

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

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Last year we reflected on APF's 75 years, especially how the fellowship has witnessed to the pacifist message alone and in association with other organisations. We hope that our efforts have also contributed in some small measure to the prevention of war.

Such an assessment is difficult to make because, with a few exceptions, the anti-war movement tends to be more concerned with its activities rather than what is actually achieved. We are all very focused on responding in some way to the latest Government statement, international development or anniversary of past event.

Now with tension increasing around the world, this seems an appropriate time to enter the difficult ground of objectives and their realisation – how does the anti-war movement decide which battles are worth fighting?

Besides the direct aim of preventing war, action is taken on demilitarisation and disarmament, sometimes with the related aim of using the resources released for more pressing human needs. Reference will be made here to IPB's Disarmament for Development project. Consideration will also be given to arms trade controls and the banning of specific weapons, including the campaign to 'ground the drones'. This is all set against a background of increasing unpredictability and fragility in the world, as discussed in the last TAP. Changes in US foreign policy are particularly significant and will be discussed in some detail.

Tony Kempster

"A Swahili proverb holds that 'You cannot turn the wind, so turn the sail'. Turning the sail from conflict prevention to economic development, peacekeeping, human rights and climate change – is now more than ever in the hands of each and every one of us. The wind will follow its own unsettled course, but men and women in every society today have the ability to determine their destiny in ways unimaginable in past eras. Tyrants, bigots, warlords and criminals, the exploiters of human capital and destroyers of natural resources will always be with us, but their sails are not the only ones that can harvest the wind."

Kofi Annan (2012) in *Interventions: a life in war and peace*.

The world was much simpler 75 years ago. The First World War had been, confounding those who thought that such a war was impossible or would have been over in a few months. The peace movement was concerned primarily with interstate wars and pacifists witnessed by signing up as conscientious objectors. The Second World War followed more predictably and pacifists were faced with the question: "What to do about Hitler?"

But now most armed conflicts take place within countries and we are told that interstate wars are unlikely if not a thing of the past. The 'war on terror' continues and will probably wreak havoc for many years. The invasions and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan were misguided and led to a massive loss of life and unimaginable expenditure. They have left a legacy of anti-Americanism in the Moslem world and the US has become reluctant to embark on further adventures in the Middle East. John Gray argues in a *New Statesman* essay entitled 'Geopolitics' that by a circuitous route, the world has returned to something like the condition a century ago, in which the risk of war is always present. An abridged version is given on page 10.

It is in this milieu that today's anti-war movement is working to reduce militarism and the likelihood of war.

DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

Ten thousand years of big ideas
Distilled into a billion fears,
A grand design a shiny rocket
A bullet in a bully's pocket.
So mesmerised by particles
We disregard the articles
The one's we wrote to keep the peace
Sullied now in blood and greed and grease.

*Is this the best that we can do?
Oh I can think of better things – can't you?*

With the devil's pitchfork in our hands
We turn the field of foreign lands
We mine the gulf, we dig it deeper
We free the serpent from its keeper.

Yet these are the hands that fix the bones
The ones that build with sticks and stones,
These are the hands that plant the tree,
The ones that pull the newborn baby free.

For now we deal with those for whom
A life is but a carnal tomb,
Visions that we can't return
And future fires in which we fear we'll burn.

But this is the art of those before
Who found the cure within the core,
The noble mind behind the ray
That eased our earthly cares away.

*Oh I can think of better things – can't you?
That hands can make and hearts can sing,*

'Better things', a song by Karine Polwart

Anti-war campaigns often challenge military spending on the basis that there are 'better things' to fund. Overseas aid and environmental concerns are commonly among the priorities, but welfare issues at home are sometimes included. The use of military forces to assist with general security and peace-keeping operations can be contentious for some in the anti-war movement, but the lines of demarcation between what is acceptable and what is not are difficult to draw.

The approach accords with the two principle tasks of the United Nations: international security and the promotion of development. Article 26 of the Charter includes the statement: "In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources." Over the years, many

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‘Disarmament and development have their shadow sides.’



proposals to reduce arms spending and to transfer the resources to the developing world have been put forward and many resolutions adopted by the UN, but little purposeful action has resulted.

Comparisons are commonly made between global military spending and the resources required to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). According to the World Bank and the Office of Disarmament Affairs (ODA), about 5% of the global military budget would be needed each year to achieve the MDGs by 2015 – the framework for which comes up for review at that time.

What do ordinary people think – the “every one of us” to whom Kofi Anan speaks above? Some would regard ‘disarmament for development’ as a motherhood and apple pie statement. They would accept that cutting military spending and using the money for development is a worthy aim, taking it at face value without need of qualification or a specified plan for realisation. Whether they would be motivated to action is, of course, another matter. ‘Welfare not Warfare’ and ‘Bread not Bombs’ are two variants which are rather more easily understood because they set a good against an evil. In comparison, ‘disarmament’ and ‘development’ have their shadow sides, dependent on how the terms are defined.

The disarmament component

Others would not be so willing to accept such statements so readily. Unpacking the argument, they would want to know the size and nature of the defence cuts proposed, and possibly an interpretation of the geopolitical context in which they are to be made. For example, are the cuts to be made unilaterally or multilaterally in agreement with other countries? Will the cuts be achieved by reducing inessentials or will they bite into a country’s core fighting capability?

The latter question has significance not only for those who wish to retain an adequate defence, but also for peace activists who demand real cuts in fighting capability in the belief that this will reduce the likelihood of war.

Satisfactory answers demand an understanding of national defence objectives and military procurement policies, things which are challenging for most of us in the anti-war movement. So it is important to have independent advice. Or we might make a stab at a level which seems appropriate to the circumstances: 10% say – big enough to have real impact on development, but not so large that it causes significant defence concerns. (Cuts of this depth are now being made in some western countries in response to the financial crisis.) But some people will see this, for what it is, a convenient tactic without much thought behind it.

Pacifists will call for full disarmament or something close to it because their concern is with the morality of armed forces, more so than their cost. Nevertheless, some knowledge will enable them to talk sensibly about the steps towards that goal. Otherwise, they will have difficulty finding any common ground with ‘the everyone of us’, and isolate themselves from any dialogue with decisions makers.

Adding the development component

When the arguments for reducing military spending are properly constructed, the addition of a development component can strengthen campaigns significantly. Most people will accept that this is indeed a ‘better thing’. As well as a humanitarian act, it will be seen as enlightened self interest which promises trade and security benefits in the longer term, assuming that the money is spent on overseas aid and not on domestic welfare.

The development component also creates an opportunity for collaborative campaigning with development NGOs. Unfortunately, this rarely occurs except in campaigns where the aims are clearly acceptable to the general public, notable those concerned with the arms trade or specific weapons. Many development NGOs depend on conventional (main stream) donors for much of their funding, and are nervous about collaborating with anti-war organisations which may be perceived as having strong left-wing bias or pacifist tendency,

which might cause public disapproval. Nevertheless, there is scope for respected organisations like IPB and specialist anti-war organisations with publicly supported aims, to establish collaborations.

