

THE Anglican PEACEMAKER

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The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness.

This is the second issue in our new format. Regular features continue but some articles are shortened. The full articles are on the new APF website.

The theme of this issue is political evil: how it occurs and the ways and means available to prevent its worst depredations. This is a difficult subject to deal with but particularly relevant today in relation to international terrorism and intrastate repression. It is also bears on the pacifist controversy about when (if ever) the use of military force can be justified. Our aim, as always, is to stimulate debate and readers are encouraged to contribute by setting out their views on the APF website and Blog.

The review of books, films and art are topical and chosen because they are relevant to our general theme.

The fellowship's activities and plans are outlined and we hope readers will look carefully at page 8 where the diary indicates some important events. Our AGM day is particularly important and part of a member's day entitled 'COs past and present'. And next year is our 80th anniversary with a key event in March.

'Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary.' From Reinhold Niebuhr (1944). *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*

'If thy heart is as my heart, if you love God and all mankind, I ask no more. Give me your hand.' Spoken by Jehu to Jehonadab (2 Kings 10,15). Quote to say that differences of opinion should not divide people of good will.

CONTENTS

- 1 The challenge of political evil
- 3 Chairperson's report
- 4 General Secretary's report
- 6 International page (COs in Eritrea)
- 7 Book Look
- 8 Diary of events and notices
- 9 Film Look
- 10 *War is a Failure of Politics*, poetry review
- 12 The art of peace

THE CHALLENGE OF POLITICAL EVIL

The full article is available on APF's website

'A maxim for the twenty-first century might well be to start not by fighting evil in the name of good, but by attacking the certainties of people who claim always to know where good and evil are to be found.'

Tzvetan Todorov (2000)

The future of humanity rests on our ability to respond to a number of global threats; a massive undertaking when one considers the conflicting national interests involved and the resources needed. Evil represents a dangerous complication to our task because it is insidious and can aggravate the threats in ways that could lead to destruction on an unprecedented scale, or even threaten our existence.

In an age of terrorism, genocide and the increasing availability of weapons of mass destruction, acts of evil are radically different from disease pandemics,

environmental catastrophes and financial panics. Everyday on the news we see governments and aid agencies rush to help the victims of these, while we are slow to react when evil shows itself, seemingly paralyzed about what should be done. We have also been prone to serious over-reaction in some cases, as in George W. Bush's 'war on terror', and made things worse. This has also tainted the perception on future western military intervention whatever the rightness of the cause.

It is not that we are ignorant about evil and the havoc it can

create. Evil has darkened our path throughout history, and in the modern age, thinkers as diverse as Hannah Arendt, Reinhold Niebuhr, Arthur Koestler and George Orwell have made it central to their writing. Few can doubt that it still represents one of the most important challenges of our time. But much more than this: the question of evil is not just whether we can bring an end to death and destruction. Hanging in the balance is the question of whether we are purposeful beings capable of creating a more just and humane world. How,

for example, can we stand aside today if there is no feasible alternative to military action, when so many in Syria are dying every day from the action of the Syrian government or by the inhumanity of IS?

NAMING EVIL

Defining evil and understanding how it develops are crucial to any determined response. Further, without such preparation, we are likely – sooner or later – to encounter an existential situation where there is no time to reflect on alternative courses of actions. How we got there would no longer be the issue and neither, to my mind, would a theological reflection on the appropriateness of a pacifist non-response. Military action would be the only feasible option to avoid a disaster.

APF counsellor, Clive Barrett has posted an article entitled ‘The temptation of realism’ on APF’s Blog, which is relevant here. He says that all war (military action) even if demonstrably successful, will always and inevitably produce bad results in the long term. This implies that there is something deterministic about such action; God influencing the ends when wrong means are used. If you have any comments on this or Clive’s article in general, please add them to the Blog.

Evil appears in many forms but evil and politics make a particularly toxic mix. Organised into a movement or by taking control of a state, practitioners can bring huge resources to bear against their victims and carry out violence on an unimaginable scale.

