

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

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Multi-national forces hand over of Basra



This is a time for endings with which we are all too familiar. American and British forces leave Iraq having achieved nothing of real value despite the massive cost in human lives and waste of resources - resources which could have done much to address the real problems of world poverty and global warming. A military conflict in Sri Lanka ends in a massacre after 25 years of suffering.

Although the nature of warfare has changed dramatically since WWII, the military continues to place great faith in the use of heavy weapons. From Vietnam and Iraq to the recent invasion of Gaza, history testifies that aerial bombing is an ineffective, intolerable tactic. In the complex politics of modern wars, such weapons are like torture: they numb moral sensibility and do harm beyond all justification of victory. They should be abolished as a prelude to the abolition of war.

There are also lessons here for the role of the peace movement, which should lead us to reflect on our effectiveness during these years of military failure and economic waste. Governments have usually been deaf to our voices and have made new enemies by disregarding the basic laws of war.

The main theme of this issue, then, is about the dangers of history repeating itself and we begin with the vietnam war. Our sub-theme is conscientious objection.

Tony Kempster

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A key issue underlying recent developments is the extent to which the British Government policy actually reflects public opinion. It is clear that the executive, run by a small leadership elite, has too much power and can subvert the functions of government. Corruption follows because there is a lack of accountability; although by comparison to some notorious cases, the recent allowances' scandal is trivial indeed. The Government's attitude to protest is also changing as evidenced by the aggressive police action at the G20 demonstrations in London.

With particular reference to war, we should be asking serious questions about why good foreign policy - which seems to be mostly commonsense - should be overwhelmed by ideology, nasty politics and the arrogance of power; and how governments so easily reach a point when the pressure to win a war at all costs seems to rob them of choice, which is the core of any commonsense policy. They often ignore rational argument. Hence, the important September conference 'The citizen and the law of armed conflict' (see page 8).

When dealing with such issues, an understanding of their history is important. This is why the Movement for the Abolition of War holds an annual Peace History Conference. The third conference entitled 'Lessons from the past, hope for the future' was held at the Imperial War Museum in April. Our opening article is a report of a lecture given at the conference by Dr Joe Fahey from the USA. It sets out some valuable lessons from the American peace movement's experience of campaigning against the Vietnam War. It is followed by a complementary article that Joe published last year on what might be regarded as a simple blueprint for an ethical foreign policy.

LESSONS FROM CIVILIAN RESISTANCE IN THE US TO THE VIETNAM WAR

DR JOSEPH FAHEY

Professor of Religious Studies and member of the Peace Studies faculty of Manhattan College, Riverdale, New York

Key points from a lecture given at the MAW Peace History Conference held at the Imperial War Museum (London) on 24-25th April 2009.

Joe began with a tribute to a military man, Hugh Thompson, who called a halt to the My Lai massacre when he saw that civilians were being murdered, by telling his own troops to fire on the soldiers responsible unless they stopped.

In Joe's view there have been, since the first white settlers came to North America, two strands of what might be regarded as 'foreign' policy. One was the peaceable and co-operative strand, which respected the indigenous Americans; the other was the puritanical, militaristic one, which saw the natives as non-human and was prepared to wipe them out in order to take their land and the resources it



Joe Fahey with session chair, Will Pritchard (MAW)

provided. Hence imperialism, manifest destiny, massacres of 'Indians' and many other wars. The darker side tends to be hidden so most U.S. students know nothing of the Spanish-American War; or the slaughter of Filipinos - the US are always the good guys.

‘Nobody in the front line campaign should hate.’



There was a rather different dichotomy of opinion on the Vietnam War. Radicals saw the war as fuelled by imperialism; liberals as an unfortunate mistake. As in most such cases, there were three ways to oppose the war, all of them necessary. They can be characterised by three archetypes describing the approach taken by different types of people:

Priests: who were the bridge-builders, mediators and educators, engaged in dialogue with all sides.

Examples were: the Teach-in Movement, where people shared expertise; American Friends Service Committee; Catholic Worker; Dorothy Day

Monks: who were contemplative and intellectual; rising above the fray and seeing things in context, (*sub specie aeternitatis*). They saw things as objectively as possible.

Examples were: Thomas Merton, whose writing challenged many; folk musicians such as Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan and Phil Ochs



Prophets: who were the people speaking out; calling people to see things in a different way, to be transformed and to act.

Examples were Martin Luther King, who urged the anti-war movement to do nonviolence training and renounce hatred, as the Civil Rights movement did; the Berrigan brothers, with burning of draft cards (though did not reach mass of population); Women's International League for Peace and Justice.

A number of lessons were learnt from the civil resistance movement to the war: First, nobody in the front line campaign should hate and all action should be nonviolent. (Joe considered that the organisations involved in violence, such as Weather Underground did more harm than good.) Second, political engagement was necessary, even if it was grubby. And third, peace education was essential in order to examine culture from the viewpoint of peacemaking.

Joe ended by arguing strongly that we have to move towards world community if we are to increase the chance of obtaining peace. This is because the profit culture and nation states are the main causes of war. This leads on to his article.

Note by Sue Gilmurray

SIX CONDITIONS CREATE WAY TO PEACE

Article by Joe Fahey published in the *National Catholic Reporter*, October 2008

Peace scholars tell us that peace has in fact been the dominant human experience and that war – rather than the rule – is an aberration in human affairs. Nor is war very old. War becomes possible with the advent of territoriality (agriculture) about 10,000 years ago and begins to develop with the rise of cities about 5,000 year ago.

Peace research tells us that peace between states is possible under six conditions. The first three are informal or citizen-based initiatives: athletic competition, intellectual discourse and artistic celebrations. The second three are formal or government-based actions: trade agreements, diplomatic recognition and international alliances.

Hence, if a nation wishes to have peaceful relations with another nation, it will encourage the exchange of athletes, artists and scholars, while pursuing trade, diplomacy and international law as guarantors of peace. Consequently when conflicts between states arise, there are many cultural, economic, diplomatic and legal alternatives to war as methods of dispute resolution. Communication is the first stage of peace.

Conversely if a nation seeks war with another nation it will prevent athletes, intellectuals and artists visiting the targeted nation. Then it will break trade agreements, remove its diplomats and withdraw from international treaties. Refusal to communicate is the first stage of war.

These six conditions for peace have been found in classical, medieval and contemporary relations between states. Although these conditions can vary according to time and culture, peace between states cannot exist without most of them being in place.

Perhaps there is no better illustration of this path to peace than the European Union. War has dominated European history for several millennia. Wars were fought between the Celts and the Romans, between Catholics and Protestants, and between the numerous nation states that emerged in the 16th century. The Latin maxim 'Si vis pacem para bellum' ('If you want peace prepare for war') led many a nation down the path to war, not peace. Knights, fortresses and continuous bloodshed were used to make 'peace', but greater wars resulted.

