

THE Anglican PEACEMAKER

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China, USA, Russia

Welcome to the new format of TAP, which we have introduced to make the journal more readable and rather more concise. Regular features continue but some articles are shortened. The full articles are on the new APF website.

The theme of this issue is world order with special reference to terrorist threats. We consider the UK's role in the world, the present nature of the parliamentary debate on defence, and how the anti-war movement should react to complex political situations like the one in Syria.

The fellowship's plans for 2016 on the anniversary of conscription in WW1 are mentioned and several references are made to conscientious objection.

This issue of TAP makes reference to a significant number of book reviews to catch up with contemporary views on peace making.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby speaking during a panel discussion on 'Violent extremism: global threat, local solution' at the 2016 World Economic Forum in Davos, said 'You can't create peace and security by doing things to people, you have to be alongside, doing things with people'.

US president Barack Obama's final State of the Union address was a rallying call for a more united, rational nation. He said: 'Democracy grinds to a halt without a willingness to compromise; or when even basic facts are contested, and we listen only to those who agree with us'. This might also be said of the UK as some politicians take more hostile ideological positions.

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WORLD ORDER AND THE RESPONSE TO ISLAMIC TERRORISM

The full article is available on APF's website
anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk

The world order is under threat as the US pulls back from its role as 'global policeman' and other nations and factions begin to exploit military weaknesses that play to their advantage. Liberal democracies accustomed to the protection of the US military umbrella, are becoming anxious about their future security but are reluctant to increase arms spending. A weakened United Nations does not have the capability to prevent or end major crises like the Syrian conflict and

relies on calls for peace that are often ignored. The issues were discussed in TAP 15.1 ('The future is here').

Then in TAP 15.2 ('Jez we did!'), we discussed the implications of having a committed anti-war activist as leader of the Labour Party. Would Jeremy Corbyn now be able to reach beyond the gesture politics of the peace movement and bring about a fundamental change in UK defence policy? The final paragraph of the article poses the choice.

One option, as Corbyn proposes, is to accept that the UK is simply a small island on the north west coast of Europe and curb its [military] 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.

Pacifists and anti-war activists generally will welcome the former option, but should acknowledge that it is not without risk in today's climate of threats.

Here we examine the choices faced by the UK, beginning with the December parliamentary debate on the use of air strikes against IS in Syria, which, although passed by a significant majority, points up some concerns.

AIR STRIKES AGAINST IS TARGETS IN SYRIA

Who would have thought that such a minor tactical decision would create so much public and media attention? Already involved in the UN-sanctioned coalition to contain and degrade IS, this was simply an extension of air strikes across the border of a failed state to attack a murderous terrorist group at its heartland.

Yet such was the Corbyn effect. Without this, the vote would surely have been passed with little fuss or formality. Mr Corbyn's position was uncompromising and Labour MPs knew that their political futures could be in jeopardy if they did not toe the line, even though this was a free vote.

The 10-hour debate was polarized from the outset with 'war-mongers' and 'terrorist sympathizers' (as they were branded) stating in diametric opposition what the consequences of the air strikes would be. This was not a national assembly weighing the situation carefully but a battle of

'pacifist' commitment with political clout might achieve in more promising circumstances, such as might exist for a vote on unilateral nuclear disarmament.

But, doubt remains about where a blind belief in Corbynism will lead because it holds to a Hard-left ideology. Stop the War Coalition (its public front on defence issues), believes that all the ills in the world are due to US-led western imperialism and any future intervention, whatever the justification, will end with an Iraq-2003-type tragedy. By similar token, no criticism is levelled at the aggression by others, which can come across as support for the international policies of countries like Russia, Iran and Syria, especially when their actions are said to be a response to western aggression; and also support for certain terrorist groups.

Leading figures of StWC make a big play of Noam Chomsky's argument that the crimes of my government are the crimes I can influence, so I should make them my main concern, and not the crimes of other governments. But is this an acceptable position in a closely interconnected world when non-western nations may be responsible for wars and major humanitarian disasters that affect us directly?

ABSOLUTE PACIFISM

The position of absolute pacifists is not dependent on these issues and does not require bolstering by speculation about the outcomes of military intervention. Neither is there an obligation to buy into any ideological prejudice that gives the anti-war movement a bad name. The position taken by absolute pacifists come from the theological belief that all military force is wrong whatever the outcome of a conflict. It follows that some of the military interventions opposed will do more good than harm, and this has to be accepted.

But this does not mean that pacifists should not seek to understand what is happening in specific conflicts, using the knowledge of experts in the field and even the Just War as a framework for examining the pros and cons of particular conflicts.

For those who take the view there can be certain exceptions within the



definition of 'pacifism', the situation is rather more problematic, although it is always possible – and creditable in some circumstances – to say that they are unable take a position in some circumstances. They would also be more likely to invoke the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in conflicts like Syria, which is now regarded as the 'disaster of our times'. Here the case rests on the need to protect innocents in the Middle East from the brutality of IS, other terrorist groups and, of course, the ruthlessness of the Assad regime.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SYNOD VOTE ON SYRIA

On 24 November the General Synod did invoke R2P when it overwhelmingly backed military intervention in Syria to protect civilians. It called upon the Government 'to work with international partners in Europe and elsewhere to help establish safe and legal routes to places of safety, including this country, for refugees who are vulnerable and at severe risk'.

