

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

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

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The theme of this issue is 'influence', looking at the way aspirations for a better world can be translated into a strategy that convinces others that change is possible. And, more than this: how that change can be realised. If there is a message, it concerns the ability to compromise where necessary, to come down from the mountain and work in the real world where issues are rarely black and white.

Parallels exist here with our debate about changing APF's pledge, to make it more positive in outlook and rather more accommodating to different interpretations of pacifism. (The change was agreed at the AGM on 24 October, see page 5).

The big issue in British politics today is Jeremy Corbyn's election as leader of the Labour Party. His win has dramatically changed the tone of discussion on defence policy, making the improbable possible. The questions it raises are discussed in our opening article, and the implications for social justice discussed in our chairperson's report on page 3.

The role of the anti-war movement in these new circumstances is examined, drawing on the nuclear weapons debate, NATO and the Syrian crisis.

The theme is controversial and we hope it will encourage debate among members. All comments would be most welcome (see also our new website, Facebook and Twitter (details on page 8)).

'A new dream of politics'

Extract from a poem by Ben Okri. The poem was written as a compliment to Jeremy Corbyn who said, in his speech at the Labour Party conference, that Okri was an inspiration.

They say there is only one way for politics
That it looks with hard eyes at the hard world
And shapes it with a ruler's edge
Measuring what is possible against
Acclaim, support and votes.

Can we still seek the lost angels
Of our better nature
Can we still wish and will
For poverty's death and a newer way
To undo war and find peace in the labyrinth

Of the Middle East, and
prosperity
In Africa as the true way
To end the feared tide of
immigration?

We dream of a new politics
That will renew the world
Under their weary suspicious gaze
There's always a better way
A better way that's not been tried before.



'JEZ WE DID!'

After an astonishing election result that confounded all expectations, we now have a committed anti-war activist as leader of the Labour party. His credentials are remarkable: a life-time involvement in hundreds of peace and justice campaigns, a founder member and (until recently) chair of Stop the War Coalition, which organised the huge protest against the 2003 Iraq invasion; vice-president of CND and a council member of the international organisation,

Parliamentarians for Nuclear Disarmament, which works to make nuclear weapons illegal.

Few can doubt that Corbyn's background and personal beliefs will govern his policy in power and act as a rallying point on defence and security issues.

But what does this mean for the anti-war movement? Will it be able to campaign more effectively in this new political environment and reach beyond the gesture politics that has characterised its activities for so many years? Further, can fundamental change now be brought about in the nation's defence policy, its military intervention overseas and its role in the international arms trade?

Definite answers are impossible so soon, but an assessment of Corbynism may provide some clues. The initial media and public reaction might also hold a mirror to how 'pacifists' and the anti-war movement in general are perceived today, and point up some of their strengths and weaknesses.

Like-minded forerunners

This is only the second time that anyone with such views has had this degree of political prominence. The first was George Lansbury who led the Labour Party in opposition during the 1930s. He was one of APF's first counsellors. Clive Barrett, a current counsellor, writes about Lansbury on page 11. Keir Hardie, the great Christian socialist and father of the Labour Party was also a pacifist and outspoken critic at the outbreak of WWI. Corbyn used his words when addressing the Labour conference in September, calling the party 'to stir up a divine discontent with wrong'. Although, intriguingly, he chose not to say 'I am an agitator', Hardie's words immediately preceding this quote.



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Naming a 'pacifist'

The definition of 'pacifism' bedevils this discourse, as it does in many circumstances. Media interpretation of Corbyn's defence policy is already being confused as some critics say he is a dangerous 'pacifist', and the term is being used loosely in media headlines to define polarised opinion.

Corbyn says he is not a 'total pacifist', believing that military force may be a last resort when everything else fails. In the party conference speech he said that 'Britain does need strong, modern military and security forces to keep us safe. And to take a lead in humanitarian and peacekeeping missions – working with a strengthening of the UN.'

Recent press reports suggest that Corbyn might be willing to meet the requirement that NATO members spend 2% of GDP on defence. This would head off accusations that he is weak on security and provide some cover to pursue the scrapping of Trident. Paul Rogers, Professor of Peace Studies at Bradford University says the real issue, though, is whether Corbyn opens up a thorough debate on Britain's defence needs. These might include adapting the navy's ships so that they can carry enough water to help whole towns scarred by war, disease or famine in the Middle East or Africa.

He is, however, uncompromising in his belief in unilateral nuclear disarmament and at odds with Labour policy – the party conference evaded conflict when delegates and the unions agreed not to debate its pro-Trident policy. But then Corbyn destroyed unity in an interview on the *Today* programme by stating that he would never press the 'red button'. Perhaps an indication of things to come, there was something Christ-like in this adherence to a deep belief that will not be unsaid even if it leads to his political crucifixion. But, of course, this statement alone is not an expression of absolute nuclear pacifism. Such a moral stance would require Britain's withdrawal from NATO, since deterrence, based on both nuclear and conventional capabilities, is central to that organisation's strategy.

Corbynism

So why has the advent of Corbynism been such a seismic event and what does it betoken for British politics? A candidate from the far-Left with a long record of protest against his own party, no experience in ministerial office and hardly any support among fellow MPs is now in a position of power and, as a long shot, could even be Prime Minister.

Martin Kettle (*The Guardian* 18 September) points out that the Labour Party is a complex animal, a permanently unresolved engagement between competing traditions. The social democratic tradition has dominated Labour for half a century and more. But Corbyn's election is a triumph for the ethical socialist tradition. The social democrats lost because they forgot the enduring importance of ethos in the Labour party, especially in the aftermath of the Iraq war and the financial crash. As a result, Corbyn and his supporters have captured what is still, at Westminster at least, a predominantly social democratic party.

A number of specific factors contributed to this: the party's electoral reform, the role of the trade unions and the support of far-Left organisations. A further attraction to Labour Party members was that Corbyn's policy would halt the drift to the Right in UK politics.

Most important, though, was the way he performed in public meetings and how this image was spread through social media. Here was a man with strong beliefs who spoke honestly to public meetings without rancour. His message was simple and appealed to the aspirations of people who want a change in the way politics is practised. It was also seductive on issues like eradicating poverty and creating a nuclear-free world, things which most people want.

When the magic works people are enthused because expressive protest is exciting. Those of us involved in campaigning have all felt the thrill of being part of a large-scale rally or demonstration. People take part because they believe that they are in the right – theirs is a proper demand or a principled

challenge to authority. In the pressured space of such events, the issues are black and white and lend themselves to slogans – 'Stop the war', 'End poverty', 'Meat is murder'.

But protest politics alone is rarely effective in making change. This requires the exercise of power, appropriate negotiation and the willingness to compromise. The crucial question now is whether Corbyn will be able to do this while trying to hold to a pure message, given the difficulties this presents.



Limitations and problems

A political policy that depends on the realisation of an ideal can be compromised by what has been termed the 'nirvana' fallacy. Ian Lesley, writing in *New Statesman* (30 September) explains it thus.

The nirvana approach assumes that there is a perfect solution to a problem. A politician who employs it gains an easy rhetorical advantage. He can paint inspiring pictures of his perfect world, and attack the existing state of affairs for not living up to it. Further, he can accuse anyone who doesn't accept its plausibility as cynical, lacking in vision, or principle.

But the fallacy is a double-edged sword. The advantage comes at a cost, because it prevents you doing the hard, gritty thinking about how to improve the world. Faced with a series of imperfect options, you rise above them to an unattainable ideal. Soon, you may even forget how to think about the real world at all.

