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## Anglican PEACEMAKER

#### The newsletter of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

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From 9/11

This is our pre-Lambeth issue and it is appropriate to reflect on the changing face of pacifism and the role of our fellowship within the Anglican Communion over the past 10 years.

The world has changed dramatically since Lambeth 1998 influenced particularly by the US response to 9/11. There are few political relationships between states that have not been contaminated by the fallout, and the UN may now be in serious decline. Action to deal with threats to human security has also become crucially important. Global warming and competition for declining natural resources cast a dark shadow over the future: and it is becoming evident that many leaders believe that military force is the best way to control any resulting insecurity.

So where is the Church in all this? Does it continue to hold that its primary role is to broaden the ethical debate about modern warfare or does it now stand by its Lambeth statements against all war?

The opening article examines the cost of militarism and the need to reallocate money to address world poverty, climate change and other threats to human security.

Tony Kempster

**Our programme of activities around the Lambeth Conference** is set out on page 3. We are still hoping for more our members to be involved so do please contact the secretary if you are likely to be coming to any part of the programme. A registration form for our annual conference at The Friars, Aylesford is an insert to this issue of TAP.

Three papers have been produced for circulation to bishops attending Lambeth. One is a chronology with comments on Lambeth statements since 1930. The second is an examination of the ethics of Just War and pacifism in the 21st century. The third, from our New Zealand branch, entitled "Peacemaking – heart of the gospel" looks at the close connection between the central beliefs of our faith and our vocation as peacemakers.

We are also producing a booklet entitled "Songs for the road to peace" which comprises 12 songs/hymns by Sue Gilmurray and Chris Idle, including the full scores. We shall use this at the various events during our Lambeth programme.

These publications are available on request from the secretary. They will also be on our newly upgraded website: www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk.

## DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

Based on a paper given by Tony Kempster at the conference, "Global financial meltdown, socio-economic injustice and war: cause and remedy" organized by Global Vision 2000 (an independent Islamic think tank), and held in London in April 2008

With the devil's pitchfork in our hands We turn the fields of foreign lands We mine the gulf we dig it deeper We free the serpent from its keeper. Yet these are the hands that fix the bones The ones that build with sticks and stones And these are the hands that plant the tree The ones that pull the newborn baby free.

Is this the best that we can do?

Oh I can think of better things, can't you?

Oh I can think of better things, that hands can make and hearts can sing.

These words words are from a song by Karine Polwart which speaks of the building of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, misusing the skills and resources we could use for "Better things". The song is on a new CD, "Call back the fire", produced by the Movement for the Abolition of War (see page 12).

The Christian pacifist belief that war should be rejected as a means of resolving international conflict is grounded in the words and example of Jesus; in particular his call to love our enemies, which is taken to apply to all humanity.

This is fine. But in an increasingly globalised and interconnected world, there are many other ways in which our actions may harm and kill people in foreign countries. For example, our excessive use of energy in travel or in the production of foods of animal origin is a major contributor to global warming and famine with their disastrous effects on poor marginalised people. And more controversially from a pacifist perspective, our failure to intervene militarily to prevent genocide or ensure that relief resources are used where most needed are also causes of suffering.

One might argue that there is nothing new in this: Western countries have a history of exploiting their colonies. But globalisation has dramatically increased the scale of this. Queues for petrol in British forecourts appear to bear scant relation to killing, rape and mass refugee movements in eastern Congo.

This paper discusses the "Sustainable disarmament for sustainable development" project being carried out by the International Peace Bureau (Geneva) (IPB). IPB is a global network of expertise and campaigning experience with 300 member organisations in 60 countries. APF is a member organisation and Tony, an IPB vice-president.

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O N E \_\_

Likewise, the unfolding humanitarian disaster in ungoverned Somalia seems unconnected to western tax payers' worries about falling mortgage lending and rising prices. But as Ban Kimoon, the UN secretary general, pointed out at the end of April, it is those least able to cope who will be hardest hit by any global crises. The world faces "the spectre of widespread hunger, malnutrition and social unrest on an unprecedented scale", he said, "in short, the poor will inherit the dearth". Pacifists do tend to lead relatively simple lives and use fewer

Pacifists do tend to lead relatively simple lives and use fewer resources than the norm, but we do still contribute to the problems described above. Therefore, it is important for us to hold our witness against war in a wide context, as many in the past have done. In his new and controversial book, *Human smoke*, Nicholson Baker points out that Clarence Pickett and other American and British pacifists of the 1920s and 30s (to whom he dedicates the book) were much more than just pacifists. They saw the link between war and the humanitarian disasters and "tried to save Jewish refugees, feed Europe, reconcile the United States and Japan, and stop World War II from happening". He ends the Afterword of his book with the words, "They failed, but they were right". (*Human smoke* is reviewed in Book Look on page 7.)

The pacifists failed, but they were right.

#### The D for D project

The "Sustainable disarmament for sustainable development" project organised by the International Peace Bureau makes such a connection between demilitarization and human security. It is a useful model for placing the pacifist position in the wider context. Some might even see it as a battle between Devil and God, since it replaces an evil act with a virtuous act (although such an absolute distinction is by no means clear cut or in agreement with our experience that everything in life is more or less shaded). But the notion has some merit.

**D for D** is a 5-year project, launched in 2005, to encourage governments and other agencies to review their funding priorities and shift resources from the military to development. The definition of development here is a broad one, encompassing responses to all the factors that threaten human security including global warming and nuclear weapons proliferation.

A secondary aim is to address the various ways in which militarism impedes sustainable development. These various concepts are discussed in detail in *Warfare or welfare?* Disarmament for development in the 21st century: a human security approach published by IPB in 2006.

#### Military spending and the project rationale

The project was set up because of the increasing level of global military spending at a time when the goals set by the world's governments to protect the environment, to fight poverty and



to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons are not being met. Military spending has seen a real increase of 3.5% per annum over the past 10 years and now stands at a total of \$1,200 billion (2.5% of world GDP).

Another reason for the project is the failure of military responses to security threats post 9/11 (the control paradigm as opposed to a sustainable security paradigm which responds to the reasons for conflict and terrorism). There was also a need for a coordinated international civil society campaign to

persuade governments to change their priorities.

Specific *D for D* activities being developed by IPB include a major public exhibition (to be shown in several prestigious venues in Europe and beyond) and the publication of educational material for use by young people, religious communities and sustainable development NGOs. The latter is a major activity based on five years involvement with the Global Campaign for Peace Education (Hague Appeal for Peace) which IPB helped to establish. It will involve different types of material including elearning modules and audio-visual resources, and be presented in different languages. The educational aspects recognise the

importance of teaching young people about the realities of militarism and how it 'steals' resources which could otherwise make a massive contribution to human security. These are the generation, from whatever country, which will be forced to make the compromises necessary for survival in the 21st century. For them to understand the common threats and potential solutions is of crucial importance.

## The three trillion dollar war

But the \$1,200 billion spend on the military covers only the direct cost and does not reflect the reality. Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bimes have addressed this issue in their recent book, The three trillion dollar war: the true cost



of the Iraq conflict (reviewed in Book Look on page 7). They say that their figure of \$3 trillion is conservative. They also estimate that the rest of the world, including Britain, will probably account for a similar amount through things such increased oil prices and reduced economic growth (both of which will impact most on the world's poor).

