

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

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'Melt' from Yin Lum's 'Global Warming' series of paintings

With the emergence of new threats to human security in the 21st century - as militarism was the major threat of the 20th century - pacifists and anti-war activists are beginning to find common cause with other groups who see that there are better responses than accepting the received wisdom of the state. In times of crisis, such groups will tend to be cast into the role of dissenters and trouble makers if they do not comply with the expectations of the state.

A particular concern is how states will respond to climate change and declining land, food and water resources. Our opening article, "Weapons of the rich" by Dr Mark Levene presents a bleak picture if developed countries use their military and economic power to take what they need rather than address the underlying problems.

But ultimately the issue is about how we treat people in developing countries who will feel the sharp edge of rising temperatures and resource scarcity. APF and other NCPO organisations have produced a briefing for the forthcoming General Election focused on this issue (available on the APF website).

Tony Kempster

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Religions have both positive and negative influences. Through common beliefs and bonding in worship, they encourage altruism and mutual support among their adherents. They also demand loyalty and involve customs - sometimes strict ones - which differentiate them from non-adherents. Throughout history the groups with greater unity and cohesion will have tended to have a greater chance of survival, to the extent that there may now even be a discernable genetic component to religious belief. (See Nicholas Wade, 2009. *The faith instinct*. Penguin.)

But there is also a darker side which can be exploited by those in power. These same qualities which encourage individuals to put the interests of society (church and state) above their own, can also lead to aggression towards those outside and, where necessary, sometimes lead to inter-group warfare.

Lawrence Keeley (*War before civilisation*. OUP, 1996) notes that "Warfare is ultimately not a denial of the human capacity for social cooperation, but merely the most destructive expression of it. Human nature, as has often been remarked, is a mixture of contrarities, with capacities for great good and great evil being interwoven. It is not so surprising that both should be branches of a tree that is rooted in deeply ambiguous moral territory, the struggle to survive in a dog-eat-dog world".

One might argue that this combination of characteristics has served the survivors well in the past. But now, in a world where civilisation and the whole of humanity are under threat, the darker side is becoming a liability. So much so, that our future may now depend on regarding all people as one group.

It is this message which underlies our NCPO election briefing which accompanies this issue of TAP. It deals with four key issues: the Middle East, the arms trade, nuclear non-proliferation and the relationship between military spending and human security.

WEAPONS OF THE STRONG: WHAT WILL STATES DO IN RESPONSE TO CLIMATE CHANGE?

MARK LEVENE

An edited version of the Remembrance Sunday lecture of the Movement for the Abolition of War given at the Imperial War Museum on 8th November.

Dr Mark Levene is Reader at the University of Southampton, founder of Crisis Forum and Director of its Climate Change and Violence project. He is also an editor of *Surviving climate change: the struggle to avert global catastrophe*, 2007, Pluto Press.



Harry Patch, like the millions of others in 1914 who were not enthusiasts for war, was dragged into military service by government coercion and because there was no alternative narrative to the received wisdom of the state. Those who did not conform became dissenters and trouble makers, beyond the universe of obligation.

The weapons available to resist were very limited. In a similar way, James Scott's book *Weapons of*

‘The weapons of the strong are not just coercive instruments of power; they are also the language of conventional wisdom.’

the weak speaks of an ongoing struggle of the subjugated peoples of the third world which we might describe as Shwiekian (after the “Good Solider Schweik”). It involves desertion, avoidance, foot dragging and low level criminality, but of themselves they are unlikely to change the contours of power.

By contrast, the weapons of the strong are not just coercive instruments of power; they are also the language of conventional wisdom that the system deploys to tell us how it is, what we must do, how we ought to behave.

My theme here is the nature of the political and military response to climate change. As with WWI, I want to suggest that as the top-down policies of Government become set, there will be obvious consequences for the psychological environment within which citizens operate. For instance, climate activists will find themselves pressurised to follow a Government line or even be co-opted into particular programmes of emergency management; while those of us who might refuse to comply will find ourselves constrained, not least by the fact that most people will capitulate to the standard reasoning; that little can be done except to accept Government advice and assistance.

How will the crisis develop?

I am not going to rehearse the scientific evidence for climate change or the possibility that biospherical-feedback loops could make the change occur much more quickly than predicted. Let me instead offer the following forecast.

1. The climate crisis can only get worse. The aggravated rate of accumulated carbon in the atmosphere is the primary evidence of that. Everywhere we look - the Arctic, Antarctica, Himalayas, Amazon, the oceans themselves - it is evident that the process of global warming is now fast accelerating.
2. Despite the alleged near-economic breakdown of 2008-9, there is only paltry evidence of any significant slow-down in carbon and other emissions.
3. There will - fine words and tinkering apart - be no top-down political solution at the forthcoming Copenhagen conference or thereafter. The economic crisis offered a window of opportunity to change towards a more sustainable economic model. In the event, political leaders chose business as usual, pouring vast amounts of money into the banks.
4. With the failure of Copenhagen there will be a more marked shift, which is already in progress, towards treating climate change in essentially state security terms. And in a world of nation-states organised in practice hierarchically we can expect the most powerful hegemonic states to put the largest time, resource, effort into analysis, policy and follow-through.

What are the implications?

Following on from point 4, it is significant that not only think tanks and independent research institutes but security agencies including the CIA, are now queuing up for this role. Just as

Photo AP



Copenhagen chaos

military leaders have to prepare for fighting and winning wars, so security bureaus have to prepare for medium and long-term threats and to make recommendations accordingly.

A 2004 Pentagon study, which projected a scenario of abrupt climate change, was dismissed at the time by many pundits as improbable and apocalyptic. The key theme of the report was not, however, climate change as such but mass migration, a consequence of it. In the report, hundreds of millions are predicted to be on the move from devastated to less devastated areas. The implication was that a large percentage of these would be heading to the USA. The security equation thus becomes quite simple at this point: how do you protect your homeland from “the hordes?”; how do you keep them out?

Ever since then it is evident that this “barbarians at the gate” motif has been the driving force of Western security analysis with considerably more emphasis on the measures which might be adopted to respond to the threat. Interesting to read, some of these have filtered into the news, as follows.

1. The most far-fetched was the panel of ex-NATO generals who in January 2008 made public their belief that the Alliance should maintain its ongoing commitment to a nuclear first strike option citing alongside climate and energy challenges, mass “environmental” migration.
2. A few months later the US Centre for New American Security played a war game imagining a climate change emergency. The players represented four industrialised countries/blocs. Their response was to draw up a treaty which included the non-coercive repatriation of refugees. I leave it to your imagination how this repatriation to inundated Pacific islands let alone Bangladesh might occur. You should note that absent from this scenario was any discussion of how refugees might be assisted or even how refugee flow might be slowed through aid provision.
3. At the same time, billions of defence industry money is being spent on research programmes to develop a range of weapon systems to interdict such intruders. These perimeter-denial technologies, PDTs cover an extraordinary range of non-lethal weapons including tasers, projectiles, “calmative” chemicals, as well as heat and noise weapons, though what they would actually do to masses of human beings in the event of a major “emergency” is entirely uncharted territory.