The Bishop of Durham, who proposed the motion, admitted during the debate that securing safe routes for Syrian refugees might well involve a 'need for armed conflict'. The Archbishop of Canterbury reiterated his words, saying that the motion committed the church to supporting the use of military force in these circumstances. The motion was passed by 333 votes without opposition.

CONSIDERATION OF THE JUST WAR

This brings us to the use of the Just War, which requires that certain criteria are met before military force is used. But is the struggle to defeat IS actually a 'war'.



factions with different agendas. Few acknowledged that the conflict is so complex that it is practically impossible to judge whether the value of the strikes would outweigh the harm done. Would they kill more civilians than the regular killings by IS; would they strengthen or weaken the terrorist's ability to carry out attacks? And so on. Nevertheless, the debate was a major event for the anti-war movement, especially as an indication of what a

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AS THE ENACTMENT OF THE PROPHETIC IMAGINATION

FROM THE CHAIRPERSON – NAT REUSS

Holidays with the family where everyone comes down with the dreaded flu have no right normally to remain within one's memory as an enlightening and spiritually impactful time. One such trip to Yorkshire in spring 2011, however, proved to be different. We were staying in Richmond and found its Castle. Its high keep has eleven-foot-thick walls – ideal for keeping enemies out and prisoners in.

And its this suitability for locking people away that made it the place where military prisoners were held during both World Wars. Chiefly though was the internment of 'The Richmond 16'. Sixteen conscientious objectors (COs) were held there during WW1 before being taken to France to work for the army. Fifteen refused this order and were sentenced to death, only to have this sentence reduced to 10-years hard labour after Arthur Rowntree MP had taken their case to PM Asquith.

The actual cells where the Richmond 16 were held are closed to the public in order to preserve the political graffiti written onto the walls by the prisoners.

Displays of this outside the cells are a window to the reasons behind the CO's stance against compulsory conscription. Whilst much of it is Christian, APF counsellor Clive Barrett in his book *Subversive peacemakers*, helpfully states that the CO's held there comprised sectarian and socialist absolutists as well as Christians.

Looking at the graffiti, it is hard to miss the deep devotion many of these men had to God. An image that captured my imagination was a drawing by J A Brocklesby on 22 May 1916 which is entitled 'Jesus Hominum Salvator' ('Jesus the Saviour of Men')

As with all art, its meaning can be interpreted in different ways. But it is inescapable how the nature and power of God to save is the source of strength for this prisoner in his plight.

The witness of the Richmond 16, as with any other COs demands us consider their costly courses of action: to try to understand their reasoning and the fellowship and solidarity they enjoyed with people of other beliefs and the impact their witness made to future generations.

To many, their stance would seem at best difficult to fathom and, at worst, rampant stupidity in the face of other responsibilities both national and domestic. Their witness to me, however, is in the same spirit of the Old Testament prophets, the words of which are read by Churches everywhere. Yet, we seem immune from stopping and learning from these trials, which are similar to those experienced by CO's all around the world and called to be expected as normal by Jesus himself.

For what are we to make of Isaiah stripping off all his garments and wandering around stark naked and barefoot for three years (Isaiah 20); or Jeremiah fastened to a cattle yoke of straps and crossbars and bound around his neck (Jeremiah 27)? I could go on at length and write about Ezekiel laying on his side for 390 days to receive the guilt of Israel before rolling over onto his right side for 40 days to bear the guilt of the house of Judah (Ezekiel 4:4-6). What sense are we to make of these strange antics?

It is important, as with the COs, to understand the socio-political situation in which these radical actions arise. So rather than treating them as isolated actions and wrongly labelling the actors as deranged men, we see in the Prophets, that they are directed by God to be largely 'signs' designed to stand out and speak publicly on issues of significant geopolitical change.

Isaiah's nudity was a sign against those who trusted in the might of Egypt and



Cush (Ethiopians) rather than in the might of God and pointing therefore towards their destruction. Jeremiah and his yoke carries with it a message of geopolitical significance – that the Kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre and Sidon must bow their necks under the yoke of Babylon and serve Nebuchadnezzar. Why? So that they will be able to remain in their own land, to till and to survive. For Ezekiel, his witness was a sign to Israel and Judah of the coming destruction of Jerusalem and the length of their respective exile.

Faith in God for the prophets knows nothing of the post modern notion that it remains a purely a private matter. Nor has it been a purely private matter for Christian COs around the world. Their various stances act as 'signs' to the prevailing culture, that there exists a deeper reality in times of war, as in times of peace. This is the existence of God who is love, not only for them but for all people even, as poor Jonah found out, for those we would consider as being our enemies.

But what are we to do with these COs who risked everything for their faith in God? Aren't they just fringe people, resisting assimilation into mainstream everyday faith? Pigeon hole them as we might, their witness ought to be front and centre as the future of the Church in witnessing to the fallen powers that seek to abuse the created order.

In 1978, Walter Brueggemann wrote *The prophetic imagination*. He traces the radical vision the Old Testament prophets in the 'midst of their pain and dilemma' and brings forth their critique of the oppressive empires and of unjust royal powers; and the need to centre the life of

TRIDENT MATTERS AND MORE

FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY – **TONY KEMPSTER**

This is a critical time for the UK nuclear deterrent. Will the changes in politics discussed earlier bring about its demise?



