and we were privileged to have Andrew and his wife with us to participate on the day.

The service also involved three dramatised readings from *Nativity*, by Tony Harrison, based on medieval mystery plays from *Tony Harrison: Plays one*, Faber 1999. The three readings were "The nativity", "The magi" and "The innocents".

The Revd Richard Carter welcomed the congregation and gave the final blessing, and was accompanied by some members of the Melanesian Brotherhood.



Before taking his ministry at St Martin-in-the-Fields, Richard lived and worked with the Brotherhood as tutor, chaplain and mission co-ordinator between 1990 and 2005, based at Tabalia on the island of Guadalcanal, and became a brother himself.

In 2003, seven members of the Brotherhood, an order of Christian brothers living a simple and prayerful life and known for their peace work throughout the South Pacific and beyond, were kidnapped as a result of an ethnic conflict in the Solomon Islands. For four months Christians all over the world hoped and prayed desperately for their release, then came the news that they were already dead, brutally murdered soon after capture.

Richard kept a diary throughout that agonizing time and wrote an extraordinary and moving account of the aftermath of those deaths as individuals and as a community try to make sense of the violence and tragedy. His book, *In search of the lost* is published by Canterbury Press (2006). It recounts the challenge of living the Christian faith when confronted by fear and great loss and the way of redemption and healing. It is thus a story for everyone.

Visit to Geneva for the quilt exhibition at the World Council of Churches

In February I visited the World Council of Churches headquarters in Geneva for the opening of an international exhibition of textiles, arpilleras and quilts which will be shown at the International Ecumenical Peace Convocation of the WCC to be held in Kingston, Jamaica in May. The "Stitch in time" exhibition, which was curated by Roberta Bacic, draws together a selection of arpilleras and quilts from Latin America, Africa and Europe concerned with aspects of the peaceful society.

I attended the event to perform songs at the opening and one in particular, "The women sew" written by Sue Gilmurray (see



Roberta Bacic (left) introducing the exhibition

TAP 9.4 for the words).

The exhibition had been commissioned as part of the World Council of Churches' International Peace Convocation to mark the end of the Decade to Overcome Violence, which began in 2001.



At its centre is a work by quilt maker Deborah Stockdale (above), specially commissioned by the WCC. This quilt entitled "Journey toward peace" will remain on permanent display at WCC headquarters in Geneva. An article by Deborah about the design and making of the quilt is on page 12.

Was Iraq an unjust war?

I am a member of the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament (CCADD) and on the management committee. On 22 March we held a debate in association with Chatham House (London) on the justness of the 2003 Iraq war: The debate marked the launch of Morality and war – can war be just in the twenty-first century?" by Dr David Fisher a joint chair of CCADD and former senior official with the MoD (See Book Look on page 7.)

David was for the motion based on arguments from his book, and Professor Nigel Biggar from Oxford University argued that it was a just war: Beginning by drawing parallels with WWII, which most regard as a just war and going on to point out the inadequacies of international law, Nigel presented a challenging argument. However, voting before and after the debate showed that most people believed that the Iraq was unjust and



David Fisher saying: "Yes it was"

'[The defence cuts] would make Britain look like a continental power with expeditionary aspirations.'

the debate made only a marginal difference to that opinion. Copies of the presentation made are on the CCADD website (www.ccadd.org.uk) or can be obtained from me. It will also be published later in the year at *International Affairs* (London) 87:3.

Disarmament for Development

IPB's main project is Disarmament for Development.

Associated with this project, IPB has initiated an annual Global Day of Action on Military Spending. The first of these days will be on 12 April.

People in 35 countries have signed up to participate in this. Actions will include a protest in front of the White House, actions at the United Nations in New York and Geneva, a march in Kampala, a demonstration in Dhaka, a forum in Seoul, and much more.

The Global Day is co-organised by the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, DC and the International Peace Bureau in Geneva, Switzerland. It has been endorsed by more than 100 organisations, including Religions for Peace, Scientists for Global Responsibility and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The global action coincides with the annual release of the figures for global military expenditures by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

In 2009, the world spent more than \$1.5 trillion on the military. Even in the middle of a global economic crisis, military spending has increased, with the United States responsible for nearly half of all expenditures. At the same time, other crises have put great strain on the world's resources: climate change, earthquakes, global poverty, nuclear proliferation, and the threat of health pandemics. Ever greater funds are necessary to repair societies that have been damaged by war and conflict, including the latest war in Libya.

With five years to go, the international community will not be able to meet the deadline for the Millennium Development Goals without a substantial reordering of economic priorities. On April 12, people around the world will demand that their governments reduce military spending and devote those precious resources to pressing human needs. They will send a \$1.5 trillion is too much.

Visit www.demilitarize.org for more information about the Global Day, and endorsing organizations, and the specific actions.

Movement for the Abolition of War is organising a public meeting on that day entitled "Welfare or warfare" (See Diary of Events, page 8).