The bloodshed and slaughter in Europe came to a head in the Great War of the 20th century (1914-45). Nine million people were killed in the first phase of the war (1914-1918) and 50 million people were killed in the second phase (1939-45). Countless millions starved and millions of children grew up without parents.

Finally, Europeans had enough. Winston Churchill's proposal for a 'United States of Europe' in 1946 was initially greeted with derision, but soon the idea gained acceptance and took hold. Immanuel Kant's vision in *Perpetual peace* (1795) of an international 'federation of free states' became the philosophical foundation for today's European Union. The EU was formally inaugurated in 1993 as an economic and political union following a 'yes' vote by citizens of all participating states.

Today there are 25 member states that include former fascist and communist states. Today armies of workers, tourists and sports fans travel freely within these states. Today German battles England and France battles Italy on athletic fields. Small nations such as Ireland and Luxembourg thrive as never before. A common currency, the Euro, has replaced the nationalist currencies of old.

Can the six conditions for peace and the European Union serve as models for global peace? Can we one day establish a Global Union that will abolish war and secure human rights for all? Of course we can. This is no pipe dream. Peace has existed for thousands of years and we are only now beginning to learn the power of nonviolence as a solution to war. Our best days lie ahead. There is hope.

‘Political engagement was necessary, even if it was grubby.’

Measuring the unquantifiable is impossible

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, MARY ROE

Dear Friends,

You know how a song can keep coming back and haunting you, apparently unbidden? This week, the one in my mind has been Danny Kaye singing, 'Inchworm, Inchworm, measuring the marigolds...' from the film 'Hans Christian Anderson'. This may have been caused by the credit crunch, the figures being revealed on MPs' expense claims, or just a surfeit of



small talk with casual acquaintances who, if female treat one to a pound by pound record of how much weight they lost by following a particular diet, how many dress sizes were involved and the cost of replacing their existing wardrobe. Meanwhile, their male counterparts have been comparing the mpg petrol consumption and the acceleration rate of their new car with those of the old one (and, in once

instance, how many pints it took to render him incapable of putting himself to bed!) (I hope my comments so far don't sound too sexist, but we can only speak as we find, and no doubt there are situations in which the topics have been reversed.)

Then, I was challenged about my belief that, if I noticed that the chalice I was administering was running low, I could add a little water; or more wine (which, as a Lay Reader I can't consecrate) and the sacrament would still be 'The Blood of Christ'. This may seem a rather abstruse theological point, but to me it illustrates the unquantifiable nature of God's grace, in the same way that the woman who had been bleeding for twelve years knew that she had only to 'touch the hem of his garment' to be healed.

The same is true of all the attributes of God, as revealed in Jesus, most notably Love. An only child is not usually loved eight times more than a child with seven siblings. In fact, quite often the reverse is the case, because love tends to grow exponentially within a family. We don't assess great music by the number of notes per bar; and a full orchestra is not necessarily more moving than a solo voice. In the realm of human experience, it was, of course, absolutely appalling that over six million Jews were murdered during the Holocaust but it is the diary of one teenage girl which brought home to many people the full horrors of the Nazi regime.

The list of things which cannot be measured: Love, Joy, Sorrow, Grace, Holiness, Justice and more, includes, of course, Peace. The families of the individual soldiers whose bodies were brought home from Iraq and more recently from Afghanistan, know that we are at war now, just as much as the families of the countless soldiers who lie in the war graves of Northern France, Vietnam and elsewhere. This is why the absolute pacifism which we proclaim is the only way to stop the ever more destructive and wide-ranging wars that are springing up all over the world as I write. Governments have to admit, soon, that we can never be 'a little bit at war' with another country or regime, and cannot 'slightly occupy' land which is not ours. This is also why the Just War is (and always has been, in Christian terms) an impossible concept and not just something to be tinkered with or adapted to circumstances.

At this point, you may be remembering, 'Last time, Mary was quoting numbers and going on about proportionality... Yes, I was, but I also went on to say how the proportionality laid down in the Law of Moses is still required to be obeyed by

Jewish people everywhere, in order to prevent the escalation of violence, but although it was not superseded by Jesus' life and teaching, it was fulfilled in his command to resist any form of retaliation, even the strictly controlled, proportional retaliation allowed for by Moses.

We pacifists, of all denominations, may be few in number and relatively lacking in power to influence our world, but we take heart from the prologue to St John's Gospel: 'The Light shines in the darkness and the darkness has not overcome it'. We don't need to ask how many watts it takes to light an area of so many cubic metres, do we? We are talking about the Peace of God, which passes all understanding.

With all (unquantifiable) best wishes.

Ron Mallone

It is with sadness that we report the death of Ron Mallone at age 92. He was a founder member of the Peace Pledge Union and a long-time member of APF. In 1955, Ron co-founded the Fellowship Party, proclaiming 'world fellowship, not war'. The FP, described as Britain's oldest environmentalist party, included Benjamin Britten, Sybil Thordike and Vera Brittain among its members. Ron stood as FP candidate 10 times (1950 to 97).

For 72 years Ron was a Methodist preacher and was still speaking on the circuit until a few weeks before he was admitted to hospital. He is survived by his wife Ursula and two children from his first marriage.

Ron's passionate belief in pacifism was an example to us all.

War be damned

A poem by John Stephenson

One day this planet Earth will be no more
Now there is not peace, no end to war;
The Iraqi people have seen their children killed,
Many tears have been shed where the innocent blood
was spilled.

When will there be an end to the killing game?
When will the men of power show some sign of their
shame?
When they repent and admit that their wars are unjust?
When will their deadly weapons of war be turned
into dust?

Your rule is at end, you men of power;
The world awaits the rule of peace to flower;
Where the human rights of people have first place,
Where mercy, pity and love have a human face.

Robert Hinde (2008)

Ending war: a recipe

Spokesman

This is an excellent overview of the nature of war; its causes, the morality and legality of war and what can be done to end war as an institution. It is easy to read and is particularly interesting because it combines the personal experience of individuals at war with the broader aspects. It is well suited to use in schools and I hope it will become widely available. If you have any contacts in schools please draw their attention to it.

Copies can be obtained (price £5 inc p&p in the UK and £6 abroad) from the British Pugwash Group, Flat A, Museum Mansions, 63A Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3BJ. Cheques should be addressed to the 'British Pugwash Trust'. It is also available at www.pugwash.org.

*'Governments
have to admit,
soon, that we
can never be
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war.'*

Linking the achievable with the aspirational

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

‘There are increasing threats to security, stability and peace in nearly every corner of the world.’

These are bleak times with so many things causing concern, as the SIPRI report says (our page 6), ‘there are increasing threats to security, stability and peace in nearly every corner of the world’.