Impression or future reality?

Mr Corbyn is committed to unilateral disarmament and continues remaking Labour in his own image. His recent shadow cabinet reshuffle is lining up the ducks and he is talking about an online ballot of Labour members views on Trident. Further, a review, headed up jointly by his ally Ken Livingstone and Emily Thornberry, the new shadow Defence Secretary and a Trident opponent, looks certain to recommend a change of policy to the party conference in the autumn.

However Mr Corbyn does have a timetabling problem if the

Conservatives go for a vote on Trident replacement in the spring.

I personally favour a multilateralist approach to nuclear disarmament wherever possible, but I also understand the arguments behind the present campaign. APF together with Christian CND was instrumental in posing a question to the CofE General Synod in November 2015. The question and answer were as follows.

Canon Janet Perrett (Ely) asked the Chair of the Mission and Public Affairs Council:

Noting that the Archbishops' Council wrote to the Secretary of State for Defence in March 2007, and that the UK Parliament is due to debate the Main Gate decision on Trident renewal at some point in 2016, can the attention of HMG again be drawn to the General Synod resolution of February 2007 and in particular to the amendment that was passed to '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 to the ethical principles underpinning them'?

Mr Philip Fletcher replied as Chair of the Mission and Public Affairs Council:

The House of Bishops' Pastoral Letter of April 2015 argued that serious questions

still remain about the proposed renewal of the UK's minimum deterrent, and that these need to be pressed in conversation with HMG. Whilst opinion within the church, and in the country, is not unanimous, the absence of informed debate about the relevance of Trident in relation to the post-Cold War global threats to the nation's security is a serious concern. These questions will become more pressing next year when the Main Gate decision is due. The MPA Division will continue to resource and equip Lords Spiritual to contribute to parliamentary debates on Trident, ahead of any decision, and will seek to ensure that ethical considerations are not lost in the wider political and strategic debate.

The Bishop of Liverpool followed with a supplementary question asking for materials to be produced to inform congregations about the issues in Trident renewal so they can put pressure on their MPs etc. He has informed us that the question has resulted in an upcoming meeting with senior staff at Church House to see what can be done. APF will be assisting with this in anyway that will be helpful in getting the issue into dioceses/parishes.

Stop Trident National Rally

APF will be present with other members of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations at the Stop Trident National Rally. This is a very important demonstration to show the Government the strength of public opinion against Trident.

APF will be joining a gathering for faith groups at 11.00 am Hinde Street Methodist Church, London W1U 2QJ. After we will join the main rally from Speakers Corner to Trafalgar Square. We will walk together behind a 'No Faith in Trident' banner. At the end of the rally, statements on nuclear weapons from the various faiths will be read from the steps of St. Martin in the Fields. Please join us if you can.



NO FAITH IN TRIDENT

Join us on 27th February and help Stop Trident

Members of NCPO and other faith groups will gather at 11.00am at Hinde Street Methodist Church Marylebone, London W1U for prayers before setting off to join the march and rally.

The march ends in Trafalgar Square where there will be speeches, including from faith leaders.



THE WILSON/HINKES AWARD

APF was proud to sponsor the 2015 award. Details of the winner, Takako Barker were published in the last issue of TAP. Here we give some information on the unsuccessful nominations because we believe it is important for them receive recognition for their important work.

War Resisters International:

Nominated by The Revd Chris Howson, who said, "Their publications and practical support mean the difference between a life of activism, or just ignoring the prophetic calling." Recent achievements include the 'Continuum of nonviolence: small actions, big Movements' in Cape Town, a new programme of work called 'Countering the militarisation of youth' and a new edition of the *Handbook for nonviolent campaigns*. He also mentioned their continuing support of conscientious objectors across the globe, particularly in Colombia, Israel, Turkey and South Korea.

Peace, Healing and Reconciliation Programme (Pharp).

This Rwandan charity was nominated with its two leaders, Julienne Mukansanga and Anastase Rugirangoga by The Revd John Howard, For the last twenty years since the genocide in Rwanda, PHARP has been working in a range of ways to build peace in Rwanda. Their activities include seminars in which perpetrators and victims of the genocide are brought together in order to achieve reconciliation. As a result of these seminars, PHARP has been able to build up a number of communities in which the perpetrators and victims live and work together. John Howard says 'I pay tribute to the dedication, skill and commitment of its leaders and the impact their work'.

Cathy Nobles, was nominated by the Northumbria and Newcastle Universities Martin Luther King Peace Committee. Cathy runs the Reconciliation Walk Community in Luton. Operating out of an Anglican

vicarage and in partnership with the local Anglican Church. This is an ecumenical community of Christian people from around the world committed to being peacemakers. The community engages in many projects with local Christians, Muslims and others to build peace. In particular, given Luton's history as the birthplace of the English Defence League and troubled race relations, the community has worked to promote dialogue and understanding between religions, as well as engage in anti-racist work.

Change Agents for Peace International – Turning the Tide (Ttt).