And this is not the end. Stiglitz has argued recently that the neoconservative ideology has made economic mistakes because it is an "ideology of convenience". President Bush put through tax cuts while going to war which Stiglitz considers to be underhand. Raising taxes, and resorting to the rhetoric of shared sacrifice used in the world wars, for example, would have made Americans more aware of exactly what the war was costing them, and would have provoked opposition sooner. Bush's solution was to borrow the money, at interest of a couple of hundred billion dollars a year, which by 2017 will add up to another trillion dollars or so. This government will be gone in a few months, subsequent administrations and generations will have to pay it off.

At the same time, Stiglitz argues that the Federal Reserve colluded in this obfuscation, because "it kept interest rates lower than they would otherwise have been, and looked the other way as lending standards were lowered, thereby encouraging households to borrow more — and spend more". Individuals were doing well and less concerned about what was going on overseas — a scenario echoed on this side of the Atlantic.

#### And the other side of the equation

By way of context for the above, the US is currently spending \$5 billion a year in Africa, and worried about being overshadowed there by China. 'Five billion dollars is roughly 10 days fighting in Iraq, which exemplifies the low commitment being made to development and human security.

The key international commitments for the 21st century are as follows. There were three at the 1992 Earth Summit: to fight climate change, to fight the loss of biodiversity and to combat desertification; two nuclear agreements a year later to extend the ban on proliferation, and to ban nuclear tests; and then came the Millennium Development Goals in 2000 to slash extreme poverty.

The latter consist of eight goals, which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015. They are a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions.

The 2005 G8 Summit committed to raise an extra \$50 billion for development assistance by 2010, (doubling current levels) with half the increase earmarked for Africa. This is way off track and Africa is currently farthest from attaining any of the MDGs. In fact only five countries have met the MDG targets under these agreements, yet it is estimated that only 10% of the global military budget would meet them all.

The reality is that Governments shirk these promises because it is convenient for them to do so; and many political leaders do not care to remind us what has been promised on <u>our behalf</u>.

## Speak the truth in love

#### ► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, MARY ROE

Dear friends,

sometimes recall an occasion when I was told that I was not a true pacifist because I was too aggressive and argumentative. I hope I am open to constructive criticism, but I didn't accept that judgment on that particular occasion, and, to my shame, still feel somewhat resentful when I remember it. That's because the person who said it was himself a very aggressive person and was trying to browbeat me into agreeing to a course of action with which I couldn't agree. I felt that he was resorting to a pretty low form of blackmail by dragging my pacifist stance into an unrelated disagreement in order to block any argument. Perhaps I misjudged him; perhaps he was one of those people who really do believe that being a pacifist means that one meekly accepts everyone else's ideas without demur, in order not to rock the boat or sour a deceptive atmosphere of all being sweetness and light. Anyway, no-one who knows me could ever imagine that a pacifist never argues! (See my school reports from 1st Infants upwards!) But, having said that, I feel very strongly that we pacifists have a responsibility always to follow St. Paul's advice and genuinely "speak the truth in love." There's an old proverb, "It's not what you say, it's the way that you say it." and I hope that in the build-up to the Lambeth Conference and in our dealings with visitors to our stall in the Market Place or our fringe meetings, we won't give into the temptation to accuse people who see things differently from the way we do of having base motives which they probably don't, and still less of being unworthy Christians.

Our critics are quite right to perceive any form of aggression, including verbal, as inconsistent with a pacifist view of the world. This can be hard to accept. I find a parallel in Jesus's telling indictment of any man who looks too appreciatively at a woman to whom he isn't married: "he has already committed adultery with her in his heart." (Matt.5:28) Is it humanly possible to avoid all such thoughts? I remember David Kossoff's prayer of thanksgiving while travelling by air for the shapely legs of a stewardess. Who is right? I have to conclude that there are again two ways of responding to what is attractive to us on a human level: I believe we can humbly and unselfishly express gratitude for beauty created by God, including human beings, but we can also allow admiration to lead to lust and a desire to possess another person, treating him or her as property, and that is what constitutes the sin of adultery - in thought or action. On the same lines, and even closer to home and more

uncomfortable for (most of) us, is Matt. 5:21-2: "You have heard it said.....'Thou shalt not kill; and whoever kills shall be liable to judgment'. But ...everyone who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment....and anyone who says, 'You fool' shall be liable to hell." Oh dear! That's a tough one! But Jesus himself was very angry at times - angry at suffering imposed upon vulnerable people; angry at corruption and desecration of God's Temple; angry at the hypocrisy of some of the Pharisees. So, again, there must be two sorts of anger. If we are angry on behalf of another, against violation of God's loving purpose for all his children, then I am sure we don't need to fear judgment. However, if we are angry because we don't get our own way, if someone thwarts our personal ambitions or merely irritates us, then we are, in a sense, trying to clear that opposition out of our way - indeed, to kill them, in our hearts.

Thinking along these lines, I realise that I have both widened the scope of our pacifist influence into every aspect of human life, at home, in the workplace, in our churches and civic commitments, and also narrowed it down to the need to fine tune our reactions to the things that anger us. We need to check where we are coming from - from a glorious position on the moral high ground, or as a humble, faithful servant to our brothers and sisters in Christ. Our prayer this time might be for the gift not only of courage to speak out, but also of discernment.

With the Lambeth Conference in mind, Let us go forth in peace: in the name of Christ, May God bless us and our work for peace throughout the world.

It's not what you say, its the way that you say it.

#### APF EVENTS AT AND AROUND THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE

Below is the plan for the APF programme around Lambeth. We hope members and representatives of other interested organisations will join us for some of the various stages.

#### London service at the start of the pilgrimage Tuesday 22 July

Pilgrimage starting service in the Dick Sheppard Chapel of St Martinin-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. This will begin at 11.00 and be the meeting place for those going on the pilgrimage, but all will be welcome to attend.

#### Walking the Pilgrims' Way

First day of the pilgrimage Tuesday 22 Wednesday 23 Second day of the pilgrimage Third day of the pilgrimage arriving at Thursday 24 Aylesford mid afternoon

Then pilgrimage will only involve walking certain stretches of the route over the three days. We shall have transport with us for baggage and to ferry people for other parts of the journey. Accommodation will be arranged for the Tuesday and Wednesday nights with churches along the way.

#### APF annual conference at The Friars, Aylesford Thursday 24

Arrival mid afternoon.

#### Friday 25

First full day of the conference at Aylesford.

Speakers include: Lawrence Hart, the author of Hell's abyss, heavens grace: war and Christian spirituality, and Margaret Beddgood, chairperson of APF's New Zealand branch.

#### Saturday 26

Conference delegates will travel by coach to Canterbury to meet others there, returning in the evening. (See below for our plan for the day.)

#### Sunday 27

Final day of the conference including Eucharist. Close after lunch.

#### **Events in Canterbury** Saturday 26

We shall walk from the Old Leper Hospital of St Nicholas at Harbledown on the outskirts of Canterbury, to the Cathedral. There we shall have a service in the Eastern Crypt at 12 noon. We will also have a short witness at The Martyrdom and visit the grave of Dick Sheppard in the cloisters. Afterwards we shall go to the Greyfriars House for lunch in its Franciscan Gardens.

Those of us at the annual conference will return to Aylesford for dinner.