This type of evil will be the focus of this article, which is informed particularly by Alan Wolfe’s book, *Political evil: what it is and how to combat it* (2011). He argues that we need to get serious about the problem of evil once more, because we are quite capable of understanding and combating it. Wolfe also argues that

political evil is in some ways easier to deal with than other forms of evil, because we can respond to the ‘political’ and do not need to concentrate directly on the underlying psychological of evil doers. Further, we are not so contaminated by fighting evil with evil.

Wolfe considers several definitions of political evil, but the following captures the key features.

Political evil refers to the wilful malevolent, and gratuitous death, destruction, and suffering inflicted upon innocent people by the leaders of movements and states in the strategic efforts to achieve realizable objectives.



Modern-day representation of Picasso’s Guernica (muroshablados).

In terms of the sheer numbers of people singled out for harm or for showing a lack of respect for basic human dignity, four distinct kinds of politically evil have commanded most attention: (1) terrorism, (2) ethnic cleansing, (3) genocide, and (4) counter evil. This last category may be defined as the infliction of uncalled-for suffering, such as non-judicial killing or torture, on those presumed or known to have inflicted the same on you.

For anyone is interested in these definitions, the international lawyer, Philippe Sands has published a fascinating book, entitled *East West Street: on the origins of genocide and crimes against humanity* (2016).

ACTION OR NON-ACTION AGAINST POLITICAL VIOLENCE

It was the extreme political evil of the Axis powers that led Gandhi to assent to India fighting alongside the Allies in World War 2; and, why the nuclear physicist, Joseph Rotblat decided to apply his knowledge at Los Alamos, fearing that Hitler would develop the atom bomb first. When it became clear that this was

impossible, he left America and became an anti-nuclear campaigner, for which he received a Nobel Peace Prize.

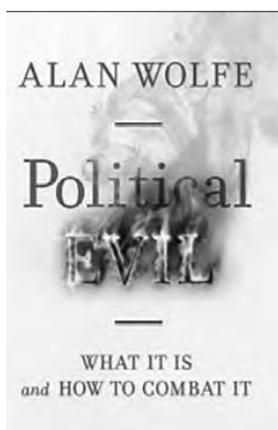
The inhumanity of the Nazi regime in Germany also produced the classical case in which Christians had to take sides either to support the regime (including remaining silent) or to resist it actively. For Dietrich Bonhoeffer, resisting the Nazi regime became a matter of Christian faith and discipleship. He participated in the plot to assassinate Hitler and was hanged. Today he is honored as a modern martyr. Walter Wink, a renowned exponent of Christ’s pacifist message, spoke about Bonhoeffer in his book, *Jesus and non-violence: a third way*:

‘[Although] committed to nonviolence, I may find myself in a situation where I am not able to find a creative, third way, and must choose between the lesser of two violences, two guilts. Even then, however, it is not a question of justifying the violence. I simply must as Bonhoeffer did, take on myself the guilt and cast myself on the mercy of God.’

RESPONDING TO POLITICAL EVIL

There can be no doubt that pre-emption is crucial if the worst depredations of political evil are to be prevented. History also shows that future evil is most likely to arise under totalitarian regimes, particularly as state control, militarism and repression intensify, conditions that we recently thought were in decline.

Just a couple of decades ago, Samuel Huntington and other writers were declaring the end of ideology, the inevitability of secularism, the benefits of modernity, and the triumph of liberal democracy. Today such hopes are all but forgotten, as the global order cracks under



THE PERVASIVENESS OF EVIL

FROM THE CHAIRPERSON – NAT REUSS

This is a moment in my life that I look upon with great shame. On the surface, everything had the appearance of looking fine, but when I dug a little deeper, I could see that, spiritually speaking, all was not well.

Before I embark on this moment of vulnerability, some context will be useful. I am a white 'Priest Kid' brought up in the Anglo-Catholic Tradition in rural Australia, a country traditionally and presently allied to the UK and America amongst others. These links were a source of comfort when perceiving any outside threat.