The UK Strategic Defence and Security Review

As a committee member of the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament, I have been responsible for organising its various seminars. A significant one in relation to the issue of disarmament for development was that given in January by Professor Michael Clarke, director of the Royal United Services Institute who gave a candid view of the Defence and Security Review.

If implemented the review would result in a financial cut of 7.5% over four years, mostly back-loaded to 2013-14. The cuts are lower than expected, but the situation is dire – the MoD would be at least £1 billion short every year for the next six. This would be a good thing in terms of a reduction in disarmament expenditure but things aren't that simple. The overall result of the Review would be an eccentric force structure, with ground forces composing 65% of all forces (the US figure was 55% and the German figure 65% but only when until conscription was ended). It would make Britain look like a continental power with expeditionary aspirations. And here is the rub: the aim is to achieve the desired force structure by 2020 which when the economic situation improves would be achieved by a 1% real increase from 2014. If this happens the cut in expenditure would be only temporary.

Please let me know if you would like a copy (01908 510642) or visit www.ccadd.org.uk.

And now the head of the RAF has issued a blunt warning that the service will need "genuine increases" if it is to carry out its role effectively in Libya.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION FROM THE U.S. SIDE

**Report by Dr. Linda L. Gaither, Chair,
National Executive Council of the Episcopal Peace
Fellowship (USA)**

What happens in the hearts and minds of soldiers in that split-second decision in combat to kill or not to kill, to throw the grenade or refrain, can never be forgotten or undone. In modern warfare against so-called insurgents who emerge from and disappear into crowds of civilians, the decision to kill, to pull the trigger, can lead not only to the mortal injury of the opponent, but also to a "moral injury" to the conscience of a soldier.

In testimony at the Veteran's Day 2010 Teach-In in Washington, D.C., organized by the Truth Commission on Conscience in War, I heard a young soldier describe "moral injury": it happens when the bullet kills an eight-year-old child at the side of an Iraqi road where a U.S. military convoy is passing at dusk. If the object half-glimpsed in the child's hand is a grenade, then the duty of the soldier is clear. The capacity instilled in basic training is to act before conscience can bely the finger on the trigger. For this particular soldier, his "moral injury" led to the long and difficult road to selective conscientious objector's status.

The Teach-In, part of a two-day event, co-sponsored by the Episcopal Peace Fellowship began with an "Interfaith Service to Honour Freedom of Conscience." During the service, the Report of the Truth Commission (see www.conscienceinwar.org) was presented to elected leaders, religious leaders and the international community. The Episcopal Church's Suffragan Bishop for Federal Ministries, the Rt Revd Jay Magness, attended part of the teach-in.

The Teach-In was designed to explore more deeply the points for further action spelled out in the Report. Of value, from my perspective: the explicit legislative changes to current practices for the CO application process, especially for those already in military service; an understanding of the important distinction

'The challenge is to initiate discussions on conscience in war.'

TRUTH COMMISSION ON CONSCIENCE IN WAR

to honor and protect freedom of conscience
for our nation's service members.

between "moral injury" and post-traumatic stress syndrome, as we respond to the needs of veterans; the steps to follow on the road to a new national policy on Selective CO Status. These steps envision talks within our communion leading to talks between communities and, finally, translation into law.

Why are these recommendations important?

The developments in modern warfare make moral conscience an issue in the way that past wars may not have demanded. To become a conscientious objector under the current U.S. rubrics, one must demonstrate opposition to all war and killing (the Peace Church exemptions); we need to expand on the military's current recognition that change of conscience is a possibility in war and that "moral injury" to fighters empirically validates a violation of basic humanity. This could, in the best of all possible worlds, be an entre to the discussion of making war illegal. Every person's conscience should count, not just members of traditional Peace Churches. The law needs to recognize other religious rationales for CO status.

Interest in selective conscientious objection is increasing and appropriate changes for the CO packet have been sent to the Episcopal Church's registrar for conscientious objectors. It is believed the changes are likely to be accepted. Details can be found at epfnational.org under the CO action group.

The challenge is to initiate discussions on conscience in war. EPF will be coordinating efforts with the Office of Federal Ministries on resolutions to the 2012 General Convention to promote understanding and support for selective conscientious objection.

Gorby 80



Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev: Soviet statesman, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1985-91), and President of the USSR (1990-91).

"As Gorbachev reaches the age of eighty and reflects on his life in politics, he can take pride in the fact that he left Russia a freer country than it had ever been and that, by playing the most decisive part in ending the Cold War, he provided the chance for international relations to be conducted on a more peaceful and equitable basis.

It is quite another matter what use has been made of those possibilities within his own country and by those in other countries who mistakenly believe that it was their military power, rather than Gorbachev's vision and higher realism, that ended the division of Europe and removed the threat of catastrophic nuclear war"

Archie Brown, Emeritus Professor of Politics at Oxford University

Mikhail Gorbachev's birthday celebration was a combination of gala concert with singers including Katherine Jenkins, Shirley Bassey and Andrey Makarevich and The Scorpions – some wonderful music; an evening with political celebrities including Shimon Perez, Lech Walesa and Arnold Schwarzenegger; and a ceremony for people receiving Gorbachev awards. These were in three fields related to Perestroika (contribution to the development of civilization), Uskorenie (contribution to the development of modern science and technology) and Glasnost (contribution to the development of the culture of an open world).