British and American troops leave Iraq having given their ‘all for nothing’, many transferring to another war which may end the same way. While the big scene deteriorates, British politics and the media are embroiled in the scandal over MPs expenses.

One could argue that the history of government is the history of scandal, many of those who reach the top are generally the most ruthless and unscrupulous people politics can produce. Pushing their own interests or those of the particular constituency they represent – big business or the military-industrial complex for example.

The past 15 years have produced many cases where the functions of government have been subverted including the cash-for-questions racket, the Hinduja affair, the lies and fabrications that led to the invasion of Iraq, all the corruption associated with the international arms trade and the forced abandonment of the BAE bribery probe, the cash for honours caper and the cash-for-amendments scandal. By comparison with these, the expenses scandal is rather trivial. Any one of them should have prompted the sweeping political reforms we are now debating. But they didn’t.

And to be more international and quote the SIPRI report once more: ‘The only promising developments are the high expectations – probably overly so – generated by the election of Barack Obama as US President. These include hopes for a sound exit strategy for Iraq, stabilizing Afghanistan and changes in the way that the USA engages with the international community and specifically with Russia, the Middle East, Pakistan and Iran’. Time will tell.



Lessons from history

Our opening article was from the MAW Peace History Conference which I introduced on both days. Here are a few more snippets from the event.



The first address was given by MAW president, Professor Robert Hinde and the second day by actress Susannah York, a vice-president. Susannah gave a personal view of the horror of war and how its nature has changed over the years and read a piece from Shakespeare’s ‘Henry V’ and a poem by Wilfred Owen.

The lectures covered a wide range of topics, some very positive such as the history of ‘Henry Dunant, Solferino (1859) and the origins of the Red Cross’ given by Peter van den Dungen from the University of Bradford and some not so, like the

history of the ill-fated ‘Henry Ford’s Peace Ship’ related in graphic detail by Terry Chapman of the Imperial War Museum.

Gabriele Matzer-Holzer, Austrian Ambassador told of the interesting and little-known story of the ‘Dawn of a European Middle East policy: Bruno Kriesky and the Socialist International.

Paula Pearce discussed ‘The influence of Francis of Assisi’ and Sandra Butcher the ‘International Pugwash History Project’.

Lyn Smith of the Imperial War Museum (below), who is presently writing a book on the anti-war movement took the



subject ‘Conscientious objectors in action: working with the fighting forces in the Second World War’ as her subject for the lecture. It was based on interviews recorded with men of the FAU who worked alongside the military, the CO medics and the former CO’s who worked with the Special Operations Executive. There are many interesting aspects of their story which add to the theory and practice of conscientious objection, not least the doubts and dilemmas these ‘conchies in action’ faced by being embedded with the war machine. A particular example is those faced with the need to put seriously injured soldiers out of their misery.

The audience listened to testimonies with deep attention.

Political campaigning and police action

Joe Fahey’s message from the US peace movement’s experience of campaigning against the Vietnam War (opening article), to be politically engaged and not to hate or use violence, is highly relevant today. Such advice is all the more important when our police forces are obviously tending to use more violence against protestors. The police attacks on the G20 protests are just the latest expression of this, although not as extreme as those towards the recent Strasbourg protest against NATO.

In his recent report on Britain’s secretive police forces, Paul Mobbs of the Free Range Network argues that they are in effect being encouraged to show hostility to all views which do not reflect the official consensus. Any politics that do not



‘In these increasingly turbulent and globally fragile times, it is even more important that we hold our rights dear.’

endorse the liberal economic consensus, which expect the Government to act more effectively on global warming, or which don't accept that growth and consumerism can be sustained indefinitely, are treated as extremist. In the eyes of the general public this makes protestors with a genuine commonsense message seem more extreme.

At the same time there are important changes taking place in the nature of the peace movement with the development of a harder anti-globalisation edge. Stephen Chan touches on this in an intriguing book, *The end of certainty: towards a new internationalism* (published this year by Zed Books). He describes this resistance thus: 'Rootless though urban, against regimentation but fiercely disciplined and brave in their protests, unreliable but formidably organized in putting thousands upon the streets, against capitalism but making use of its artefacts and communication systems, lawless but loyal to one another, tolerant of their softer and woollier allies but dismissive of those without their hard edge, something is happening that at least seeks to challenge the leaders of the world in their summits of curious isolation and facades of moral language.'

International Conscientious Objectors' Day

International Conscientious Objectors' Day is observed around the world on 15th May with non-violent actions around the world since 1986.

In London:

The annual ceremony was held at 12 noon at the CO Commemorative Stone in Tavistock Square on 15th May. Attended by 50 to 60 people, the event was opened by Denis

The opening verse goes:

If conscience counts for more than might,
and justice, mercy, truth still more,
whoever calls us out to fight,
we still say 'No' to every war.

And in Cardiff:

Cynefin y Werin, the all Wales network promoting international peace, social justice, human rights and equality organised an event at the Welsh Centre for International Affairs. This was chaired by National Assembly member, Bethan Jenkins, who has sponsored a Statement of Opinion in the Assembly regarding the recognition of International COs Day.

The speakers at the event were Bruce Kent (Movement for the Abolition of War), Robin Brookes (Peace Tax Seven) and George Crabb (CND Cymru) who read declarations of Israel 'refuseniks', many of who refused to carry out military service in the occupied territories of Palestine.

About 50 people gathered by Wales' new COs monument in the garden of the Temple of Peace, where a wreath was laid to remember all those who have refused to fight. This was followed by songs from Frankie Armstrong and Cor Cochlan Caerdydd (Cardiff Red's Choir).

George Crabb said 'In these increasingly turbulent and globally fragile times, it is even more important that we hold our rights dear. It is the desire of a great many of us who strive for Wales, and the world that we want for our children and grandchildren, that the individual makes moral decisions for him or herself. True security cannot be achieved by force of arms.'

Not all governments acknowledge the United Nation's



Sue Gilmurray and RaisedVoices lead the singing in Tavistock Square

Cobell of the National Secular Society. Then Sue Gilmurray's song 'The ones who said no' which has now become an anthem for the event was sung, led by Sue and the Raised Voices choir from London.

The keynote speech, an excellent review of the history of COs was given by Bill Hetherington of the Peace Pledge Union who maintains a database of British COs. Dan Jones of Amnesty International gave an overview of the current status of COs around the world. He referred particularly to South Korea which does not recognise COs. They are often sentenced to 18 months in prison which is in violation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. At March 31st, 458 COs were serving their sentences.

Following the reading of a poem on war resistance by Muriel Setzman, those present laid white carnations on the commemorative stone dedicated to individual COs around the world and a minute's silence was held.

Sue Gilmurray and Raised Voices led in the singing of a final song: 'If conscience counts', the words by hymn writer Chris Idle (who was present at the ceremony) with music by Sue Gilmurray.