The Rituals of Church, Prayer and God had always been a part of my life, until I decided to go my own way as a teenager. It wasn't long though until I heard God calling me to a future life that was very different to what I had envisaged - a life of financially profitable work, such is the lure of global capital and its corruption of minds, both young and old in Western Society.

I encountered God in a new way through the Charismatic/Evangelical Movement in the UK, yet, the experience of this 'moment' I will now share revealed the shallowness of my Spiritual life at the time.

It was around the time of the invasion of Iraq and the 'Shock and awe' bombing of Baghdad. I was watching the images of bombs dropping; and, despite the absolutely horror and evil occurring in front of my eyes, I recall the feeling inside of me. It wasn't one of empathy or lament, as you would expect a Christian to have, but one rather of comfort, because, I believed the lie that an alleged threat to my security was in the process of being removed.

Thus I observed violence without being moved to work to overcome violence; to remain an observer, distant and silent in the face of one of the world's greatest miscarriages of justice. And here is the clincher. The 'supposed' leaders of the free world led it - the USA and UK, two countries that are often labeled 'Christian countries'.

Tragically, we didn't witness a mass Church movement opposing the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Why?

The reasons may well be complex, but what I want to raise here is that of our combined Spiritual immaturity. With all our fine Christian education and wise words, we placed our trust in our Government rather than in our God.

Even in the 'supposedly' violent Old Testament, God is telling a story of his coming reign of peace and his opposition to the nations that corrupt the earth and its peoples. Part of God's liberating effect is to lead humanity, all humanity, to place their trust in God and away from the evil desires of people.

Psalm 118:8-9 It is better to take refuge in the LORD than to trust in humans. It is better to take refuge in the LORD than to trust in princes.

Psalm 146:3-4 Do not put your trust in princes, in human beings, who cannot save. When their spirit departs, they return to the ground; on that very day their plans come to nothing.

The incarnation of Jesus brings in The Kingdom of God and His reign of peace. It doesn't see people as enemies; all are welcome and included to this great banquet and life. In the Gospels, that meant both Roman Centurion and Jewish Pharisee alike, but particularly those whose life is sucked from them as they suffer under the extremes of both the financial demands of occupation and the yoke of religious fundamentalism.

God's Kingdom, you could say is at war with the world, but its weapons are very different - faith, love, peace - and its mode of engagement is very different for it doesn't seek to demonize or dominate 'the other' but rather to invite the other to shed its evil desires and to experience the fullness of life and flourishing found only in the fellowship of love with the triune God.

There is no space in this Biblical picture of a 'Christian nation or realm'. There is no geographic place where only those inhabitants can claim God for themselves. There is no 'God bless America' in the scheme of God's Kingdom for it is a Reign rather than a Realm. King Jesus reigns over the entire cosmos, ruling not through the abuses of power that Kings of Nations inflict on each other, but in sacrificial self-offering, receiving into



'Reconciliation' by Josefina de Vasconcellos in St Michael's Cathedral, Coventry.

himself all global and historic evil, sin, torture, murder and war on the cross and emerging triumphant over this fallen state of reality.

In Australia and the UK, my growth in faith enables me to live an undefended life now. I am not afraid and therefore have no need for airstrikes in a distant land to make me feel safer. Part of my responsibility therefore, is to highlight the injustices of my country's airstrikes abroad and the destruction this is wreaking on civilians. But what about others abroad in places of conflict that we feel the need to protect?

To support airstrikes, is still to trust in 'Princes' and to believe that violence can bring peace. Conflict resolution is not so simple as the bombings of hospitals and refugee camps in Syria has highlighted. The unanimous CofE Synod decision to support airstrikes in Syria has now significantly reduced the authority of the Church to speak out now in the face of such tragedies. It has placed its trust in 'Princes' and revealed the shallowness of its Spiritual maturity.