Nominated by Quaker Peace and Social Witness, this project has been working in Kenya. Following the traumatic post-election violence of 2008 in their country Kenyan Quakers found that many people they worked with questioned what they should do with their anger: TTT seeks to improve people's knowledge about nonviolence and their ability to use the tools and techniques it offers to, identify, plan, and execute local campaigns, showing the effectiveness of nonviolence in achieving social change. Over 900 people have been trained in active non-violence and over 1000 took part in the pre-election training in 2013. They are now working in Uganda and plans are in hand to develop the programme in Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

UNITED FOR PEACE'S CHURCHES AND INTERFAITH WORK

APF is supporting UfP's interfaith work in Edinburgh organised by The Revd Brian Cooper and will be involved in planning events during the year, probably during the Edinburgh festival.

An important event, entitled Understanding ISIS – Inter-faith responses to religious extremism was held on 5 December 2015 hosted by the Annandale Street Mosque and attended by 150 people. Speaker summaries are on the APF website (anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk).

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.

The anthology book 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.

Professor Nick Megoran has reviewed the book. His review is on the APF website and will also be published in the next issue of TAP.

PERSONAL PROFILE

There will be a new feature in future issues of TAP. This will tell the story of individuals who are making a major contribution to peace making 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.



Our first story is about Chilean-born Roberta Bacic, an international expert, collector and curator of arpillera and quilt exhibitions on peace and social justice issues. In a period of some 15 years has brought textile art to the fore as a medium for popularising peace and justice issues all over the world.

RECONCILIATION IN TWO WORLD WARS

ANDRE TROCME AND LE CHAMBON SUR LIGNON

ARTICLE BY APF COUNSELLOR, THE REVD DONALD REECE

Andre Trocme grew up in St Quentin, Picardy son of a German mother. He was thirteen in 1914 when Germany invaded, and his family had occupying officers billeted with them. Andre saw war wounded of both sides. After the war, in 1932, as an assistant pastor he sought reconciliation with German war veterans, and invited Gerhard Halle to visit France. Halle was sorry he had obeyed German orders to dynamite three towns during the war and wanted to make a public apology. The meeting at Sin-le-Noble heard him, but the people of Douai and Arras rejected him angrily.

The French Reformed Church regarded Andre as unpatriotic and refused to appoint him to a parish. He was banished to Le Chambon sur Lignon in the Cevennes plateau. The civilian resistance of Andre and his wife Magda during WW2, is told in:

The greatest escape: how one French community saved thousands of lives from the Nazis. Peter Grose (2014), Nicholas Brealey Publishing

Pastors Andre Trocme and Edouard Theis encouraged people in the surrounding villages to shelter Jews, and set up escape routes to Switzerland; and in the way of Christ, without violence, to resist the 1940–44 French Vichy Government under the Nazis. Jewish children who arrived alone were absorbed into the families of hill farmers, or amongst other children in the hostels and in the newly founded Ecole Nouvelle Cevenol. The children of one hostel were deported, and cousin Daniel Trocme went to

care for them and was also executed. The two Pastors and the Head Teacher were imprisoned, but released after a few weeks. When the Vichy Government Minister, Lamirand, came to Le Chambon, people met him in silence, and a group of theological students from the Ecole Nouvelle Cevenol read a statement that they did not recognize racial differences, only the human race.

Rescue work continued throughout the war, but from 1943/1944 new resisters arrived. National Church leaders now encouraged young men who were being conscripted into forced labour by Germany to abscond, and many of them sought shelter in the woods of this plateau. Many of these resisters joined the maquisards or military resistances. In August 1944, when the first German prisoners were captured, Andre preached the same sermon in German as he preached in French to his villagers. There are estimates of 3,000–5,000 Jews being rescued.

Andre and Magda, together with the people of Le Chambon were awarded the Medal of the Righteous, by Yad Vashem, Israel. Andre died in 1971 but Magda lived as an ambassador for peace until 1996.

In 1957, Andre Trocme wrote what is translated as *Jesus and the non-violent revolution* (2004 edition), Orbis/Plough. This is a fundamental biblical theology of the mission of Jesus, his contemporary context, and the current application for non-violent revolution.

This article including further reference to Trocme's book is on the APF website.

'THE GIRL WHO FORGAVE THE NAZIS'

(Article based on a Channel 4 documentary, 24 January 2016)

This documentary focuses on the 2015 trial of Oskar Groening, a 94-year-old Auschwitz accountant, whose duties included counting the money and belongings confiscated from prisoners. However, what really thrust the case into the headlines were the actions of Holocaust survivor Eva



Eva identifying herself at Auschwitz

Kor, 81, who publicly forgave him and even embraced him in court. Eva said this was a moment of relief. Up until then she had been completely reactive to events related to the Holocaust, and this was, at last, an opportunity to act.

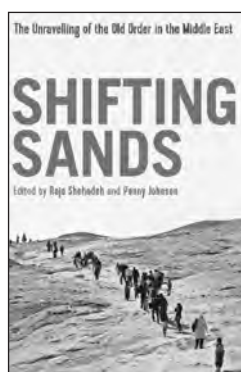
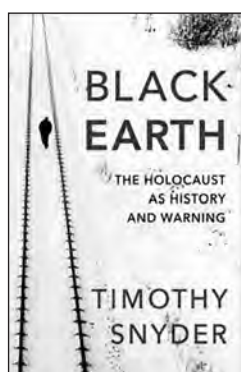
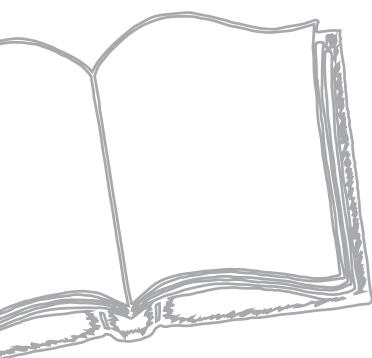
Born in Romania in 1934, Eva lost most of her family in Auschwitz, and along with her twin sister Miriam, she was subjected there to medical experiments. In later life, the twins would establish the organization, Children of Auschwitz Nazi Deadly Lab Experiments Survivors (Candles).