Perhaps we can learn more about method by considering those PDTs already up and running. The Israel-Palestine wall is the most glaring example to date. Though a more highly charged version of such tuned lethality is the 60 km Gaza perimeter with its array of weaponry designed to provide an automated kill zone - no issue of non-lethality here! But while



The Gaza Wall

the Israeli barriers are arguably the most advanced of their kind they are hardly alone. There is not only the US-Mexico border to consider but also 2500-mile of steel fence replete with landmines that India is building around Bangladesh, a country where 70 million of its inhabitants are expected to be flooded out in the not too distant future.

Then there is a further facet of military thinking and training, which sounds rather more cynical. On the assumption that the urban slums of the world will become terrorist havens, organisations such as RAND have invested considerable resources to develop military strategies known as Military Operations in Urban Terrain (MOUNT). In a world of climate

Watch out for the slippery slope!

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, MARY ROE

Dear Friends,

I have always been suspicious of the “slippery slope” argument against proposed changes to the status quo. It has been used to oppose many humane developments in our society which we now regard as only right and proper (not to say Christian). Examples abound, from the emancipation of slaves (anarchy would ensue), the education of working people (nobody would be left to hew the wood and carry the water), birth control (complete strangers would be having sex on every street corner) and so on. There have certainly been changes in our everyday lives, but these are surely due also to the vast leaps taken in science and technology in the past century, and the truly dire results predicted with such certainty have not, fortunately, been realised.

The same slippery slope argument is still with us in the controversies within the church and without. I have been assured that accepting faithful and committed same-sex relationships would lead to paedophilia at best and eventually to bestiality. In fact, these forms of behaviour are totally unrelated, as we now know. Euthanasia is another area where it is predicted that, should we allow a loving parent or spouse to decide that, when their loved one is no longer able to swallow, breathe, speak to beg for more painkillers, or turn over in bed, it might be time to resist the arrogance of science, withdraw the tubes and machines which are keeping them “alive” and help them to

slip away with as little pain as possible, then everyone who finds himself short of cash will be ready to murder his grandmother as a way of tiding him over.

This reminds me of the furore when the Table of Kindred and Affinity was amended to allow a widower to marry his spinster sister-in-law as a way of keeping the family together in a working class home. The church leaders at the time foretold that any man who fancied his wife’s younger, less toil-worn sister, would be tempted to murder his wife to get her out of the way. Mercifully, that didn’t happen, either.

I am not here recommending euthanasia or any other specific change in policy, but I feel strongly that the only truly Christian way of finding the solution to the ethical or theological questions which arise in each generation, is not to peer into the mists of the future and see there what we want to see, but to go back to the gospel; to the life and teaching of Jesus, and, following his example, to see the potential for good and the image of God their creator in all human beings. This is why I took issue last week with another article in the *Church Times* from the Revd Canon Alan Billings, as I have done before, because his adamant defence of the absolute rightness of the Iraq war is based entirely on his unshakable confidence that what he sees at the bottom of the slippery slope on which he sees peacemakers standing is without doubt the way it would be. In fact, that is quite the opposite of what the Gospels tell us. All his arguments are of the “if we had not done ‘x’, then ‘y’ would have happened, whereupon ‘a’ would have done ‘b’” and so on.

This time, he says, “Without the war, Saddam or one of his sons would still be there gloating...” Perhaps they would, for a while, or perhaps the human spirit would have found a way out of the tyranny, as has happened in other places in other times. Canon Billings also states that the “unintended

consequences” of the Chilcot Enquiry will send a signal to the world about our willingness to help those who suffer under brutal regimes in future. On the contrary, I believe and hope that it may reassure the rest of the world that our first response to such situations will not be to invade another country, massacre their civilian population and destroy their infrastructure and their cultural heritage but to explore every non-violent way, however costly to ourselves and our economy, to restore peace and justice to the area, without bloodshed.

I suppose it all comes down to the imagery we favour for persuading people to the course of action which seems right to us. Instead of using the threat of the horrors that await us at the bottom of the slippery slope, we should listen to Jesus, and imagine ourselves rather on the lowest rung of a ladder – the ladder at the top of which we shall see, as Jacob did, the Kingdom of Heaven. Happy are the peacemakers, for *they* shall be called the children of God.

I pray that the time of Lent, 2010, will be for all of us a time of spiritual strength and growth, leading to a joyful Easter. If anyone would like to have a copy of Mary’s letter to *The Church Times* or Alan Billings article, “Anti-war stand needs inquiry, too” which appeared in the 29 January issue, please contact the secretary.

In memoriam Alfred Willetts

Alfred died peacefully on 13 February 2010 aged 94. A long-time member of APF, he was a conscientious objector during WWII when he worked for Save the Children Fund. He was also a staunch supporter of women priests and bishops.

Alfred was a noted soapbox speaker: he made a pilgrimage to all 40 Anglican cathedrals wearing his characteristic stole with peace badges, speaking as he went. On one occasion when a heckler said he could not be a Christian because he was too left wing, he replied: “I do believe you will find that even the angels in heaven have left wings”.

Alfred will be remembered for his dedication to these various causes, and also his wit and neon-coloured socks.

Sue Gilmurray’s work contributes to “our song”

This is our song by The Revd Dr Janet Wooton will be published by Epworth Press on 30th April (price: £25).

It follows an earlier book, *This is our story*: a survey of women’s ministry in the free churches, by the same author, which highlights the frequently radical nature of women’s contribution.



This is our song traces women’s contribution to Christian hymnody from the earliest times to the present day. It includes their influence on spirituality and worship, writing for children, and engagement in social issues and mission. Sue is one of ten living hymn writers who tell their own stories in the final section of the book. She explains how joining APF and becoming involved in Christian peacemaking has been the impetus behind much of her hymn and song writing.



‘It all comes down to the imagery we favour for persuading people to the course of action which seems right to us.’

No war • no Trident • no torture

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

Afghanistan: not a just war

The pacifist position on war is clear. Nevertheless, the Just War tradition is still a valuable tool for evaluating wars and pointing up their failures and the future implication of those failures. Wars are unpredictable and one never knows how they will develop in reality. How can one ever know that a war will be fought ethically - as the Just War requires - when the dogs are unleashed?