So how do we move forward with such a legacy? The answer is in repentance and faith in God. Christians in the UK are part of the same body as Christians in Iraq, the broken body of Jesus.

Together, we join with other believers across the world to transform the world by building for God's Kingdom of peace. That is to say, whilst we are anxious about atrocities in other countries and the temptation to resort to violence to bring relief, we try to build where we are and to unite with other Christians where they are as the one body of Christ to confront the conditions that lead to violence in the first place.

In the West we can draw a sharp distinction between the Spiritual and the physical realities, which is absent in

TO STOP, REMEMBER AND STAND DOWN

FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY – TONY KEMPSTER



The Bishop of Chelmsford speaking in Trafalgar Square.

STOP TRIDENT NATIONAL RALLY

APF took part with other members of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations at the Stop Trident National Rally in February. This was a very important demonstration to show the Government the strength of public opinion against Trident. APF assisted with a gathering for faith groups in the morning at Hinde Street Methodist Church in London. The Church was overflowing and this was a very special occasion for the Christian peace movement.



At Hinde Street Methodist Church.

Afterwards we joined the main rally from Speakers Corner to Trafalgar Square following behind a 'No Faith in Trident'

banner. At the end of the rally, statements on nuclear weapons from the various faiths will be read from the steps of St. Martin in the Fields.

Stephen Cottrell, the Bishop of Chelmsford spoke both at Hinde Street Methodist Church and on the main platform in Trafalgar Square.

REMEMBERING COs

On 15th May, APF members joined others in Tavistock Square for this annual International Conscientious Day event. With 2016 being the 100th anniversary of the right to Conscientious Objection to military service being recognised in British

Law, the various commemorations around the UK took on a special poignancy. At the ceremony in London, Siw Wood, niece of Walter Roberts read from the letters he sent home just before he died in Dyce Camp from the conditions there. Bert Brocklesby's great granddaughter, Jill Gibbon, told of him being taken to France with the Richmond 16. He was court martialled, sentenced to death and then commuted to 10 years hard labour. Even after the war ended he was still shunned and found employment difficult to get.



Siw Wood, niece of CO Walter Roberts.

Alexia Tsouni of the Greek Association of COs spoke about the current situation in Greece. Conscientious objection was only recognised in 1998, and the only religious groups to get exemption are Jehovah's Witnesses. It is difficult to get exemptions and each time a case is heard and lost there is a fine of 6,000 Euros. Alexia also said that amazingly even with the financial constraints, the Government is increasing military spending.



Alexia Tsouni of the Greek Association of COs.

Sue Gilmurray led the Raised Voices Choir, including the singing of 'The ones who said No'. Hannah Brock from War Resisters International gave an update on the situation for COs around the world. This commemoration was organised by the World War One Peace Forum, of which APF is a member.

A NEW PROJECT AT THE PEACE MUSEUM

APF is funding a major new project at the Peace Museum (Bradford) entitled 'Faith and Peace'.

Faiths are often seen in Western secular media as a principal cause of violence and war. This three-year project combines

practical peacemaking, creativity, and engagement to enhance public awareness of the place of peace and nonviolence at the heart of faith traditions.

It has several aims including:

- (1) pioneering community peace-building and increased community cohesion in an area of religious and ethnic diversity;
- (2) building up of a unique collection of faith-based artefacts of peace; and
- (3) the creation of a professional exhibition promoting the awareness of peace in faith traditions, including Christian pacifism, drawing on artefacts from the Peace Museum collection and artistic items created during the Faith and Peace process.

The project is to be led by Liz Firth who has worked for local Bradford charities for 15 years. She chaired Bradford Women for Peace, and has good links with networks of newly arrived women and seldom heard groups. She hosts a regular women's radio show with Bradford Community Broadcasting.

JOINT MPF/APF CONFERENCE

APF members joined the Methodist Peace Fellowship for a conference held at Whaley Hall in Derbyshire on 22-24 April. The conference title was 'The things that make for peace'. The speakers for the conference were Bea Foster, Steve Hucklesby and The Revd Harold Good.