Lesley argues that the Left (and it might equally be said of anti-war movement) is particularly susceptible to this problem. Should we intervene in Syria? No, because we want a peaceful Middle East. Fine. That avoids the onerous work of confronting the truth that Syria is on fire, that hundreds of thousands have died there, and that many of the survivors are now pouring into Europe.

Under the blinkered influence of the far-Left, the Labour Party is also predicted to become more insular and less able to speak to the wider electorate. The creation of Momentum, which is effectively a party within the party, may well make things worse. Momentum describes itself as a 'grass-roots movement' set up to harness the energy of Corbyn's leadership campaign. But some fear, it could also a vehicle for putting pressure on MPs who don't support his policies and drive out more moderate party members. This brings us on to Corbyn's relationship with the hard-Left organisations.

Such organisations are opportunistic and eager to hitch their particular ideologies to Corbyn's rising star because it will give them profile and attract new members.

Immediately after his election success, Corbyn was the principle speaker at a rally in London to demand that the PM accepts more refugees. The panoply of organisations that make up Britain's hard-Left was out in force. Members of the Socialist Workers Party were there, as was Counterfire, a 'revolutionary socialist organisation dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism by the working class. The Trotskyist, *Socialist Worker* was on sale.



'The Labour Party is a complex animal, a permanently unresolved engagement between competing traditions.'

Responding to a false narrative

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, NAT REUSS

'Thus says the Lord: Do justice and righteousness, and deliver from the hand of the oppressor him who has been robbed. Do no wrong or violence to the alien, the fatherless, and the widow, nor shed innocent blood in this place.' (Jer. 22:3)

In recent years Europe has slowly begun to move to the Left. Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain have captured the imaginations of countless people united to put an end to grinding austerity brought about (or imposed by the IMF) as the antidote par excellence for economic recovery following the global financial collapse, or so we are led to believe. (Some economists, including David M Kotz, actually suggest austerity was imposed after the collapse in order to preserve the neoliberal free market model.)

Austerity normally involves public spending cuts and tax increases. Such policies have led to the further penalising of those at the bottom of the pile, throwing more people into poverty and tragically, leading to thousands of people to take their own lives.

Austerity in the UK has resulted in a huge increased reliance on food banks and seriously affected many disabled people particularly through the 'bedroom tax.' At the last General Election, there seemed to be no relief as the Conservatives swept to victory. How things have changed. The unexpected rise of Jeremy Corbyn marked by an unprecedented surge in Labour Party membership and his election with a near 60% of the first round ballot, stunned the political world and sent a clear message to the Party and to the nation that, as in Greece and Spain, people desperately want change.

And change is what is urgently needed. The Conservative Party is expert at creating false narratives. How many times have you heard a Tory MP repeat the mantra that the Labour Party caused the financial collapse? If we don't first understand the reasons behind it, then the mistakes will continue to be made. It is worth noting that the Blairite candidate in the Labour leadership election, Liz Kendall, received only 4.5% of the vote despite large interventions by Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, warning party members to avoid voting for Jeremy Corbyn. Under Tony Blair, 'New Labour' accepted the free-market ideology of Thatcherism: deregulation and privatisation of national services and Industries. The ideology was not challenged significantly under Ed Miliband or by the Labour leadership candidates apart from Jeremy Corbyn who spoke passionately about his anti-austerity plans.

Daniel Stedman Jones in his book *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics*, critiques the neoliberal economic model of unfettered free markets and claims this market ideology as the prime cause of the financial crash. But it is the root of neoliberalism and its view of the human person that is at odds with a fair and just society. Neoliberalism according to Stedman Jones is a '...free market ideology based on individual liberty and limited government that connected human freedom to the actions of the rational, self-interested actor in the competitive market place.' The problem with the ideology is two-fold. First it wrongly assumes people are solely self-interested and competitive i.e. it is individualistic at its core. Second, the ideology governs itself through competition relying on the market to self regulate in isolation from an outside elected governing body. Historically, on both sides of the Atlantic, these policies have had tragic consequences for the poor. As an example, despite rising GDPs in America and the UK, inequality, poverty and homelessness have all increased whilst

the middle and upper-tier earners benefitted through tax breaks and other personal subsidies. The message from history is when neoliberal policies are running the country, expect the poor to suffer and the wealthy to continue prospering. Neoliberal policy is ongoing with the increasing 'marketisation' of Britain including the continual defunding of the NHS despite the massive projected costs of renewing the Trident nuclear weapons system. Recently Defence Secretary, Michael Fallon urged Labour MPs to support renewal, putting national security first. This is consistent with the view that places the individual first, without considering that security can be aided through mutual development.

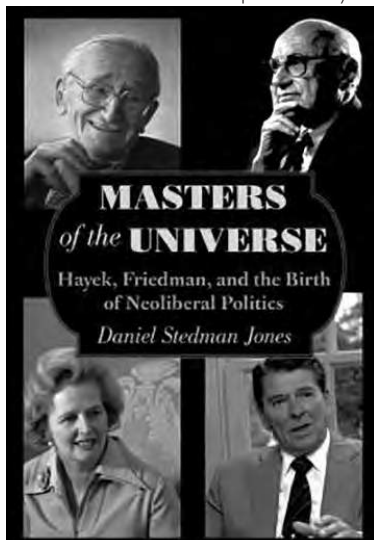
Many people see in Jeremy Corbyn a man whose political career has involved standing alongside and advocating for the most vulnerable and persecuted both in the UK and abroad. His first and second PM's Questions have been peppered with questions from ordinary people, acting as a bridge between the ever widening gap between party politics and the electorate. Corbyn's economic policies eschew the belief in markets and deregulation, proposing instead the renationalisation of public utilities; unilateral nuclear disarmament; the funding of development projects through Quantitative Easing and reversing cuts to welfare to name but a few. Dubbed 'Corbynomics', he wants to re-empower the State and weaken the free market. It is here that Corbyn's politics differs to that of Neoliberalism and places him in good company with those who have stood up for others in the past. Neoliberalism has some merits, but it is rooted in the selfish pursuit of the individual at the expense of others. If someone gets ahead, then someone else falls behind. Corbynomics is a politics of the 'common good' where there is policy and concern for 'the other' in all their respective needs. It is here that Corbyn reminds me of the Old Testament prophets, although he would be the first to say he isn't acting as God's messenger.

His representation of the poor and downtrodden has many echoes with various prophets as they brought God's concern to bear on the unjust socio-economic situations of their day. According to Abraham Heschel in *The Prophets*, 'The distinction of the prophets was in their remorseless unveiling of injustice and oppression, in their comprehension of social, political, and religious evils. They were not concerned with the definition, but with the predicament, of justice; with the fact that those called upon to apply it, defied it.' The prophets bring God's word into concrete social situations of injustice for this was, and still is, God's concern. The prophet becomes God's mouthpiece, an agent to bring about change. The prophet cuts through the spin and agendas of the wealthy bringing truth about what life is really like.

The critics of Corbynomics claim it is not rational; that it is based on a false view of reality. To have credibility in economics, so they say, one must subscribe to the prevailing school: only this way guarantees security and growth. Note how this has become David Cameron's mantra. In reality, most of the people living in Britain today know someone who has been penalised by Government cuts or who has felt the financial squeeze as private enterprises raises their cost of utilities, putting the squeeze on more and more households. This is not security. This way leads to profiteering for the few and slavery for the rest. Yet our wellbeing and security rely, not on economic models for selfish individual attainment, but on an economic model that seeks the common good of a society and its neighbours.