Groening was found guilty of being an accomplice to the mass murder of 400,000 Jews and sentenced to four years in prison – the image of their hug went viral on the internet.

She would later say: 'I don't forget what they have done to me. But I am not a poor person – I am a victorious woman who has been able to rise above the pain and forgive the Nazis.'

The documentary also looks at how her actions provoked criticism and anger from other survivors, including fellow plaintiffs in Groening's case. Some of them signed a petition against her actions.

BOOK LOOK



TIMOTHY SNYDER
(2015)

Black earth: the Holocaust as history and warning

In this epic history of extermination and survival, Timothy Snyder presents a new explanation of the great atrocity of the 20th century and points up the risks we face in the 21st. He rejects traditional explanations for the destruction of Europe's Jewish communities. Non-Germans, he notes, killed as many Jews as did the Germans, even though their anti-semitism was quite different from Adolph Hitler's. He wanted to restore the natural order so that the superior Aryan species would predominate and save the planet.

Crucially, Snyder relates the vulnerability of Jews to their citizenship and the persistence of state structures. Most perished in lawless zones or because they were rendered stateless. He depicts the destruction of states and peoples as the culmination of colonialism and anti-colonialism. Jews were first slaughtered to clear the eastern lands and, later, murdered across Europe to end Jewish 'domination.' When the Nazi's offered east Europeans liberation from 'Judeo-Bolshevism,' local communists seized the myth and turned against their neighbours to demonstrate their fealty.

He concludes with an admonition that panicky responses to climate change could recreate the conditions that plunged Europe into mayhem. We might add concern about the movement of refugees to this. As ideological and environmental challenges to the world order mount, our societies are more vulnerable than we would like to admit.

MARK BOSTRIDGE
(2014)

Vera Brittain and the First World War: the story of the Testament of Youth

Eighty years after its first publication, Vera Brittain's *Testament of youth* remains arguably the greatest work of love, loss and remembrance to emerge from the First World War.

To coincide with the release of a major feature film based on the book, Mark Bostridge, re-examines Brittain's experience of the war and the ways in which she chose to write about it. He charts the slow evolution of *Testament of youth* from novel to memoir, and includes with a section on the dramatization of the book.

Bostridge underlines the character of her pacifism. She had not, as she once put it, become a pacifist 'for reasons of Christianity'; and, indeed, after committing herself to the PPU pledge, she devoted much of her time to the search for political solutions that might avert conflict. But after September 1939 and, even more, with the threat of invasion after the spring of 1940, her pacifism took on more of a religious hue. Its focus was the maintenance of civilised values in wartime. Her pacifism had a positive goal. In her fortnightly 'Letter to peace lovers', Vera insisted that pacifists had an obligation to the community and to the society in which they lived. She argued that, although they could play no part in any activity which furthered the purposes of the 'war machine', pacifists had no right to remain resolutely passive while the world around them was in such a state of turmoil.

RAJA SHEHEDEH & PENNY JOHNSON
(2015)

Shifting sands: the unravelling order in the Middle East

This excellent book arose out of discussions on the past, present and future of the Middle East at last year's Edinburgh international book festival.

At a time when the Middle East dominates media headlines more than ever – and for reasons that become ever more heartbreaking – *Shifting Sands* brings together fifteen informed voices to talk about a region with unlimited potential, and yet which can feel, as one writer puts it, 'as though the world around me is on fire'?

Revealing how the roots of the current conflict lie in the past, from the catastrophic long-term effects of colonialism to the interplay of religion and politics, the book also explores more recent events, such as the seismic after-effects of the Arab Spring and the rise of IS. And it goes on to explore a number of important questions including: What hope does the future hold? Where do we go from here?

Despite what has happened, the west continues to support and sell arms to some of the repressive regimes, notably Saudi Arabia.

For all those who are wearied by the debates surrounding the Middle East – often at best ill-informed and at worst, defeatist propaganda – this intelligent, reasoned perspective on life in the Middle East is a breath of fresh air.

DIARY OF EVENTS, AND NOTICES

LOCAL AND NATIONAL

27 February: Stop Trident national demonstration in London. (See page 4 for further details.)

29 February: Oh what a lovely war-resistance! A musical evening of historic opposition to war. 7 pm at St Augustine's Church, Mattison Road, London N4 1BG. (See the arts page 12 for further details.)

1 March: Oh what a lovely war-resistance repeat. This time at Hinde St Methodist Church, London W1U 2QJ.

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. 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 for an application form.

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 (details below).

IMPORTANT FOR APF VOLUNTEERS: EXPENSES AND LIABILITY INSURANCE

If you are involved in an event as a volunteer of APF it is important to notify an APF officer (by email or other permanent form). Then you can rightly claim expenses from APF and will be covered by APF's Employer Liability and Public Liability insurance.