Bea has 30-year experience as a professional Youth & Community Worker in Burnley. She spoke particularly about her work with Building Bridges, which includes sharing in Faith Friends work in schools.

Steve who is policy adviser for the Joint Public Issues Team serving the Baptist Union, the United Reformed Church and the Methodist Church in Britain. He rehearsed some of the key issues on which he is presently engaged.

Harold is a former President of the Methodist Church in Ireland and has been deeply involved in the Northern Ireland Peace Process. He drew on his wide experience to discuss such emotive issues as grace and forgiveness.

On the Saturday evening, Sue Gilmurray led the delegates in the singing of songs of courage and conscience of WW1 from 'Oh what a lovely war-resistance' a musical event performed in February (details were given in the last TAP).

TEACH PEACE, A RESOURCE FROM THE PEACE EDUCATION NETWORK

This valuable resource contains ten assemblies, follow-up activities, resources, prayers, and reflections on peace and peacemaking for 5-12 year olds.

Whether Remembering for Peace (11 November), flying a kite for Nao Roz [21 March], or reflecting on the witness of Austrian peacemaker Franz Jägerstätter (21 May) the school year is full of opportunities to use this pack. *Teach Peace* can help ensure peace is a key theme in our children's education and help you to celebrate peace and peacemakers in your school.

If you are a teacher, governor or an interested parent who would like your school to have a copy of this resource, APF is offering them free to anyone who would like one. To have one posted to you, please email your postal address to vicechair@anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk. There is no postal charge.

A PERSONAL NOTE

I will be standing down at the forthcoming AGM. I will, however, continue as editor of TAP.

My decision reflects a number of things, not least because I will soon be 70 and need to slow down a little. I also feel easier about this now since the fellowship now has the financial resources to have a paid member of staff.

I have enjoyed very much working with the dedicated band of officers and colleagues who serve the fellowship so well. But inevitably it has been frustrating at times because of the lack of people and financial resources, and the stubbornly declining membership.

I was pleased that the 2015 AGM voted by a comfortable majority to change our pledge (details were given in previous two TAPs), although some members continue to say this was a great mistake.

I believe that for the fellowship to survive it should recognise that the world has changed fundamentally since 1937.

It should present a face to potential new members, young people in particular, which recognises this change and that pacifism can be more inclusive and employ a broader definition and different colours of interpretation.



ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE 2016 WILSON/HINKES PEACE AWARD.

This Award was established by the Week of Prayer for World Peace to recognise significant contributions by individuals, organisations or projects in furthering peace, justice and reconciliation. Named in honour of The Revd Gordon Wilson and The Revd. Sidney Hinkes, both former Chairs of the WPWP, the Award is made annually. This year it is sponsored by APF. The Award focuses on grassroots initiatives. It enables otherwise often untold stories to be told and honoured. It also seeks to inspire others.

We are now seeking nominations for the 2016 Award, to be presented during the WPWP on 23 October 2016 at the national service, which this year will be at the Westminster Quaker Meeting House. The value of the Award is £500. Nominations in the form of a letter describing the nominee's contribution to peace and justice issues should be sent to: The WPWP Committee members: Sue Gale billandsuegale@blueyonder.co.uk and Sue Claydon vicechair@anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk by **31 August 2016**.

ERITREA: ENDLESS MILITARISATION by Hannah Brock (WRI)

One of the privileges of working with activists is hearing the incredibly creative and surprising stories of how they try and challenge violence and oppression. Over the years I've been working for War Resisters' International (WRI) – an international antimilitarist and pacifist network, of which APF is an affiliate. One of the evenings I remember most of all was hearing about the diaspora network that used cold calling to tell a whole country to stay home on Friday night. The country is Eritrea, and the network is Arbi Harnet (Freedom Friday).