Abraham Heschel with Martin Luther King Jr.



'The distinction of the prophets was in their remorseless unveiling of injustice and oppression, in their comprehension of social, political, and religious evils.'

Honours, awards and remembrance

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

Queen's New Year Honours 2015

Congratulations to two APF officers in New Zealand who were recognised in the New Year's Honours (2015). Chairperson, The Revd Dr Jonathan Hartfield became a Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit (MNZM) for services to health. Secretary, Christopher Barfoot received the Queens Service Medal for services to the environment and community.

These are fascinating times in British politics. The election of Jeremy Corbyn has generated a range of emotion from elation to dismay among Labour Party supporters. I speak to a lot of people in the peace movement and find that many of them tend toward the former. They excuse Corbyn's faults because of the purity of his anti-war message.

Our opening article presents an unbiased view of recent developments, but I would like to use the opening of this report to give a personal view.

I know Corbyn has conviction and is well meaning but I doubt he could ever lead the Labour Party to an election win. I am also very concerned about some of the people close to him who have ideological agendas that are not in the best interests of the country. I have no patience with indulgent rallies and meetings especially if they lead to class division and violence.

The country needs a Labour government with the power to do good: to cut poverty, rebuild public services and give people justified hope. I do not believe the facile claim that governments no longer have any power. Of course they do and that is why politics matters.

Corbynism is essentially a protest movement. It is against many things but the alternatives are poorly defined and articulated. Faced with a case for change one often needs to convince others by persuasive advocacy, which demands that ideas are tested effectively and all the complexities of the situation taken into account.

I am also skeptical about whether any political party can run for long as a movement. Parties periodically need to regain some of the energy of movements. But movements are different things. Political movements are essentially about opposition, anger and mobilization: they derive their energy from the tension between themselves and the world around them.

The crucial question is whether some synthesis between the idealism of the Corbyn camp and the pragmatism of the more moderate wing of the party could produce a winning combination, perhaps in time for the next general election.

The Wilson/Hinkes Award (2015)

This award of £500 was established by Week of Prayer for World Peace to recognise significant contributions by individuals, organisations or projects in furthering peace, justice and reconciliation. It seeks to focus on grassroots initiatives and enables otherwise untold stories to be publicised and honoured, and to inspire others to work for peace. Named in honour of Gordon Wilson and Sidney Hinkes, former chairs of WPWP (and also of APF), this year's award was sponsored by APF.

This year's award was presented on 17 October at the Week of Prayer for World Peace service, hosted by Brahma Kumaris at the Global Co-operation House, Pond Lane, London.

The award recipient is Takako Barker

Takako is Japanese and has lived in the UK for over 20 years. Described in the nomination as 'a lone, quiet worker for peace', at school she says that she was taught that war is wrong and she has always believed this in herself.



Working with the organisation Hope in the Heart, which has collected many of the stories of the Hibakusha (survivors of the atomic bombs), Takako brought a large exhibition from the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum to the UK and used it with the Hibakusha stories in various places, including the School of Oriental and African Studies.

This action led Takako to her next piece of work which has been as a lone figure standing outside the Japanese embassy for one whole day a week for many months. 'Stand with a banner and it makes people curious' she said. She has been protesting the plans of the Japanese Government to change Article 9 of the Constitution, which prevents Japan from maintaining or using any military force. Many people have approached her over the months. Takako has said she will use the Award to further enhance the Hiroshima exhibition. Takako was nominated by the Chorleywood Quaker Meeting.

The other nominees were:

War Resisters International

Peace, Healing and Reconciliation Programme (PHARP)

Cathy Nobles who runs the Reconciliation Walk Community in Luton

Change Agents For Peace International – Turning the Tide (TTT).

A Hiroshima Day witness



The Revd Andrew Bain and The Revd David Mumford (far right) are on the right of the photograph.

It is 70 years ago that the first atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The vigils held at the Peace Pole in the grounds of St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Dunbar on the 6th and the 9th August commemorated those who died and

‘Political movements are essentially about opposition, anger and mobilization.’

‘Stand with a banner and it makes people curious.’

‘Nuclear weapons by their very existence undermine the security of the whole world.’

witnessed to the continuing need for peace, disarmament and reconciliation.

The vigil on August 6th was led by members of the Episcopal Church and supported by members of other churches in Dunbar. The photograph shows the vigil on the 9th, which was led by members of East Lothian Quakers with support from other churches and the wider community.

APF member, The Revd David Mumford, one of the organisers, said, ‘Nuclear weapons are the deadliest threat to the survival of the human race. Even in 70 years we have not achieved nuclear disarmament. Nuclear weapons states bear the greatest responsibility’.

David quoted a recent Easter message by Scottish church leaders, which said that, ‘Nuclear weapons by their very existence undermine the security of the whole world.’ The letter further argued that ‘Christian moral reasoning leads us away from violence towards loving relationships with others. The indiscriminate nature of nuclear weapons makes it impossible to justify them as weapons of war as their effect cannot be considered as either limited or proportionate. Therefore, the very possession of nuclear weapons is unjust and thus wrong.’

In remembrance of Roger Grainger



The Revd Dr Roger Grainger, a retired Anglican cleric and APF member, moved to Ireland last summer following the death of his late wife Doreen in 2013. He settled on Achill Island, Co Mayo. Roger, 82, was a few hundred yards from the cottage he had recently bought when he was tragically washed off the road by a torrent.

He had been a chaplain for mental health patients at Stanley Royd Hospital in Wakefield from 1973 to 1991, when he retired, and in 1996 was ordained. He was also a psychotherapist and counselor supporting people who had suffered trauma or emotional problems.

Following his ordainment, he served as a curate in West Bromwich and then Wallsall before returning to Wakefield as assistant priest at St John's Church, and as an honorary chaplain at Wakefield Cathedral.

A member of Equity, he appeared in Emmerdale, Heartbeat and Last of The Summer Wine. His most recent role came as an elderly patient in last year's BBC mini-series Remember Me starring Michael Palin.

He was a highly gifted and wonderfully kind man who was very actively involved in the work of the Week of Prayer for World Peace for almost 40 years. He served on the Executive Committee and lovingly compiled the annual leaflet of prayers and reflections for peace for most of those years.

Roger said that people sometimes say that religion causes wars and that without it we would all live together in peace, but the Week of Prayer for World Peace, when different religions join together IN PEACE FOR PEACE, proves that cliché to be false.

Roger published *A candle for peace: prayers for the millennium* in 2000. The book was sponsored by APF and some copies are still available. If anyone would like a free copy please contact the secretary (details on page 8).

‘Roger was a highly gifted and wonderfully kind man.’

Vote to change the membership pledge at the 2015 AGM

In the last issue of TAP (15.1) we explained the reason for proposing a change to APF's membership pledge. When the fellowship was formed in 1937, it was common to sign a 'pledge' when joining such a group. At the moment, many of our members are joining through the Internet and are from the full range of countries in the Anglican Communion; and asking for a signature now seems outmoded. Further, having looked at various other Christian peace organisations, people now commit to a vision for their organisation rather than a formal 'pledge'. At our Governing Body meeting in February possible alternatives were considered by those present, and a majority were in favour of replacing the existing pledge with the following.

Members must be 18 or over and members of the Anglican Communion or Christians in communion with it and commit to the following:

‘We believe that as Christians we are called to follow the way of Jesus in loving our enemies and becoming peacemakers. We work to transform our Anglican Communion and the world to overcome those factors that lead to war within and between nations.’