Roger Payne, Treasurer, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship a registered charity

APF WEBSITE

We have upgraded 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 www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk. By using the following links in your browser the following is now available:

Facebook: www.facebook.com/anglicanpeacemaker

You can access the Facebook page via the APF website or via Google.

If anyone has something that they would like to share and have posted, simply email it to vicechair@anglicanpacifists.com

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

Twitter and facebook can also be accessed through the website (www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk/).

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

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.

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

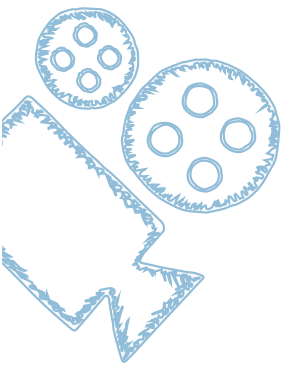
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APPLICATION FOR
MEMBERSHIP

FILM LOOK RECENT FILMS REVIEWED



BRIDGE OF SPIES (2015)

Directed by
Steven Spielberg

'Bridge of Spies' is inspired by the true story of an insurance lawyer, James B. Donovan, who became the unlikely go-between in an exchange of prisoners between the U.S. and Soviet governments in 1957.

Donovan is nominated defence lawyer for a captured Russian spy, Abel.

No one expects him to mount a strong defense of Abel. His efforts to seek acquittal are met with shock and anger by the American public; he is deluged with hate mail and his life is threatened, but he continues to fight. Here is the moral point of the film.



A War



Donovan makes the case to have Abel imprisoned rather than executed, in case he's ever needed as a bargaining chip. That need arises almost instantly when Francis Gary

Powers, the young pilot of the U-2 prototype spy plane, is shot down over Soviet Russia and imprisoned, while Frederic Pryor, an American economics student studying in Berlin, is captured by the East German police force. As Abel's state-appointed representative, Donovan is sent to Berlin to negotiate some kind of trade – and against the explicit advice of the CIA, decides to pursue a two-for-one deal.

The situation becomes extremely complicated as the

story unravels. Through long hours and patience, Donovan's resolve was rewarded. East Germany complies, and the exchange is conducted at the Glienicke Bridge and Checkpoint Charlie simultaneously, freeing the three men. Donovan gains credit for his achievement.

The film captures brilliantly the intrigue and subterfuge of the Cold War period.

A WAR (2016)

Directed by
Tobias Lindholm

The film describes the ordeals faced by a group of Danish soldiers in Afghanistan – the constant fear of landmines and ambushes, the frictions that come from having to treat every Afghan stranger as a potential suicide bomber. It is absorbing and occasionally tense.

Company commander Claus M. Pedersen and his men are stationed in an Afghan province. Meanwhile back in Denmark Claus' wife Maria is trying to hold everyday life together with a husband at war and three children missing their father. During a routine mission, the soldiers are caught in heavy crossfire and in order to save his men, Claus makes a decision that has grave consequences for him – and his family back home.

Claus is self-evidently a decent man who does everything he can to look after the soldiers in his charge. Nonetheless, when he makes a fateful decision not to allow an Afghan family threatened by the Taliban to shelter in the Danish camp, he sets in motion a bloody chain of

events. Both his military judgement and his humanity are called into question.

'A War' is very well written, and it covers every base in its exploration of its main protagonist's behaviour and motivations. It works both as a war movie and, in its latter scenes, as a finely calibrated courtroom drama.

THE VISIT: AN ALIEN ENCOUNTER (2016)

Directed by
Michael Madsen

This is an unusual film to place here but it is not without purpose.

This film documents an event that has never taken place – man's first encounter with intelligent life from outer space. With unprecedented access to the UN Office for Outer Space Affairs, the military, and experts from leading space agencies, the film explores a first contact scenario, beginning with the simplest of questions: Why are you here? Are your intentions friendly?

The most frightening moment was the sense of how public panic would cause society to break down. The MoD officials, based on their experience during the Bosnian conflicts of the mid 1990s, indicated that society tips into anarchy very quickly. The varnish of society is very thin: fear cuts through it quickly.

Madsen's thought experiment expresses extraordinary courage and open-mindedness. I hope we can bring such an attitude to an alien encounter if it happens for real.





Walter Brueggemann

the faithful community around God as a clear alternative community practicing justice, mercy and love.

In the Old Testament such stances resulted in confrontations. But Brueggemann cautions the Church against adopting like for like practices. Instead, he argues that the lives of the prophets and the prophetic texts need to give rise to a wisdom and courage that invite an 'imagination' to know how to

move to a current contemporary situation and concrete circumstance. I believe the witness of COs many and varied as they are, are examples of Christians who have done just this.

But what of our Richmond 16 and other COs? Didn't

they just opt out of their national responsibilities, remembering here that many COs were not absolutist and did sacrificial work for others in many ways including agricultural and medical work.

Those Richmond 16 were refusing the compulsory conscription imposed upon them, and like another, the prophet Daniel, found their obedience to God or their own consciences coming into conflict with this new rule of the state.

In their stubborn refusal, I would consider them being caught up in the prophetic imagination, their lives speaking down the ages of a deeper reality and a challenge to the dominant culture of war.