IPB’s Disarmament for Development (DforD) project

This project is unique in its scope and a useful basis for discussing the general topic. Set up in 2008, it was a response to the increasing level of global military spending at a time when the goals set by the world’s governments to protect the environment, to fight poverty and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons are not being met. Military spending has seen a real increase of some 3% per annum over the past 10 years to 2012 and now stands at a total of \$1.75 trillion, equivalent to 2.5% of global GDP according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

Its aim is to influence the international debate on the UN’s development agenda, and establish a global civil society movement to encourage national governments to shift their budgeting priorities. The project involves a programme of outreach to a range of sectors, from development agencies and religious bodies to UN agencies, parliamentarians and trade unions. IPB has also initiated the Global Day of Action on Military Spending (GDAMS), a co-ordinated effort one day each year to raise awareness of the issues.



The GDAMS day each year has been chosen to coincide with the release of world military spending figures by SIPRI. On that day, organisations (many of them IPB’s members) around the world promote the message using their own advocacy strategies adapted to the local context. The actions are united in message but diverse in presentation with panel discussions, street performances, leafleting, name-and-shame exercises, village rallies, videos, petitions and much more. IPB helps by sending publicity and campaigning tools and collating information on the GDAMS website.

GDAMS 2013 involved more than 120 events covering nearly every continent. It coincided with Tax Day in the USA where dozens of actions brought together peace and economic justice activists around a common message: cut the military budget and support human needs.

All in all this is a highly ambitious project with many contributing elements operating in a loose structure which it is hoped will eventually coalesce into a global movement. This approach has certain strengths and is understandable given IPB’s pivotal position supporting a large number of member organisations around the world.

However, at its core this is the anti-war movement doing what it usually does. It is essentially activity-based with objectives which seem rather distant and defined in general terms. With little direct control on GDAMS from the centre, there is also a risk that this aspect of the project will not achieve the desired impact. So, having raised awareness and created a spirit of co-operation between organisations, the challenge now is to bring the various elements together in an integrated campaign and create a mass movement knocking on the doors of world leaders.

It is not easy to find a comparable campaign for comparison, but the International Campaign to Ban Landmines is a

Building the new in the shell of the old

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, NAT REUSS

All these reaching hands out grabbing things. Grabbing me.
Day in day out accumulating. Ah yeah.
I suggest you step out on your porch.
Oh yeah. Huh, huh. Huh huh, yeah
Run away my son. See it all. Oh see the world.

Words by Stone C. Gossard and Eddie Vedder

These lyrics from the Pearl Jam song 'Breath' talk about two dominant human actions: to consume and to escape. Even our times of escapism, if we have the privilege to "see the world", is a consumer activity if undertaken without seeking understanding from the other and cooperating in some meaningful way. Accumulating, rather than contributing has become the way of the world. So how did we get into this mess and more importantly how can we get out of it?

Wes Howard-Brook (from the Intercommunity Peace and Justice Center in Seattle) and Anthony Gwyther (a Catholic Worker in Brisbane) argue in *Unveiling empire: reading revelation then and now* that the system of global capital has become empire by transferring wealth from the poor and middle class and into the hands of the wealthy.

They argue that this system of global capital began life after the Second World War, with American hegemonic ambitions. The newly formed International Monetary Fund and World Bank were opened by President Roosevelt insisting that all participants "embrace the elementary economic axiom... that prosperity has no fixed limits." Initially created to rebuild German and Japanese economies devastated by the war, need quickly turned to 'underdeveloped countries' much to the surprise of these poorer countries. They already had simple and harmonious communities that had sustained them for centuries, and yet, dominated by the 'transnationalists', the IMF and World Bank sought to open markets for world trade by making local economies dependent on exports to wealthy nations.

Over time, the net result of this approach was to produce an enormous, unpayable debt among these poorer nations. Because of the financial crisis in the 1970s, a policy of 'structural adjustment' shaped local economies according to the desires of the IMF and World Bank, forcing draconian changes on debtor nations which further destroyed local cultural and economic stability which has turned most of the world's farmers into refugees and immigrants.

Aside from their thesis, another option open to the world's farmers is and always has been military service, whether that be localised ethnic violence or national service. But there are inherent dangers in any system that takes people away from the land and into the military. In 1 Samuel 8, the people of God have a crisis of confidence over the aging Samuel and the system of judges appointed to govern the people. They have seen the militarism of surrounding empires which have monarchical systems and have asked Samuel for a King as well, which implicitly means a demotion for God issues Samuel with the dire warning: (1 Samuel 8:11-17)

So very briefly, God's view of empire is one which takes men away from working the land for public good and into military service. When in military service, they can be neglected in battle and some are forced into working private systems to serve the powerful few. Furthermore, a system of taxation is introduced to maintain this system, resulting in the best of the harvest and a tenth of people's possessions taken from them and given to officials and attendants. The end result is a people enslaved to this system. The critique of empire continues as the Biblical narrative unfolds and finds its place within the midst of the Roman

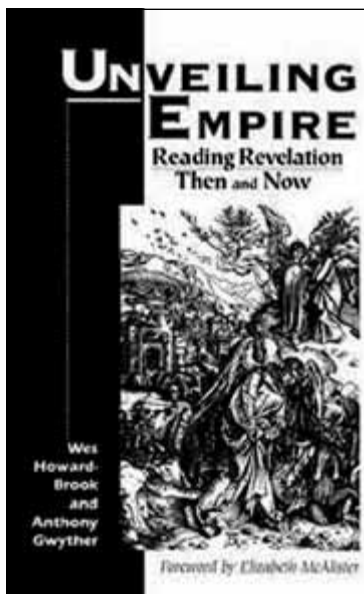
Empire. Howard-Brook and Gwyther go on to write that the Roman Empire systematically took over swathes of countryside through the development of *latifundia*. These were large scale farms that were controlled by absentee owners in the cities (any parables coming to mind here?). As a result, peasants were displaced from the security of their land, forcing them to migrate to the chaos of the city. They argue that global capital has a similar affect on the world's farmers, forcing them into becoming refugees and immigrants, through the corporate takeover of indigenous land. One only has to see the protests of small communities and peasant farmers in rural China to see this phenomenon occurring before our very eyes.

According to Howard-Brook and Gwyther, the pattern is consistent - corporations discover resources for development of exports and IMF/World Bank programmes of structural adjustment replace indigenous food production (as well as identifying oil, mineral and other profitable reserves) with production for export, thus making traditional farming irrelevant. Power is wielded by global capital over Governments to get access to land and the land's inhabitants. Profit generation flows to the powerful few by stripping away life sustaining agrarian practices of the powerless many. This economic system is guarded by military might and enforced through war, whether that is the 'war against the poor' in Latin America or the huge contracts handed out largely to American Corporations after the Iraq invasion, warfare and global capital go hand in hand. On this theme, Howard-Brook and Gwyther finish by suggested that the continued deployment of nuclear weapons and the unceasing research and development of weapons systems in the First World, particularly in the United States, suggest that the stakeholders in the empire of global capital are intent on maintaining their privileged position.

Practices such as this are strikingly similar to the Roman Empire in New Testament times – practices which are stunningly critiqued by the book of Revelation.

The book of Revelation unveils for its present time as well as the time until the return of Jesus, a great conflict between the

‘God issues
Samuel with a
dire warning
(1 Samuel
8:11-17).’



Richard Bauckham

Kingdom or reign of God and that of Empire as depicted by the beast (Rev.13 and 19). Richard Bauckham in his commentary *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* defines a number of responses Christians can make in light of reading the text for today. The first is the priority of worshipping the true God which is the power of resistance to the deification of military (beast) and economic prosperity (Babylon). Second is witness. Christian participation in God's Kingdom is primarily verbal but substantiated by life. Life loyal to God's Kingdom agenda exemplified in the Sermon on the Mount and trusting that Jesus Christ has already won the victory over the powers which at present dominate the world in defiance of God.