A motion to change the pledge in this way was moved at the Annual General Meeting on 24 October. The change was agreed by a large majority vote, and the new pledge will replace section 7(1) of the APF constitution.

Arpillera conversations at Cambridge University

Over the years, I have on occasion worked closely with Roberta Bacic an expert on textile displays related to peace and justice, who has curated exhibitions in many countries around the world. In TAP 14.2, I reported that she had four arpilleras (applied textiles made first in Chile and then in other countries) displayed in the highly successful exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum entitled ‘Disobedient objects’. On 28 May, I attended a seminar she gave in the Centre of Latin American Studies in Cambridge. Entitled ‘Arpillera conversations’ this involved a dialogue with Diamela Eltit



(Simon Bolivar professor at the centre). Roberta brought an exhibition of 12 arpilleras from Chile, Peru, Spain, England and Ireland that span from the times of the Chilean dictatorship up to recent times. She gave a wonderful overview of the whole genre to an audience of experts and students and I came away feeling I at last have a real grasp of the subject.

Roberta Bacic will be the first person profiled in a new feature of TAP that begins in our next issue. The feature tells the story of individuals who are making a major contribution to peace and justice today by their actions and personal example. These are people who have been successful – judged by any standards – and reached out widely to inform and inspire others.

Movers in Africa, Italy and S. Korea

From small beginnings, APF has been developing a project to provide peace balls (footballs with a message of peace) to groups in Africa.

We are working with Alive And Kicking, distributing balls produced at their workshop in Lusaka, Zambia.

Alive and Kicking recently held a celebration and Roger Payne, our treasurer attended to meet the company's staff and consider how APF can develop its collaboration. Roger says:

I went to the event at Westminster School, London yesterday in their very high ceiling grand assembly hall. About 70 people attended for the celebration of 11 years producing leather footballs and distributing in Africa.

An informative video described Alive and Kicking's objectives and explained how it works. It has three workshops situated in Kenya, Zambia and Ghana which together employ 150 people supporting some 1000 people. Plans are in hand to double the numbers employed by 2020.

They print messages on the footballs – as they did for us – and also use sports coaches who use messages and games to inform about HIV and other health issues. As well as full size footballs they displayed some half size that could be hand held.

Most of the delegates there were people involved in the start including past-members of Westminster School (the originator was a Westminster school teacher). Others were student volunteers, friends and sponsors.

Those I spoke to included a football coach employed by Arsenal who trains some of the African Sports coaches. He was enthusiastic about the sporting value of the football distribution. An office manager from the Business Council for Africa, a member organization that holds London-based events explained her organisation's work and how it keeps members informed of business opportunities in various parts of Africa. The organization reports on the problems experienced in countries with war/terrorist activities.

There is certainly a potential for APF to extend its work using peace as a unity factor. The value added has to be the coaching in whatever form it takes. But we need more feet on the African ground as our activity in Zimbabwe.

Cloud Mabaadi, APF member in Zimbabwe, has been leading our project there. He reports that they have been breaking ground in establishing peace clubs. Working in partnership with the Heal Zimbabwe Trust, an NGO that works to reconcile victims of political violence, they have been using the 'APF Peace Balls' as part of the process. The response has been encouraging. Initially they are targeting schools and unemployed youth. Plans are to have set up 50 peace clubs by the end of this year.

In 2018, General elections are scheduled for Zimbabwe. The hopes are that these 'peace clubs' will be established in many parts of the country in 2016 and therefore give time to bring the reconciliation skills to many young people and hopefully contribute to peaceful elections.

IPB's 2015 Sean MacBride Peace Prize

(APF is a member of the International Peace Bureau and has worked closely with it over the years; Tony Kempster has been a vice-president.)

This year's award of the Sean McBride Peace Prize has been unusual in that it has been made to two island communities that, in different circumstances, show proof of a profound commitment to peace and social justice.

Lampedusa is a small island in the Mediterranean and is the southernmost part of Italy. Being the closest part of the territory to the African coastline, it has been since the early 2000s a primary European entry point for migrants and refugees. The numbers of persons arriving has been rapidly increasing, with hundreds of thousands at risk while travelling, and over 1900 deaths in 2015 alone.



The people of the island of Lampedusa have given the world an extraordinary example of human solidarity, offering clothing, shelter and food to those who have arrived, in distress, on their shores. The response of the Lampedusans stands out in stark contrast to the behaviour and official policies of the European Union, apparently intent only on reinforcing their borders in the attempt to keep these migrants out. This 'Fortress Europe' policy is becoming more and more militarised.

Gangjeon Village is the site of the controversial 50-hectare Jeju Naval Base being constructed by the South Korean government on the southern coast of Jeju Island, at a projected cost of nearly \$1 billion. The waters around the island are protected by international law as they are within a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve. Even so, the construction of the base continues, although building work has been halted many times by mass protests of people concerned about the base's environmental impact.

Jeju Island has been dedicated to peace ever since around 30,000 were massacred there from 1948-54, following a peasant uprising against US occupation. The South Korean government apologized for the massacre in 2006 and the late President Roh Moo Hyun officially named Jeju an "Island of World Peace". This violent history helps to explain why the people of Gangjeon Village (population 2000) have been protesting non-violently for around 8 years against the naval base project.



A 'lock-on' blockade on Jeju Island.

There is an important connection between the two situations. Not only does IPB recognise the common humanity of those who resist without weapons the forces of domination in their own island. It makes the argument that public resources should not be spent on massive military installations that only increase the tension between nations in the region; rather they should be devoted to meeting human need.



An 'Alive and Kicking' ball.



Cloud Mabadi and Brian Chifumu (left and right)

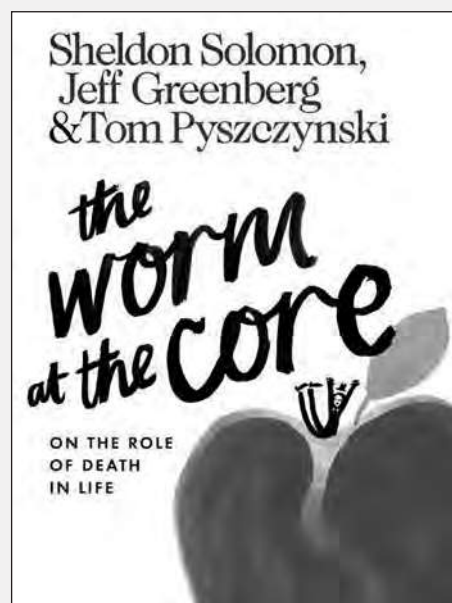
Book Look

► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

Sheldon Solomon, Jeff Greenberg and Tom Pyszczynski (2015)

The worm at the core: on the role of death in life

Allen Lane



There are reminders everywhere that death is part of everyday life. Researchers have long known that awareness of death and the fear it inspires affects decision-making. The question is how?

In this book, social psychologists have come up with some of the answers. They claim death motivates us in almost everything we do – from yearnings for immortality to voting. Voting sounds odd until the authors cite an experiment in which they assessed subjects' intentions in the run up to the 2004 US election. When they were reminded about death (strongly associated with George Bush after 9/11 and Iraq), the subjects were more likely to vote for Bush than Senator John Kerry.

The Worm at the Core is the product of twenty-five years of in-depth research. Drawing from innovative experiments, the authors show conclusively that the thought of death guides our thoughts and actions, from the great art we create to the devastating wars we wage. It can also prompt judges to dole out harsher punishments, make children react negatively to people different from themselves, and inflame intolerance and violence.