Much was also said during the evening about Gorbachev's career which was both inspiring and very moving at times. A highlight was a film of him recording a love song, "Letters" in memory of his wife Raisa who died of leukaemia in 1999. The evening was also a major charity event aiming to raise £5 million for cancer research and practical support for children suffering from the disease, and many rich people from around the world had paid large sums of money to be there.

In a wide-ranging interview with *The Independent on Sunday*, marking his birthday, Mikhail Gorbachev called for a fundamental change to world politics against the background of uprisings in North Africa, saying that the will of the people can no longer be ignored.

He called for Mr Cameron to withdraw British troops from Afghanistan. And, in comments that risk provoking outrage in the US, he portrays the war against Islam as a conflict partly of the US's own making. Earlier this month, Mr Gorbachev welcomed the uprising in Egypt: The people have made clear that they do not want to live under authoritarian rule. In *The Independent* interview, he appeals to a generation of young people to enter politics and the media, to regain control, and to restore democracy, describing himself as an idealist.



The hosts for Gorby 80

Book Look

► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

Dorian Lynskey (2011)

33 revolutions per minute: a history of protest per minute.

Faber and Faber

This is a thrilling and moving history of the music that inspired and soundtracked social change. Lynskey uses his clever title, "33 revolutions per minute" to give him a structure. He picks 33 songs – from

Billie Holiday's "Strange fruit" in 1939 to Green Day's "American idiot" in 2004 – to guide him through the social movements that have united people in song. When pop music meets politics, the results are often thrilling, sometimes life-changing and never simple. *33 revolutions per minute* tracks this turbulent relationship through pivotal songs that span seven decades and four continents. Dorian Lynskey explores the individuals, ideas and events behind each song, showing how protest music has soundtracked and informed social change since the 1930s, making its presence felt from the streets to the corridors of power. Through the work of such artists as Woody Guthrie, Bob Dylan, Stevie Wonder, Fela Kuti, The Clash, U2, R.E.M., Public Enemy and Rage Against the Machine, this expansive survey examines how music has engaged with racial unrest, nuclear paranoia, apartheid, war, poverty and oppression, offering hope, stirring anger, inciting action and producing songs which continue to resonate years down the line, sometimes at great cost to the musicians involved.

Mark Malloch Brown (2011)

The unfinished global revolution

Allen Lane

This book looks at globalisation through the awakening of citizens. Mark Malloch Brown describes a new global politics that is "migrating beyond the grey confines of national parliaments and cabinets to a global bazaar where rock stars may conduct deals on global debt with bankers and dictators and where emerging powers like China and India will seek to push aside former colonisers as they set up their stalls". He sees the past 30 years as a time of conflict between the rights of citizens and those of states. He discusses with passion each small, hard-won step to tilt the balance in favour of the individual.

But the real twist to his story came after the book was written. The people power that overwhelmed tyrants in Tunisia and Egypt is every bit as invigorating and intoxicating as many of the events he describes. The big change is that – unlike the campaigns against Pinochet which he supported – these are revolutions of a post-western world, where no one waves or burns American flags. These "dignity revolutions" are motivated by a



desire for national emancipation rather than attempts to join the west or to promote western ideas or global norms. They illustrate the paradox that, as the world becomes more "western", the influence of the west declines.

David Fisher (2011)

Morality and war: can war be just in the twenty-first century?

Oxford University Press

With the ending of the strategic certainties of the Cold War, the need for moral clarity over when, where and how to start, conduct and conclude war has never been greater. There has been a recent revival of interest in the Just War tradition. But can a medieval theory help us answer twenty-first century security concerns?

David Fisher explores how just war thinking can and should be developed to provide such guidance. His in-depth study examines philosophical challenges to just war thinking, including those posed by moral scepticism and relativism. It explores the nature and grounds of moral reasoning: the relation between public and private morality; and how Just War teaching needs to be refashioned to provide practical guidance not just to politicians and generals but to ordinary service people.

The complexity and difficulty of moral decision-making requires a new ethical approach – virtuous consequentialism – that recognises the importance of both the internal quality and external effects of agency; and of the moral principles and virtues needed to enact them. Having reinforced the key tenets of just war thinking, Dr Fisher uses these to address contemporary security issues, including the changing nature of war, military pre-emption and torture, the morality of the Iraq war, and humanitarian intervention. paxchristi.org.uk.