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Grounding ambitious goals in realism

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

The anniversary of the 15 February march in London against the 2003 Iraq invasion

The peace movement marked this occasion in February with a number of events around the country. I attended the conference organised by the Stop the War Coalition in London on 9 February and spoke at a rally in Newcastle City Hall on 15 February.

The London conference 'Confronting war today' packed Friends House. Ten years after the biggest demonstrations in history, the conference brought together activists and commentators to analyse continuing Western aggression and how to confront it. The conference was a success although it is a shame that consideration was not given to aggression by other states. The Newcastle rally 'For a future without war' was organised by several organisations including the Northumbria and Newcastle Universities – Martin Luther King Peace Committee, which was recently set up by two APF members, Professor Nick Megoran and Dr Andii Bowsher. Speakers at the rally included Lindsey German, honorary convenor of Stop the War Coalition, and Clare Williams, Northern Regional convenor of UNISON.

The mass demonstration in London on 15 February 2003 was a singular event. Stop the War Coalition should be applauded for its foresight and its organisational skill in organising mass marches. The coalition has also stayed the course, and it is notable that it is now taking a major role in the campaign against drones and also promoting a programme of cultural events around the anniversary of the First World War (see The art of peace (page 12)).

Although the demonstration failed in its declared objective, we will never know how effective it has been in the widest sense. Maybe more than we think! For a fairly balanced view of the event and its potential impact, I would commend Ian Sinclair's book, *The march that shook Blair* (2013, Peace News Press).

By the time the war began, the legitimacy of US foreign policy was at stake; there was an awareness of the double standards in our own UK foreign policy and the debate about imperialism was high on the political agenda. We have, to a certain extent, the 15 February protest to thank for that. It was one of those rare moments in British history when the radical left has some palpable impact on the course of political debate. That is not to say that all of us who went on the march would identify with the radical left or their objectives. But it is no secret that the hub of the movement in the form of the Stop the War Coalition, hailed from that end of the political spectrum. It is also possible that this had a detrimental effect on the ability to persuade more main stream Labour MPs to vote against the war.

We have to maintain the profile of the anti-war movement so that no Government can disregard it in future. The key thing is to maintain a sense of possibility. In Newcastle, I opened my talk with words from the late Adrian Mitchell's poem, 'Work to do' which was first spoken at a meeting in Grosvenor Square the day before the invasion began. One verse goes: OK, let the tears flow / Then wipe them away / Have a party, get a good night's sleep - / And start again / We've got work to do.

'Ground the drones' campaigning

I have attended several meetings this year on drones and listened to the arguments. Those involved in campaigning are to be congratulated in creating a public awareness of the issues, but I am rather critical of the way the issues have been presented especially in the media. This has created confusion about Britain's role when set beside the use of extra-judicial killings in Pakistan and Afghanistan by the US and the CIA in particular. The RAF has not been involved in these and the

anger expressed by some demonstrators outside RAF Waddington in Lincolnshire, from where Britain's drones are now controlled, and the words on some of the banners seemed inappropriate. These points were made forcibly at a recent Council for Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament (CCADD) meeting by Dr Peter Lee, an RAF chaplain and lecturer at Southampton University.

Coming back to our opening article and the question of which battles the anti-war movement should choose to fight, I am persuaded by the comments of the Nobel Peace Laureate, Jody Williams that the current campaigns against military drones per se are unlikely to be successful.

Her words quoted in Medea Benjamin's book, *Drone warfare: killing by remote control* (Book Look, page 7) are relevant here: "Jody has been writing and speaking out against drone warfare. She would love to see a ban on all lethal drones, but she fears it would be infinitely more difficult than banning landmines because their use is already widespread, because it's easier for the military to make the argument that their benefits outweigh their drawbacks, and most of all because drones have become such big business that the arms manufacturers will not tolerate a ban.

Williams thinks the best chance the international community has to curb the use of drones is to stop autonomous robotic weapons – weapons that operate independently according to pre-programmed mission – because they are not yet fully developed and because they bring up the most difficult ethical questions.

Human Rights Watch and the International Human Rights Clinic have published an excellent report on the case against killer robots entitled 'Losing humanity'.

The report analyses whether the technology would comply with international humanitarian law and preserve other checks on the killing of civilians. It finds that fully autonomous weapons would not only be unable to meet legal standards but would also undermine essential non-legal safeguards of civilians.

A difficult battle but decidedly one worth fighting

It is the most pernicious kind of sexism that turns a blind eye to the innumerable numbers of women who have been raped during wartime. But you could also argue that it is another more subtle kind of sexism that ensures that male leaders sit up and take notice only when the most beautiful of actresses points it out.

It was a trade-off that finally paid off for Angelina Jolie on 11 April as she stood up before the men in suits and welcomed a deal to tackle rape and sexual violence as weapons of war.



Jody Williams



'The key thing is to maintain a sense of possibility.'



London launch of a new international campaign

‘No nation can preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare.’

The G8 nations have pledged £23 million towards measures to prevent sexual violence and ensure justice for its survivors – partly due to the efforts of William Hague, who has made sexual violence a priority before Britain’s chairmanship of the G8 and partly because Jolie has been his co-star.

The UN Arms Trade Treaty

On 2 April 2012, history was made at the United Nations when states voted in favour of adopting the ATT. After more than six years of diplomatic talks and over a decade of campaigning by many NGOs and international groups, it has happened – the world now has an ATT. 154 voted in favour; 23 abstained and 3 against; and much has been made of this success in the media.

The terms of the treaty are weaker than many of us in the anti-war movement would like but it is certainly a step forward. It now depends on countries meeting the requirements, especially those who did not vote positively for it. The treaty went to a vote after Syria, Iran and North Korea blocked its adoption by consensus; and Russia and China, two of the world’s biggest exporters, were among those who abstained from the vote. The treaty also says states recognise “the legitimate political, security, economic and commercial interests... in the international trade in conventional arms.” Remember that Russia and China (of 23 countries) abstained. We did consider using this for comparison with the IPB’s DforD campaign in the opening article but decided against it because success is still not in hand.

Campaign Against Arms Trade has been particularly critical of the outcome. Its press release of 2 April is entitled ‘Arms Trade Treaty could legitimise arms sales’ explains the treaty’s weaknesses and why it will not stop the arms exports of the world’s largest arms-producing countries or arms companies. CAAT points out that countries are not obliged to sign and, even when they do, it is not a foregone conclusion that their

parliaments will subsequently ratify them. Then, signatories to the treaty have to report to the UN about the action they are taking to control their arms exports although their reports may ‘exclude commercially sensitive or national security information’. And further, it is then down to individual governments to ‘take appropriate measures to enforce national laws and regulations’ implementing the treaty.

So now is where the real campaigning begins to ensure national governments comply with the ATT’s requirements and that the conditions are tightened up. A key question is how we reach those countries benefitting most from the sale of arms which do not allow their citizens the freedom to campaign.



President Obama’s has a vision but it faces daunting obstacles

However one sees the value of DforD campaigning, both success and failure will be significantly influenced by US foreign policy. Indeed, the 2003 invasion of Iraq would still have taken place had Britain refused to take part; and in the context of disarmament for development campaigns. In the short term developments will depend on how President Obama plays his last three and half years in office.