The book deals in emotions. Its authors argue that our feelings of self-worth normally shield us from morbid thoughts, but when reminders of our mortality do penetrate, we protect ourselves by fiercely guarding our view of the world. This may explain why terrorist attacks can provoke outpourings of patriotism and xenophobia.

The authors advocate coming to terms with death by contributing to a society that outlives us all. They remind us to 'grasp that being mortal, while terrifying, can also make our lives sublime by infusing us with courage, compassion and concern for future generations.

This is a transformative, fascinating theory –

based on robust and groundbreaking experimental research – reveals how our unconscious fear of death powers almost everything we do, shining a light on the hidden motives that drive human behaviour.

Ian Kershaw (2015)

To hell and back: Europe 1914-1949

Allen Lane



Ian Kershaw keeps to the main story, tracking the forces that drove Europe 'to hell and back'. States are the units of analysis and politicians the actors in what turned into a deadly game on the assumption that one state's advantage could only come at another state's cost. He tells the story with humanity, flair and originality.

In the autumn of 1914 most of Europe plunged into a war so catastrophic that it took generations to recover from. The disaster terrified its survivors, shocked that a civilisation they had blandly assumed to be a model for the rest of the world had collapsed into savagery. In 1939 Europeans would initiate a second conflict that managed to be even worse – a war in which the killing of civilians was central, and in whose aftermath the violence continued, shaping the divided conflict that emerged.

Why did this all happen? The traditional answer, endorsed and meticulously explained by Kershaw, is that the war that broke out unnecessarily but not unpredictably in 1914 led to such destruction – of life, economics, values, systems, borders and dynasties – that the years of 'peace' which followed were ones of near constant instability and, in retrospect, only a brief pause before an even worse conflagration broke out in September 1939. Beneath this Kershaw locates the causes of catastrophe in four interlocking elements unique to these decades: '(1) an explosion of ethnic-racist nationalism; (2) bitter and irreconcilable demands for territorial revisionism; (3) acute class conflict – now given concrete focus through the Bolshevik revolution in Russia; and (4) a protracted crisis of capitalism (which many observers thought was terminal)'.

He argues that if the great powers had stepped back in the summer of 1914 who knows what path Europe might have taken. And had Britain and France stood up to Hitler at the start of his drive to achieve German hegemony, the second war may well have been avoided.

Things moved fast and he believes that even if fascism had been defeated in the Spanish Civil War, and even if the western powers had stood up to Hitler at Munich, Europe would almost certainly plunged into a new conflagration anyway.

Jason Burke (2015)

The new threat from Islamic militancy
Bodley Head



Islamic militancy appears stronger, more widespread and more threatening than ever. ISIS and other groups, such as Boko Haram, together command significant military power, rule millions and control extensive territories. Factions and subsidiaries proliferate worldwide, and a new generation of Western Jihadists are emerging, joining conflicts abroad and attacking at home. Who are these groups and what do they actually want? What connects them and how do they differ? How are we to understand their tactics of online activism and grotesque violence?

Drawing on almost two decades of front line reporting as well as a vast range of sources, from intelligence officials to the militants themselves, Jason Burke cuts through the mass of opinion and misinformation to explain dispassionately and with clarity the nature of the threat we now face. He shows that Islamic militancy has changed dramatically in recent years. Far from being a

'medieval' throwback, it is modern, dynamic and resilient. Despite everything, it is entirely comprehensible. The book strikes a refreshingly measured note. For all their murderous determination, the terrorists do not pose an existential threat to any western nation.

And IS's mission to eliminate 'the Grey Zone' – the complex multiplicity of personal identities in contemporary society – in favour of a singular tenet of blind devotion is surely doomed to failure.

Unapologetically focusing on the threat to the West, Burke identifies three major strands of militancy, two of which are relatively new: the emergence of the so-called Islamic State (ISIS), with its focus on seizing and retaining territory; and the development of what he calls 'the movement', a worldwide subculture of Islamic extremism, rooted in anti-Western, anti-Semitic and homophobic sentiments, which has given rise to relatively low-tech terrorist attacks by self-motivated individuals or small groups, as in the murder of the British soldier Lee Rigby in 2013 or the attack on the offices of Charlie Hebdo in Paris earlier this year.



DIARY OF EVENTS, AND NOTICES

27 February Stop Trident national demonstration in London. Contact CND for further details.

18 March Fellowship of Reconciliation (England) annual conference at Wyedale Hall, Scarborough. Further details from FoR.

22-24 April Joint conference organised by the APF and the Methodist Peace Fellowship conference. Entitled 'The things that make for peace' (Luke 19:41), it will be held at Whaley Hall, High Peak, Derbyshire. Speakers: Bea Foster, Steve Hucklesby and Stephen Kingsnorth will inform the thinking and reflection of delegates.

If you are interested please contact the APF secretary (details below). More details will be given in the next issue of TAP.

15 May International Conscientious Objector's Day event at 12 Noon event in Tavistock Square, London

Further details at: <http://www.wri-irg.org/> <http://www.ppu.org.uk/coday>

NEW APF WEBSITE

We are using some money to upgrade our website and become more involved with communication generally on the web through Facebook and other channels. Keep in touch with what we are doing at <http://www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk>.

By using the following links in your browser the following is now available:

Facebook: www.facebook.com/anglicanpeacemaker

Twitter: <https://twitter.com/angpacifists>

Twitter and facebook can also be accessed through the website (www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk/) by clicking on the icon links at the top and bottom right of the website. And the website can be found on the Facebook page.

Theme for the next issue of The Anglican Peacemaker

In future issues of TAP we will tell readers the theme of the forthcoming issue.

The next issue TAP 15.3 will be based around the theme: changes to the world order with special reference to the role of the major powers and the United Nations. Consideration will also be given to new technology in armaments including drones and the militarisation of space. We would be pleased to hear from anyone who would like to contribute to this issue (and you may take the theme in its widest sense including, for example, art and music).

Please contact the Secretary if you would like further information.

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY

The fellowship is seeking new members for several places on its Governing Body. This is not an arduous task, involving only three meetings each year, most of the business being done by email and Skype. We are looking particularly for people who can bring new ideas and help us decide how best to use the resources now available to the organisation (see the notice on money below).

Nominations are invited for the election. This will be carried out by a postal vote of those who attended the AGM on 24 October. Each nomination should be accompanied by the written consent of the nominee. Please send them to the Hon. Secretary by 20 December.

Money for new APF projects and the development of the organisation

The Fellowship is fortunate to have been given a substantial amount of money, and we are looking for ideas on how this can be spent most effectively. The focus of any spending will be on the promotion of Anglican pacifism within the Anglican Communion, but this can be taken fairly widely to include, for example, the education of young peacemakers and research into the prevention of war. If you have any ideas or would like to discuss this further please contact the Secretary.

OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

Chairperson: The Revd Nat Reuss

nathanaelreuss@gmail.com

Vice-chairperson: Mrs Sue Claydon

Bridge House, Whittlesey Road, March, Cambridgeshire, PE15 0AH 013546 54214 sue.claydon@tesco.net

Honorary Secretary: Dr Tony Kempster

11, Weavers End, Hanslope, Milton Keynes, MK19 7PA 01908 510642 ajkempster@aol.com

Honorary Treasurer: Mr Roger Payne

33 Glynswood, Chinnor, Oxfordshire, OX39 4JE 01844 351959 apfpayne@btinternet.com

Membership Secretary: Mrs Sue Gilmurray

13 Danesway, Pinhoe, Exeter EX4 9ES 01392 464982 suegilmurray@icloud.com

COME AND JOIN US!