Commission on Human Rights recognition of the rights of everyone to have conscientious objection to military service as a legitimate exercise in the right of freedom, thought and religion.



Bruce Kent, Bethan Jenkins, Ray Davies, Robin Brookes and George Crabb by the Cardiff COs' stone

Photo credit: Jill Gough.

Rebuilding peace after war: reflections from Africa

Note of a talk given by Mark Barwick (Pax Christi International)

at the Council for Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament seminar held at the International Institute of Strategic Studies in May. It is appropriate to include this here because we conflict in Africa has been discussed in previous issues of TAP. The question and answer session was particularly relevant. The seminar was chaired by APF member, Christine Titmus.

Mark Barwick is a programme director for reconciliation after conflict in Africa and based in Brussels. His presentation concentrated on conflicts within the 'Great Lakes' region of Central Africa, which he knows well. The region includes the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. It is a crucible of conflicts, especially since the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

Mark returned recently from a regional consultation designed to strengthen the DDR – Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reinsertion (DDR) – of former combatants into civil society. The difficulty here is that there is often little else for the combatants to do than fight. They are usually poor. War and

the power of the gun is all they know.

Rwandan government sources say they must go into Congo to root out 'génocidaires' but they are also involved in robbing the Congolese of goods and natural resources. The national borders are very porous and there is significant trafficking of arms, often from Europe (particularly from former Balkan

conflicts). There are also plans to construct arms factories in Tanzania and in surrounding countries.

The states involved are mostly 'failed', having no effective courts or judicial system, no police, no security and often no roads, legislature, infrastructure or even a working government (as in Somalia and much of Sudan). The task then is to build institutions and provide security, including a unified national army, sustainable livelihoods and economic / food security.

Mark also talked about his experience in Liberia in the aftermath of Charles Taylor's clever criminal activities, which exploited the differences between ethnic communities and life-styles (particularly Muslim merchants against Christian/animist farmers). Many of these groups had relative peace until Taylor came. Today the need is for sustained dialogue to rebuild trust – and this requires time.

Sometimes the radicalisation of religion and other ideologies exacerbate conflicts. Overall there is need for genuine reconciliation, lest the same old conflicts begin again. Pax Christi International, which is a working network of over a hundred member organisations brings local groups together and provides opportunities for networking to stimulate effectiveness.

Here are a few points from the question and answer session.

1. *Why is Africa such a mess? Is it simply a product of colonialism?* Colonialism is only part of the legacy. During the cold war many countries in Africa became pawns of the big powers. Their governments are still often beholden to Western powers through heavy third-world debt. So they suffer from poverty and absence of effective state institutions. Tribalism

rules over modern democracy, though it is clear that Africans need the freedom to develop their own democratic institutions. It could be, for instance that the 'nation state' model or multi-party elections are inappropriate for the African context. The IMF and World Bank have likewise imposed inappropriate remedies. The African Union is one institution that still needs to find its way – and that way is not an exact imitation of the EU.

2. *What is the effect of China on all this?* The Chinese are very active in many African countries, building roads, bridges etc. Many African governments welcome this, though it is clear that Chinese business interests have immediate and long-term benefits. They also fill in a gap where Western actors tend to excuse themselves: the Chinese tend to not link ethical standards to business.
3. *Given the fact of radicalisation, can Islam and Christianity work together benignly?* Religion has a prominent role in African societies. Newer Pentecostalist movements are growing, which tend to favour more dichotomised and exclusivist thinking. The faith traditions with well-articulated social teachings (as in Roman Catholicism) tend to be more engaged. Sometimes religion has been a factor in conflict, e.g. in Nigeria, between the Arabised North and the so-called Christian South.



Mark Barwick and Christine Titmus

'Africa suffers the double whammy of spending on armaments and the inadequacy of development funds.'



4. *What about the arms trade? Can it be controlled?* A very complex matter. A Belgian campaign to close down plans to build an arms factory in Tanzania was successful. The problem is often linked to guns being retained in homes and local communities in the absence of an effective police force, as in southern Sudan. In post-war Sierra Leone disarmament efforts were inefficient and excluded women and small children who had no guns to trade in. One solution lies in effective early warning mechanisms for reporting on arms circulating in a given area.
5. *Given the revival of Christianity, why is the result not more effective?* It is the kind of Christianity that is in question here. Unfortunately, the churches have been collaborators with colonial powers and neo-colonial forces at work in Africa. Until the church embraces the non-violence gospel of Jesus – and this begins with its leadership – this will not change.

Note by Brian Wicker, chair of CCADD

Africa suffers the double whammy of spending on armaments and the inadequacy of development funds. The appalling and worsening position on the former is evident from the statistics published this month in the annual *Yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*.

The report opens with the statement: 'The year saw increasing threats to security, stability and peace in nearly every corner of the world'. A total of 16 major armed conflicts were active in 15 locations, three in Africa. All these conflicts are intrastate;

Book Look

► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

Our reviews in this issue are more technical than usual. Some might say that they are overly so, but it is important to understand the changes taking place in the technology of war and legal aspects if we are to engage effectively with politicians and policy makers.

Michael Byers (2005)

War law: understanding international law and armed conflict (Kindle edition)

Grove Press

Michael Byers holds a Canada Research Chair in Global Politics and International Law at the University of British Columbia. This book deals with four issues: (1) the UN Security Council's role in matters of recourse to force, (2) reviews of the claims of self defence when going to war, (3) the

notion of humanitarian intervention and (4) the laws on the conduct of armed conflict and war crimes courts. An epilogue discusses current US policies.

The book is important because it looks at the legal aspects of recent US-British wars against Yugoslavia and Iraq.

Byers concludes that the Kosovo war was neither consistent with international law nor effective in changing the law in favour of a right of unilateral humanitarian intervention. The latter is important because there is always a possibility that breaching of a particular rule may give indications of a new rule.

Byers points out that Tony Blair spoke of 'community' when he tried to justify attacking Yugoslavia but his actions obeyed only 'the international law of crusaders and conquistadors – which, in essence, is no law at all. He sums up that there is no right to intervene in nations' internal affairs on humanitarian grounds: 'pro-democratic intervention remains prohibited under international law.'

Nor was the attack on Iraq legal. Byers contradicts those who argue that the UN retrospectively sanctioned the US-British attack on Iraq. Resolutions 1483 and 1511 did not do so. He also points out that international law during armed conflict obliges armed forces to protect civilians and prisoners of war; and describes as war crimes the US assaults on Fallujah, its refusal to do 'body counts' (breaching Article 16 of the First Geneva Convention) and its torture and killing of POWs.