Many people thought that the Afghanistan war had a legitimate cause but attitudes are changing. What is happening now calls the justness of this war into question. Despite General Stanley McChrystal's mission to rescue Afghanistan from lawlessness - and his strategy in Operation Moshtarak, to prize the protection of civilians more highly even than chasing the Taliban from their strongholds - the facts indicate that a tragedy is in occurring.

The news that ten people, including eight school pupils, were killed in a night-time raid in eastern Afghanistan, on the basis of faulty intelligence, is therefore, an alarming violation of the principle of Just War. This happened last December in Kunar province when a joint US-Afghan group stormed a mountain compound, ostensibly to drive out known insurgents. Further, over the past two weeks, according to the leading human rights body in Afghanistan, more than 60 civilians have died. NATO has introduced a new directive on raids, which includes "a strong preference for waiting until daylight" as well as involving local Afghan elders.

Every time civilians die in the conflict, the Taliban win a propaganda victory, which they exploit with some skill.

Quite a number of politicians and military strategists are at last beginning to say that the answer is to do less fighting and more talking, a view with which pacifists would accept as a step on the journey towards reconciliation and peace. There is a need for a genuine effort to understand and ultimately address the wider concerns which fuel the insurgency. This will be necessary if we want to convince significant numbers of the combatants that their interests will be served by working with the government rather than fighting against it.

'Every time civilians die in the conflict, the Taliban win a propaganda victory, which they exploit with some skill.'

The conditions exist for settlement. Maybe the initial aim should be to limit Taliban influence to the south, preserve advances such as female education, cut corruption and steadily reduce the number of foreign troops.

Ask the purpose of continued military action and the answers given by politicians and military leaders make little sense. The means of war may have advanced since the days of ancient Greece, but the ends not at all. Caroline Alexander's revisionist view of *The Iliad* (page 8) seems more likely to be the right one.

No Trident replacement

A number of APF members were involved in the Big Blockade at Aldermaston on 15th February. An estimated 800 activists shut down access to the site as a protest against the expansion of the Atomic Weapons Establishment's research, design and testing of advanced nuclear warheads - being carried out without full parliamentary approval.

The blockade was successful and well organised. It was also very good to see the involvement of many young people from other European countries which included Sweden, Holland, Finland, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and Spain. I was impressed with the conference and training meeting organised by War Resisters' International and held at the Buddhist Peace Pagoda here in Milton Keynes before the blockade. This involved some 50 people from Europe and I had a number of them staying at my home, which was an inspiration.

There were demonstrators on all the gates from 7.00 in the morning, and most were blocked for some time at least. Nobel Peace Laureates Mairead Corrigan-Maguire and Jodi Williams also took part in the action at the "Women's Gate" where both of them were locked-on using metal tubes. Twenty six arrests were made and five people have been charged under s128 of SOCPA (trespassing on a designated site).

APF's Bishop Protector, Peter Price was present at the demonstration. Other church figures included the Catholic Bishop of Brentwood, Thomas McMahon and the Anglican



Police removing a concrete block at the 'Women's Gate' at Aldermaston

bishops Stephen Cottrell (Reading) and Mike Hill (Bristol). The blockade is the latest in a long story of protests against the bomb and I would recommend that you read Lawrence S.Wittner's book on the history of world nuclear disarmament movement, (see Book Look, page 7).

It also took place three months before the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference. The programme of modernization of UK nuclear weapons violates the treaty and could lead to a disastrous failure of the review conference.

Holy Innocents' service and witness at Westminster Abbey

APF again led the service in St Martin-in-the-Fields and witness at Westminster Abbey. The title for this year's service was "Our world is dying – o hear us" which centred on the "Way of peace" cycle of songs by Sue Gilmurray. The cycle was written for the UN's Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World, which ends in 2010. It comprises seven songs with appropriate Bible readings and poetry between each. The service began with a reading by Lala Winkley of "The twelve days of Christmas



2009" by the poet laureate, Carol Ann Duffy.

The Revd Professor Nicolas Sagovsky, canon theologian at Westminster Abbey joined us for the witness and gave the final blessing. Earlier in

December he was one of the Anglican Church leaders involved in a surreal impasse between church and state when they were prevented from distributing presents to children held at the Yarl's Wood immigration centre in Bedfordshire (reported in *The Observer*, 13.12.09).

Remembrance Sunday events, the quilt and arpillera exhibition and the roundtable discussions at the Whitechapel Gallery

One of my main activities during 2009 was to organize the November programme of events for the Movement for the Abolition of War (MAW). An outline of these was given in the November 2009 issue of TAP. Among them was the Remembrance Sunday lecture given by Mark Levene (our opening article in this issue), the quilt and arpillera exhibition curated by Roberta Bacic and several talks including that given by Janet Booth who led the successful campaign to obtain a pardon for the soldiers shot for "cowardice" in WWI, one of which was her grandfather, Harry Farr.



Chris Chang (Reprieve) speaking at the Whitechapel Gallery

Another highlight was events we held at the Whitechapel Gallery as part of "The nature of the beast exhibition" there (see page 10). I also stood down as chair of MAW at the AGM in

November. I am very pleased to say that Sue Gilmurray was elected to the post, so continuing APF's close relationship with MAW. I wish her well in her new role.

Peace and the Olympics

I reported last year that our counsellor, Clive Barrett has been appointed chair of The Peace Museum (Bradford). Things are going well and we are recovering from the collapse of the project with Leeds Metropolitan University because of funding difficulties caused by the economic crisis. Discussions are underway about a new building on the campus of Bradford University.

The museum is also embarking on a major project, which will involve exhibitions, events and a dedicated website, on the relationship between the Olympics, sport and peace. A consultant has been appointed to prepare the ground for the project and seek funding. Discussions to explore the possibility of joint work have taken place with the Imperial War Museum and the British Library and we have held two meetings with Gerry Sutcliffe, Under-Secretary of State, Department for Culture, Media and Sport to discuss Government support for the project.

TORTURE IS WRONG

Sue Gilmurray's letter published as the lead letter in *The Independent* of 17 February 2010

Leaving aside for a moment the moral repugnance I felt as I read Bruce Anderson's defence of torture (*Opinion and Debate*, 15 February), I should like first to challenge his claim that he is being realistic in recommending that it be legalised. First the "ticking bomb" scenario, so frequently used to make the pro-torture case, is almost totally implausible. The necessary conditions – knowledge of the nature of the bomb and its timing, and its potential victims, yet not its location, and the capture of the terrorist whose guilt and knowledge are absolutely certain – are a paranoid fantasy or an episode of "Spooks", not real life.

Second, the information obtained under torture is not reliable. A hardened terrorist might be capable of misinforming his torturers; one reduced to a gibbering wreck might give them nonsense. (If waterboarding is so efficacious, why was one man in US custody subjected to it more than 80 times – for fun?)