#### Monday 28

APF fringe meeting during the Lambeth Conference entitled 'The Church's response in areas of military conflict'. This will focus particularly on the Middle East. A panel will include Norman Kember and others. 2.30 to 4.30 at the University of Canterbury. It will be followed in the evening at 8.15 with a musical/poetry event entitled "Caught in the crossfire", organised by Sue Gilmurray. This will finish at 10.00.



#### Lambeth Prayer

Pour down upon us, O God, the gifts of your Holy Spirit, that those who prepare for the Lambeth Conference may be filled with wisdom and understanding.

May they know at work within them that creative energy and vision which belong to our humanity, made in your image and redeemed by your love, through Jesus Christ our Lord.



#### w/c Monday 28

During the week, APF will have a stall in the Lambeth Conference "market place" at the University of Canterbury. The title of the stall is "Peace is the Church's business". This will be open from 10.00 to 18.00 and is an opportunity for the fellowship to show its wares and talk with delegates from the conference.

There must be two sorts of anger.

## Recommendations, not celebrations

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY

TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

With all the talk about anniversaries this year, we have not yet mentioned a contentious one, the 60th anniversary of Israel. "How can you celebrate this when the Palestinian people are suffering from your settlements and the conduct of your occupying army" Salam Fayyad, the Palestinian prime minister said recently. These angry words are not from a member of Hamas but from a pet of Washington and the linchpin of Israel's negotiations with the Palestinian Authority. A sign of frustration indeed.

And things are not improving. The peace initiative launched by George Bush at Annapolis is all but dead which is bad news if it means an end to the whole peace process started back in 1991. The only alternative at the moment seems to be a one-state solution characterised, in the words of Nathan Brown of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, not by coexistence but by naked domination and brutal resistance; another war, which is where the logic of rejecting ceasefire offers from Hamas is taking Israel; or simply a continuation of the status quo, which allows one state to expand at the expense of another which has yet to be formed. Let us pray for the peace process.

The BAE corruption issue

I have discussed this before, but the story continues.

The argument that it is acceptable to profit from warfare will persuade few people while allegations that BAE Systems has used bribes to entice brutal regimes to purchase their wares are not being effectively challenged.

In an attempt to answer its critics, the company made great show of appointing a former lord chief justice to manufacture a moral compass to guide it into the future. He did this as a hired consultant not as an independent judge. After nine months of work, Lord Woolf produced a report this month. In euphemistic words, the report acknowledged that BAE had

not always paid
"sufficient attention
to ethical standards".
It made
recommendations
which could
profoundly affect
how BAE works.
Welcome though
such improvement
would be, promises
to do better in future



are no substitute for justice in respect of past alleged crimes. The BAE AGM which came just after the report had been published, was even more surreal than usual. Taking advantage of the report, chairman Dick Olver restated the company's unimpeachable record and promised it would soon reach the ethical gold standard that Lord Woolf had outlined, setting the benchmark not just in the arms industry but for industry globally. Barely drawing breath, Olver called for all the Serious Fraud Office investigations into BAE to be reviewed and ended. But if crimes could be pardoned by a promise not to reoffend, the law would lose all its bite. Above all, applying justice without fear or favour means reinstating the fraud inquiry into BAE's Saudi dealings, which the high court last month ruled had been illegally halted.

#### Links with CCADD

I have been a committee member of the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament for some time and have recently taken responsibility for organising its lunchtime discussion meetings. I have taken the opportunity to introduce a stronger peace/pacifist element. In November, APF member Nick Megoran, Lecturer in Human Geography at Newcastle

University gave a talk entitled "Prisoners of War" (see TAP 8.1). Earlier this year, Bruce Kent discussed the significance of Franz Jägerstätter who refused to fight for Hitler in an unjust war and Major-General Sir Sebastian Roberts gave a response. The text of Bruce's talk entitled "Franz Jägerstätter – another side of courage" is on the CCADD website the CCADD website http://lineone.net/~ccadd or from me. The latest speaker was David Gee, the author of *Informed choice*, who also spoke at the PEN conference (below).

## Peace Education Network (PEN) conference and talk by David Gee

APF is a member of PEN and collaborated in its annual conference held in London on 1st March. Aimed at teachers

educationalists, it was entitled "Tools for peace education: sharing successful strategies". Some thirty delegates attended and



A discussion group at the conference

took part in workshops including "Anti-racism through history", "Exploring nuclear issues in the classroom" and "Teaching the ethics of war". A review at the end of the day and evaluation forms showed that the topics were very well received indeed and many felt that the knowledge gained would be used directly in their teaching.

The main speaker was David Gee, a Quaker peace activist and researcher who recently published a report, *Informed choice?* Armed forces and recruitment practice in the UK (www.informed choice.org.uk). This gained wide media coverage and responses from service people responsible for recruitment.

According to the report, potential new recruits in the army are subjected to a misleading picture of life in the military as advertisements and recruitment literature glamorize warfare, omit vital information and fail to point out the risks and responsibilities associated with a



forces career. The report recommends sweeping changes to armed forces recruitment policies including: a new Charter setting out the state's responsibilities; a radical review of recruitment literature; phasing out recruitment of minors; and new rights for recruits to leave the service.

The report is a model of balanced objectivity, and some of his conclusions had been endorsed by those closely involved in forces recruitment from the services and the MoD.

These recommendations are timely when one considers the ethical dilemmas that many soldiers face today and the nature of the wars that they are involved in. They are especially important when, for example, one reads in the press that nearly 1000 new army recruits may face having their combat training reduced by half so they can be rushed to the battlefields of Afghanistan. This is a measure that has been proposed by senior

The BAF

AGM was

more surreal

than usual.

The questions after his lecture ranged widely and there concern was expressed about the way military personnel give talks in schools to create interest as an initial step towards recruitment. Some thought that there should be a national educational policy to ensure that such talks present an honest view of military careers and prospects; others argued that the talks should be 'balanced' by speakers from the peace movement.

#### Second Preparatory Committee for the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

I was in Geneva in April for a board meeting of the International Peace Bureau and attended some of the early sessions of the above at the UN building. This was an important meeting because this is part of a series of meetings which sets the agenda for the 2010 Review Conference; especially important because the 2007 (first meeting) made a slow start, raising concerns about the future of the NPT.

The treaty is a cornerstone of the international security architecture and it is important to ensure that it continues effectively and the parties comply. The treaty establishes three inseparable and mutually reinforcing components: the prohibition against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the obligation to pursue negotiations in good faith on nuclear disarmament, and the framework for cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It is hoped that the 2010 Review Conference will make advances in each of the three

IPB (together with the World Council of Churches) held a meeting on the first day of the conference entitled "Nuclear weapons: at what price? An economic, moral and political assessment". Speakers were Stephen Schwartz, co-author of Atomic Audit, a comprehensive report on the costs of nuclear weapons and Marie Dennis, co-president of Pax Christi International. The focus of this meeting related to IPB's D for D project.



Colin Archer, general secretary of IPB, Marie Dennis (speaking) Ingeborg Brienes, chair for the session and Stephen Schwartz.

IPB was also a co-organiser of a day-conference on the World Court Project proposal to return the issue of non-compliance with nuclear-treaty obligations to the International Court of lustice.

The conference, on the theme of Good Faith negotiations, was a great success. Judge Bedjaoui, former president of the World Court and former Algerian Foreign Minister, gave a masterly analysis of the Court's 1996 findings and on the meaning of good faith. Ambassador Jaap Ramaker, chair of negotiations on the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) in 1996, described the conditions for successful negotiations. Other jurists complemented these presentations admirably. The conference ended with an excellent series of NGO contributions on different ways to organise for a positive outcome. The whole event gave inspiration and hope to those present that a new way can be found to advance the goal of the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

officers to meet a serious shortage in manpower.