In his 23 May speech addressing America’s conventional and unconventional wars of the past twelve years, Mr Obama quoted James Madison: “No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare”. (There are some obvious parallels here with view of J. F. Kennedy (Book Look, page 7).) Mr Obama offered a vision of America’s role in the world that he hopes could be one of his lasting legacies and will likely guide the remains of his term. He clearly does not want his country to be defined by its role in terrorism, by the airstrikes it orders or the people it puts in prison.



This was a belated speech because he long owed the nation (and, indeed, the world) an accounting of his vastly expanded use of drones strikes (at least 315 of them in Pakistan, according to the London-based Bureau of Investigative Journalism, as compared with 52 under president George W. Bush); on the failure to fulfil his promise to close Guantanamo Bay; on American use of torture and illegal detention; and on the scope and future of that insatiable beast called the war on terror. Kathryn Bigelow’s ‘Zero Dark Thirty’ (see Film Look, page 9) brought this home with regard to the killing of Osama bin Laden.

The ambitious approach he described shuns a muscle-bound foreign policy, dominated by the military and intelligence services, in favour of energetic diplomacy, foreign aid and a more measured response to terrorism. But it is fraught with risks, and hostage to forces that are often out of a president’s control. It also has major implications for Europe and the other countries that sit under the USA military umbrella.

From the grinding civil war in Syria and the extremist threat in Yemen to the toxic American relationship with Pakistan and the withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan with no clear sense of what comes afterward, there are a multitude of hurdles to the president’s goal of taking America off a “perpetual war footing.”

One of the most daunting is a sprawling wartime bureaucracy that, after nearly a dozen years, has amassed great influence on Capitol Hill. It will be difficult to roll back what has been a gradual militarisation of American foreign policy, even in an era of budget cuts for the Pentagon or pressure from campaigns like DforD.

He did commit to shifting control of drone warfare from the CIA to the Pentagon, which is subject to more rigorous and more public Congressional scrutiny and to restrict instances when drones are used in countries that are not overt war zones which will be particularly welcome in Pakistan.

(This section is based loosely on an article by Mark Lander and Mark Mazzetti in *The New York Times international weekly* of 2 June 2013.)

With refugees from the DRC

Letter from APF vice-chairperson, Sue Claydon in South Sudan

Sue has been working for six months in South Sudan, as part of a Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) pilot. Her role is with the Institute of Professional Civic Service and concerned with setting up tertiary education in the country.

As I write this I find myself living only 25 miles from the eastern DRC border and again, the 'Congo' is in the news. Before writing my recent experiences, I thought it would be helpful for a bit of background on the DRC. The country takes up over 2.3 million square kilometres: equivalent to the size of Western Europe or a quarter of the United States. It borders nine countries and over 75 million people call it home. Like many parts of Africa, the European countries carving up the continent did not think about local people. There are at least 200 ethnic groups that live in the DRC, several of which can also be found in neighbouring countries.

In December 2012, the situation about 40 miles south of here began to 'hot up'. Large numbers of people crossed the border into South Sudan. Things calmed down again and most returned. The Kakwa people live on both sides of the border and there are many marriages and family ties that bind the two communities.



Showing some of the mothers their photos on my camera.

Then in February, there was a further escalation of fighting and again people crossed into South Sudan to escape. At one point on the road to Uganda, the left hand side of the road is in South Sudan and the right in the DRC, so you can see how easy it can be to cross. There was a call from the Archdeacon of Morobo, the local area, to the Yei Diocese Mothers Union, asking if the MU could do anything to help the refugees. Then things got very dangerous as the fighting actually spilled over the border and one NGO group got caught in the cross-fire. Meanwhile the local Reintegration and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC), the local government group responsible for refugees, moved some 380 people inland to safety. They were taken to a place called Panumye. This is up higher in the forest. Interestingly, Ugandan refugees were first brought here decades ago when fleeing the Amin regime.

It was sometime before contact was made with the RRC again, but later in March we were finally able to get figures. These showed that 125 of those at Panumye were under 5 years, 140 were 6-17 years and the others over 18 years. When I reported the high number of children to the Executive Director of the local NGO I am on placement with, The Institute for the Promotion of Civil Society (IPCS), he said we should make an assessment visit (IPCS works with UNICEF in this part of the country).

Once in the area, we met with the local Payam Director (local administrator). He said that the local people had supported the refugees with shelter etc. Also, 110 children had been taken in to the local primary school. We later met the local Chief as well, who confirmed the situation. I have heard a number of times from those working with agencies such as UNHCR that they have found the people of South Sudan some of the most

welcoming to refugees they have ever come across. This could be because so many South Sudanese were themselves refugees for decades and they know what a traumatic experience it is. We then travelled a short while on a track and parked and got out and walked. The area is 'forest bush'. Throughout the area there were shelters being constructed by the refugees. The rainy season was starting and it would be crucial that they get some shelter for themselves. They had no idea we were coming and said many of the children were in the village because of the earlier rains. The stories we heard were moving – a man building a shelter for a widow, a grandmother with her four children for whom two men were building something, an orphan (her mother shot and father missing) being cared for by her uncle. These shelters are made of poles and thatch. Again the local people were very kind in letting the refugees cut down the trees as this is not usually allowed. There were still a number of children, especially infants/toddlers about, which reflected the numbers above. South Sudan is noted for the heat, but following the rain and at a higher altitude the temperature was so much cooler, but the clothing on the children was mainly old t-shirts. We were shown a recently dug latrine, for when the shelters are occupied. I had a good look down and it is a very deep hole (as it needs to be) but digging it on a limited food intake must take some effort. Also as we walked on further there was a woman swinging a big axe – with a baby on her back. I am relating all this to show that these people are not just sitting around waiting for help, but helping themselves.

Moving on we came across some tubers that had been dug up. The DRC man confirmed that they were being used for food. It was explained that these are poisonous when dug up but peeled and soaked in water for many days the poison is soaked out and it can then be pounded for food (but there were not many or large tubers so they were clearly not an immediate source of food).

We asked about water and were told that as it is drawn from the river it is not safe and at the moment there are no cholera tablets. Also, it is over 1 km away.

There are a number of reasons why the people want to stay in the area near to – but safe from – the DRC. Most have relatives still there. This is one of the borders that is a carry-over from the maps drawn in 19th Century Europe that took no consideration of ethnic lines. The local people all speak the same language etc. The women especially are concerned about returning, due to the threat of violence. Interestingly, the day we were at Panumye, The UK Foreign Secretary was visiting a camp near Goma (much further south in the DRC). What he said there applies elsewhere, "Sexual violence in conflict has to be resolved if conflicts are going to be resolved."

The Bishop of Yei is working to get more support for these and the other refugees at the border with the DRC and the Mothers Union will continue support as well.

So, why have I chosen to write about this? I guess it is because having watched news footage of refugees for years I was still not prepared for this experience. In such an unusual setting as the forest at Panumye, I found myself looking into a little boy's smile. He had the two up two down teeth of a 10 month old. Who did I see? My grandson, who has the same smile just now. The next time you see refugees on your television screen, take it as a nudge to continue doing whatever you can to promote peace and reconciliation in our world that is so fractured. The dream of that boy sleeping sound and safe as my grandson must not remain a dream.