Third, has Mr Anderson given any thought to the practical implications of legalising torture? The necessity of defining who should authorise it, and in precisely what circumstances? The necessity of having trained state torturers? (Should we employ people who enjoy it?) And who decides how long we go on torturing the suspect before we start on his wife and children? But fourth comes the repugnance. How dare Mr Anderson refer to the problem as "aesthetic", as if it were the distasteful ugliness of torture that kept us from it, not its intrinsic evil? In countries where torture is endemic, it is not used as a tool for extracting life-saving information from hardened criminals. It is an instrument of state terrorism, used to crush political opponents and keep opposition paralysed by fear. If Britain or the USA legalises it, that is what will happen here.

Torture is and should remain a crime. The risks of legitimising it far outweigh the risks posed by terrorists.

Editor's note: If readers would like more information on the three points Sue mentions, and excellent reference is Kenneth Roth and Minky Worden (2005). *Torture: does it make us safer? Is it ever ok.* New Press and Human Rights Watch.

It gives an instructive example of how dangerously elastic the ticking-bomb rationale can become. In 1987, the Landau Commission in Israel authorized the use of "moderate physical pressure" in ticking-bomb situations. A practice initially justified as rare and exceptional, taken only when necessary to save lives, gradually became standard procedure. Soon some 80 to 90 percent of Palestinian security detainees were being tortured – until, in 1999, the Israeli Supreme Court curtailed the practice.

Bravery and scholarship

A brave bishop defies Mugabe

At the end of January Chad Gandiya, the Anglican bishop of Harare, invited Robert Mugabe to a Sunday service. The snag was that the service was to be held outside the cathedral, since the cathedral and all its assets, has been seized by one of Mugabe's most vociferous supporters, Nolbert Kunonga, formerly the Anglican bishop there, now head of his own Church, calling itself the Province of Zimbabwe. He went on to consecrate his own bishops and had himself consecrated archbishop. Kunonga's acts of defiance led to the withdrawal of his pastor's licence by the Church in 2008. He responded by seizing church property, a move that was contested by the church in the courts. Although the courts have ruled in the church's favour, Kunonga, who is said to be close to President Robert Mugabe, has defied the rulings. "They tell you that they do not obey court orders, but they follow orders from above," said Bishop Gandiya. The original faithful have been threatened with teargas and worse by the police, but continue to worship outside their old churches. And this Sunday, all of the 20 or 30 Anglican congregations in Harare will gather outside the cathedral to a service to which Bishop Gandiya has invited President Mugabe himself. Thousands of people heeded the call of Bishop Gandiya to go to the service to protest their not being allowed to worship in their churches by a former bishop and his followers.

Photo by Raymond Masingire



Bishop Chad Gandiya is escorted by Bishop Godfrey Tawonezvi of the Diocese of Masvingo at the end of the service.

In the event, Robert Mugabe flew off on the Saturday to attend an African Union summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, apparently without the courtesy of responding to the church's invitation. "I had no reason to believe he was not going to come," said Gandiya. Asked if they will invite him again if the occasion arose, Gandiya said, "Yes, why not? He is our president." He also said his church had no hard feeling towards the Kunonga group. "Justice should be done and we pray and long for peace in the church."

The American journalist Joe Sacco

Colleagues laughed when a young American journalist in Palestine, Joe Sacco announced his intention to tell the story of the region through cartoons. Twenty years later, the artist's blend of history, memoir and reportage has made him one of the world's leading exponents of the graphic novel and acclaimed chronicler of the struggle for justice in Gaza. In his books, he always draws himself in the same way: neat and compact, a small bag slung across his body, a note book invariably in his hand. At a single glance, the reader understands that he is a reporter and innocent abroad, an



unlikely combination that propels him not only to ask difficult questions, but to go on asking them long after all other hacks have given up and gone home. The expression on his face is, however, more difficult to read. Sacco keeps his eyes permanently hidden behind the shine of his owlish spectacles; anyone wanting to gauge his emotions must rely on his bottom lip. He says with *Footnotes in Gaza*, published last December, "I want people to appreciate the lost molecules of conflict: the details and sideshows that only exist until the people who remember them die. But I also want them to remember; when they're watching the news, that it comes to them out of context and that history always comes back to haunt you. An incident can resonate for a whole century or even longer". (Interview in *The Guardian*, November 2009).

Larry Hart's website

Our member and author, Lawrence Hart has a new website: www.fatherlarry.org or google Journal for Contemplative Living. It has a number of essays including "The conscience of a Christian Pacifist". His book, *Hells abyss, heaven's grace: war and Christian spirituality* was published in 2006 by Cowley Publications

Peace and Conflict Studies Centre, Otago University

Our New Zealand branch has been very closely involved with the funding and setting up of this centre which we have reported on before. Kevin Clements was appointed professor in peace and conflict studies in 2009 and it is good to be able to report that the first students have started their courses. There are four students at the PhD level, three students at Master level and twelve students enrolled for Postgraduate Studies. One of these is on a Maori scholarship by the Aotearoa New Zealand Peace and Conflict CentreTrust supported by APF members.



Professor Kevin Clements

And another report from our NZ branch

Thanks to an American television network's investigation, we now know that some NZ troops in Afghanistan are carrying the controversial "Jesus guns" – weapons fitted with a special sighting system that has biblical references cast into its casing by the American manufacturer. With this and other publicity about SAS troops, we are finally getting some healthy public debate and parliamentary questions about the role that NZ troops are playing in training Afghan army and police personnel to counter the Taliban.

Book Look

► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

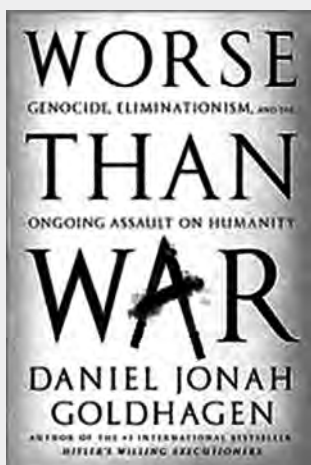
Editor's note: Here are three reviews related to our theme. The first concerns genocide which has always been an issue exacerbated by war and may find a new stimulus in global warming as competition for resources increases. The second concerns the critical importance of empathy if humanity is to survive; not a new idea but the book is an interesting read. Then we have a history of the civil protest against nuclear weapons which has many lessons for the future. The last review provides an interesting perspective on the nature of war in an ancient story.