He argues that pre-emptive acts of war are illegal: Bush's' dangerously destabilising doctrine of pre-emptive war provokes war and terrorism rather than preventing them. Byers cites the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on

Threats, Challenges and Change which stated in 2004 'in a world full of perceived threats, the risk to the global order and the norm of non-intervention on which it continues to be based is simply too great for the legality of unilateral preventive action, as distinct from collectively endorsed action, to be accepted.

For anyone used to hearing political justifications for military action, the legal nuances presented in this book are a refreshing respite from the familiar logic-of-power arguments.

P.W. Singer (2009)

Wired for war: the robotics revolution and conflict in the twenty-first century

Penguin

Science fiction of warfare is already with us for better or more probably for worse.

Where does it go from here? We are in the cusp of a massive shift in military technology that threatens to make real the stuff of *I Robot*

and the *Terminator*. More than twelve thousand robotic systems are now deployed in Iraq. Pilots sitting in Nevada are remotely killing terrorists in Afghanistan. Scientists are debating just how smart – and how lethal – to make their robotic creations. And many of the most renowned science fiction authors are consulting for the Pentagon on the next generation.

P. W. Singer, a military expert describes how technology is changing not just how wars are fought, but also the politics, economics, laws and ethics that surround war itself. He sees clearly that technology has to be kept in context.

The book has a strong focus on military robotics. Increasingly 'dull, dirty and dangerous' battlefield tasks that once had to be done by people could soon be done by machines. If this means that humans may be able to stay clear of harm's way, it may have a significant impact on governments' readiness to fight, as well as on the form of combat that results.

As these technologies develop and multiply, they will have profound effects on the front lines, as well as the politics back home. Moving humans off the battlefield makes wars easier to start but more complicated to fight. Replacing men with machines may save some lives, but will lower the moral and psychological barriers to killing. The 'warrior ethos' which so long defined soldiers' identity, will erode, as will the laws of war that have governed military conflict for generations.

Paradoxically, these new technologies will also bring war to our doorstep. As other nations and

even terrorists start to build or buy their own robotic weapons, this revolution could even undermine America's military pre-eminence.

The book is in some ways a strange read. As Singer explores the issues raised by military robotics – meeting with entrepreneurs, engineers and operators, ethicists, and pundits – his enthusiasm becomes infectious and child-like and one forgets that the subject is not about video games and children's toys but machines that kill and can do so with the controller a continent away. With its informal style and cultural references, and because of its topic, *Wired for war* is a book of its time: it is surely a topic for the Facebook generation. Let us hope they have the sense to see the underlying reality on the killing grounds!

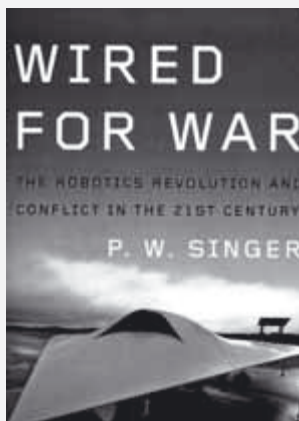
Editor's note: It is important to know that many other changes are being made in the technology of war which may be seen as more frightening. *New Scientist* ran an editorial and two-page article in May about the US army studying how neuroscience can 'improve' its soldiers performance which raises the spectre of amoral scientists using any means at their disposal – drugs, genetic profiling, brain simulation, cybernetic implants, brainwashing – to vault ethical boundaries in pursuit of military aims.

Battalions of super-soldiers could be selected for specific duties on the basis of their genetic make-up and then constantly monitored for signs of weakness.

The army-backed report from the US National Academies of Sciences anticipates a day when troops will be monitored by biosensors, selected by gene tests, stimulated by magnetic tweaks to the brain and enhanced with pills. This will inevitably spark discussion about the rise of cold-eyed super-soldiers who kill without emotion and we should certainly be vigilant about the potential for 'enhancement' to dehumanise troops, let alone the wider implications of this work for civilian life.

The proponents of such research will naturally say that this is more than making them efficient and lethal. The depressingly routine atrocities committed by service people are often the result of confusion, exhaustion and the trauma of seeing comrades killed by bullet, booby trap and bloody dismemberment. These are soldiers in extreme circumstances equipped with extreme weaponry and driven to violence by violence. Or they may be veterans returning from duty to hurt their family or take their own lives. How much better if science could ensure that recruits think clearly and calmly under extraordinary pressure.

That does not mean there is a danger of neurotechnology being abused by the military. There is a tradition of driving warriors berserk with drugs, alcohol and magic mushrooms. Governments should think long and hard about the ethics of engaging in such research. A Terminator-style soldier would be a liability, not an asset.



Diary of Events

▶ LOCAL AND NATIONAL

2009

4 July Annual 'Independence from America' day organised by Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases. Event at Menwith Hill. Details from 01423 844076 or www.caab.org.uk.

28 to 31 August Greenbelt Festival 09, 'Standing in the long now'. Cheltenham Racecourse. APF will be taking part in the Peace Zone under the auspice of the Network of Christian Peace Organisation.

14 September 'Myth, truth and nation-state: how do our 'histories' help create our wars.' Lecture by Professor Stefan Berger at Portcullis House, Westminster, London at 6.30pm. Organised by Movement for the Abolition of War. For further information call 01908 511948 or visit www.abolishwar.org.uk.

21 September Worldwide International Day of Peace.

The Citizen and the law of armed conflict

1st and 2nd September, Friends House, London

This two-day conference is being organised by the Institute for Law Accountability and Peace (INLAP) and World Court Project UK with support from a number of peace organisations. Tony Kempster representing APF and MAW is on the planning committee.

The conference is a response to the difficulties experienced in communicating with Government on issues of international law – it seems that taking the law seriously is often not a main concern. It will centre on the needs of activists. NGO workers and individuals anxious to be better informed so that their activism can be more effective.

The first day of the conference will consider the background to the problems experienced, with speakers reviewing relevant aspects of international law and the way MPs, MEPs and government generally respond to questions.

Speakers include John McDonnell MP, Nick Grief, Paul Dorfman and Dr Nick Ritchie.

The second day will be a workshop day with discussions on ways in which communication can be improved.

For further details: 01323 844269 or geowpuk@gn.apc.org.

9 to 11 October APF annual conference and AGM to be held at Sneaton Castle near Whitby. Please contact the Secretary on 01908 510642 if you would like further details and a registration form.

8 November Movement for the Abolition of War with quilt exhibition and talk by Roberta Bacic and MAW annual Remembrance Day lecture given by Dr Mark Levene of Southampton University, a founder of the Crisis Forum and director of the Climate Change and Violence Project. For further information call -1908 511948 or visit www.abolishwar.org.uk.

Website

Remember – if you want to keep up with activities, news and actions between your issues of The Anglican Peacemaker, go to the APF website. The Red Hand Campaign appeared there and so does all the latest news. www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk

We are still looking for someone to look after the website. If you are interested or would like further information about what is involved, please contact Roger Payne at rjpayne@02.co.uk.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

please print clearly and give your Christian name first.