Just one more thing. When we first went to Panumye, we took with us one of the UNICEF games boxes that IPCS had in the store. This may seem a trivial thing, but all children have the right to play and it has been proven to be a major aid in helping children to return to some form of normality. I must say it was greatly received.

'Resilience is still the main strength of the human race.'

Book Look

► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

Jeffrey D. Sachs (2013)

To move the world: JFK's quest for peace

The Bodley Head

John F. Kennedy's last campaign was not the battle for re-election that he did not live to wage, but the struggle for a sustainable peace with the Soviet Union. *To move the world* recalls the extraordinary days from



October 1962

to September 1963 when JFK marshalled the power of oratory and his astonishing skills towards that end.

Jeffrey Sachs shows how Kennedy emerged from the Cuban Missile Crisis with the determination and capabilities to forge a new direction for the world. Together, he and the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, both deeply affected by the near death experience, would pull the world away from the nuclear precipice and chart a path for future peacemakers.

During his final year in office, Kennedy gave a series of speeches in which he sought to argue, against widespread pessimism, that peace with Soviets was possible. He used his great gifts of persuasion on multiple fronts – with fractious allies, hawkish Republican congressmen, and dubious members of his own administration – to persuade America, the Soviet Union, and the world that co-operation between superpowers was both realistic and necessary.

The most important lesson that we learn from Kennedy is to fashion the future of our rational hopes, not our fears. He was the first to deny the baseless hopes of idle dreamers:

"I am not referring to the absolute, infinite concept of universal peace and good will of which some fantasies and fanatics dream. I do not deny the value of hopes and dreams but we merely invite discouragement and incredulity by making that our only and immediate goal."

Kennedy knew that vision was not enough, and that a general call to peace and well-being would accomplish little. He spoke 'in this time and space' about specific challenges, whether they be peace, race relations, the race to the moon, or other causes. As a politician and statesman, he looked relentlessly for a practical path, a new step toward the goal.

Fifty years ago on 10 June 1963, President Kennedy made a speech at the American University on commencement day that changed the course of the Cold War, as he launched his peace campaign. Like Obama he spoke of peace.

Yet unlike Obama, he took risks in the cause of peace. Sachs says that his British counterpart of the day, Harold Macmillan, and the UK ambassador to Washington, David Ormsby-Gore, both deserve significant credit for bolstering his resolve at critical moments.

Leadership counts. Courage does not arise by committee. And vision is not the common denominator of a focus group. Kennedy made peace not because he was advised to. He made peace because he chose his counsel, turning down – if not out – the cacophony of advice from generals, politicians and pundits.

There are lessons here for our time, whether to end the rolling wars in the Middle East or finally to face the challenges of human induced environmental destruction. We live in an age where the media rules and the politicians follow. That age is dangerous indeed, an echo-chamber of sound bites and politics as the art of the trivial. We need better politics than that, and can draw hope from a moment of history 50 years ago, when courage, leadership and vision moved the world.

Medea Benjamin (2013)

Drone warfare: killing by remote control

Verso Books

(Fully revised and update version of the book published in 2012.)

This is the first comprehensive analysis of one of the fastest growing – and most secretive – fronts in global

conflict: the rise of drone warfare. In 2000, the Pentagon had fewer than fifty aerial drones; ten years later, it had a fleet of nearly 7,500, and the US Air Force now trains more drone "pilots" than bomber and fighter

pilots combined. Drones are already a \$5 billion business in the US alone.

The book provides the first extensive analysis of who is producing the drones, where they are being used, who controls these unmanned planes, and what are the legal and moral implications of their use. In vivid, readable style, this book also looks at what activists, lawyers, and scientists across the globe are doing to ground these weapons. Benjamin argues that the assassinations the US is carrying out from the air will come back to haunt us when others start doing the same – to us.

That such extra-judicial killing is illegal is not in doubt – as has recently been reconfirmed by the UN special rapporteur Ben Emmerson. President Obama's justification is similar to Bush's – that those killed are actively threatening the security

of the US. But Benjamin argues that the crucial issue is an ethical one: the pilot of a drone tracking the movements of a Waziri villager and making a life-and-death decision to fire a missile may be sitting in a control room in a US airbase. That's when many will agree with her, a founder member of the women's anti-war movement CODEPINK, that a moral line has been crossed. Drone warfare is both a justifiably angry sourcebook and a call to action for the growing worldwide citizen opposition to the use of drones in extrajudicial killing.

Owen Sheers (2013)

Pink Mist

Faber

This is a short story, only 87 pages but it feels huge. I think it should be read in schools and – it is a verse drama – performed as it was earlier this year on Radio 4.

It is about three Bristol soldiers, Arthur, Hads and Taff - Sheers interviewed several soldiers and their families as the basis for these stories. The three joined the army and are sent to Afghanistan. One loses his legs to friendly fire, another, his peace of mind, a third does not come home alive. But this is not anti-war propaganda. It is not that simple.

The book seems to flow naturally from Wilfred Owen's poetry which provides a space in which the second Owen freely writes. Owen Sheers moves 'War and the pity of war' unrhethorically into this century (while also drawing on the medieval Welsh poem Y Gododdin. He never overwrites or overreacts, knowing that with material as powerful as this, less is more.

The three lads join up for unheroic reasons, but largely because there are no rewarding jobs around and they are unhappy with their lives.

Afghanistan is terrifying for them but the challenges of returning home are frightening too. Sheers makes you empathise with the difficulty some soldiers have in making sense of what they have been through. Home is alien, even drinking mates at one remove: "They are not doing anything wrong./ just singing along to Saturday's song./ drinking to forget, drinking to belong". Arthur is alone "in my own weather".

There is not forced sentiment. When Had's mother is asked to identify her son in hospital, his face has been so badly injured that she does not recognise him. His legs are gone but he is alive. Then she recognises his tattoo: "I gave him hell when he came back with that new tat. / He was just sixteen but adamant./ A coiling dragon./ its tail wrapped about his arm". It is only at the end that she allows herself the question that starts in her heart and ends in ours:

"What have they done to him? – That was all I could think.

(This review is based on the article by Kate Kellaway in The Observer, The New Review of 26 May 2013.)

DIARY OF EVENTS

▶ LOCAL AND NATIONAL

July 13. 11am to 5 pm at Friends House, Euston Road, London. The Campaign Against Arms Trade: take part in a day of workshops, plotting and scheming to end the DSEI Arms Fair and end to the arms trade. A huge arms fair is threatened for September which would bring 28,000 arms buyers and sellers. More info at: www.stopthearmsfair.org.uk.

July 19-21. The Hayes Centre, Swanwick, Derbyshire: National Justice and Peace Network. www.justice-and-peace.org.uk/conference.html.

August 23-26. Greenbelt arts festival, Cheltenham Racecourse. Speakers include Mary Grey, Ciaran O'Reilly

(London Catholic Worker) and Ben Griffin (Veterans for Peace). Look out for NCPO stalls. www.greenbelt.org.uk.

September 8. CAAT Christian Network Day of Prayer at start of the week that one of the world's largest arms fairs in UK. Contact: 020 7281 0297 outreach@caat.org.uk.

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

October 5-12. Drones Week of Action. <http://dronecampaignnetwork.wordpress.com/>.

October 20-27. One World Week. <http://www.oneworldweek.org/v2/>.