Donald Jonah Goldhagen (2009)

Worse than war: genocide, eliminationism and the ongoing assault on humanity

Grove Press

The 20th century was perhaps the most bloodthirsty in history. Daniel Goldhagen points out that the largest numbers were not killed in wars between states but by members of their own



societies, often by people who had been their neighbours. In ethnic cleansing, in civil conflicts and with the industrialisation of killing in totalitarian states, human beings turned on each other and surpassed all records for savagery. Drawing on extensive field work and research from around the world, He explores the anatomy of genocides, explaining why they begin, are sustained, and end; why societies support them, why they happen so frequently and how the international community should and can successfully stop them.

He insists that even the worst atrocities originate with, and are then propelled by, a series of quite conscious calculations by followers as much as by leaders. "Eliminationist politics, like the politics of war, is a politics of purposive acts to achieve political outcomes, often of ultimate ends and often of desired power redistribution."

There is a sense of urgency about this book and Goldhagen's demands a revolution in human affairs. States must not only abandon the logic of national interest, but also reshape global governance around the goal of ending eliminationism. He criticises the UN, whose founding principles of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs have served as a shield for leaders who are bent on slaughtering their own people. He would dissolve the UN and establish in its place an organization of democracies dedicated to staging interventions.

In 2005, the UN adopted the principle known as the responsibility to protect, which stipulates that states have an obligation to safeguard their peoples from mass atrocities, and that the

international community must step in when states fail to act. He points out that it has done virtually nothing to put these fine principles into action.

Jeremy Rifkin (2010)

The empathic civilization: the race to global consciousness in a world crisis

Polity Press

Jeremy Rifkin suggests that the whole of history is a struggle between the polar forces of empathy and entropy. "There is, I believe, a grand paradox to human history. Moving from hunting and gathering to farming, and then to

industrial production, enabled humans to interact with one another as never before, but this increasing interconnection involved depleting the planet, a process that is reaching a climax just as civilisation is becoming planet-wide for the first time." "Our rush to universal empathic connectivity," Rifkin writes, "is running up against a rapidly accelerating entropic juggernaut in the form of climate change and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction."

The answer to this he suggests is to develop "biosphere consciousness". "Only by concerted action that establishes a collective sense of affiliation with the entire biosphere will we have a chance to ensure our future."

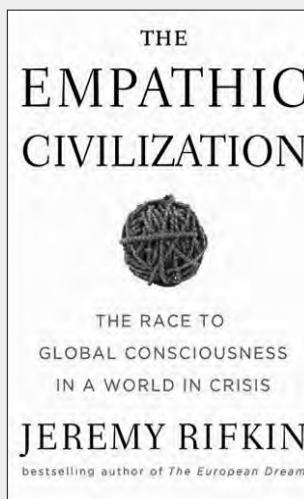
It is hardly a new story but where Rifkin departs from the standard green line is in grasping that all of humanity is caught in a trap, but he seems convinced that, provided human empathy continues to expand, the trap can be sprung without too much difficulty. His practical proposals for dealing with the climate crisis are disappointingly conventional.

For all its inordinate length, the book fails to substantiate its central thesis. The innate sociability of human beings is a fact, but it does not follow that they are likely to cooperate in dealing with environmental crisis. The impact of climate change is rather to intensify human conflict. As global warming accelerates, natural resources such as arable land and water become scarcer, and competition to control them will be acute and pervasive. At the same time, those whose power and wealth come from fossil fuels will do anything they can to promote "climate scepticism".

Lawrence S. Wittner (2009)

Confronting the bomb: a short history of the world nuclear disarmament movement

Stanford University Press



This book tells the dramatic, inspiring story of how citizen activism helped curb the nuclear arms race and prevent nuclear war. This abbreviated version of Lawrence Wittner's award-winning trilogy, *The struggle against the bomb*, shows how a worldwide, grassroots campaign – the largest social movement of modern times – challenged the nuclear priorities of the great powers and ultimately, thwarted their nuclear ambitions. Based on massive research in the files of peace and disarmament organisations and in formerly top-secret government records, extensive interviews with nuclear activists and government officials, and memoirs and other published materials, *Confronting the bomb* opens a unique window on one of the most important issues of the modern era: survival in the nuclear age.

Along the way, it provides fascinating glimpses of the interaction of key nuclear disarmament activists and policymakers, including Albert Einstein, Harry Truman, Albert Schweitzer, Bertrand Russell, John F. Kennedy, Mikhail Kruschev and E. P. Thompson.

Caroline Alexander (2009)

The war that killed Achilles: the true story of the Iliad

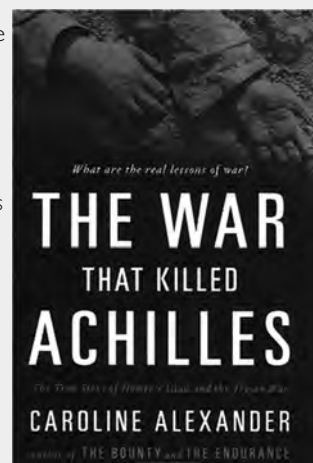
Faber

This is about Achilles as the peacenik – of all things. In the opening pages of the Iliad, as the Greek army is gathered on the plain outside Troy, their most powerful warrior, Achilles confronts his failing leader Agamemnon

and speaks of the senselessness of fighting a war he does not understand. Why should he risk his life to fight the Trojans, "since to me they have done nothing wrong"?

Taking this act of rebellion as its starting point, Caroline Alexander rereads Homer's ancient epic as a potentially subversive denunciation of war and Achilles as an anti-war protester. She draws out the ways in which the poem departs from the epic tradition of celebrating heroic deeds.

It is a refreshing view, although Alexander labours her "war - what is it good for" point. After all, it is the very grimness of the Iliad's vision of war, the gruesomeness and sheer inventiveness of its many deaths, the fetishist focus on the gleaming weaponry and the complexity of its troubled heroes that has provided the imaginary architecture of centuries of celebrations of war.



Diary of Events

▶ LOCAL AND NATIONAL

2010

19-21 March Joint APF/MAW conference at The Friary of St Francis, Hilfield, Dorchester DT2 7BE. Contact the APF general secretary for further details.

16-17 April MAW Peace History Conference at the Imperial War Museum, London. Details and booking forms from 11 Venetia Road, London N4 1EJ or visit www.abolishwar.org.uk.

3-28 May Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in New York. Lots of useful information at www.reachingcriticalwill.org/legal/npt/nptindex1.html

15 May International Conscientious Objector's Day ceremony at 12 noon in Tavistock Square, London. Tony Kempster is giving the address. www.wri-irg.org/co/15may.htm.

24 May International Women's Day for Disarmament.

4 July Annual Independence from America Day organised by Campaign for the Accountability of American Basis. Call 01423 884076 or visit www.caab.org.uk.

27-30 August Greenbelt Arts Festival at Cheltenham Racecourse. Members of APF will be part of the NCPO team in the Peace Zone. For further information contact 01908 510642.