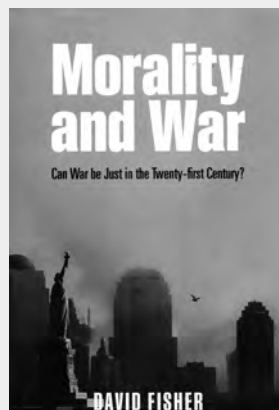
Chris Howson (2011)

A Just Church

Continuum Press

A Just Church is an immensely readable story of the life of a small church community seeking to live out what they believe. It begins by outlining the theology on which the church operates, highlighting the Activist Christ in the Gospels and touching on the core elements of liberation theology. Following this brief introduction the reader is taken on a journey through campaigns, events and activities and joys and frustrations of the people involved.

What is great about this book is that it enthuses rather than intimidates. I was expecting to feel a little inadequate reading about all the great things this small church has achieved in the last 5 years.



The community has done great things but often through small gestures – much like Jesus describing how the Kingdom of God is – the smallest mustard seed growing into something bigger.

Christ also provides at the end of each chapter some practical ideas for trying something similar yourself using an easy to remember model of EARS – education, action, reflection and sustaining. This book tells the story of Desmond Tutu House, and looks at how people of faith can respond to issues of war, climate change, sanctuary seeking, poverty and regeneration – all through the lens of Liberation theology and non-violent direct action. It is a practical book with many examples pulled from experiences in Bradford, where over 18 members of our church have been arrested over the last 5 years – mostly at Faslane Nuclear Base and the US spy base at Menwith Hill. A blog for those interested in the themes of the book is <http://ajustchurch.blogspot.com/>. £12.99 Waterstones.

Evgeny Morozov (2011)

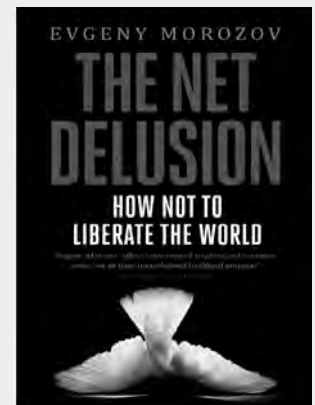
The net delusion: how not to liberate the world

Allen Lane

Rarely can a book's publication have been so well timed and so badly timed. When he began writing his forensic account of the internet and its role in democracy promotion, Evgeny Morozov might have assumed it would be required reading for geeks and diplomats. Now thanks to Julian Assange and the Wikileaks furore, it is required reading for all. The book is a rebuff to the "cyber utopians" who have argued with their characteristic

ardour that the world wide web would join up citizens around the world in a common fight against dictatorships. As Morozov puts it in his introduction, the internet promised to be "the ultimate cheat sheet that could help the West finally defeat its authoritarian adversaries". What the fax and photocopier did for the dissidents in 1989, the computer would do in China, Burma and beyond. As we all know this has not happened. Why?

Morozov guides the reader through the explanations. For starters he argues that policymakers in the West consistently overestimate popular desire for change. He suggests that the overthrow of communism in the 1980s had more to do with structural explanations, such as the inability of Soviet bloc economics to produce consumer durables, than people power. But where the book really comes into its own, however, is when describing the extent in which 21st century authoritarians have learnt to exploit the internet for their own ends.



Diary of Events

► LOCAL AND NATIONAL

12 April Global Day of Action on Military Spending organised by the International Peace Bureau to co-incide with the release of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's annual report, which will include new figures on military spending. Learn more on www.demilitarize.org.

Movement for the Abolition is holding a public meeting on the day: "Welfare or warfare?" 6.30 at Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1. Speakers include: John Hilary (War on Want), Kate Hudson (CND) and Stuart Parkinson (Scientists for Global Responsibility). Free and open to all. www.abolishwar.org.uk.

16 April Uniting for Peace AGM and Spring Conference, "United Nations for the 21st century". 10.30 to 5.00 pm, at Wesley's Chapel, 49 City Road, London. Call 0207 377 2111 or vijay@vmpeace.org for further information.

13/14 May MAW's Peace History Conference: peace history – pioneers and prophets to be held at the Imperial War

Museum (London). Visit www.abolishwar.org.uk or call 01908 511948 for booking form and further information.

"War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today."

John F. Kennedy

15 May International Conscientious Objector's Day with ceremony at 12 noon in Tavistock Square, London. Further information from www.wri-irg.org/co/15may.htm

4 July Menwith Hill. Annual "Independence from America Day". Organised by Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases (CAAB): 01423 884076, www.caab.org.uk.

21 September International Day of Peace. Further details from www.internationaldayofpeace.org.

24 October United Nations Day. www.un.org/events.

Appeal to APF members: who is on e-mail, and Facebook?

Twice recently, new APF members have asked whether there is a local group they can meet with, to share fellowship (it is in our title after all) and to discuss current issues and possible activity.

As one of the new members lives in London, I sent ten e-mail messages to ordained APF members in London and Southwark dioceses, asking if they knew of any local peace groups. Two e-mails failed to get through, and I have to date had no replies to the other eight. I am aware that the APF's Diocesan Secretaries, who used to maintain local lists, have gradually fallen into inactivity. Membership is thinly scattered over the country; some members are feeling their age, while others are busy with peace-related activities other than APF. But the lack of any awareness of fellow Christian pacifists (Anglican or otherwise) may be depriving us of potential inspiration and action.