Address

Year of birth Diocese

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

Please ✓ if you are a UK-income tax payer and want your donation to be treated as a Gift Aid donation. APF can then reclaim income tax paid on the donation.

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

I heard of APF through Signed Date

Application for
MEMBERSHIP

Film Look

► RECENT FILMS REVIEWED

Continuing the theme of withdrawals and failures, the first review here is about the Vietnam War. We also include a review from David Le Sage, a member in Australia.

Hearts and minds (1974)

Directed by Peter Davis

This film was made some years ago but it is appropriate to include it here because it reinforces so much of what Joe Fahey said in his



lecture at our Peace History Conference. (Most good public libraries will have a copy). It was premiered at the Cannes Film Festival in 1974 and chosen as Best Feature Documentary at the Academy Awards a year later.

'Hearts and minds' was a euphemism for a campaign the U.S. military during the Vietnam War; intended to win the popular support of the Vietnamese people.

The tension between the American attempt to do this by 'bringing them hope and electricity' and the killing of so many civilians by saturation bombing is the theme of the film. A scene, described as one of the film's 'most shocking and controversial sequences' by critics shows the funeral of an ARVN soldier and his grieving family, as a sobbing woman is restrained from climbing into the grave after the coffin. The funeral scene is juxtaposed with an interview with General Westmoreland (commander of American military operations in the Vietnam War telling the stunned film director that 'The Orient doesn't put the same price on life as does a Westerner. Life is plentiful. Life is cheap in the Orient'.

One of the film's earliest scenes details a homecoming parade in honour of George Coker, a U.S. navy aviator held by the North Vietnamese as a prisoner of war for six years. Talking to the assembled crowd he said if the need arose he would gladly go back again. Answering a student's question about Vietnam at a school assembly, Coker responds that 'If it wasn't for the people, it was a very pretty place. The people there are very backwards and primitive and make a mess of everything.'

The film also features Vietnam war veteran and anti-war activist Bobby Muller, who later founded the Vietnam Veterans of America association. Daniel Ellsberg, who released the *Pentagon Papers* in 1971, discusses the initial gung-ho attitude toward the war in Vietnam in vivid terms, which would do justification to wars of the imperial British period.

The film includes iconic images of Phan Thi Kim Phuc, the young girl running down the road near Trang Bang after a VNAF napalm attack.

The concluding interview features Vietnam

veteran Randy Floyd, stating 'We've all tried very hard to escape what we have learned in Vietnam. I think Americans have worked extremely hard not to see the criminality that their officials and their officials and policy makers exhibited.' That about says it all!

White light – black rain: the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (2007)

Directed and written by Steven Okazaki

This is a moving and challenging documentary which shows the utter horror that can occur when humanity is relentless in its drive to develop new and more powerful weapons. It is an appropriate film to put alongside the review of P.W. Singer's book (page 7) which describes what next is in store if we continue with our obsession with war.

The horrors shown in the documentary are comparable with the most horrific films on the market today, but they are real and so much harder to stomach. And, of course, horror

films are made for adults whereas these horrors shown in the documentary were experienced by children as young as six. To see your mother crumble to dust in front of you is a pain that is incomprehensible. It is awful to think that some of the children documented could not bear the horror and ended their lives. To see children with burns all over their bodies, in excruciating pain for many months, with no relief and wanting to die will touch the hardest hearts.

It is often argued that the number of deaths caused by the Second World War would have been much higher if the 200,000 Japanese had not died on the 6th and 9th of August but, as the film makes clear, this misses the point because the development and use of these two atomic bombs was the prelude to a world which now contains 400,000 times the power that was unleashed 64 years ago.

Cats of Mirikitani

Directed by Linda Hattendorf

This documentary film, winner of numerous awards at the Toronto, Tribeca and Tokyo Film Festivals, is a fascinating psychological portrait of the artist, Jimmy Mirikitani. In 2001, the filmmaker Linda Hattendorf, who had chosen the destitute Mirikitani as a subject for her documentary, takes him in to her own apartment and begins piecing together the fragments of his life in order to determine why he is living on the streets of New York.

Born in the United States, Mirikitani returned to his ancestral home in Hiroshima early in life,



before deciding that his best option to pursue his chosen career as an artist was to return to America.

He was subsequently imprisoned during WWII, suffered the horrors of life

in an internment camp and was stripped of his citizenship, despite being born in that country. As one of the fortunate survivors of the camp, he subsequently found himself on the streets of New York. Due to the government's treatment of him, he refused to apply for social security, and eked out a living drawing with pastels for passing tourists. A common theme in his work was various scenes of the internment camp in his attempts to raise awareness of the treatment he and his fellow Japanese-Americans had endured. It is at this point, that the study begins to parallel current events as both Hattendorf and Mirikitani are shocked by the sudden tragedy of September 11th. Subsequently, events begin to repeat themselves as persecution of Arab Americans is reported nightly on the evening news. Throughout the course of the film, the treatment of prisoners in the new internment camps also begins to come out.

Beyond the study of the events of Mirikitani's own life that led to his destitution, glimpses of other, wider problems can be caught. For instance, part of Mirikitani's downfall is due to an incompassionate, bungling bureaucracy, as his citizenship was actually reinstated after the war but this was not communicated to him.

Also evident is the malaise of a world superpower that remains ignorant of its own history. Throughout the course of the film, Americans are presented as largely unaware of the internment camps. This exemplifies part of the post-modern malaise throughout the Western World, whereby calling something 'history' is to deride it as 'irrelevant' rather than as something to be treasured that may now contain valuable insights for us. Typical of this is George W. Bush's derision of Noam Chomsky's focus on history, when the latter noted America had helped to create the Taliban.

Finally, there is the redemption of Mirikitani himself. Whilst art, along with history, may be devalued in our culture, Mirikitani, after an eighty year struggle, is able to reach public notice as an artist with a unique style, harmonising Eastern and Western aesthetics. He is also an artist who has lived "authentically", through horrific experiences which he distils in his work into a heartfelt, honest plea for peace. Suddenly, as the film was being made, that plea became more relevant than ever, for his fellow New Yorkers and citizens of all cultures.

David Le Sage,

We are pleased to announce that our counsellor, Paul Oestreicher has been awarded an honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity at the University of Otago, New Zealand.

Shortened text of the address given by Paul at the degree ceremony held last month

(The address was dedicated to the memory of the Otago farmhand, Archibald Baxter who, with a handful of others, had the audacity to say 'No' to the senseless slaughter of the First World War.)



Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, members of faculty, my own family and friends, but today, most importantly, my fellow graduands, Congratulations on reaching this important stage on the journey to ... who knows where? Life is an adventure. Nothing will be handed to you on a golden platter: It's a tough world, but this is a good place from which to take off. When you're faced with hard choices, don't always take the easy option. Live adventurously. You have reached this point with the loving support of families, partners, and children. Only you know how much you owe them. Cherish them. You have earned today's degree. Take delight in it, and remember that Otago University is yours – for life. The Alumni, which you now

join, are part of the university's life blood. Whatever your discipline (that's an unpopular, but nevertheless a good word), keep an open mind. No scientific theory, no medical textbook, no manual of law, no philosophy, no Bible, no Qu'ran, no Pope, has the last word in wisdom. Always be open to new truths. Every form of fundamentalism, and the religious ones are often the worst, is a threat to the glorious liberty of intellectual – and spiritual – exploration and discovery. And if there is a God, we are all God's children. So, let God be God. It is enough to know that all we need is to love, and to be loved. There is wisdom, for the rest, in being a humble agnostic, enjoying the mystery and wonder of life – in my case, a Christian agnostic.

However, being a liberal, having an open mind, doesn't mean that anything goes. We do need rules – and good laws – in order to live creatively with each other. That is why I studied Politics, the art – and different theories – of how to live together in community, as well as is humanly possible. For myself, I remain an unrepentant socialist. Anarchy, simply doing your own thing, is a dangerous form of self-indulgence. The Vice-Chancellor was wise to reach for the rule book when a bunch of students made the good citizens of Dunedin run for cover. That story even made the papers in Britain.

Having said that, there is wisdom too that knows when to challenge authority and convention by creative – and costly – disobedience. That is why I have chosen to dedicate these reflections to the memory of a visionary and courageous Otago farmhand, Archibald Baxter, who, with a handful of others, had the audacity to say 'no' to the senseless slaughter of the First World War. New Zealand's leaders, egged on by public opinion, crucified him, both metaphorically and literally. They dragged him to the trenches in France, threatened to kill him, and almost did. They failed to break his spirit. He appealed to no Bible, belonged to no sect, but his humanity told him: I would rather be killed than to kill my fellow human beings. His autobiography *We Will Not Cease* is now a New Zealand classic. It should be a school text book, alongside the story of Gallipoli. It represents the kind of principled non-violence that – if the human family learns it in time – might yet, in a nuclear age, save us from ourselves. David Grant in his recent book *Field Punishment Number One*, writes searingly of the many tortures Baxter and those with him endured.

Now let me be more personal. Once upon a time, a seven year old little boy who didn't speak a word of English arrived in Dunedin with his parents, refugees from Hitler's Germany.

That little boy had two Jewish grandparents. This made him an outcast, an enemy in his homeland. His family were forced to join the many many thousands looking for asylum somewhere, anywhere that would take them. Some survived, many more perished in gas chambers. His grandmother, rather than face that fate, took her own life. I was that little boy. The world did not want Jewish refugees. New Zealand did not want them either. 'We don't think you will assimilate in our country', said the government's reply to would-be applicants. 'If you insist on applying, you must expect a refusal'. My stubborn father insisted, and was one of only 1,000 refugees who managed to take the high hurdles and gain entry to this country.

It was war with Germany. We were Germans, and were classed as enemy aliens, not allowed to leave town without police permission. The same was true of my wife's parents, also refugees from Hitler's Germany. We were enemies where we had come from, and officially, enemies here too.

But not everyone treated us as enemies. Here in Dunedin, unlike the mainline churches, the Religious Society of Friends, commonly known as the Quakers, made a point of befriending enemy aliens.



University of Otago.

We were never friendless. It is not surprising that my parents chose to become Quakers, the Christian community that from the time of the Reformation refused to carry a sword, refused to lift their hats to the gentry, declared women to be the equals of men, and went to prison rather than worship in the established church. They were doing no more than trying to follow the radical young Jewish rabbi, Jesus of Nazareth, who challenged both the religious and the secular authorities, the Temple and the Roman governor, and paid for it with his life. Alone among the great religious teachers, Jesus lived and taught an all-embracing love, for friend and foe alike. He made the hated enemy – the Samaritan – the hero of his most famous parable. And he prayed for his own executioners. He lived – and loved – in a way that the Christian churches, established in his name, have significantly failed to follow. But there have always been the few who have rejected the prevailing doctrine, the doctrine that injustice must in the last resort be opposed with violence. These dissidents – down through history – have by no means all been Christians. They still languish in the world's prisons today. Just a month ago, in Israel, eighteen year old Neta Mishli was sent to prison, because she refuses to treat Palestinians as her enemies, and will not become part of an unjust occupation force.

To return to my chosen example of Archibald Baxter: he and his wife Millicent were among the people of Dunedin who were good friends to my parents. James, their son, just a few years ahead of me at King's High School, and with his brother the only boys who refused to participate in the school military cadets, became New Zealand's most eminent poet. In a poem entitled 'To My Father', James K. wrote:

I have loved you more than my own good, because you stand for country pride and gentleness, engraved in forehead lines, veins swollen on the hand. Also behind slow speech and quiet eye the rock of passionate integrity.

'When you're faced with hard choices, don't always take the easy option. Live adventurously.'

You may remember that it is Otago University which has established a new Peace Centre with much assistance from the APF New Zealand branch. The chair of APF New Zealand, Margaret Beddgood gave a talk on this at our conference during the Lambeth Conference campaign last year (TAP 8.3) and there was an article on this in TAP 7.4.

Militarism, in its many forms, remains deeply embedded in our culture. It will not easily be eradicated. We have made it a crime – the most serious crime there is – for a person to kill another, and rightly so. Yet governments continue to exploit young men and women, by teaching them to kill those held to be a threat, rather than to find non-violent ways of overcoming conflict. In fact collective killing is glorified, often in the name of God. When my father went to war for Germany in the First World War, his belt buckle carried the motto: Gott mit uns – God is on our side. His British opponents were so convinced of that same fact they had no need to write it on their uniforms. So, we have a long, long way to go, and can do no better than to pursue the goal of non-violent conflict resolution with the same passionate integrity that James K. Baxter saw in his father:

Chancellor, this university, in taking Peace and Conflict Studies into its academic remit, has lived up to the university's motto: Sapere Aude – Dare to Be Wise. That gives me great pleasure – and cause for hope. Together with my wife Professor Barbara Einhorn – who is a 'real' Doctor of this university – we will do all we can to support Professor Clements and his students in this exciting new venture. For now, however, I have nothing better to do than to accept this Honorary Doctorate of Divinity with gratitude and great pleasure.

no major interstate conflict was active in 2008. However, troops from another state aided one of the parties in four conflicts: USA, Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia. In contrast to battle related violence that may harm civilians indiscriminately, much 'one-sided' violence against civilians takes place in the context of armed conflicts and targets civilians directly hand intentionally.