"Good faith is a fundamental principle of international law, without which all international law would collapse" - Judge Mohammed Bedjaoui.

While in Geneva, I also visited the "In-Security" photographical exhibition about nuclear weapons and the civil use of nuclear power, supported by IPB. It was a moving experience. For information vist www.ashley@realexpo.org.

#### The art of survival

It was a delight for me to be in Derry in April and sing at events associated with a wonderful exhibition of international and Irish quilts, many associated with peace and justice issues (see page 12.)

#### Global Vision 2000 conference

In April, I spoke at the conference 'Global financial meltdown, socio-economic injustice and war: cause and remedy' organized by Global Vision 2000, a London-based Islamic think tank. My talk on disarmament for development is the basis of the opening article of this issue of TAP and I also covered recent developments in the international arms trade

The main focus of the conference was on economic change brought about by the credit bubble combined with the housing bubble and the declining dollar. Independent political and economic thinkers, writers and campaigners discussed these issues (injustice and war) at a time of crisis and turbulence in the global financial markets and impending recession and ongoing wars raging around the world. Several speakers spoke about the religious injunction to lend without taking interest.

#### **Peace History Conference**

I opened and chaired sessions at the Movement for the Abolition of War's second Peace History conference at the Imperial War Museum in April. The event considered peace history in terms of people, politics and culture and was attended

by some 130 people. Peter van den Dungen of the University of Bradford spoke of Erasmus and his Complaint of Peace, regrettably less wellknown than his Praise of Folly. Professor Peter Hennessy traced the paper trail through official records and political memoirs of the decisions to acquire and retain British nuclear weapons. Participants also heard about the women's peace congress held in neutral Holland in 1915: and in a talk by Terry Charman, and Imperial War Museum



Kazuyo Yamane speaking about Japanese peace pioneers

historian, of the tragic-comedy of the 1932 League of Nations Disarmament Conference. Anti-war and peace art, and peace propaganda on film, were extensively illustrated by other

Leon Rosselson performing

speakers, and the lives of outstanding workers for peace and justice from Japan and France.

Besides the talks, the museums cinema was host to Bradford Peace Museum's exhibition on Nobel Laureates and a display about Erasmus. A musical event was held on the evening of the first day with songs from his new album, "A proper state", by the London singer-songwriter, Leon Rosselson. The Raised

Voices choir also performed with Sue Gilmurray who also sang several times during the conference.

The NPT is a

cornerstone

international

architecture.

of the

security

Good faith is a fundamental principle of international law.

## A listening ear in Zambia

#### **▶** BY VICE-CHAIR, SUE CLAYDON

I am learning a great deal during my work in Zambia. Most of it comes from my day-to-day experiences, but some is from my constant companion - BBC Network Africa. These reports from around the continent have reminded me of the wars and violence we only hear of occasionally outside Africa. I would like to share with you some of the news items from today (by the time you read this there may well have been changes but sadly, most will remain the same). From Human Rights Watch a call for international action in the East of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. When the BBC warns you of graphic detail you know something awful is coming. The raping of women and abduction of child soldiers continues unabated even with a peace treaty signed on 23 January. It ended with saying that this was the worst place in the whole world to be a woman or child. Then there is the report of the fact that it is now estimated over 300,000 may have died in Darfur as a result of the ongoing conflict there. This is 50% higher than previously thought. The ship with arms for Zimbabwe may be headed for Namibia. It was the Unions in South Africa that refused to unload this cargo. Just a moment ago, President Mwanawasa of Zambia, who is



chair of the South African Development Community, has called for no country in Africa to unload these arms (a positive first). In Cameroon, there is political unrest as well as in many other African countries demonstrations about the escalating cost of basic foodstuffs. The LRA in Uganda is still not signing any peace agreement. Finally, the Church Leaders in Zimbabwe have issued a warning that their country may be on the verge of ethnic genocide. I am sure that such a statement is not made lightly.

Each week at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross (my parish church here in Lusaka), prayers of thanks are offered for the peace that has prevailed here, while countries around have experienced wars — with

Zambia taking in huge numbers of refugees over many decades. There are also prayers of peace for all.

Earlier this evening, I attended the "Malaria Prayer Vigil" (World Malaria Day is 25 April). The banner above the altar stated that this is a "disease without borders". Malaria is still the major disease killer in this part of Africa. As I sat there, I wondered with all the money, effort, brains, and other resources going in to these wars/conflicts, what would happen if even 10% went into the mosquito nets etc. to combat malaria?

Yes, I am learning a lot. But I cannot end without a mention of



the HIV/AIDS pandemic. I did not appreciate the wide ranging effects of this disease, regardless of how much I read. Most of the population in Zambia is now under 19 years. This is true in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. What services are these children receiving? What employment will there be for them? If these issues are not addressed yet more tensions will develop in

a continent under stress. Not to end too pessimistically, I need to add that Africans themselves are doing so many admirable things for themselves, but we rarely hear of them. That goes for peacemaking, too.

God bless Africa, guard her children, guide her leaders: and give her peace. For Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

## It is time to abolish nuclear weapons; it is time to abolish war

Abridged version of the address given by Cora Weiss,

at a conference on 4 May at Makuhari near Tokyo, a day after the 6 l st anniversary of the enforcement of Japan's Constitution. While the constitution stipulates that Japan renounces war as a sovereign right and that it will not maintain land, sea and air forces, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party has been keen to make amendments.



We are here to say we want to preserve the original intention of Japan's Article 9. We are here to support the UN Charter, to "prevent succeeding generations from the scourge of war". We are gathered here to say that as long as the United States, Japan or any other country must not stretch the intention of the UN Charter or of Article 9 to meet their nationalsecurity fantasies

We are here as part of a campaign to abolish war as an institution. "Humanity abolished apartheid, why not war?" asked Bishop Desmond Tutu in, May 1999, at the *Hague Appeal for Peace* conference, where we also embraced Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

#### War is a matter of life and death.

War is waste, and waste is the greatest environmental crime. The consequences last for lifetimes. Climate change will contribute to violence. People will become environmental refugees demanding protection. The greed for biofuels is fuelling the violence of hunger. If you think of yourself as an environmentalist, you need to join the campaign to protect Article 9 and prevent war.

War is a gender issue. Women are not at the tables where decisions to go to war are made. Women and children are the vast majority of the dead and wounded. Women are raped and left as refugees from wars. Women are required by law (Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security) to be at all tables where the fate of humanity is at stake. It is time to abolish war.

War is an economic and development issue. The world is spending over one trillion dollars a year to support war. That is a criminal misallocation of precious resources. It robs money from development and human needs, from programmes to improve the quality of life and increase the social stability of societies. We must stop military budgets from being treated as sacred cows. Military budgets must not be immune to reduction.

War is a legal issue. The UN Charter is a treaty which all governments have ratified and agreed to honour. It is designed to prevent war. Article 9 is one of the major components of Japan's constitution. It is law. It says the Japanese people forever renounce war and the threat or use of force to settle international disputes. That's the law of this land.

**War is a youth issue.** Our young people who are learning trades, professions, starting families, and are the promise of the future, are the ones who are sent to battle.