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

'We believe that as Christians we are called to follow the way of Jesus in loving our enemies and becoming peacemakers. We work to transform our Anglican Communion and the world to overcome those factors that lead to war within and between nations.'

Members must be 18 or over and members of the Anglican Communion or Christians in communion with it.

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, 13 Danesway, Pinhoe, Exeter EX4 9ES.**

☐ 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

Good kill (2015)

Directed by Andrew Niccol



In the shadowy world of drone warfare, combat unfolds like a video game but with real lives at stake. After six tours of duty, Air Force pilot Tom Egan yearns to get back into the cockpit of a real plane, but he now fights the Taliban from an air-conditioned box in the Las Vegas desert. Andrew Niccol's new film is a sophisticated, provocative and thoroughly modern war film. It shows the dehumanising effects of combat at a distance, and also the queasy convergence of violence and entertainment. Behind his bank of monitors, joystick in hand, Egan looks like a hardcore video-gamer. 'Good Kill' is keenly aware of the intoxicating, corruptive power of a God's-eye view.

The 'good kill' of the title – a clean, efficient strike in which the bad guy is hit, at minimal risk to the dispensers – is what he's paid to carry out. As Egan scan his screens, he sees with astonishing clarity the faces of the men – and sometimes, unavoidably, the women and children – he will kill.

But then his unit, which previously answered only to an old-school US Air Force colonel, is sub-contracted by the CIA, who want to step up the attacks, act on flimsier evidence, and mount fast, repeated strikes to people that congregate around each smoking crater. These commands come from a low voice on the other end of a speakerphone: unlike the targets, we never see the face of the person issuing the orders.

This prompts a long-brewing personal crisis in Egan. He is communicative at first, explaining the mechanics of drone warfare to his new recruits, but soon enough he's reduced to little more than a catchphrase-growling machine. 'It's just war', 'let's go, people, warheads on foreheads', and so on.

Timbuktu (2015)

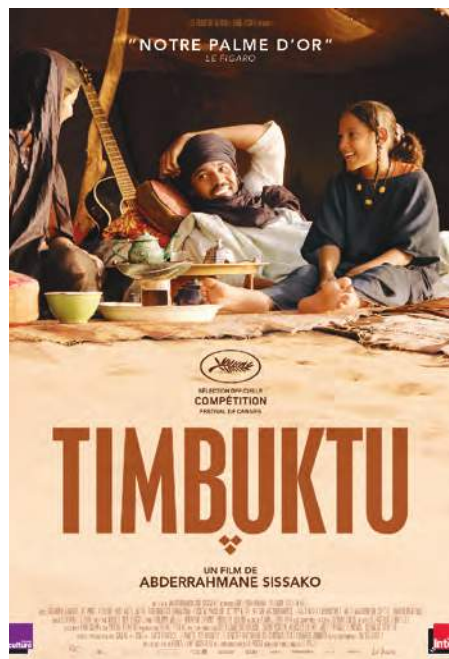
Directed by Abderrahmane Sissako

This is a passionate and visually beautiful film with all the more moral authority for being expressed with such grace and such care. It is a portrait of the country of Sissako's childhood, the west African state of Mali, and in particular the city of Timbuktu, whose rich and humane traditions are being trampled by fanatical jihadis.

It is also a tragic fable, Aesop-like in its moral clarity, about all the injustices Sharia law can wreak. Few tracts about religious intolerance have ever been this alive to the beauty in their world – the play of late-evening sunlight across a lake, the nimble joy of a football game the authorities want banned.

In the dunes outside Timbuktu, a cattle farmer called Kidane has built a life with his wife, Satima (Toulou Kiki), their 12-year-old daughter, and a young shepherd boy. Kidane plucks a guitar at night, and their tent feels like a sacred haven under the stars.

Sissako's vision is so offhandedly seductive, it's a while before you realise what a threat is gathering. It comes from the armed jihadis prowling the streets on motorbikes, issuing edicts about the forbidden pleasures of cigarette smoking, music, playing football.



Sissako keeps melodrama at bay by fragmentary rhythms he's chosen. Minor characters drift in and out without announcing themselves as minor. There's a town witch, trailing a wild multi-coloured ensemble behind her, and cackling as if the hen she's carrying were capable of ventriloquism. Jihadi recruits debate the relative merits of Zidane and Messi. There have driving lessons in the desert, and a camcorder monologue where one young guy, his eyes darting and awkward, talks about turning his back on rap music and a life of sin.

Then something irreversible happens. One of Kidane's cows stumbles into the nets of Amadou, a temperamental fisherman, and the latter spears it to death. The men fight and Kidane kills the fisherman, accidentally or not. A trail of rough justice then follows.

Sissako was inspired, if that's the word, by the horrifying public stoning in 2012 of an unmarried couple in the town of Aguelhok. His film shows merely a glimpse of a stoning, for a fraction of a second, but it's enough.

Beasts of no nation (2015)

Directed by Cary Fukunaga



This is a harrowing film about child soldiers, a subject that APF has had an interest in for some time. An insurgent commandant - a warlord with a smile - is leading children on a rebel campaign through the jungles of an unspecified African country decimated by a civil war.

The story is told from the perspective of a 12-year old boy (Agu). His mother and younger siblings have escaped after a military uprising swept through their village. His brother and father were less lucky. He is alone in the world when he is press-ganged into the commandant's ragtag army.

What follows is characterised by some predictable bouts of fear and killing and an ensuing collapse. Agu develops a friendship with a fellow soldier that preserves his inner humanity in the chaos that take place when power shifts at the top of the chain of command.

The movie is distinguished by its fierce loyalty to Agu's point of view. The camera stays mostly at his level and we can understand the political strife as he would see it.

The commandant takes Agu under his wing and forces him to become a killer. Soon after subjecting the new recruits to a bloody initiation, the Commander forces Agu to kill. As he is forced to leave his childhood behind, he fears that God hates him for killing others.

Agu survives and it is only in the speech that he gives near the end do we hear the voice of the screenwriters rather than a 12-year-old who has been executioner

before he even learnt to shave. Eventually, Agu escapes and surrenders to UN armed forces and is placed in a rehabilitation sanctuary for child soldiers who were traumatized by the war. Agu

tells his counselor that he has done some terrible things, but he won't go into detail. Instead he tells how he used to be a good boy, how he came from a good family, and that his family had loved him. The final scene shows Agu finally joining the other boys as they swim and play in the ocean. Beasts of No Nation has received critical acclaim, with praise for the children's performances.



Accounts for year ending 5th April 2015

The principal source of funds for many years has been gifts (subscriptions) of members. This has changed with two legacies that has dramatically increased income in one year to £295,666 (previous year £25,062). As the income in this year 2014-15 exceeds £250,000 the accounts are now prepared, as required by the Charity Commissioners, on an accruals basis according to the standards of SORP2005. This income gives the charity opportunities to invest in members projects, promote the objectives through producing education resources, holding conferences, making peacemaking grants in UK and abroad where there is member activity and upgrading media communications. Expenditure is higher than last year primarily because of the purchase and distribution of member Clive Barrett's book Subversive Peacemakers. Member subscriptions still produced over 90% of non-legacy income. There are 3 outstanding legacies that have been notified and amount to approximately £14200. The accounts were independently examined by Michael Deval FICA. **The full report is available at the Charity Commissioners website or at the APF website.**

Roger Payne, 15th June 2015.