I think it is time to see how many of our members use e-mail and would be willing to communicate with fellow-members by that means. Many who joined APF before they had an e-mail address may have one now. If so, please e-mail me – sue.gilmurray@anglia.ac.uk – and let me add it to your membership details. I promise not to pass on endless "spam" – only the occasional message that might be of real interest, or put you in touch with the Fellowship locally.

In addition, our member Angela Rayner is starting an APF Facebook group. Many people of all ages are now keeping in touch via this social network. If you are one of them please get in touch with Angela and join.

OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

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Membership Secretary: Mrs Sue Gilmurray

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01353 668495 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



Route Irish (2011)

Directed by Ken Loach

This film written by Paul Laverty, will, on consideration, go down as a minor Roach work – yet there are powerful moments and valuable insights.

It takes as its starting point the extraordinary legal immunity granted to private security personnel by the Allied military powers in Iraq after 2003: they were effectively given the right to shoot first and neglect to ask questions afterwards. Fergus and Frankie are two such, ex-army guys attracted to Iraq for a massive payday. When Frankie comes back in a coffin – having apparently died in crossfire on the dangerous Baghdad airport and the Green Zone called “Route Irish” – Fergus uncovers evidence that Frankie was silenced for kicking up a stink about murderous abuse.

The film examines the difficulties experienced by ex-servicemen who cannot get used to living as a civilian, and who often decide to go back to Iraq to work as commercial contractors. The film asks what are we doing being involved in a privatised war?

Loach said he wanted to address the elephant in our sitting room for some time but the actual event was so appalling that it takes a long time to see it in perspective.

Loach has boldly mixed non-professionals with professional actors, and there is unevenness in the dialogue and performances.

The veteran 2011

Written by Mathew Hope and still in production

Robert Henry Craft, a former paratrooper who suffered post-traumatic stress disorder after serving in Iraq and Afghanistan co-wrote this film exposing the mental wounds and acute desolation endured by many soldiers returning home to civilian life.

It is set to spark controversy by focusing on the large number of veterans returning to a life on the streets or crime and family break-up.

The lead character comes back from Afghanistan to an estate over-run by gun-toting, drug-dealing gangs. Struggling to adjust, and becoming involved in surveillance, he gets sucked into their world. Craft observed that too many

ex-servicemen traumatised by their experience of war “self-diagnose and self-help, and possibly don’t find the best company to do so in.

The film is backed by Combat Stress, the UK charity specialising in the care of veterans’ mental health. A spokesman, who saw a preview screening said: “If we can do anything to raise awareness and to show that psychological injuries are a serious condition as being shot or blown up, we are happy to support something like this film”.

Estimates suggest that veterans make up 10% of homeless people and 10% of those appearing in criminal courts – notably for assaults fueled by alcohol or for domestic violence.

A recent study by the King’s Centre for Military Health Research found that, within a cohort of Iraq veterans, 4.8% were already displaying PTSD and 20% were showing other mental health problems. Combat Stress has had 72% more new cases in the past five years. But on average veterans resist help until 14 years after their discharge.

Shell shock (2010)

Written and directed by Danis Tanovic

Shellshock, written and directed by director of the Oscar winning *No Man’s Land* Danis Tanovic, is based on the novel, *Triage*, by former foreign



correspondent Scott Anderson who filed copy from war torn Uganda, Beirut, Chechnya and Bosnia.

Best friends Mark and David are two expert war photographers sent to worn-torn Kurdistan. Highly ambitious Mark is intent on pursuing the fighting in search of the ultimate shock but David has had enough living amongst such brutality and leaves to go home to his pregnant wife.

When Mark returns home battered and bruised, he is surprised to learn David has not yet made it back. Exhausted and ill, he tries in vain to hide his physical and psychological wounds. His uncharacteristically strange behaviour prompts wife Elena to enlist the help of her grandfather, a straight talking Spanish psychiatrist who worked treating Fascists after they committed atrocities in that country’s Civil War.

Uncovering the painful truth, it soon becomes clear that Mark holds the key to the real research behind David’s disappearance.

Balibo (2009)

Directed by

Screen Australia Limited

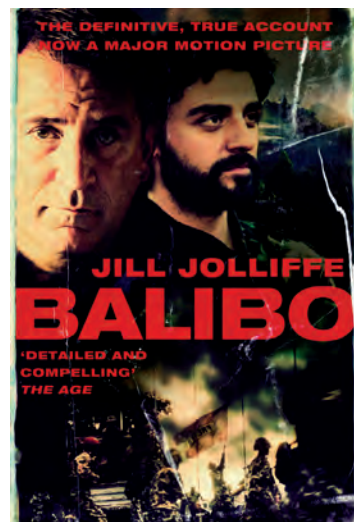
This is a powerful dramatization of the 1970s shooting of five frontline Aussie journalists in East Timor:

As Indonesia prepares to invade the tiny nation of East Timor, five Australian based journalists go missing. Four weeks later, veteran foreign correspondent Roger East is lured to East Timor by the young and charismatic José Ramos-Horta to tell the story of his country and investigate the fate of the missing men. As East’s determination to uncover the truth grows, the threat of invasion intensifies and an unlikely friendship develops between the last foreign correspondent in East Timor and the man who will become President.