I propose we become Article 9 Ambassadors. If everyone here would agree to do one more thing for the future, think of what power that would have. I propose that each person here look up a member of parliament in some country, any country. Or look up a civil society organization. Decide to "adopt" that person or organization, and start an email exchange. See if you can persuade that Member of Parliament or that organization to get their government to adopt a resolution based on Article 9.

Can we do it? Yes, we can!

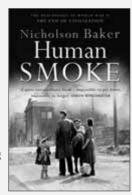
## **Book Look**

#### **▶** RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

#### Nicholas Baker (2008)

Human smoke Simon & Schuster

The title comes from Franz Halder, one of Hitler's restive but compliant generals. General Halder, told an interrogator that when he was imprisoned in Auschwitz late in the war, he saw flakes of smoke blow into his cell. Human smoke is what he called it Max Hastings reviewing the book rather critically in The Sunday Times said that "a



pacifist take" should be added to the title.

Few ideas are more deeply embedded in our culture than that World War II was a "good war", which pitted virtue against evil. But what if the forces of virtue were so profoundly morally compromised as to invalidate their purposes? These are the ideas pursued by this book.

Bestselling author Nicholson Baker has created a compelling work of non-fiction which is provoking much discussion and controversy. Rather than a continuous narrative, the work is a chronological assembly of quotations and anecdotes running from 1914 to 1941. It consists of hundreds of vignettes, arranged in chronological order, which provide wide-ranging perspective on the political and social landscape during this critical time of world history.

He highlights the anti-Jewish attitudes among American and British leaders and devotes much attention to the iniquities of bombing civilians, for which he finds the British at least as blameworthy as the Germans.

Human smoke delivers a moving indictment of the treasured myths that have romanticized much of the 1930s and '40s. Incorporating meticulous research and well-documented sources including newspaper and magazine articles, radio speeches, memoirs and diaries - the book juxtaposes hundreds of interrelated moments of decision, brutality, suffering and mercy. Vivid glimpses of political leaders and their dissenters illuminate and examine the gradual horrifying advance toward overt global war and Holocaust. Of particular significance is one paragraph in the Afterword as follows. "I dedicate this book to the memory of Clarence Pickett and other American and British pacifists. They've never really gotten their due. They tried to save Jewish refugees, feed Europe, reconcile the United States and Japan, and stop the war from happening. They failed but they were right.

Baker's asserts that "most of the world was pacifist" in 1925 which was not the case, certainly in the way APF interprets pacifism. As we know, what gave a fillip to the pacifist movement was the anti-war literature of the late 20s and the prospect of another global conflict during the 30s. Even then, 'pacifists' had only a marginal influence, partly because few of them believed in their own creed. Most wanted international disarmament

and collective security, and they were prepared to resist when faced by aggression. One suspects that Baker is really writing about Iraq. What we have here is 1933 viewed through the lens of 2003. However, while there is credible evidence that Britain and America were misled into the Iraq war by a conspiracy of unscrupulous politicians and greedy industrialists, to find the same explanation for the Second World War requires the talents of a povelist

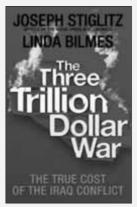
#### Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bilmes (2008)

The three trillion dollar war: the true cost of the Iraq conflict
Allen Lane

Joseph Stiglitz has much credibility. He was chief economist at the World Bank until 2000 and before that he was chairman of President Clinton's Council of Economic Advisers. He is currently university professor of the Columbia Business School. He won the Nobel Memorial Prize for Economics in 2001.

In 2005, he authors began the painstaking process of calculating the true cost of the Iraq war. In this book, they reveal how short-sighted budget decisions, cover-ups and a war fought in bad faith will affect us all for decades to come. In 2005,

he noted that the official Congressional Budget Office estimate for the cost of the war so far was \$500bn. He thought the figure was far too low and began to investigate. The paper, he and Linda Bilmes published in January 2006, revised the figure



sharply upwards to between \$1 and \$2 trillion. Even that Stiglitz says now was deliberately conservative. "We did not want to sound outlandish" he said.

This book is a devastating reckoning of the true cost of the Iraq War – quite apart from its tragic human toll. The authors expose the gigantic expenses which have so far not been officially accounted for, including not only conventional items like replacing military equipment (being used up at six times the peacetime rate) but also the staggering cost of caring for thousands of wounded veterans – for the rest of their lives.

The authors investigate the cost in lives and damage within Iraq and the Middle East generally, often written off as impossible to calculate; and they specifically tally the cost to the UK, the main US ally. They then calculate what the money spent on the war would have produced had it been further invested in the growth of the economy and in infrastructure building in the US and around the world

Asked in an interview what the Republicans said about this? Stiglitz said "They had two reactions: one was Bush saying, "We don't go to

war on the calculations of green eye-shaded accountants or economists.' And our response was, 'No you don't decide to fight a response to Pearl Harbour on the basis of that, but when there's a war of choice, you at least use it to make sure your timing is right, that you've done the preparation".

#### Jeffrey Sachs (2008)

Common wealth: economics for a crowded planet Allen Lane

Jeffrey Sachs, one of the world's leading economists, analyses and addresses the great, and interconnected, global challenges of the twenty-first century. A series of cascading threats to global well-being — the most significant being environmental degradation and rapid population growth — bear down on our increasingly crowded planet. All of them are solvable, Sachs argues, but potentially disastrous if left unattended.

Our task, he argues, is to achieve truly sustainable development by which he means finding a global

course which enables the world to benefit from the spread of prosperity while ensuring that we don't destroy the eco-systems which helps sustain our values. How do we move forward together, benefitting from our increasing technological mastery, avoiding



the terrible dangers of climate change, mass famines, violent conflicts, population explosions in some parts of the world and collapses in others? How do we steer global politics when there are now so many who believe they are entitled to a hand on the wheel?

In answering these questions, Common wealth, examines, digests and judges vast quantities of information from many different fields of study in each of the interconnected areas of politics, economics and ecology. Sachs shows that there are different ways of managing the world's technologies, resources and politics from those currently being followed; and that it should be possible to adopt policies which reflect long-term and co-operative thinking instead of, as currently, disregard for others and ever increasing barriers to solving the problems which we collectively face. The very idea of nations that scramble for global power, natural resources and international markets is passé, and must be replaced by a new era of global co-operation around shared goals. Reviewers have generally said that Sachs is

overoptimistic, the same comment that was made about his BBC Reith Lectures. But perhaps there is a need for optimism that human ingenuity and enlightened self interest will win out over the dark forces that could lead to destruction.

This a book that appeals equally to both head and heart, and one which no globally thinking person can ignore.

## Diary of Events

#### ► LOCAL AND NATIONAL









- I to 8 June Stop the Arms Trade Week. CAAT Christian Network's Day of Prayer is Sunday 8th June. Further details from CAAT on 020 728 | 0297 or visit www.caat.org.uk.
- **15 June** 28th Peace Pagoda Anniversary Ceremony at the Nipponzan Myohoji, Milton Keynes. Tony Kempster is performing. Contact 01908 663652 for details.
- 14 July "Responding to nuclear militarism: lessons from the past inspiring the future." Talk by Professor Lawrence Wittner of Albany University, New York. 12.00 at Friends House, Euston Road, London. All welcome. Organised jointly by the Council for Christain Approaches to Defence and Disarmament and MAW. Call CCADD for further information on 01603 279939.
- 22 to 30 July APF Lambeth campaign. See page 3 for details.
- **6 August** Hiroshima Commemoration at 12.00 in Tavistock Square, London. Contact London Regional CND on 020 7607 2302.
- **9 August** Ecumenical service at Westminster Crypt in memory of the 65th anniversary of Franz Jagerstatter's execution. Contact Pax Christi on 020 8203 4884.
- **22 to 25 August** Greenbelt Christian Arts Festival "Rising sun" at Cheltenham Racecourse. APF will be there. www.greenbelt.org.