While enemies may change, the lives of COs stand as a sign of the existence of God. Their God refuses the dominant false narratives found in tribal views of God being on one side or another, and reveals the universal love of God for all and with all.

As Church decline continues, particularly in the West, the lives and witness of Christian COs reveal a prophetic Imagination that we need now, more than ever. An imagination from God to seep into our own lives as we seek to follow God more faithfully and with greater cost in the midst of the dominant and false cultures that seek to ensnare us and to diminish our light and witness.



Professor AC Grayling writing in *Prospect* magazine (January 2016) argues that IS is not Islamic, or a state and this isn't war. He states:

On no definition of 'war' as properly defined is it engaged in war. It is engaged in crime. It is an international brigade of killers on the loose in other people's countries; a self-bred infection.

Whether the Just War is appropriate or not, senior figures in the Church of England have used it. The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in the Lords, said 'the Just War criteria have, to my mind, been met. But while they are necessary, they are not by themselves sufficient, and we could end up doing the right thing in such a wrong way that it becomes the wrong thing.

He then went on to point out that terrorism is a global issue and that by focusing on IS we are only providing local solutions. Further, military action is only one part of the answer. There must be a global theological and ideological component – not just

one in this country – to what we are doing; and it must be relentlessly pursued and promoted.

Several senior Anglican figures including the Archbishop of Wales have argued that the use of air strikes against IS in Syria is not acceptable under the Just War essentially because the outcome is uncertain. Lord Harries of Pentregarth (retired Bishop of Oxford), speaking in the House of Lords, concludes that the air strikes only meet three of the six Just War criteria, making the war unacceptable. Key points are as follows.

The first three Just war criteria are easily met. Is there a just cause? Yes: Daesh is an evil that must be stopped. Is there competent authority? Yes: the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2249 calls on states to take 'all necessary' means to overcome this threat to international peace. Is there just intention? Yes: to establish an ordered peace in territory now held by ruthless killers.

It is when we come to the last three of the six criteria that the issue becomes much more problematical. Have all other steps short of war been taken? No: there are clearly other actions that we should be tackling as a matter of urgency.

The next two criteria are very closely intertwined and are crucial in the present debate in particular. Namely, more good than

evil must flow from the military action, and there must be a reasonable chance of success. We need to think very seriously about what we mean by 'success' in this context. It has two aspects, both crucial. One is the worldwide battle for hearts and minds. We must never forget that the aim of these terrorists is to alienate young Muslim minds from the values of the countries in which they live and to win them over to their extreme form of religion.

He set out the argument well, but (perhaps just a quibble) is it really appropriate to use the Just War when we are considering a tactical decision in a war already being fought. Leaving aside a consideration of Grayling's point that this is not a war but a policing action, is it right to judge the ethics of the decision against the total engagement with IS?

The view Lord Harries expresses is very much in line with the conclusions set out in *Just War on terror? A Christian and Muslim response* (2010) initiated and produced by the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament (CCADD) while I was on the management committee.

Edited by David Fisher and Brian Wicker, the book draws on Just War teaching as developed within both the Christian and Muslim traditions.

Two key points are as follows.

After 9/11 the phrase 'War on Terror' became a key element in the rhetoric of George Bush. But, as too few noticed at the time, this was immediately to misconceive and misstate the nature of the conflict that the world now faces.

Military force, while it may be an essential weapon in the armoury to be deployed against terrorists, is only one weapon, to be wielded with care and only as a last resort.

This leads us to consider how US international policy has changed since the Iraq debacle and how this affects our view of America's role in the world. The track record of President Obama's term in office is the significant here.

However much we agonise over the UK's role in Syria or the world generally or take the Corbynist view that we should distance ourselves from US foreign policy and withdraw from all military involvement, we still have to recognise the benefits that the US provides, including support for the defence of Europe as the key player in NATO.

PRESIDENT OBAMA, A FAILED NOBEL PEACE LAUREATE?

Few can doubt that Barack Obama has significantly changed the tone of US foreign policy. Bush's rhetoric of a 'War on terror' has been tempered.

It has to be said that the new administration has not repudiated the doctrine of pre-emptive military force. But its overall approach to countering terrorism, as to international relations generally, is more multilateralist and gives higher priority to diplomacy and non-military options than its predecessor.

In his State of the Union address this month, he posed a question that suffuses his international policy: 'How do we keep America safe and lead the world without becoming its policeman?' In essence, it is a variation on President Clinton's theme of preparing for a rule-based world in which the US is not the top dog.

It is not only that he has (largely) extracted the US from the unpopular wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Nor that he has ended the destructive isolation

of Cuba and facilitated the collective efforts to bring Iran in from the cold and halt in its nuclear weapons ambitions – these are significant feats. At a moral level there have also been improvements in, for example, the banning of coercive interrogation techniques employed in Guantanamo Bay and elsewhere. These moves are part of a rethink of the way the US – still as he rightly emphasised, by far the most powerful nation economically and militarily – interacts with the outside world.

But conservative critics do see this as weakness and failure. They claim Obama has presided over a sharp decline in American power and influence around the world. They point particularly to his inability to halt the war in Syria and defeat IS. There is, of course, some truth in this, but all pioneering change has risk and only time will determine its value.

Obama is certainly both temperamentally and intellectually a reluctant interventionist, which should be appealing to the anti-war movement.