Statement of Financial Activities for the year ended 5 April 2015

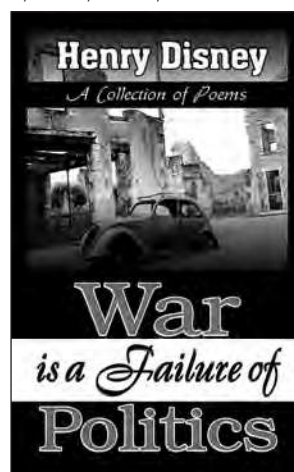
	Unrestricted Funds	2015 Total Funds	2014 Total Funds
	£	£	£
Incoming resources			
Incoming resources from generated funds			
Voluntary income	294,804	294,804	24,654
Investment income	97	97	66
Incoming resources from charitable activities	764	764	109
Other incoming resources	—	—	232
Total incoming resources	295,666	295,666	25,062
Resources used			
Cost of generating funds			
Cost of generating voluntary income	440	440	389
Fundraising trading cost of goods sold and Other costs	3,588	3,588	—
Charitable activities	10,663	10,663	9,601
Governance costs	2,455	2,455	2,131
Total resources used	17,147	17,147	12,122
Net surplus	278,518	278,518	12,939
Total funds brought forward	31,575	31,575	18,635
Total funds carried forward	310,094	310,094	31,575
Represented by			
Unrestricted			
General fund	310,094	310,094	31,575

Balance sheet as at 5 April 2015

	2015	2014
	£	£
Fixed assets		
Computer & Software	637	637
Promotional Equipment	1,385	1,385
Total Fixed assets	2,023	2,023
Current assets		
Inland Tax Recoverable	1,387	1,332
Literature Stocks	4,139	2,480
Nat West Current Account	17,793	1,480
CBF Church of England Deposit Fund	49,573	23,973
Virgin Money Charity Deposit Account	38,368	100
Virgin Money Charity 100day Notice Account	100,000	—
Cambridge & Counties 95day Notice A/C	83,000	—
PayPal Account	448	215
Accounts Receivable	14,200	—
Total Current assets	308,910	29,582
Liabilities		
Accounts Payable	839	30
Total Liabilities	839	30
Net Assets	Total	310,094
Reserves		
Represented by funds		
Unrestricted General Fund	310,094	31,575
Total	310,094	31,575

War is a failure of politics: a Christian perspective (2015)

By Henry Disney



APF member, Henry Disney has put a selection of his poems into this anthology and has kindly donated all royalties to the fellowship.

Henry has been writing poetry since a teenager at school and has published nine anthologies. This, his tenth gathers together a selection of unashamedly political poems concerned with his deep antipathy to war. In the preface, he says 'the criticism that I am too much down on Bush and Blair as opposed to likes of Hitler, Saddam Hussein or

today's promoters of war as an instrument of political change (such as Putin), is because the two Bs overtly declared themselves to be motivated by their Christian faith but in practice put their faith in the force of arms, despite Christ's rejection of violence.'

The price is £7. It is also available on Kindle. It can be ordered from admin@pneumasprings.co.uk, or 01322 377445. The postal address is 7 Groveherst Road, Dartford, Kent DA1 5JD.

Chairperson's Report, continued from page three



Next year the UK Parliament will vote on the renewal of Trident. This represents a possible spend of £100bn of expenditure to the UK taxpayer. Prior to Jeremy Corbyn's election, the renewal of Trident was looking like a nailed on certainty; now there is a sense that with Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the opposition, there may well be a chance to vote down its renewal.

I believe we must act now to mobilise our Churches through the drafting of letters to be sent to bishops and MPs up and down the country, urging them of the moral and legal arguments against renewal and our responsibility to use taxpayers' money for the good of our fellow human beings. As Tony Benn said, 'If we can find the money to kill people, we can find the money to help people.' And as Jesus said, 'Love your neighbour as yourself.' How we use our resources speaks volumes as to who we are as people. How do we want £100bn to be used and how are we going to act now to send a clear message to the Church and politicians alike that we want an economy based on mutually assured development, rather than mutually assured destruction?

‘Trident is contrary to the spirit of the United Kingdom’s obligations in international law.’

‘I believe Lansbury was one of the great heroes of the twentieth century.’



As usual on rallies like this, Stop the War Coalition – the organisation that Corbyn helped form in 2002 – was prominent. It pursues a fervent anti-imperialism and belief that most of the world’s ills are due to US foreign policy. If the suffering of the oppressed can be blamed on the West, it will defend them even if they are involved in armed resistance and terrorism. Corbyn has supported this view and many fear that this will damage Britain’s international interests. The choice of Seamus Milne, a journalist with similar views and someone who is particularly pro-Putin, will make things worse.

Corbyn has made it clear that he expects the party to behave well but some of those around him may not be so accepting, and there is a danger that Labour may become the nasty party. Some Labour MPs are already complaining about harassment and his praetorian guard has taken to naming and shaming Labour MPs who defy the whip so that they can be subject to trial by Twitter.

What now?

For many in the Labour party it is crucial that Corbyn can address these problems, improve his image and unite the party so that it has a chance in the 2020 election. But he faces a serious challenge. Latest YouGov research finds that the general electorate and those who voted for Corbyn for Labour leader are divided by an enormous gulf (www.newstatesman.com 23 September). The immediate concern, though, is how he will deal with opposition in his party on the issues to which he is most committed. The differences cannot all be finessed away as some were at the party conference.

Two defence issues will be crucial. One is Trident replacement that comes up for parliamentary vote next year. The other is the possibility of UK military action in Syria against ISIS.

Corbyn’s vision of a nuclear-free Britain certainly taps into a trend in public opinion and perhaps its time will come, especially as the SNP and Scottish Labour now supports abolition. But many Labour MPs are behind the curve and it is not clear what the party’s upcoming strategic defence review will decide.

The British peace movement needs to strengthen its support of CND and take the action as our chairperson proposes on page 3. We in APF should work closely with Christian CND and encourage the Church of England Synod to take a clear position against nuclear weapons. **The key passage from the Synod’s last statement letter to Government is included in the next column for reference.**

The Conservatives intend at some point to seek Common’s approval for UK military action against IS in Syria, although there is some uncertainty now that Russia has joined in the fight against the terrorists. David Cameron is also being cautious in case he is unable to guarantee a majority in Parliament after it emerged the Commons foreign affairs select committee expressed skepticism about the value of extending UK military action in Syria.

The Labour Party conference passed a resolution opposing the bombing of Syria unless a number of important conditions are met. These include an unequivocal UN sanction for any action, attempts at diplomatic solutions to the crisis, and proper provision for refugees from Syria. Since Corbyn sees the conference as the policy-making forum, he will soon come under pressure to force Labour MPs to vote against military involvement if the conditions are not met.

But the chances are that they will not be met, and many Labour MPs are likely to want a free vote. Corbyn may find it difficult to deny them this given his own record in refusing the whip.

Whatever happens in Parliament, there is likely to be significant peace movement resistance to military involvement in Syria led by Stop the War Coalition and it will be interesting to see how much support this garners from the general public, and whether this influences the government’s decision.

Then, beyond this discussion there is the more general consideration of Britain’s international responsibility. One option, as Corbyn has proposed, is to accept that the UK is simply a small island on the north west coast of Europe and curb its ambitions accordingly. Alternatively it could accept that it has a stake in a secure and thriving world order, and that leaving others to prop it up has not worked out well in the immediate past.

Tony Kempster

NOTE

POSITION OF THE GENERAL SYNOD ON TRIDENT Key section from the letter sent from the CofE Archbishops’ Council to Des Browne, Minister of Defence in 2007 following a debate and vote in the General Synod

when it considered the Government’s White Paper on *The future of the UK’s nuclear deterrent*.