- **5 September** Concert for Peace organised by Musicians Against Nuclear Arms. 7.30 at St Cyprian's Church, Glentworth Street, London NWI 6AX. With the Fitzwilliam String Quartet. Contact 020 8455 1030.
- **5 to 7 September** 12th International Conference on "War tax resistance and Peace Tax Campaigns" with keynote speaker Professor Paul Rogers. www.peacetax2008.org.uk.
- 12 September World Peace Day.
- **17 to 21 September** European Social Forum, "a place for organisations, movements, networks and individuals engaged in building a more sustainable, democratic and equitable society". www.esf2008.org.
- **27 October** The Big Blockade at Aldermaston. Go to www.tridentploughshares.org of contact 07804 640643 for further details.
- **28 December** Holy Innocent Day events organised by APF under the auspice of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations. 10.30 witness at the Innocent Victim's Stone outside Westminster Abbey followed by a service at 12 noon in St Martin-in-the-fields, Trafalgar Square. Contact APF on 01908 510642 for details.

#### Obituaries written by Philip Dransfield

I should like to pay tribute to two old members of APF who died recently and who made a valuable contribution to the life and witness of the Fellowship.

**Derek Savage** died in October 2007 at the age of 90. He had served as APF secretary for two years in 1960 and 61. Like many other members he had been a conscientious objector during the war. He has signed the pledge of the Peace Pledge Union in 1935 and at his tribunal in Cambridge, he was granted unconditional exemption from military service. He then worked as an hospital porter and later as a market gardener in a pacifist community.

After his two years as APF secretary, he was area secretary for Christian Aid in Suffolk for five years. He then moved with his family to Mevagissey in Cornwall where he resided for the rest of his life.

Derek had a gift for writing and as a young man won a literary prize. He gained a name for literary criticism and his two books on that theme were The personal principle and The withered branch. Another book on quite another subject was The cottager's companion. Also he wrote a pamphlet for APF on the theme of The Church and the state.

**Michael Segal** died earlier this year having been a member of APF from soon after its foundation in 1937. He was a civil servant when the war broke out in 1939 and registered as a

#### **APF** website

And remember to visit APF's website: www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk., which has recently been revamped, to find out more about what we do. An administration facility exists on the website and we are looking for someone to look after this.

If you are interested or would like further information about what is involved, please contact Roger Payne at ripayne@o2.co.uk.

conscientious objector. His first application must have been turned down and he served a short sentence in jail. An appeal-tribunal granted his exemption from military service. Later he was accepted for theological training and was ordained into the ministry of the Church of England.

His parishes were in or near London so he was able to give the Fellowship active support. For many years he was a member of the Governing Body and during some of that time he was treasurer. Michael was well-informed on financial and legal matters so his wise advice was often sought and proved useful. He and his son also gave valuable help in arranging the Fellowship's pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1988.

On retirement he took up residence in Lenham, Kent which was close to the route of the pilgrimage which some members had got to know well.

We can give grateful thanks for the long lives of these two members and put on record their contribution to the life of the Fellowship and our appreciation.

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## Film Look

#### ► RECENT FILMS REVIEWED

This is rather a different Film Look. Usually we write about new film releases, but here are three reviews of older films by APF member, David Le Sage from Australia. Each has a pacifist or anti-war theme.

#### Les Carabiniers (1963)

Directed by Jean-Luc Godard French (English subtitles)

One of Godard's lesser known films, Les Carabiniers (The Riflemen), remains his clearest anti-war statement and displays the director's pioneering Nouvelle Vague style at its finest. Shot on a miniscule



budget, the narrative depicts the story of two poorly educated farm labourers who are lured to join a king's army with the promise of plunder as reward. Quickly embarking on their campaign, the two men relay the story of their conquests home to their wives via a series of postcards. The narration in these postcards is juxtaposed with scenes of battle, thereby contrasting the subjective view of the soldiers with footage of what is actually happening.

As is the case with other Godard films such as Alphaville, the miniscule budget of this production is actually more of a help than a hindrance as it emphasises the ludicrous nature of war, particularly in scenes of battles consisting merely of the two soldiers running around a battlefield accompanied by a single tank, the enemy never once being seen. The farcical nature of these scenes serves to reflect the farce of war itself.

Likewise, there is much black comedy in scenes depicting the soldiers' treatment of civilians; the comedy does not undermine the seriousness of the subject matter but, rather, reinforces it.

The minimal use of music and pioneering handheld camera work adds to the immediacy of the scenes whilst odd camera angles provide a suitably disconcerting feel as events unravel before the eyes of the viewer.

The soldiers are, throughout, shown to be motivated solely by personal gain in the form of material acquisition, sexual conquests and prestige. They have no understanding of why the king has commenced the war and have little interest in learning the cause for which they are fighting. At no point in the film do they develop a capacity to question what they are doing; they simply obey orders and take advantage of their situation for profit. Scenes of the soldiers acting like children emphasise their extremely juvenile sense of morality.

At the conclusion of the film, the king announces a truce with his former enemy. The soldiers are sent home to their farm where their wives await them. The soldiers are now in danger from their king as he has found it convenient to accuse them of being over-zealous in their duty in this new political climate.

When the wives ask to see the goods the soldiers have plundered they present a case filled with more tourist postcards, providing an ambiguous ending to the film, open to myriad interpretations. Perhaps Godard is saying that postcard pictures are simply substitutes that can never truly replace the "real thing" that has been photographed any more than the images in a motion picture such as his, no matter how realistic, can ever truly capture the full horror of war. The answer is left for each individual viewer to decide upon.

#### Boy Soldiers (1990)

Boy Soldiers is an Australian film made primarily for classroom educational purposes. It was frequently screened in high schools during the 1990s.

The story is a simple coming of age tale concerning two youths who are ordered to join the army after the passing of a law in 1910 requiring compulsory military training for all boys aged between 14 and 17 years. One youth is determined to become a secular conscientious objector and thus faces condemnation from his peers and social ostracism as a result. His colleague, bewildered by his stand, seeks to understand him but ultimately chooses to join

the military where he undergoes an intense training campaign, including being shot at with live bullets.



The film examines notions of individual freedom versus social conformity and raises the issue of the military recruiting children from school who are not yet young enough to vote. By portraying the youth of the adolescents sent into military training, the film appeals to the high school viewing audiences and remains a good stimulus tool to allow children to think of the implications of these issues before recruiters do pay a visit to their classroom. It also helps to diffuse some of the romanticised notions about patriotism and the military life still being promoted to young people by Hollywood and other media sources. Whilst some of the scenes in the film draw on other sources, such as a sadistic commandant reminiscent of Beau Geste and the clichéd use of white feathers to mock the conscientious objector, most students are unlikely to have been previously exposed to clichés and the film will therefore have a greater impact for them.