21 September International Day of Peace. www.internationaldayofpeace.org

Tribute to Adrian Mitchell at MAW's Peace History Conference on 16th April 2010 at the Imperial War Museum



Adrian, who died in 2008, was an outstanding poet and author who described himself as "a mixed lefty, a socialist-anarchist-pacifist-Blakeist revolutionary". He wrote with simplicity and humour on subjects and people he cared for. His work is fierce, courageous and accessible; and he maintained his determination for and his commitment to peace until his dying day.

MAW was one of Adrian's favourite causes and part of the proceeds of the book: *ADRIAN: Scotland celebrates Adrian Mitchell* (Markings 2009) is being donated to it. The book has contributions by 40 major poets including the Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy, Michael Horovitz, Martin Espada and Paul McCartney.

This tribute will feature performances by Adrian's wife Celia (actress and his muse) and daughter Sasha (singer), Michael Horovitz (author and poet), Pete Brown (poet, singer and songwriter), Elspeth Brown (poet) and Tim Whitehead (jazz musician), and others.

The celebration starts at 6 pm, is free and will be open to all – not just people at the conference. Call 01908 511948 or visit www.abolishwar.org.uk for further details.

ADRIAN: Scotland celebrates Adrian Mitchell (£10.95 inc. p&p) is available from www.markings.org.uk and The Bakehouse, 44 High Street, Gatehouse of Fleet, Dumfries and Galloway DG7 2HP. Tel. 01557 814175.

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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

Editor's note: When I visit schools I often use discussion of film to illustrate points. The first two were used when I visited Faringdon Community College this month, for Year 10 students. It was part of a Peace Day organised by the Peace Education Network. The two films are of topical interest. Both received Baftas and Oscars in the current round of awards although James Cameron's "Avatar", which has taken more money at the box office than any other film in the history of cinema, came away with less than "The hurt locker" made on a fraction of its budget.

Avatar (2009)

Directed by James Cameron

The film tells the story of a disabled ex-marine, sent from earth to infiltrate a race of blue-skinned aboriginal people on a distant planet and persuade



them to let his employer mine their homeland for natural resources. Through a complex manipulation, the hero's mind gains control of his "avatar" in the mind of a young aborigine. These aborigines are deeply spiritual and live in harmony with nature.

Predictably, the marine falls in love with a beautiful aboriginal princess and joins the aborigines in battle, helping them to throw out the human invaders and saving the planet. At the film's end, the hero transplants his soul from his damaged body to his aboriginal avatar, thus becoming one of them.

It is important to remember that, although Avatar's narrative is supposed to take place in one and the same "real" reality, we are dealing - at the level of symbolic economy - with two realities: the ordinary world of imperialist colonialism on the one hand, and a fantasy world on the other where the population live in an incestuous link with nature. (The latter should not be confused with the miserable reality of actual exploited peoples.)

Reviewing the film in *New Statesman*, the philosopher Slavoj Žižek points out that beneath the idealism, there are political undertones. Here is "an honest white guy siding with ecologically sound aborigines against the military-industrial complex of the imperialist invaders". The plot strangely resembles that taking place in the Indian state of Orissa, inhabited by the Dongria Kondh people. Their hills are being sold to mining companies that plan to exploit their immense reserves of bauxite (possibly \$4trn worth). In reaction to this project, a Maoist (Naxalite) armed rebellion has begun. An impoverished, ragged and malnourished army is fighting only for survival. The conflict is brutal and the Indian prime minister characterised this rebellion as the "single largest internal security threat". The media



ActionAid

refer to it as red terrorism. But the Dongria Kondh community depend entirely on the hills for their food, water, livelihoods and cultural identity. They consider the Niyamgiri Hills as sacred.

The hurt locker (2009)

Directed by Kathryn Bigelow

This is one of a number of films on the war in Iraq and Afghanistan and notable in that it does not carry an anti-war message. Indeed it has been criticised because it does not - a sign of changing times.

"Hurt Locker" is American military slang for being hurt by an explosion - you get "sent to the hurt locker". It is soldiers slang for a place one does not want to be.

The film is a gritty realistic depiction of US army bomb-disposal men in post-invasion Iraq, has been around a long time, gathering pace and acclaim on the film festival circuit. It has been praised as a brilliantly accomplished piece of tense, well-crafted drama.



With their previous commander killed midway through their latest tour of Iraq, a US bomb-disposal squad are landed with a replacement whose recklessness in action borders on the insane, Staff Sergeant William James. Then the film does little more than follow the daily shift of confronting suspected IEDs (Improvised Explosive Devices), terrifyingly ramshackle Heath Robinson contraptions built from old shells and hidden elusively amid the wreckage of Baghdad.

"War is a force that gives us meaning," trumpets noted war reporter Chris Hedges in the introductory quote used in lieu of opening credits. "War," he concludes, "is a drug." And we soon gather that William James is addicted to the head-

rush of communing with these piecemeal death-traps. A man running this close to death has to be a borderline psychopath. The film serves as a setting in which to observe how soldiers cope under extreme pressure.

The most important thing about this film is that it is singularly lacking in politics and for this it has received negative comments from critics because they think should be politics in a film about the politically most fraught conflict in recent memory - this is really a sign of the times.

Conspiracy (DVD release, 2003)

Directed by Frank Pierson

Continuing our genocide theme, "Conspiracy" is a chilling reminder of how people can justify anything if doctrine and power demand.

Based on the only surviving record of the



infamous 1942 Wannsee Conference, the film reconstructs the two-hour meeting during which leading members of the SS and the Nazi government made definitive plans for the genocide of Europe's Jews. Sixteen men sit around a table and politely discuss the mechanics and ramifications of murdering millions. SS General Reinhard Heydrich, overall architect of the Final Solution appears brilliant, charming, manipulative and threatening; a cultured man seemingly without a soul. His aid, SS Colonel Adolf Eichmann is the incarnation of the banality of evil; an efficient and self-effacing bureaucrat. "Conspiracy" serves as a reminder of the banality of human evil, even at its most horrific. The men around the table might just as well be the top management of a large corporation discussing the eradication of rats from one of its manufacturing sites, or the construction of an assembly line to produce more and better widgets. As a note of interest, nine of those present were lawyers by training.

The Final Solution took planning. As Eichmann angrily berates an Army chauffeur for engaging on whim in an undignified snowball fight with his fellow drivers awaiting their masters, "Things just don't happen."

Playing a part in 'The nature of the beast' exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery

The final day of MAW's week of London events took place at the newly refurbished Whitechapel Gallery. Two debates were held around the circular table beside the tapestry of Picasso's "Guernica" as part of "The nature of the beast" exhibition by the Polish artist and designer, Goshka Macuga.