Fourth mark of mission changed

The fellowship joins The Anglican Board of Mission in welcoming a change to the Five Marks of Mission made by the Anglican Consultative Council. The fourth Mark has been changed from "Challenge injustice and oppression" to "Challenge violence, injustice and oppression, and work for peace and reconciliation".

The Marks of Mission are widely used as a basis for mission work across denominations. They emerged from the lived experience of God's people throughout the Anglican Communion and reflect God's active presence in the world today.

'Songs for the road to peace' hymns by Christopher Idle and Sue Gilmurray. APF's anniversary CD is available together with a songbook of the songs/hymns that are on it. If you would like one please send a cheque for £5 to Anglican Pacifist Fellowship at 11 Weavers End, Hanslope, Milton Keynes. The songbook is also £5 and the two together £7.

Educational material

Pax Christi has produced two tools which are available from its website (www.paxchristi.uk/) 'Opposing World War One – courage and conscience', is a useful resource and contribution to the 1914-18 discussions. This 14-page A4 briefing about conscientious objection and peace activism in the First World War details the stories of conscientious objectors, their witness and their suffering. It also records the amazing determination of the women who held and international End the War meeting in 1915 in The Hague. The British Government did its best to prevent any British participation. 'Give peace a budget: seven ways to spend \$1.7 trillion'. This film which was launched on GDAMS. It can be viewed on the internet at www.youtube.com/watch?v=MBGeBlSiSMU or is available as a DVD from Pax Christi on 0208 203 4884 for £5.00.

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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

Lincoln (2013)

Directed by Steve Spielberg



This is not a panoramic biopic but delivers a tightly focused and complex political drama built on one episode in the early weeks of 1865. It is also not a documentary but an historical drama, so not every detail is reliable. Nevertheless the film, to its credit, is authentic in its historical fundamentals. It essentially gets Lincoln right, as man, as emancipationist politician and – though incompletely as moralist.

Soon after his re-election in November 1864, as the Civil War approached its endgame, Lincoln pressed Congress to pass a constitutional amendment that would abolish slavery in America. Two years earlier, as commander in chief, he had issued an Emancipation Proclamation that declared free those slaves still under Confederate control. He described this edict as indispensable to the survival of the Union. Yet the proclamation would not enjoy legal sanction when peace returned: only this 13th Amendment could definitively embed emancipation with the reunited nation.

The film is a paean to the messy business of politics and calculation, compromise and cunning needed to realise principled ends. Lincoln was ready in January 1865 to use all his wiles and the power of his administration to secure the emancipation amendment, an enterprise complicated by rumours of a mission to Washington by Confederate peace commissioners. Conservatives worried that passing the amendment would sabotage the chances of ending the war; radicals worried that the president would sell out.

When his judgement about is challenged he cites appropriate words from Shakespeare's Macbeth: "If you can look into the seeds of time and say which grain will grow and which will not, speak then to me".

Zero Dark Thirty (2013)

Directed by Kathryn Bigelow

Kathryn Bigelow's film about the hunt for Osama bin Laden, promised to reflect well on President Obama. Instead it generated a furor about the use of torture, and denials by the administration about its importance in the hunt.

Maya, a young CIA agent is confronted with graphic instances of 'enhanced interrogation' and is apparently unfazed. She seems obsessed with her career and no interest apart from hunting

down bin Laden. Her mission is personal.

An hour into the film, the newly elected Obama makes his only appearance, on a TV set watched by Maya and her colleagues: "I've said repeatedly that America does not torture." The CIA agents are blank-faced and mute. Imagine their feelings as you like. Is the president calling them (or us) un-American?

Whereas Obama and his commanders followed the mission to kill Bin Laden in real time, 'Zero Dark Thirty' presents Maya as its author and sole witness. She is first to get the news, the only American to greet the returning Seals, the person who unzips the body-bag and identify the corpse. Maya is so important that she flies home alone in the empty bay of a cargo plane. Once again she is blank and then, *raison d'être* extinguished, she cries.

Is Maya, like Ishmael, the lone survivor left clinging to the flotsam of the Pequod? Is she condemned, like Ethan Edwards at the end of 'The searchers', to "wander forever between the winds"? What did it cost the girl (or Obama) or America to kill Bin Laden? The film slakes a thirst for vengeance and leaves an aftertaste of gall.



This also raises the question whether 'true story' films should be classified L for lie.

'A note on the ethical issues' The film depicts gruesome scenes of CIA waterboarding as contributing to the hunt for Bin Laden. Those involved claim this allegation is untrue and, worse, justifies good torture. Kathryn Bigelow, says hers is "just a movie" not a documentary and pleads her first amendment right "to create works of art" and speak her conscience. She is apparently engaged in a campaign not for but against torture.

In the last issue of TAP we reviewed 'Code name: Geronimo' (2012), directed by John Stockwell about the killing of Osama bin Laden. Kathryn Bigelow's account of the same operation, 'Zero Dark Thirty' is much better and more relevant to some of the ethical issues. It has courted controversy especially because of its depiction of the use of torture and there is a suggestion that it was granted 'inappropriate access to classified CIA material'.

If a reminder was needed about all Obama has left unsaid, the Mountain-film Documentary Movie Festival in the US has provided it. Greg Barker's 'Manhunt' is a riveting account of the hunt for Osama bin Laden told mainly through the voices of frustrated CIA analysts. Then there is Richard Rowley's 'Dirty Wars,' chronicling one journalist's attempts to uncover the secret campaign in Afghanistan and elsewhere by the Joint Special Operations Command.

Both raise troubling questions about what happens when, over a long period, and American president is given almost unlimited power to wage war wherever and however he chooses.

These unlimited powers have been based on the Authorization to Use Military Force passed within a week of the 9/11 terrorist strikes. This in essence gave the president, with little or no public oversight, the global authority to attack Al Qaeda, the Taliban and whatever forces might borrow those loose epithets in a vast counterterrorism campaign. The results have included the devastating ground war in Iraq (unjustifiable and counter-productive as counterterrorism) and drone strikes from Pakistan to Somalia.

What 'Zero Dark Thirty' does is maintain a dramatically numbed, non-judgemental view on the torture and then on the non-torture. There is no tonal shift, and no disavowal, moral or strategic. They just change their tactics and the film stays toughly undemonstratively onside with the CIA guys. There is nothing in the film comparable to Gavin Hood's soul-searching 2007 film, 'Rendition' in which a CIA agent denounces waterboarding information as valueless; he quotes *The Merchant of Venice* and says torture victims "speak upon the rack where men enforced do speak anything".

In the fog (2013)

Directed by Sergei Loznitsa

The fog of the title is the fog of war.

Its subject is the Nazis' invasion of the Soviet Union, and in particular the poisonous shame of collaboration they disseminated in every part of the Reich. An important part of the film's meaning is to show that collaboration was not simply an administrative necessity, but a secret and exquisitely cruel prerequisite of victory: sadistically imposing self-hate on the defeated ones, renewing the triumph by perpetuating the conquered people's division and dismay.

It begins in 1942 with a laceratingly grim spectacle in which the Nazis parade three guerrilla-saboteurs on the way to be hanged. But four men were understood to be involved in the sabotage attempt. One, Sushenya is still free, and therefore instantly suspected of having cut a deal with the Nazis.