East is cynical about his ability to make a difference to the troubled island nation. But the reporter in him is roused by the news that five Aussies have

gone missing while chasing the story of an imminent incursion by the Indonesian army in the border village of Balibo.

The fact that this wrong – the shooting of five Australian journalists by invading Indonesian forces – was perpetrated more than three decades ago in a tiny, under-the-radar nation called East Timor lessens the power of the film not a bit. The urgent drama of the storytelling should broaden its appeal beyond Australian shores, where it has posted solid boxoffice figures after winning a number of local festival awards.



behaviour to seek simple laws that describe a population's collective actions. In the past, Scheffer says, analysis focused on the trigger that sparks change, rather than the underlying system. "We cannot predict the spark", he says, "but we can say when a forest has accumulated dangerous levels of kindling." Repressing revolution is not the way to achieve stability, he adds. It would be like preventing small forest fires, allowing kindling to accumulate until a big fire breaks out. But uncovering the symptoms of instability may warn societies to reform themselves before revolution happens.

The importance of the social media

Our opening paper in the last TAP, "Looking back – looking forward" was the address given by Federico Mayor at the International Peace Bureau's (IPB) Nobel Centenary Conference in Oslo. It was an optimistic paper which opened

with the words "We are living in fascinating times when change for the better is really feasible". "Now, for the first time", Mayor said: "the possibility of the transition from a culture of violence to a culture of dialogue, conciliation and peace exists because global consciousness is progressively growing. At the same time more women are involved in

decision-making and people can now take part with communications technology with people that are far distant from them. These are the reasons why, I hope in the next few years the crucial transition from force to word, from the armed hand to an open one, will take place."

These words were prescient indeed. The defining image of the rebellions in North Africa and the Middle East is a young woman or a young man with a smart phone. She is in the Medina in Tunis with a phone held aloft, taking a picture of a demonstration outside the prime minister's house. He is an angry Egyptian doctor in an aid station stooping to capture the image of a man with head injury from missiles thrown by Mubarak's supporters. Or it is a Libyan in Benghazi running with his phone switched to a jerky video mode, surprised when the youth in front of him is shot through the head. All of them have found their way on to the internet through social media sites.

Many commentators have used such images to cast the events as "Twitter revolutions" or as being inspired by Facebook and the use of the internet in general. In turn, this has produced some equally contra-articles which are sceptical about the contribution of social media (not only sceptical but determined to deny the part it has played in the revolutions). These have argued that since there were revolutions before social media, and it is people who make revolutions, that the social media could not be particularly important?

Precisely how we communicate in these moments of historic transformation is important. The medium that carries the message also shapes and defines the message itself. The instantaneous nature of how social media communicate self-broadcast ideas, unlimited by publication deadlines and broadcast news slots, explains in part the speed at which these revolutions have unravelled, their almost viral spread across a region. It explains, too, the often loose and non-hierarchical organisation of the protest movements unconsciously modelled on the networks of the web.

But it is clear that social media has played a role. Reporters who have seen what has happened are convinced of this. The issue though is the significance of its effect. It does look as though the effect of social media was significant. The media were valuable in Tunisia especially the uploading of videos including the burning of Mohammed Bouzizi on Facebook but this should not be overstated. Tunisia not only exercised a tight monopoly on internet provision but blocked access to most

social networking sites – except Facebook which was difficult to close down and the authorities thought it might do more harm than good. The Wikileaks pages on Tunisian corruption gave information that was hardly news to Tunisians.

If Twitter had relatively little influence on events in Tunisia, the same could not be said of Egypt. A far more mature and extensive social media environment played a crucial role in organising the uprising against Mubarak, whose government responded by ordering mobile service providers to send text messages rallying his supporters – a trick that has been replicated in the past week by Muammar Gaddafi. In Egypt, details of demonstrations were circulated by both Facebook and Twitter and the activists 12-page guide to confronting the regime was distributed by email. Egypt was disconnected from the outside world for days and yet the movement never stopped.

But there has been another critical factor at work that has ensured that social media has maintained a high profile in these revolutions. That is the strong reliance that mainstream media such as the Doha-based television network Al Jazeera has had to place on material smuggled out via Facebook, YouTube and Twitter. Where social media made a major impact was conveying the news to the outside world.

But Evgeny Morozov has pointed out that social media is a double-edged sword (The net delusion: how not to liberate the world, 2011 – see Book Look on page 7). While pro-democracy protesters used sites like Facebook to organise, their governments used the same sites to suppress dissent. Many authoritarian regimes have already established a very active presence online. They are constantly designing new tools and learning new tactics that range from producing suave online propaganda to cultivating their own easily controllable alternatives to services like Facebook and Twitter. Those of us living in democracies should pay more attention to how dictators control the web is because it is the only way to identify and put pressure on western corporations that make such control possible by selling them the equipment.