The story of moral growth of a conscientious objector is vaguely similar to that of the character "Paul" in Olaf Stapledon's novel, *Last Men in London* (1932), in which a young man experiences a form of spiritual transcendence and learns to see beyond the limits of his own culture. By looking beyond jingoism and immediate concerns of the British Empire, a broader vision of humanity is experienced.

Boy Soldiers is an excellent resource for students aged around 15 years. Schools tend to be conservative places that emphasise traditions,

Remembrance Day services and the like and, as mentioned above, most children grow up inculcated with violent films, computer games, toys and exposure to political rhetoric glorifying the military. Playing this film to students who are just beginning to mature in their moral outlook and develop their own standards of ethics will provide vital food for thought for them and possibly broaden their moral outlook to seriously consider pacifism.

Although obscure, the film is listed in Australia's National Film and Sound Archive website at http://www.nfsa.afc.gov.au/ as Title Number 435901. It may possibly be available for order from them.

#### Shame (Skammen) (1968)

Directed by Ingmar Bergman

One of the late Ingmar Bergman's lesser-known films, Shame is an excellent anti-war piece that shows the impact of civil conflict on innocent civilians. Portraying the lives of a married couple as the fighting draws closer to their home, the film depicts both physical hardships and the moral temptations that emerge in times of extreme stress. The destruction of the countryside is

mirrored in the damage being caused to the couple's relationship caused by fear and infidelity as the husband is overcome by anxiety and the wife lets herself be seduced by a military officer. The use of stark black and white photography captures the bleakness of the characters' lives. The dark, grey hues

presented onscreen



perhaps capture the ambiguity of the situation for those caught in between the "black" and "white" of the two fighting armies, who, though ideologically opposed, are indistinguishable in their use of violence and terror.

The enemy is never named and although the central characters are Caucasian, Bergman has clearly attempted to create a timeless tale that transcends any exact historical conflict.

Scenes of actual combat are limited as the focus is upon the anxiety, often muted, the characters experience as the unknown terror draws closer. Scenes of domestic life are paralleled with realities of food shortages, road blocks and neighbours choosing to go to war. The disruption of normal working life, whereby culture (the protagonists are musicians) is put on hold whilst society reverts to barbarism, is adequately portrayed.

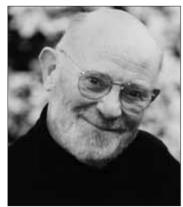
The film becomes progressively bleaker as it emphasises the dehumanising nature of war and, thus, some viewers may find it hard to watch. This film is probably not suitable for children or younger adolescents due to the tense themes. Be warned that there is also slight nudity in the opening scene that some viewers may find offensive. Nonetheless, it is one of the most fully-realised anti-war films yet made.

## Yesterday's wisdom is not tomorrow's

#### **▶** BY PAUL PESTREICHER

Canon Emeritus of Coventry Cathedral and an APF Counsellor

There are two related ideas currently in circulation. The first is that religion is harmful because it has, throughout history, been the cause of a great deal of violence. That is true. The second is that if only the adherents of the three great



monotheistic religions, Judaism, Islam and Christianity, all three "religions of the book", took their sacred texts more seriously and lived by them, then these outbreaks of violence would stop. That is untrue.

Let me explain. The first proposition needs no defence. The history of all three faiths is drenched in blood, blood ostensibly shed in the name of God. What then of the assumption that they all three are "religions of the book". There is no dispute that without sacred texts they would not have survived. However the phrase of the book needs to be unpacked.

I am no expert in comparative religion. This article does not call for that. I can only claim to have inside knowledge of Christianity. Some things are not complicated. Islam insists on the fact that the Koran was dictated by God. A degree of such infallible sanctity is attached to it, that to insult the book in any way, physically, verbally or in any other, is a capital offence. It is a direct insult to God. The Koran is divine. In principle it interprets itself. In practice the scholars are not of one mind.

The Hebrew scriptures, what Christians call the Old Testament, are not quite of that nature. They are indeed constitutive of Jewry, but they do need to be interpreted. There is a huge literature doing just that. It is the task of rabbinic scholarship. No part may be rejected, but great wisdom is called for to know the mind of God through it. The process of interpretation has divided Jewry. Orthodox Jewry rejects all liberal variants but the sacredness of the Torah itself is not in question. It is literally enshrined.

The Christian approach to the Bible, Old and New Testaments, are, I contend, fundamentally different. It is an essential reference book of the faith. It is part mythology, part history, part poetry, part moral guidance and that does not exhaust what it is. It is a handbook to be treasured. It was not handed down from on high. The Church had to decide which texts were in and which were not. Taken together, they cannot simply be called the Word of God. Bibliolatry is another form of idolatry, the worship not of God but of a book.

"In the beginning was the Word and the Word was God..." In the beginning there was no bible. The Word, the logos, is the living Christ constantly made known in his Church and in our hearts by the Holy Spirit...the light that enlightens the world. That enlightenment is a process that goes on until the end of time.

The paradox is that the New Testament texts themselves attest to the fact that they are not the last word. The Spirit is the contemporary judge over all that has been written. Jesus said and the Spirit goes on telling us: "You have heard it said....but I say unto you." Yesterday's wisdom is not tomorrow's. To the disciples Jesus said "there are many things you do not understand, but the Spirit will lead you to the truth". He did not say "study the texts, it is all there" and significantly did not write any texts at all. Quite rightly we may therefore say "St Paul had a view of the role of women that we now recognise to be less than Christian", to take a simple example. Once that is conceded there is no longer any need for theologians to sweat blood ironing out the many contradictions in the Bible. Given the world as it is, those contradictions make the Bible more, not

less credible. They leave us with essential existential choices that give meaning to the 'glorious liberty of the children of God'. We are slaves to no text and not a religion of any book.

How then does this connect with the violent face of religion? The Bible is full of violence in God's name from the God-sent flood drowning everybody except Noah's family (what's wrong with an atom bomb then in a good cause?), drowning the Egyptian army to let God's people get away (why not wipe out Gaza then?), ethnically cleansing the Canaanites (Why not another little holocaust?) Not to speak of smashing children's skulls and inflicting eternal punishment on all the enemies of God's chosen people. And I haven't mentioned the Apocalypse. What a horror film to outdo all horror films (Directors note: God has written the best scripts!) All this and much more, human beings have projected on to God.

God in Christ really has made all things new. That has proved to be too threatening to the churches. The ethic of loving enemies is what the Christian revolution is all about, loving our enemies and God's. Jesus asked for them to be forgiven as they drove the nails into his hands and feet. When he preached in the synagogue of his home town and told the people of Yahweh's preferential love for despised foreigners rather than for them, they tried to lynch him. This radical counter-cultural ethic is, I believe, unique to Christianity. It is the one thing Gandhi gratefully took from the Gospel, while the theologians argued away the challenge of the Sermon on the Mount: "Love those who persecute you." This was not for the real world in which Christian soldiers who put down mutineers were assured of a crown of glory, with no shortage of accompanying biblical texts. The Empire's monuments are witness enough. So is the sword as a sign of the Cross on every British war cemetery.

I hear the protest. Didn't Jesus violently drive the profiteers out of the Temple? Quite the opposite. This was the righteous indignation of one man overturning the tables of many with no weapon that could kill. The only person in that drama whose life was at risk was Jesus. Today that's called non-violent direct action, like damaging a nuclear submarine. It wasn't long before the authorities caught up with Jesus. Even then he did not return in triumph to humiliate the High Priests and Pilate. Secretly, mysteriously, he came back to give hope to those who loved him.