Whatever the strength of this logic, it is time that the Hard-left anti-war activists recognised that a change has taken place and stop harping back to the 2003 invasion of Iraq; and that it is important for the UK to have a positive relationship with the US and contribute to any initiatives judged to be valuable.

But it is in the arena of nuclear weapons that Obama's international policy is likely to be judged, not least because he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 2009, nine months into his presidency with no tangible achievements to his name. This was very controversial and Geir Lundestad,

secretary to the Nobel committee, wrote in *Secretary of Peace* (his recent memoir) 'the prize was given in the hope of bolstering support for Obama's vision to rid the world of nuclear weapons.' and 'In that sense the committee did not achieve what it had hoped for.'

These issues are crucial as international nuclear security is deteriorating. Twenty years after the Cold War, neither the US or Russia has ruled out the first use of nuclear arsenal and both maintain a combined strength of 1,800 nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert. Communication between NATO and Russian chains of command is also at a new low, far worse than in the 1970s. Nuclear experts also say that the growth of cyber-warfare is the biggest potential threat to the reliability of automated command and control systems (see William J. Perry's book, *My journey at the nuclear brink*).

Clearly there is an increasing risk that IS or other terrorist groups may eventually have access to nuclear weapons or be able to use cyber attacks to override security procedures for the nuclear weapons held by other countries. IS is determined in its aims and practices which it sees as a catalyst to a coming Armageddon, which makes it an existential threat.



The longer IS exists the closer we approach the possibility of IS exploding a 'dirty bomb' in a major capital. The situation is urgent and, given that their aims are completely incompatible with the possibility of negotiation, it is nonsense to believe that military action should wait until all other avenues have been explored.

Tony Kempster



THE ART OF PEACE

OH WHAT A LOVELY WAR-RESISTANCE! a musical evening of historic opposition to war

APF counsellor and past chair, Clive Barrett is giving an illustrated talk on the COs of WW1 with some local stories. This is based on his book, *Subversive peacemakers*, sponsored by APF and reviewed in TAP.



'The Conchier', a conscientious objector under arrest, by Arthur W. Gay. The Peace Museum.

Clives account will be interspersed with more than a dozen songs and hymns of the period, music which inspired and encouraged then in taking their stand. Some will be extracts, some given in full. There will be a choir to sing them, but many go to well-known tunes and the audience will be invited to join in the singing. Besides less famous songs such as Edward Carpenter's *England, arise* and Bartholomew's *Farewell to the forest*, with a tune by Mendelssohn, this event has the unusual distinction of including both the National Anthem (peace version) and *the Red Flag*.

Come and sing along to songs of courage and conscience, with the help of a choir led by Sue Gilmurray.

The event will take place twice: 29 February at 7pm, St Augustine's Church, Mattison Road, London N4 1BG and on 1 March at Hinde Street Methodist Church, London W1U 2QJ.

'ARMIES OF PEACE': a new song by Sue Gilmurray

Sue Gilmurray has written a new song after reading about the current climate of hostility and suspicion of strangers and foreigners, and reminding herself

that, at the same time, there are people working steadily at peacemaking and peace-building, sometimes winning local successes, but rarely making the news.

To hear *Armies of peace*, as well as other Gilmurray songs and hymns, go to: www.soundcloud.com/mightierpen

THE JOY OF LIVING: a tribute on the centenary of Ewan MacColl birth

Ewan was born in 1915 in Salford, Lancashire to socialist Scots parents. His father was an iron moulder and militant trade unionist. He was brought up in an émigré Scots community, amidst fierce political debate and the traditional songs that his parents had carried with them.

For 60 years he was at the cultural forefront of numerous political struggles, producing plays, songs and scripts on the subjects of apartheid, apartheid, fascism, industrial strife and human rights.



Ewan was a passionate collector and singer of traditional Scottish and English folk music and a prolific songwriter. All of us will know some of his songs and some of us will have sung them.

'The joy of living' is a wonderful collection of Ewan's song performed by different singers. It is not meant to be definitive retrospective but a collection of the favourite songs of the three children (Neil, Calum and Kitty) from his partnership with Peggy Seeger.

REFUGEE BY ERIC BOGLE

Written to mark UN Refugee Week



*Joseph's eight years old, as far as he can tell
He's a fine young boy, with a quick shy smile*

*A dusty transit camp is his life and home
It's the only one he's ever known*

*Round the camp's high fence the rusty
barbed-wire's curled
To mark the frontier of his poor small world
Far beyond the fence, living in his dreams
Is the home that Joseph's never seen*

*Ah-ah, Refugee, Ah-ah, Refugee
There but for the grace of God my friends
Go you and me.*

A verse from a song by 'Eric Bogle – Mirrors' (CDTRAX 068)

DAMON ALBARN AND AN ORCHESTRA OF SYRIAN REFUGEES

The Syrian National Orchestra for Arabic Music, whose members have fled around the world due to the conflict in the country, are reuniting for a London concert featuring Blur and Gorillaz singer Damon Albarn. The orchestra first played with Albarn at the Damascus Opera House in 2008.

The hope is to reunite about 30 members of the orchestra and 20 members of the choir for concerts in June. The Royal Festival Hall show on 25 June will feature other guest performers. It is part 2016 UK arts programme marking the centenary of WW1.

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