Goshka Macuga speaking during the debate about art and war.

The exhibition revolves around the showing of Picasso's original painting "Guernica", at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1939 and the placement of the tapestry of it at the UN headquarters in New York from 1985 to 2009. In both instances, the image has been used as a backdrop for political debate.

In February 2003 when Colin Powell made the case for the invasion of Iraq at the UN, the tapestry was covered up because of its stark anti-war message. The Whitechapel exhibition includes a bust of Powell when he held up a vial of liquid to emphasise the dangers of Saddam Hussein's WMDs.

The first debate, chaired by MAW vice-president Bruce Kent, was concerned primarily with the Iraq War with passing reference to the current situation in Afghanistan. It looked



Sabah Al-Muktar with Bruce Kent

particularly at the impact of war on civilian populations and also on the servicemen and women who fought in them. The participants included Chris Chang, senior investigator at Reprieve concerned with the fate of detainees at Guantanamo Bay, Sabah Al-Muktar of the Arab Lawyers

Association (UK) and Tahir Swift, Womens' Solidarity for an Independent and Unified Iraq who related how ordinary Iraqis felt about the invasion and were coping with its aftermath. Norman Kember, kidnapped and held in Iraq for some months, gave a very personal account of his experiences there. Aly Renwick, author of *Hidden wounds* discussed the psychological problems often inflicted on soldiers in conflict situations. Other participants were Felicity Arbuthnot (freelance journalist), Michael Culver (peace activist), Canon Paul Oestreicher, Jim McCluskey (writer and activist), Nofa Khadduri (associate of Tahrir Swift) and Sue Gilmurray (chair of MAW).

The discussion between participants ranged widely, touching on the political machinations which led to the invasion of Iraq, the immeasurable suffering it produced and the way it has weakened - rather than strengthened - human security in the Middle East and increased the threat of terrorism worldwide.

The second debate, facilitated by Clem McCartney an international consultant on peace and conflict issues, was related closely to MAW's quilt and arpillera exhibition, "The human cost of war" held in the Imperial War Museum on Remembrance Sunday and subsequently at St Ethelburga's

Centre for Reconciliation and Peace. [Details of the exhibition were given in the last issue of Abolish War.]

The aim of the debate was to link the themes of the Whitechapel exhibition with "The human cost of war". People whose quilts and arpilleras were exhibited and others working



Clem McCartney (Facilitator) and Christian Leon (left)

on related subjects using different materials talked together in their own words about their craft and the experiences which led them - sometimes drove them - to create. Goshka Macuga took part and explained the background to her exhibition in the gallery and how she hoped the records of the different meetings would be publicised. She said that for her: "The nature of the beast" refers to the destructive impulse that ignores the lessons of history.

So, considering three themes - making connections especially between past and present, raising public awareness and the destructive impact of war - the fourteen participants described their experiences. Selected pieces of their art were shown as illustrations. Roberta Bacic, curator of "The human cost of war" exhibition opened by explaining how she had chosen the various items and the general concept behind the exhibition. Alba Perez Hernandez and Maria Vinola Berenguer from Spain spoke of their experiences working with women quilt-makers affected by the Spanish Civil War: Linking this to Chile, from where several of the exhibitions arpilleras had come, Christian Leon (Chilean cultural attaché) introduced the poem "The Winnipeg" by Pablo Neruda, which was then read by Lala Winkley. (The Winnipeg was a ship commissioned by Neruda to bring refugees of the Spanish Civil War to Chile.)

The textile artists, Heidi Drahota, Mara Lovtved-Hardegg, Teresa Huhle and Helen Heron from different European countries talked about the quilts and their relationships to the different wars that inspired them. A catalogue of "The human cost of war" with illustrations of all the items and their provenance is available. If you would like a copy of the catalogue please send a cheque for £5 to MAW distribution, 1 Thesiger Road, Abingdon OX14 2DY.

Nick Dubois, curator of the recent Combat Paper exhibition at the Courtauld Institute explained how US soldiers had converted their uniforms into paper and used this to produce drawings and sculptures, illustrating points with photographs from his exhibition. Lesley Docksey, editor of Abolish War, explained how she uses photographs to illustrate the awful nature of war and Julie Obermeyer, manager of The Peace Museum (Bradford) talked about moving experiences she has had with visitors to exhibitions of peace artefacts. Sue Gilmurray performed a song, "The women sew", she wrote specially for the quilt and arpillera exhibition.

A full film recording was taken of both debates and will be placed in the Whitechapel archives. Two shorter films comprising highlights from the debates have also been made, and are available. Please call 01908 511948 for further information about these.

emergency, the implication of this is to treat slum-dwellers as part and parcel of that same terrorist threat, necessitating techniques to ensure their bottling up in containment zones. Professor Paul Rogers of Bradford University has termed this "liddism" – simply dealing with the violent symptoms of a dysfunctional political-economic system and not the underlying problems.

Sacre egoismo

But there are further considerations here, not least how the failure of Copenhagen will unravel in terms of security policy overseas, more especially how the richer nations will meet their resource needs.

We are already seeing a much more forceful re-assertion of the First World War concept of *sacre egoismo*, state and nation before all else. Of course, one might discuss whether the UN would operate to check on such an anarchic practice. Equally though, one might argue that the UN is no more in practice than the sum of states each pursuing their sovereign interests such that a check remains improbable. Then there is the likelihood of war as the competitive struggle for scarce, particularly over disputed energy reserves in this age of peak oil. We could of course consider the recent and current conflicts of Iraq and Afghanistan to develop the point though climate change adds a new dimension to this in the Arctic. Here as the ice melts the struggle for significant untouched oil deposits is already underway, involving two Cold War superpowers and a handful of other immediate players. That powerful states guided by *sacre egoismo* are likely to pursue forceful and increasingly unilateral directions in the face of resource scarcity might be judged from the following extract from a UK MoD think tank on "Strategic Trends for 2030" in this case regarding Africa:

Climate change and HIV/AIDS, scarcity of food and water and regional conflict could lead to Africa becoming a failed continent, where even large, currently self-sustaining states become chaotic. Outside engagement and intervention would effectively be limited to a small number of well-defended entry points and corridors, which would provide access to raw materials essential to the global economy. Nations or corporations wishing to trade with Africa would increasingly be required to provide security for their nationals and the necessary support to sustain critical areas of access and security.

Then there is a major potential conflict over water. China especially in its northern and north-western reaches is becoming increasingly water desperate, and the top down solution to channel water from South to North, not only from an already drying Yangtze but also by means of a huge dam to trap waters which would otherwise flow from the Himalayas into the Brahmaputra. A terrifying prospect is that the Chinese use this project to deny what remaining water there is to the downstream Indians and Bangladeshis. If conflict arises on that count it could become a nuclear one.