Considering the role of women in rebellions

Pray the devil back to hell

DVD by Abigail Disney and Gini Reticker

When Liberia fell, first into the clutches of Charles Taylor, then into civil war fought between Taylor's cronies and opposition warlords, it was women and children that suffered most. Raped, mutilated, driven from their homes by militants on drugs and a lust for power, their plight seemed hopeless.

But then a group of women in Monrovia started to organise. Their message was simple: "We're tired of running, we're tired of war, we want peace." Dressed in white, they had regular protests in the fish market and united across the religious and ethnic divide, Christian and Muslim women working together. They persuaded, harried and embarrassed both sides until finally their demands for peace talks were impossible to refuse. When the peace talks stalled, the women blockaded the conference centre, holding delegates captive by cheeky and ingenious means.

Switching between interviews with the women involved and contemporary footage, "Pray the devil back to hell" is harrowing and uplifting by turns. It also provides a clue as to how Liberia has emerged from male-dominated hell to peace today and Africa's first woman head of state, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

www.dogwoof.co.uk



'Precisely how we communicate in these moments of historic transformation is important. The medium that carries the message also shapes and defines the message itself.'



Buzzing around the “Peace Jam”

The Peace Museum (Bradford)

The Revd Dr Clive Barrett is an APF counsellor and chair of the Peace Museum Bradford. Here is a short piece from a note he wrote to board members in March. He said:

I was in the Peace Gallery this morning and it was buzzing! This weekend is “Peace Jam”, with Nobel Peace Laureate Betty Williams at Bradford University. Young people from around the world attend.



Armenian students in the Peace Gallery

For a couple of hours this morning, Julie Obermeyer hosted a couple of dozen school students from Armenia. There were groups in each of the Gallery rooms, engaging with artefacts and asking questions about nuclear weapons, refugees, inter-war Quaker campaigning. They were particularly interested in the CND symbol. One young woman was amazed that you could stand on a soapbox in Britain and say you didn't like what the government was doing. “What did the government do about that? This is new in our country - we would want to let someone else take the lead first. And street demonstrations too...?” Clearly, peace education includes democracy training too for people from countries new to democracy.

Then, almost before the Armenians had left, some Leeds Metropolitan students arrived to visit

the Gallery and to meet Julie to get help with their dissertations. Even with inadequate premises and minimal staffing, it's still possible for the Museum to deliver some excellent peace education.

The 2010 Annual Report of The Peace Museum will be available shortly. If you would like to find out more about the museum's activities call 01274 434009 for a copy or visit www.peacemuseum.org.uk.

Visible voices: the art of women's protest

An exciting, unique and celebratory exhibition of over 30 iconic banners and other art created by women peace activists over the last 100 years was held in POP UP art space, Centenary Square, Bradford in January.

The exhibition was created by a new collaboration between

Fabric's POP UP art space and The Peace Museum (Bradford). It drew exclusively from the collection of The Peace Museum, which holds possibly the largest collection of peace banners in the UK. The exhibition also included film footage and oral history excerpts from Thalia

Campbell, who hand-sewed many of the iconic banners which sent a message of peace throughout the world during the 20-year Peace Camp at Greenham Common.

Each hand-sewn banner carries an emotionally charged history that charts the passion, dedication and power that women have brought to the Peace Movement from 1910 right through to last year's protests and the EDL march in Bradford.

The exhibition also included a series of exquisitely embroidered textile pieces which document life and struggles with police at Greenham Common Peace Camp.

Just War criteria and the war in Afghanistan

Report by the Church and Society Network of ACTS (Action of Churches Together in Scotland)

This report has been produced by the Ecumenical Working Group which includes The Very Revd David Mumford, an APF GB member.

It is a response to the Church and Society Network's request to consider the situation in Afghanistan with particular reference to the Just War tradition within the Church.

The group considered four broad areas of concern - Is the war legitimate? Is there a good prospect of success? Is the harm prevented outweighed by the harm caused? Are the rights of non-combatants being respected? There conclusions are as follows.

While the ISAF force operates under arguably legitimate authority, the report concludes that there is serious doubt as to whether Operation Enduring Freedom can be classified in 2010 as legitimate self-defence by the United Kingdom, or any other nation for that matter.

There is no real chance of success with the present strategy in Afghanistan and that, in some ways, UK security is more at risk as a result of continuing military involvement by British forces in Afghanistan.

It is difficult to compare the harm caused by a particular action with the harm prevented. War and civil strife are destructive of people and of social capital. The report discusses these issues in some detail and makes suggestions for reducing harm.

The treatment of non-combatants, civilians, and wounded and captured combatants gives grave cause for concern.