Here is the press statement put out by the International Peace Bureau on the results

(APF is a member of IPB and Tony Kempster is a vice-president of the organisation.)

The International Peace Bureau expresses profound concern at the announcement yesterday by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute at the launch of its annual Yearbook (www.sipri.org) that world military expenditures in 2008 reached yet another new high. The figure given is \$1,464 billion. The US share of this is \$607 billion – which is the budget for its basic military operations alone (i.e. not counting

the actual costs of its wars in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq). This represents an increase of 4% in real terms compared to 2007, and of 45% since 1999. All regions have seen substantial increases since 1999, except for Western and Central Europe.

The year 2008 will be remembered as the beginning of the severest economic recession since 1929. It was a year in which public anger over the greed and corrupt practices of the financial sector boiled over, rocking some governments and calling into question the management of the global economy. However what

has not yet been called into question is the high priority still afforded to the military. These new figures show us that weapons and preparations for warfare remain untouchable in most austerity programmes, and indeed they reveal an increasing militarisation among big powers. The news that China has become the world's second biggest military

spender, and that Russia has increased its spending by 13% is scarcely reassuring for those who thought the Cold War was long over:

'This is an alarming trend', said IPB Secretary-General Colin Archer, 'since over the past 12 months we have seen an increasing number of reports suggesting that the real driver of militarization is the threat of conflict between the big powers over diminishing resources, especially energy, water and minerals. The recent signals given by several states regarding the 'race for the Arctic' only add to the widely-held view that the most important armed hostilities, such as those in the Middle East, and elsewhere, are at least partially about control of oil and gas. The world has to find a way to share equitably the resources we still have, without resorting to (possibly nuclear) war'. IPB argues, therefore, that the priorities must shift, from big stick to human development, from aggressive posturing to intelligent diplomacy. Who knows how much time we have left to make the transition?

The IPB, whose main programme is entitled Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development, is working to build an international civil society alliance to bring together peace, anti-poverty and environmental organisations. The purpose is to press for an end to the over-funding of military establishments and for the creation of new funds to tackle human insecurity and common threats to the planet. IPB will hold its annual conference on these themes at Georgetown University, Washington DC from 14 to 18 November 2009.

COLLATERAL DAMAGE by Jim Page
(© Whid-Isle Music BMI).

Sung by Roy Bailey on 'Below the radar' CFCD407 (2009).

You loved your sweet country for all of your life
Like your mother and your father before you;
And the land runs deep, so deep in your blood,
Your flesh and your bone and your sinew;
Descendents and ancestors deep as it goes;
A relative circle as far as your eye;
It can all be undone in the flash of an instant;
Mechanical thunder that bruises the sky – bruises the sky.

*Goodbye to my relatives, all of my life,
Never again will I see;
You won't have a name when they fly the big airplane;
Collateral damage is all we will be – all we will be!*

From a faraway place where the language is strange
They come with their angry machines;
The clouds rain a metal; it hurts when it falls,
And it shatters the ground making everything scream;
Children run crippled, old people hide,
Babies are caught in the rubble and debris
Strangers don't know you, you're only a number
Under-reported on colour TV – colour TV.

A mother is more than a number to a baby
And now it has to grow up on its own;
And a grandfather blinded and crippled at his age
Is more than just a statistical drone;
All of these people are human,
And humans are more than a footnote;
This cynical language of killing – it's killing us!
Stuck like a bone in humanity's throat – humanity's throat.

So do you see a ghost in the lonely wind blowing
Like shrapnel the sound of the rain,
And it's speaking a language you don't understand,
But you know what it means just the same;
There's no time for innocence, all of that's over now,
Don't say that you didn't know;
When they come to collect for the damages owed,
The collateral may be your own – may be your own.

*Goodbye to my relatives, all of my life,
Never again will I see.
You won't have a name when they fly the big airplane
Collateral damage is all you will be – all you will be.*



Combat paper project (CPP)

This is an intriguing project which was founded in 2007 by a group of US veterans, many suffering PTSD, who pulp their uniforms to make paper as the basis of artworks dealing with their experiences. The project has been successful in helping veterans rebuild their lives, as well as raising public awareness of the realities of war and the difficulties those involved face in the aftermath. CPP is a non-partisan organisation which aims to bring together veterans of conflict irrespective of their background or specific war experiences. Their work has been acquired by Harvard and Princeton University libraries and the Library of Congress in the U.S.



'Breaking rank', a work from the CCP exhibition.

An exhibition of CPP art is currently at the Courtauld Institute in London (finishing at the end of June) and will be at the Phoenix Gallery, Brighton in July and August and at the Birnam Institute in Scotland in November.

Two of the veterans involved will touring the UK between mid-June and mid-July with a small portable paper-making machine, enabling them to stage demonstrations. They will be holding seminars and workshops, and hope to make contact with veterans and other people affected by conflict who might be interested in participating in the project. The workshops invite participation with the possibility of people bringing their own uniforms to transform into paper. For some, this act in itself can be cathartic, while the paper can also serve as the basis for artwork or writing dealing with conflict.

For further information: Nicolas.dubois@courtauld.ac.uk.

Peace Haiku by Meg Hartfield, a member in New Zealand

P-E-A-C-E

Everywhere? Impossible!
Possible - with love

The strongest army
defeated by love – our love
the linking of arms.

Sisters, brothers all
created in harmony
live our lives in peace.

Peace-making is hard
goes against the selfish grain
goes the extra mile.

Peace- the other way
violence only escalates,
turn the other cheek.

Strong as life and hope
peace is not a soft option,
effort and courage.

Executed at dawn



A quilt made by Irene MacWilliam, Northern Ireland.

When I first read about the National Memorial Arboretum in Alrewas, Staffordshire, I was shocked.

I had not heard of the soldiers who in the First World War were shot at dawn for cowardice. I read their stories on the net and I was moved by them. Many of the soldiers were so very young; some had lied about their age so they could join up. They had no idea what war would be like. I wanted to make my personal tribute.

Irene MacWilliam,

Editor's note: Irene's quilt is among the quilts and arpilleras to be included in an exhibition, entitled 'The human cost of war' which the Movement for the Abolition of War is organising in London in November. The exhibition will be at the Imperial War Museum on Remembrance Sunday and will then go to other venues including St Ethelburgas Centre for Reconciliation and Peace. Roberta Bacic, and expert on quilts and curator of the exhibition, will be speaking at the various venues. Sue Gilmurray has written a new song for the events. More on this in the next issue of TAP.



It is the editorial policy of The Anglican Peacemaker to include a range of articles expressing a variety of opinions. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the editors nor of the APF.

The editor for this edition was Tony Kempster. Letters and contributions for the next edition should be sent to the commissioning editor (details on page 8 by July 15th 2009).

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