The China water transfer project brings us to a final arena - or should one say frontier, though almost certainly a terminal one in which such weapons of the strong are likely to be deployed. The whole thrust of modern statist-cum-technological thinking is to respond to the climate threat with big engineering schemes. But what if one could go one step further and manage the weather itself – something that the visionaries suggest would solve the overall problem of carbon emissions. Further, since time immemorial the notion that weather could be managed has been a dream wish of military and political leaders. Whatever the other consequences, we can be assured that, given the possibilities of regional and planetary engineering, any new techniques will quickly become weaponised. Having offered a brief tour through this bleak forecast, let me

offer some concluding remarks. My initial outline of the coming climate crisis clearly points at best towards the rich and powerful using forms of triage against the people of weaker countries or more generally, and at worst, a Darwinian struggle fought between strong and weak as well as between powerful nations and other powerful state players.

Not only is this in line with an already existing acceleration towards what has become called the post-9/11 "new normal" in which terrorism is given as the rationale for increased state surveillance, control and a climate of fear, but in the face of cumulative or abrupt climate emergency it provides the necessary justifications for an increasingly militarised politics.

As the crisis worsens the nexus between state, military, security services, corporate and scientific academia will move towards big engineering solutions and greater security. Those who dissent or question will be branded at best as Luddites, at worst as eco-terrorists to be dealt with accordingly.

One other point, which brings us back to climate change itself. It is often assumed by NGOs that third-world people will suffer most from climate change. This is of course true. But such people, especially the most disadvantaged, are also often the most resilient in face of catastrophe. But the same is not true of the first world. Because of the nature of our society, the supply of all basic items from water; though fuel to food is predicated on thin distribution lines to local retail stores and other distribution hubs. The chance of a complete breakdown of these lines in serious climate emergency is high: you know the adage: "We are only three or four meals away from anarchy". In such circumstances, dependency on the apparatus of state for our essential needs will rapidly develop. The path to a sort of twilight eco-fascist state which determines who is within and without the universe of obligation and who gets what, when, and where, is therefore not just the stuff of nightmares.

For these reasons, people in the West, if only on grounds of self-interest, need to understand that climate change is not just about changing weather but heralds the shift from a state of fragile peace to a time of open conflict. By the beginning of August 1914 it was too late to avoid war; by the beginning of September 1939 it was already far too late. The weapons of the strong are already primed or priming for worse-case scenario. The issue is how we avoid going there.

In countries like the UK, we can make a difference in ways which the largely disempowered of the third world cannot. In the absence of an appropriate top-down solution, the western grass-roots have no choice but to show through example that an orderly reduction in green-house emissions remains possible. There is no point to any protest if we cannot or will not practice what we preach. Yet at the same time, we need to be clearly aware of the political dimension here. How we arrive at a coalition of forces repudiating the drive to climate wars is something to be discussed further. That there is a need now as Edward Thompson would have put it in 1980, in the face of the nuclear threat, to reject government exhortations to us to "protect and survive" and in its place put "protest and survive" is undoubted.



“Throne of weapons”

The British Museum and the BBC have collaborated in a project to construct a history of the world using articles collected from 2 million years of human history. At its core is a 100-part series on Radio 4 called “A history of the world in 100 objects, written and presented by Neil MacGregor, the British Museum’s



The British Museum

director. Starting in January, each is forensically examining an object from the museum’s collection.

“The Throne of weapons” is one of the last items in the series.

It was made in 2001 by the Mozambican artist Cristovao Canhavato (Kester) who wanted to show arms being used for peaceful purposes from

decommissioned weapons collected since the end of the Mozambican civil war in 1992. It is the product of the Transforming Arms into Tools (TAE) Project established in 1995 in Maputo by Bishop Dinis Sengulane of the Christian Council of Mozambique and APF counselor, with support of Christian Aid. Weapons previously used by combatants on both sides are voluntarily exchanged for agricultural, domestic and construction tools.

The components of the throne to some extent reflect the international arms trade, though guns from all over the world, including the Western powers, are collected by the TAE team. The principal feature is the Russian AK47 rifle but there are also sections from Eastern European, Portuguese and North Korean guns. The throne has an added significance in Africa where carved stools and chairs are symbols of power and prestige. Examples from Ghana, the Congo and Zanzibar, for example, may be seen in the African collections of the British Museum. The British Museum acquired the Throne of Weapons in 2002 from an exhibition organised by Christian Aid at the Oxo Tower in London (*Swords into Ploughshares. Transforming Arms into Art*). Most recently it has collaborated with Christian Aid to commission the artists of the Associação Núcleo de Arte to create a Tree of Life through TAE. This was installed in the Museum in February 2005. At the same time the Throne of Weapons began a nationwide tour of the United Kingdom.

“Shaped by war” – and exhibition of paintings by Don McCullin

Imperial War Museum (North) presents the largest ever UK exhibition about the work of Don McCullin, one of the world’s most acclaimed photographers to mark his 75th year. It runs until 13th June and includes over 200 photographs, objects, magazines and personal memorabilia.

For more than 50 years McCullin’s images have shaped our awareness of modern conflict and its consequences. His integrity and courage, as well as the exceptional quality of his work, are a continuing inspiration and influence worldwide. A further exhibition is planned for the Imperial War Museum (London) starting 7 October.

“Shaped by War” illustrates the single-mindedness and news instinct McCullin rapidly developed as his career progressed. He paid his own way to visit Cold War Germany when the Berlin Wall was built in 1961, earning awards and a part-time

A US Marine takes stock during the battle for the Imperial Citadel, Hue, Vietnam, 1968 © Don McCullin.



The Anglican PEACEMAKER

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contract at *The Observer* for his trouble. “I suddenly thought to myself, ‘for once in your life, you have a purpose,’” he reflects. “You could turn the minds of certain people and situations.”

Despite arguing that he never wanted to be labelled a war photographer, he was sent to military campaigns in successive



Imperial War Museum

years, starting an 18-year spell at *The Sunday Times Magazine* shortly before a spell in Vietnam covering the Tet Offensive of 1968. Exposed to continuous sniper fire, McCullin suffered combat stress in pursuit of some of the most important conflict images ever taken. Worse was to come – in Biafra, a year later, he watched hundreds of children die in a school complex, and his portraits of Bangladeshi civilians devastated by disease in 1971 drew a strong response from the British public. In Northern Ireland he was targeted by both sides of a civil war, and he narrowly avoided execution in the Middle East and death after being struck by a mortar shell in Cambodia.

Will there be poppies and daisies and apples when I grow up?



Quilt by Irene MacWilliam shown at the Chilean Embassy exhibition curated by Roberta Bacic in March 2010

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 June 14 2010).

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