The concerns explored above lead unequivocally to the conclusion that the war in Afghanistan, given the course of events and the scale of suffering involved, can no longer (if it ever could) be justified by the Just War criteria and that continuing military engagement in Afghanistan is questionable even if the transfer of power to a democratically elected government (and the containment or defeat accordingly of the Taliban) is regarded as the benchmark that the war has been successful. There is still no UN mandate to support the legitimacy of the OEF offensive action against the Taliban, the ISAF force is having very limited success in stabilising Afghanistan and unacceptable levels of civilian casualties are continuing. Overall, as long as foreign troops remain, it seems that the situation is being inflamed.

In the light of the conclusions reached in this paper, there is no doubt that the Churches have a responsibility to make clear, to HM Government and in the public arena, that they are resolutely opposed to the continuation of the war and to press for the early withdrawal of British troops, especially those focussed on the OEF operations and that, alternative approaches of negotiation, peace-making and conflict resolution should be urgently pursued (as have proved worthwhile in Northern Ireland, South Africa and elsewhere). The present situation clearly challenges in particular those Churches who adopt a just war approach to conflicts. If the war in Afghanistan is no longer regarded as Just, as this paper contends (or if some of the British troops are under orders to participate in unjust operations), then those Churches should publicly distance themselves from the war. A copy of the full report is available from Tony Kempster On 01908 510642.

"Journey toward peace"

A note by Deborah Stockdale

"Journey toward peace" is the title of a textile commission which I recently undertook for the World Council of Churches. The commission was proposed to me in November by The Revd Jane Stranz of the WCC, when we met in the Tower Museum in Derry City.

We discussed several themes and in the incorporation of specific images and designs associated with the WCC. We decided the major theme should be 'movement to peace', with a progression of people by land and sea, and the use of the logo of the WCC which looks like a clasped or folded hand, in a heart shape. We also talked about where the work would be hanging eventually, which is the Chapel in the WCC. This has two long walls of modernistic stained glass. The predominant shapes in the glass are circles and crescents, which are defined by grey leaded strips. As the light changes in the room, different areas are illuminated, and although the colours are predominantly subtle, they can be quite bright. Jane Stranz wanted to incorporate 'peace cranes', alluding to the story of the Japanese girl Sadako Sasaki who died of leukaemia resulting from the Hiroshima bombing. Incorporating such a range of images, shapes and colours, as well as expressing a journey towards peace in one creative piece was a challenge. I started at the top, building up the 'sky' area, modelled on the stained glass window. Below I placed the 'heart-hand' ecumenical symbol, and also an area of water; which had a small boat, sailing towards the sun in the sky. Various clusters of shadowy, undefined people singly and in groups were placed moving also towards the sun. I placed three Japanese cranes winging their way across the sky.

Using the stained glass for my colour reference, as well as strong water colours, I built the entire piece with Indian silks, both plain colours and ikats. Ikats are made with a special weaving technique in which the threads are tied off before dying. Nearly the entire piece was hand sewn, using appliqué, and reverse appliqué.

The images of ecumenicalism, the people and the ship journeying towards unity and completion, (as represented by the sun) and the peace cranes all make a strong iconic statement.

The rich lustre and beauty of the silk fabric echo the changing light in the Chapel. The piece will hang in Geneva, until it goes to Jamaica, and then it will return to Geneva. It was a pleasure to undertake this commission, and to participate in this exciting international exhibition, which focuses so wonderfully on the way that textiles can be used for positive social change and inspiration in our daily lives.



The Anglican PEACEMAKER

April 2011



The Crusader 2010 (on front page)

This sculpture by Gerry Judah will be seen as you enter the main exhibition area of the Imperial War Museum (North) in Manchester. It is high-hanging dramatically from the wall, bulky, cross-shaped, slightly askew, radiantly white against the black-painted stainless-steel panelling.

Judah's sculptures explore the devastations of war and the effects that recent conflicts in Eastern Europe and the Middle East have had on the environment. This is described as a generalised symbol of the human suffering caused by the enduring madness of war. You can read it in so many different ways. There is the blatant Christian symbol of the cross but once up close, staring up at it, you recognise that this is in fact a representation of a fragment of blasted urban landscape.

Let England shake

Music CD by P J Harvey
Island 2763025

This is a superb anti-war album but what makes it remarkable is its poetry. It rages against the desecration of all that relates to the earth. "The glorious land" and "The last living rose" are love songs to an abused land – and this is an anger that burns throughout. The "Words that maketh murder" with its



sardonic coda ("What if I take my problems to the United Nations?") is a war poem, pure and simple, of the same order as any verse that came from the Great War. (Polly Jean, originally a fine-art student has volunteered to be a war artist.) Recorded in an English country church, this is an insular album that sees cause and effect everywhere.

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
be sent to the commissioning editor
(details on page 8 by 31 July 2011).

The Anglican Peacemaker is published by the
Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Registered Charity no. 209610,
and printed by Holywell Press Ltd., 15-17 Kings Meadow,
Ferry Hinksey Road, Oxford, OX2 0DP