It might be annoying when, sitting in an office in London, I'm met with regular unsolicited phone calls asking me about my insurance. But the same technique was novel and compelling in a country where this practice is not a sales tactic, but possibly the only way to reach large numbers of people without putting anyone's life at risk. Arbi Harnet activists literally went through the phone book adding in numbers of people in Eritrea to the robo-call company – and it worked! By 2013, 5,000-10,000 calls were being made each month, with requests to stay in the house on particular occasions, like 'Independence Day' and 'Martyr's Day'. Word got around, as receivers of the calls told their friends and families. The streets grew silent for several successive Fridays. As Abraham G. Mehreteab has put it, 'Arbi Harnet's calls aims to give ordinary Eritreans an insight into international solidarity, and encourages them to reflect on those who lost their lives in the independence struggle, and on the conditions in Eritrea.'

These inventive tactics are being thought-up by some of the determined campaigners I have known. Eritrean members of the WRI network, along with WRI staff, are working currently with members of Arbi Harnet to develop and strengthen their network across the world, to learn about techniques for effective nonviolent resistance to authority.

BACKGROUND TO UNIVERSAL CONSCRIPTION

Eritrea introduced 'National Military Service' was introduced in 1995, with nearly every adult required to enlist. Though technically lasting around 18 months, no military-fit national service recruit has been released from military service since the Eritrean-Ethiopia war, which ended in 2000. It has, therefore, effectively become mobilisation for life, with soldiers who are allowed to leave the military temporarily still being regimented: teachers, doctors, administrators – anyone who works in 'civilian' life can still be called back to the army in later years. It starts young: military training is a mandatory part of children's school education, with every child finishing their last years in high school in Sawa Military Camp. Military service in Eritrea is unpaid, and has forced many young Eritreans to flee the country. Further, recently the regime has started a programme of arming and training older people (up to the age of 75) for 'duties' in their respective areas. People are required to report to their local administrative areas from where they are sent to military training facilities in harsh and inhospitable location.

The right to contentious objection is not recognised, and WRI knows of tens of Jehovah's Witness conscientious objectors who have been imprisoned since 1994. Letters sometimes reach them in their prison camp, and you can find their details on our website if you would like to write them a letter: <http://www.wri-irg.org/inprison>



Women in the Eritrean military. Photo: Luwam Estifanos.

We hardly need to add that militarisation in Eritrea is one of the prime drivers for people leaving and seeking asylum elsewhere – despite the 'shoot to kill' policy for people illegally crossing the borders.

COMPANIES MAKING A KILLING

In WRI, we see the labour of individuals as one of the main pillars that hold up the military structure. That's why we work with CO movements, and movements against conscription. But labour is not the only pillar. Another is money: the companies that incentivise and profit from war also have an interest in sustaining it. Recently, the United Nations released a damning report into the operations of Canadian mining company Nevsun Resources, which accuses it of using conscripted labour at its Bisha Mine in Eritrea.

The report said, 'Even though Segen tried to conceal their status, the majority of Segen's "workers" were in fact conscripts performing their national service. In 2014, three Eritrean refugees took Nevsun Resources to court, claiming that the company "conspired with the Eritrean government to force them and other conscripted workers to work at a copper mine for long hours while receiving little pay and living in squalid conditions." Gize Yebeyo Araya, one of the refugees suing the company said he was paid less than 500 nafka (£20) a month to dispose of dangerous chemicals, and that the workers were "constantly being watched by security personnel and were strictly ordered by our commanders not to tell anyone that we were conscripts.'

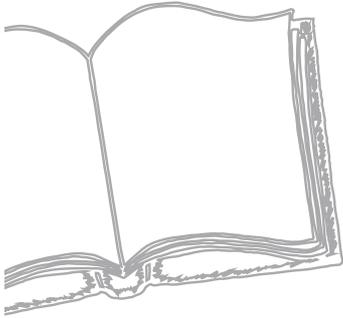
The company has released independent human rights reports, which found no evidence of forced labour or human rights violations at the mine. Understandably, not everyone trusts this analysis, and Nevsun – along with several other companies headquartered in Canada who are accused of human rights abuses – were the target of protests at a recent mining conference in Canada.