If the churches of the world embraced that ethic, that enthronement of God's peaceful kingdom of which the prophets of Israel dreamed, they would be renouncing major parts of their history. It is called repentance. It would mean that at least one of the three great religions would cease to be a contributor to the violence that could destroy us all.

So, late in life, I have come to see that I can only with great difficulty, after the liturgical reading of scripture, automatically go on saying: "This is the Word of the Lord". In many cases it will be. In many others, especially if taken out of its context, it will give the opposite message and be a license for much that is a denial of what the Spirit is saying to the churches.

This article was first published in The Church Times in April 2008.



'The Thornflower' by Charlotte Meyer

Faith is a source of conflict and a resource for transforming conflict

Testament texts themselves attest to the fact that they are not the last word.\*

The paradox

is that the

New



There is also much short-sightedness and lack of international co-operation. Vested interests hold sway.

Another issue is the indebtedness of poorer countries. The Jubilee Debt Campaign has undoubtedly been successful with \$88 billion dollars cancelled so far. But its report, *Unfinished business*, published this month emphasises that the debt crisis is not over. Ten years after the issue was first put on the international agenda, developing countries are still giving \$5 in debt repayment for every \$1 they receive in aid. The report also condemns the west's refusal to cancel the "odious" debt mostly run up by corrupt dictators which accounts for some \$500bn of the total developing world's debt stock of \$2,700bn.

There are a number of fiscal measures that could be used to redress the balance between military expenditure and development. For example, national funds which are only invested ethically, and avoid military issues, such as that of Norway which is in excess of \$300bn; an international fund to channel funds from the military sector, associated with agreed arms reductions; and taxation of international financial transactions to provide development monies.

And, of course, civil society campaigns are very important here. Cora Weiss, past president of IPB and its current representative to the UN, argued this case well at a meeting in Tokyo concerning Article 9 of Japan's Constitution. An abridged version of her address is given on the international page 6.

But above all, the way of solving the global problems that humanity faces requires a fundamental change in approach, a big one. That is learning that the challenges of our generation are not us versus them; they are not us versus Islam, us versus terrorists, us versus Iran. They are all of us on this planet against a set of shared and increasingly urgent problems. Here, I would refer you to the recent book by Jeffrey Sachs entitled *Common wealth*: economics for a crowded planet ( reviewed in Book Look on page 7). Written following his recent series of Reith Lectures, it provides an enlightened view of what is possible.

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

#### Aldermaston - 50 years on

#### by Sue Gilmurray

On Easter Monday, I took part in the CND demonstration, "The bomb stops here". Protesters from all over the country came to the Atomic Weapons Establishment to mark the 50th anniversary of the first Aldermaston march, and to call for the abandonment of nuclear weapons.



At the Boiler House Gate

We gathered at the various gates to the base, and speakers such as Kate Hudson of CND and Jeremy Corbyn MP were driven round to address each group in turn. Then we spread out to surround the perimeter fence and "embrace the base", shouting, singing, blowing whistles and playing musical instruments.

I took my keyboard with me and met a violinist and guitarist and we played peace songs to the gathering at the Boiler House Gate.

The development of nuclear weapons continues, of course, but so does our work of reminding people of their presence, their danger and their ultimate futility. The weather at the demonstration was a bit bleak but the protest felt like a celebration of 50 years of commitment.

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 <b>one</b> in the form below.	
for	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.	
S	<ul> <li>I am in agreement with the pledge and wish to become a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.</li> <li>I wish to become an Associate of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.</li> </ul>	
.º K	Name and designation (Revd, Dr, Mr, Mrs etc):	
at E	please print clearly and give your Christian name first.	
<u>m</u>	Address	
	Year of birth Diocese	
<b>→</b> ≥	I enclose a cheque for as my first subscription (makes cheque payable to the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship)	
) ppli	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.	
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### Music • poetry • arts

## "The art of survival: international and Irish quilts" exhibition

"The art of survival" is a poignant exhibition involving a total of 71 quilts shown at nine venues across the city of Derry. Roberta Bacic, an anti-war campaigner acted as guest curator for the event, working with a team of volunteers and people from the Heritage and Museum Service of Derry City Council.



Roberta Bacic preparing



The exhibition opening

The quilts have been handcrafted by women from various countries across the world and the exhibition opened on 8th March to help celebrate International Women's Day.

Quilt making, textiles and fabric have long been entwined in the history of Derry and the Museum Service was delighted to have the opportunity to showcase a significant collection of international and Irish quilts in the city. The main exhibition was from The Regional and International Museum of Women's culture in Germany and included quilts from Palestine, Zimbabwe, Croatia, India and Peru amongst others. 26 Irish quilts, many of which were created locally, and some Chilean arpilleras were also shown. The quilts depict the life experiences of women from a wide variety of cultures and life situations.

Of particular interest from the peace perspective were quilts about the troubles in Northern Ireland and those concerned with conflict in other parts of the world. Women have traditionally used fabric, often in a communal way, to tell stories of conflict, struggle and survival. The creativity expressed in the handcrafted quilts is testimony to the determination of women across the world.

One particular quilt, "Common loss" made by Irene MacWilliam from Belfast, served as a representation for much of the project and was the cover picture of the exhibitions calalogue. Each piece of red fabric represents one of the 3000+killed in Northern Ireland's conflict between 1969 and 1994.

## Anglican PEACEMAKER

#### "Call back the fire" - a new cd

The recording of the second peace CD produced by the Movement for the Abolition of War is now complete and being copied for distribution. Its production was more complicated than anticipated because we had so many good songs and interest from performers that a 20-track album was necessary.

The songs have an anti-war theme (in its broadest sense) and are by both British and American songwriters. Most are performed by people associated with MAW and there are two donated tracks by the professional singers Karine Polwart and John Conolly. Several songs are by Sue Gilmurray who also performed on MAW's first CD "Singing the music of healing". A film is also being made of the preparation and recording of the CD for education purposes.

There are also two special tracks on the CD. One is a song about Norman Kember, entitled "A vulnerable man" by Sue Gilmurray followed by some comments by Norman. The other is in remembrance of The Revd Gyosei Handa who was died in an accident at the Milton Keynes Peace Pagoda last year. It is a violin entitled "Owase" about rural Japan and played by Maeve Auer, a professional musician from Austria. Call 01908 510642 for more information.

## A war poem from Here, bullet by Brian Turner, Bloodaxe 2007.

#### Sadiq

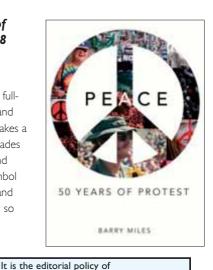
(Arabic for "friend")

It should make you shake and sweat, nightmare you, strand you in a desert or irrevocable desolation, the consequences seared into vein, no matter what adrenaline feeds the muscle its courage, no matter what god shines down on you, no matter what crackling in your fists, my friend, it should break your heart to kill.

## Peace: 50 years of protest 1958-2008

by Barry Miles (2008) Collins and Brown

With more than 250 full-colour photographs and illustrations. *PEACE* takes a tour through the decades of modern history and explains how the symbol gained in popularity and why it has been used so effectively for historic causes worldwide.



The Anglican Peacemaker to include a range of articles expressing a variety of opinions. The views expressed are not necessarily

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 June 30th 2008).

those of the editors nor of the APF.

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