One night, two partisans arrive at his cottage to take him away and there is no doubt about what the penalty for collaboration will be. He calmly proclaims his innocence, but offers no resistance, accompanying them into the forest where a mysterious answer to the question, "Who is betraying whom?" awaits all three. The following discussion shows how he alone understood the terrible choices involved in being a partisan, how whole villages will of course be murdered by the Nazis in reprisal and how, in resisting, one runs the arguable risk of amplifying the original evil. Sushenya makes no secret of his envy for the men who were hanged.

We do not know for sure why Sushenya behaves as he does because of any number of reasons: fatalism perhaps or world weariness, or a subtle intention to dissuade his captors from killing him, or a Soviet patriotism and loyalty that exceeds any sense of personal choice or guilt.

Geopolitics

Abridged version of John Gray's essay in *New Statesman*, 18-25 April 2013.

By a circuitous route, the world has returned to something like its condition a century ago, in which the risk of war is always present.

In *The great illusion*, a best seller in 1913, the Labour MP Norman Angell distilled the ruling wisdom of the time: the immense productivity of global markets had made war a destructive anachronism. A new phase in human history had arrived, a period of continuing growth and prosperity, bringing with it an era of peace. But the century that followed was shaped by violent global conflicts.

Today the US can no longer claim any all-round pre-eminence; but that does not mean that China, or any other country can occupy the position in the world that the US once did. Instead, we have entered a period in which no great power is predominant. For the foreseeable future, no one will rule the world.

The projects of international peace and world government that many cherished a century ago have not been realised and the pattern that is emerging at a global level looks likely to be another round in a remarkably familiar kind of human conflict. If geopolitics is the struggle of states over natural resources, we find ourselves in an era of geopolitical rivalry similar to the one that existed a century ago but with new players and higher stakes.

The most obvious shift that has taken place in the past 100 years is also the most clearly irreversible is the dwindling significance of Europe. It has consigned itself to impotence by trying to turn itself into a super-state independent of the USA, while its peace was guaranteed by US power. But, the goal of forging an American-style polity has failed. Now the classic toxins of European politics – xenophobia, anti-Semitism and hatred of migrants, gypsies and gay people – are re-emerging as strong forces in a number of countries. Peering into the future one can glimpse a future in which the eurozone has disintegrated and Germany has re-emerged as a mid-ranking power whose chief focus is on Russia and the emerging economies.

Russia's position in the world derives chiefly from the natural resources that it commands. The principal legacy of communism is that the country is ruled by the intelligence services intertwined with organised crime. The Putin regime is one of the clearest modern-day examples of the rise of the extractive state. China has many of the characteristics of such a state, but so does India; with any increase in prosperity being distributed narrowly among the banks and the top few per cent. The US, Britain and the eurozone also qualify to some degree. Russia shows no sign of being in terminal decline and Putin's regime still has more legitimacy than those that preceded it.

Then there is the upheaval in the Arab Spring which was fuelled by the loose monetary policies of the US after the financial crash, which produced a speculative boom in wheat prices – one of the main triggers of unrest in Tunisia and Egypt.

There has been a tendency to think of world politics as reverting to something like the bipolarity it exhibited in the cold war, with China replacing the Soviet Union as the chief adversary of the US and the west. This is a flawed analogy and the world may become more multi-polar. Consider India and the advancing roles of India and Brazil. Power is leaking away from the west and no assertion of the superiority of western systems of government will stem the flow.

The result is a more pluralistic international system, but not necessarily a more peaceful world. This need not entail

industrial-style warfare of the kind that shaped much of the 20th century. Recent cyber-attacks in the US, the Baltic states, South Korea, Iran and other countries suggest a less visible but more continuous kind of conflict, and the use of drones is further reducing the role of the standing armies of the past.

Alongside new sorts of warfare, older kinds of conflict have resumed. With India and China at odds over Pakistan, Afghanistan and control of the South China Sea, the world's rising powers are locked into strategic competition with one another – and also with the west. Whatever the upshot of French intervention in Mali, it will not be the last such neo-colonial incursion. Africa is being remilitarised by western powers in what seems to be a response to China's expansion into the continent. The case of the DMRC – where millions of non-combatants have died as a result of decades-long warfare – shows the damage this kind of conflict can wreak. The terrifying destructive potential of nuclear weapons has altered the modes of warfare without necessarily reducing the human cost of war.

Many will resist the suggestion that the coming century will be shaped by geopolitical competition. Like Norman Angell, they will insist that war is no longer a rational method of acquiring resources; production and trade are so much more efficient. From an economic point of view this may be true, but it is not economic calculation that determines the behaviour of states. Gulf War of 1990-91 was a pure resource conflict, and oil was a vital factor in triggering the 2003 invasion of Iraq. As the polar ice melts from global warming, the Arctic may become a site in the next round of the Great Game. Great powers will co-operate in many areas but against a background of continued rivalry and heightened risks.

Some patterns can be seen with reasonable clarity. Globalisation has brought higher incomes to hundreds of millions, but it has also left them less secure as their jobs and savings are put at risk by volatile global markets. New religions and social movement will develop to cope with the anxieties of the large numbers that will be reasonably affluent and at the same time chronically anxious about the future. Advances in science and technology will alleviate some of the effects of resource scarcity and climate change, while enabling conflicts between states to be fought out in subtler and at times more destructive ways than in the past.

How these contending forces will play out, we cannot know.

So what might this life look like? How might Christians come out of Empire (Revelation 18:4) as global capital enforced through militarization? Howard-Brook and Gwyther argue that one of the key tools for captivity in Empire is control over the means of production of goods and services. Hence Ghandi's opposition to British rule using a home economy system. A biblical alternative they suggest is local community grounded in God's providential care. Local economies based on cooperation, not competition; on needs of whole people rather than people's needs as consumers and with respect for the earth.

One example given by Howard-Brook and Gwyther of this the Catholic Worker vision of Dorothy Day. Her vision was for small communities of Catholics who lived with the poor, laboured in solidarity with working people, and actively resisted the evils of government and industry, all in a practice of worship and discipleship. As she said, "We are building the new within the shell of the old." As the church continues to decline in the West, how can we more and more, "build the new within the shell of the old?" How can we begin to turn from our overly consumptive ways by taking small steps to come out of empire for ourselves?



Norman Angell



'We find ourselves in an era of geopolitical rivalry.'

‘The main action has to be at the level of international organisations.’

useful touch stone. It also has strengths which IPB's project might develop.

This landmines campaign, set up in 1992, involved both direct political campaigning and the development of civil society movement. It is exemplary in a number of ways and has been successful in achieving its aim. The treaty, officially titled the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction was adopted in 2007 and thanks to the constant pressure from the grassroots, implemented two years later. By 2011, 80% of the world's nations had banned the use of landmines. The campaign credits its success to several factors.

- It had a clear message and goal. Signature states agreed to six major commitments, among them the destruction of their mine stockpiles within four years and their mine areas cleared within ten years
- It had a campaign structure that was non-bureaucratic and a strategy that was flexible.
- It put together an 'unusually cohesive and strategic partnership' of non-governmental organisations, international organisations, United Nations agencies, and governments.
- There was a favourable international context.

Unlike the Campaign to Ban Landmines, DforD is focused mainly on awareness raising and the creation of global movement grounded in the peace and justice movement rather than forming strategic partnerships with bodies and groups outside the movement, although this is now happening to some extent. The main difficulty with this approach is how to gather enough public will to influence politicians and decision makers. The international context is also much less favourable.