At the end of the debate the Synod approved the a motion which read as follows:

‘That this Synod recognises the fundamental responsibility of Her Majesty’s Government to provide the security of the country:

(a) welcomes the response from the Mission and Public Affairs Council to the House of Commons Defence Select Committee’s inquiry expressing serious questions about the proposal of the UK’s minimum deterrent;

(b) call on Christian people to make an informed contribution to the issues raised in the *The Future of Trident* in the light of Christian teaching about Just War; and

(c) suggest to Her Majesty’s Government that the proposed upgrading of Trident is contrary to the spirit of the United Kingdom’s obligations in international law and the ethical principles underpinning them.’

George Lansbury

Eighty years ago, at a time when a western power was over-running an African country by force. The public clamour was for combined international military action to increase the destruction in that place. The most outspoken opponent of such a policy was a man who had been the official Leader of the Opposition since 1931. He addressed a packed meeting in Westminster Central Hall.

From the first moment I ever made a public speech as a boy I have been against war. I have never supported any war. The basis of my opposition to war has always been the Christian basis. I believe that our Lord taught us how to live, and if we follow His example we should live without war.

If I were Prime Minister with a mandate from the nation, backed by a majority in the House of Commons, I should go, myself, to the Assembly of the League of Nations and say that our nation had once and for all renounced imperialism and war and was determined at once to disarm and would invite all other nations to follow our lead.

George Lansbury was in his late seventies – it was a long time since he was a boy. Cards on the table, I believe he was one of the great heroes of the twentieth century, principled and practical, providing inspiration with integrity. He should even be on the Church of England’s list of saints.

Two years ago, in a memorial lecture, Jon Cruddas MP said, ‘Through Lansbury we can rediscover exiled traditions within Labour; by returning to questions of ethics and virtue; of lost utopias. Rebuilding hope, energy and vitality through returning to issues of principle and character.’

But Lansbury was not about utopias; he was about making a real difference. As editor of the *Herald* newspaper in 1914-1918, he upheld a tradition of dissent at considerable cost. As leader of Poplar Council in the early 1920s, his direct action protests changed the distribution of taxes away from the poorest areas. His deeds as First Commissioner of Works in the late 1920s opened the royal parks of London into the great public open spaces we see today. (The Serpentine was nicknamed, ‘Lansbury’s Lido’.)

He stepped down from being Leader of the Labour Party in

'Dinner with Saddam'

A play by Anthony Horowitz



This sitcom with a difference is on at Menier's Chocolate Factory, London until 14 November. Horowitz writes in the programme that the Iraq war is the "greatest, unresolved scandal" of his lifetime but that it has become boring. Could comedy and farce, he wonders, make people angry again?

We see a deeply divided Sunni family, on the eve of invasion in March 2013, coping with the news that the leader is about to arrive. No food, no electricity and a stinking blocked toilet - the last thing they need is a visit from the self-styled father of the Iraqi people.

Husband and wife are at odds, their anti-Saddam daughter is in love with a Shia actor. With the arrival of Saddam himself at the beginning of the second half, the play takes a completely different turn. We are left in no doubt that Saddam, played brilliantly with virtuosic menace by Steven Berkoff, is filled with the arbitrary cruelty of the despot. A security guard who unwisely yawns is taken out to be shot.

But Saddam also becomes the vehicle for Horowitz genuine anger about the actions of western governments. We are reminded that the dictator would never have come to power without the CIA, that the US was supportive of Iraq's war with Iran and so on. All these charges may be just, but they mean the farcical action is suspended in order to give Saddam the floor.

So the first half is a very funny half-a-play, but then sadly, just before dinner was served, Horowitz abandoned the fun and gave a lecture instead. Saddam telling us what Britain and the West had done in the past. Telling us about Blair. Does anyone need educating at this point? Does anyone, except possibly Sir John Chilcott? Happy to discuss the 1988 chemical weapons attack on Iraqi Kurds at Halabja when the anti-Saddam daughter Rana raises the topic, he asks: 'Am I a monster or a man?' The answer, of course, is both and Saddam spells out how, to some extent, he is the creature of the powers out to unseat him.

Noam Sherif's 'Mechaye Hameitim'

This is an unusual item here. It concerns the performance of a modern Israeli classic in a run-down German city and is taken from a report by Norman Lebrecht in the November 2015 issue of *Standpoint* magazine. He says:

'In the thick of the biggest European migration since the 1940s, with nuclear powers playing Russian roulette in Syrian skies, a Labour leader who wants to drop our defences and a Europe that is rebuilding its borders, the act of writing about music can seem futile, if not positively escapist. What benefit is there in contemplating the work of composers, the merits of interpreters and their putative meaning of black notes that fly in and above five stave lines like crows at the dawn of Armageddon?'

He answers this question by describing a concert held in a run-down Ruhr town in Germany. It is the 80th birthday concert of an Israeli composer, Noam Sherif and the 50th anniversary of German-Israeli relations, a courageous act by two states to address past tragedy with civil discourse.

The concert was held at in Bochum, a town of 365,000 people



Noam Sherif

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

October 2015

and falling, an unlikely place to celebrate anything. Bochum has nothing much to commend it, apart that is from a symphony orchestra of the highest quality, led by the Lucerne Festival concertmaster Raphael Christ and conducted by Steven Sloane, formerly music director of Opera North, in Leeds. Identifying the orchestra as a source of pride, Bochum nearly bankrupt, has grasped music, as a means of salvation.

An audience gathered to hear a rare performance of Noam Sherif's *Mechaye Hameitim* (Reviver of the Dead), a synoptic musical history of the Jews in northern Europe, from Ghetto to enlightenment, from Holocaust to exodus.

Reporting on the work, Lebrecht says the work 'transforms well-worn materials into ethereal novelties, a process he effects in part by ingenious harmonies and instrumentation, and in part by means of a natural genius for making us hear things for the first time'.



This exhibition has just finished at the Gallery at Oxo, Oxo Tower Wharf but you can find out more about the artist at <http://www.mccrowart.com>

Pioneering the concept of the art of disarmament, using weapons recovered from war torn areas of the world, Carl McCrow gives these new life and meaning as provocative pieces of art. 'One Less Gun' questions war from multiple angles - from the use of child soldiers in conflict through to more recent works which make use of thousands of used military rounds to highlight the billions spent on war and questioning the investment in our own future.

'One less Gun' offers everybody the opportunity to contribute to the solution of this largely ignored problem. By texting *onelessgun* to 70007 on your mobile phone you can destroy a gun for £5. McCrow's target is to destroy 1 million weapons - saving lives, stabilising communities and contributing to a safer world.

George Lansbury (continued from page eleven)

1935, but his work did not end. His efforts to prevent a second world war, working with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation to get international leaders to agree to re-negotiating the Versailles Treaty, came as close as any official diplomacy. I have seen a post-Munich agreement letter from President Benes of Czechoslovakia thanking Lansbury for all he had done to prevent Czechoslovakia from falling into Nazi hands. It was through Lansbury, not the Tory Chamberlain, that there had been the most realistic chance of avoiding war.

One of the first counsellors of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Lansbury was, you see, the real realist. He is a giant of our story. We all need to rediscover Lansbury, in the Church as much as in politics. We will hear more about Lansbury in the months to come. Until this autumn, he was the last Leader of the Opposition to be totally opposed to war. He was not only an inspiration, he was right.

Clive Barrett

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