Any tightening of the goal and avoidance of confusion is very important in working for any change. One of the books reviewed in Book Look (page 7) is Jeffrey Sachs' *To move the world: JFK's quest for peace*. It recalls the extraordinary days



from October 1962 to September 1963 when JFK used his political skills to forge a peaceful relationship with Soviet Russia. Sachs says that Kennedy knew that vision was not enough, and that a general call to peace and well-being would accomplish little. He looked relentlessly for a practical path, a new step toward the goal. He gave us an admirable piece of management advice:

“By defining our goal more clearly, by making it seem more manageable and less remote, we can help all people to see it, to draw hope from it, and to move irresistibly towards it.”

Reference to the 'Ground the drones' campaign' and the UN Arms Trade Treaty is made on pages 4 and 5.

The international context

The importance of the international context for DforD cannot be overestimated. However one presents the argument, the level of disarmament required of different countries has to be understood in the context of their individual roles in the world, the alliances to which they belong and their essential future defence spending this necessitates. The Green MP, Caroline Lucas made this point clearly in a GDAMS 2003 event in the UK Houses of Parliament.

The main argument for reducing military spending is that most threats today come not from other states but from changing global contexts. Certainly, the threats are more varied than during the Cold War, including failed or failing states, organised crime and diverse forms of terrorism. A mantra of the peace movement is that "even the strongest armies can neither fight climate change nor protect effectively against terrorist or cyber attacks." This is certainly true but such factors make for fragility and uncertainty in international relations which may lead to inter-state wars, especially if essential resources become scarce.

If this perspective is correct, there is a strong argument for multi-lateral disarmament in regions of potential conflict, particularly in Asia where an arms race has begun. But this does not square easily with a campaign significantly dependent on the creation of a global civil society movement. GDAMS, for example, is focused almost entirely on democratic countries because this is where the participating anti-war organisations are located and able to operate freely. It is difficult to see how such a movement will embrace China, Russia, Iran or other authoritarian states. And it is these countries that tend to be increasing their military budgets as western countries are cutting back to cope with the financial crisis. Clearly the main action has to be at the level of international organisations.

We also hear in our DforD campaigns that excessive military spending by the US in particular is the elephant in the room. This is certainly true and to do something about this is a key aspect of the project. But there is a complication to this which has to be accommodated in any discourse about global disarmament. This is that the US military spending provides a defence umbrella for much of the free-world. Countries with authoritarian governments also benefit from this umbrella. President Obama pointed this out when visiting Hiu Jinto in 2011, saying that China's success has depended, in part, on "decades of stability in Asia made possible by America's forward presence in the region and global trading championed by the US." (Washington press conference, 19 January 2011, quoted by Jonathan Fenby in *Tiger heads snake tails* (2013)). But things are changing fast. A lack of US leadership is evident in the world's response to Syrian crisis. It does not want to become involved militarily. Some European countries would like to but do not have the capability. The rest don't seem to care very much. For all their pious post-Cold War criticism of US hegemony, the emergence of Brazil, Russia, India and China (the BRICS) seem likely to fill the expanding vacuum with a mixture of indifference and realpolitik.

In conclusion

Disarmament for development is a valuable concept. With some adjustment IPB's project could well make a significant contribution to the general thrust of this. It would benefit from more clarity in objectives. Greater emphasis should be on multilateral disarmament with the resources released being spent on selected overseas aid projects. In the context of other items in this issue of TAP, these should include the channelling of resource to selected UN peace-keeping projects and conflict resolution, bespoke assistance for nascent democracies especially in Africa and the delivering of indicted criminals to the international court.

Celebrating subversion now

Not specifically about peace (but everything seems to be related in some way with peace) this double CD has one aim – to oppose the ideologically driven austerity programme imposed by this millionaire government on all but the elite and to challenge the narrative that says, *There is no alternative*. 'Celebrating subversion' is now available from Fuse Records. Send a cheque for £16 made out for Fuse Records to 28 Park Chase, Wembley, Middlesex HA9 8EH.

It includes 29 songs and one visionary poem from singers and songwriters, Frankie Armstrong, Roy Bailey, Robb Johnson, Reem Kelani, Sandra Kerr, Grace Petrie, Leon Rosselson, Janet Russell, Peggy Seeger, Jim Woodland and socialist magician Ian Saville.

Artists showcase the brutality of the reality of life in Iraq

A political cartoonist whose work satirises the struggle of life in post-war Baghdad and a photographer who explores the legacy of Saddam Hussein's brutal oppression of the Kurds are among the artists in Iraq's pavilion at this year's Venice Biennale. The pavilion, titled 'Welcome to Iraq', will for the first time showcase artists who live and work in the country. Cartoonist Abdul Raheem Yassir uses deadpan humour to address social and political chaos and corruption. Among his cartoons to be shown in Venice is one of a man glued to the TV news report showing a gun turret of a tank bulldozing into a building while the same gun is breaking through the wall behind him.



Jamal Penjweny, from Sulaymaniyah, is showing a series of photographs called 'Saddam is here' that feature Iraqis in everyday places – the streets, hotels, shops – holding a portrait of the former dictator over their face, evoking the lasting impact of his brutal regime.



Songs for 2014

To help commemorate the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, APF's membership secretary, Sue Gilmurray has been working with Movement for the Abolition of War on a collection of anti-militaristic songs arranged for choral singing, which can form part of any 2014 concert, ceremony or social event – even a church service, though the songs themselves are not religious. Some have a stronger note of protest than others, but all should steer singers and listeners in the direction of peace.

MAW's website will host the song lyrics, the music scores and a link to audio extracts on the Soundcloud website, to give an instant idea of what the songs sound like.

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Sue in red with the other singers

On April 6th Sue and eight other singers recorded the first audio tracks, in St Mary's church, Ely, under the guidance of her husband Bob. The first three songs are now available, and over the coming months more will be added, including some by other composers. The target is to have 14 songs ready by the end of this year.

If you belong to a choir or singing group, or know anyone who does, take a look on MAW's website, www.abolishwar.org.uk. You can see the music and lyrics, and click on a link to the audio extracts.

If you belong to a choir or singing group, or know anyone who does, please spread the word about this musical project. Contact Sue at her new web address: suegilmurray@icloud.com. If you are interested in the songs but don't use the Internet, please write to Sue who can post you the music.

How should we remember World War I: the 'war to end all wars'?

On the 23 May, actors and writers came together to launch a statement which condemns David Cameron's plan to mark the centenary of the First World War with "truly national commemorations" which aim to stress our "national spirit" in a similar way to the Diamond Jubilee celebrations.

The statement, which was read out by Stop the War convenor Lindsey German said "instead we believe it is important to remember that this was a war that was driven by powers' competition for influence around the globe, and caused a degree of suffering all too clear in the statistical record of 16 million people dead and 20 million wounded."

Outside of poet Siegfried Sassoon's house, Jeremy Corbyn MP introduced Brian Eno who read a chosen passage on the suffering of a First World War soldier and actor Janie Dee read Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy's 'Last post', a poem to mark the deaths of Henry Allingham and Harry Patch, the two longest surviving soldiers of the war. Author Michael Morpurgo read Siegfried Sassoon's 'Soldiers declaration'.

The statement, which was published in The Guardian recently and is signed by Jude Law, Sir Patrick Stewart and Antony Gormley amongst others, can be read at www1.stopwar.org.uk. Details of a series of events next year to remember the human catastrophe of the First World War, and to call for peace and international cooperation will be announced soon.

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