Eritrean communities deeply impacted by militarisation need solidarity now as much as ever, including campaigns that target those companies who profit from conscript labour, solidarity with conscientious objectors in gaol after twenty years, and support for those fleeing the country.

Hannah Brock wrote this with Andrew Dey (WRI)

This article draws on Abraham G. Mehreteab 'Diaspora solidarity for Eritrea: the Arbi Harnet campaign', written in 2014 for WRI's book the Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns. It is dedicated to Abraham, who died in late 2015.

BOOK LOOK



FRANK DIKÖTTER
(2016)

The Cultural Revolution: a people's history 1962-1976

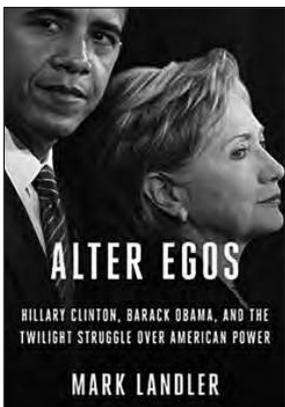
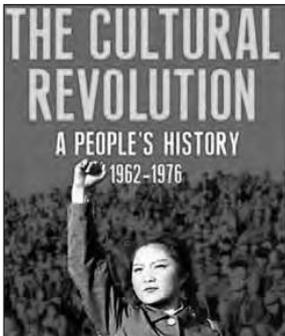
Bloomsbury

After the economic disaster of the Great Leap Forward that claimed tens of millions of lives between 1958 and 1962, an ageing Mao launched an ambitious scheme to shore up his reputation and eliminate those he viewed as a threat to his legacy. The stated goal of the Cultural Revolution was to purge the country of bourgeois, capitalist elements he claimed were threatening genuine communist ideology. But the Chairman also used the Cultural Revolution to turn on his colleagues, some of them to public humiliation, imprisonment and torture.

Young students formed Red Guards, vowing to defend the Chairman to the death, but soon rival factions started fighting each other on the streets with semi-automatic weapons in the name of revolutionary purity. As the country descended into chaos, the military intervened, turning China into a garrison state marked by bloody purges that crushed as many as on in fifty people.

Mao's deeds are defined by the pervasiveness of lies and power, and the way in which humans are swept along by things they don't really believe.

Written with unprecedented access to previously classified party documents from secret police reports and unexpurgated versions of leadership speeches, this third chapter in Dickotter's lucid and groundbreaking 'People's Trilogy' is a devastating reassessment of the history of the People's Republic of China.



GRAEME WOOD
(2017)

The war of the end of times: what the Islamist State wants

Allen Lane

This book, which will be published next year, is based on his influential report for the *Atlantic Magazine* (March 2015), which informs this piece.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>

The explosive Atlantic cover story "What ISIS Really Wants", discusses the distinctive history, psychology, character, and aims of the Islamic State. Based on his extensive time reporting throughout the region, and his unprecedented access to ISIS recruiters and supporters, Wood explores how the Islamic State's apocalyptic worldview informs their global media strategy, solidifies their authority, and dictates their geographically precise battle-plan. By accepting that ISIS is, at heart, an apocalyptic religious movement that truly believes the end is nigh, we can understand their strategy – and predict what they will do next.

Wood argues that IS is no mere collection of psychopaths. It is a religious group with carefully considered beliefs, among them that it is a key agent of the coming Apocalypse. He explains what this means for its strategy and how to stop it.

We can gather that their state rejects peace as a matter of principle; that it hungers for genocide; that its religious views make it constitutionally incapable of certain types of change, even if that change might ensure its survival; and that it considers itself a harbinger of – and headline player in – the imminent end of the world.

This is a controversial subject and it will be good to read the book next year.

MARK LANDLER
(2016)

Alter egos: Hilary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the twilight struggle over American power

W H Allen

In *Alter Egos*, veteran *New York Times* White House correspondent, Mark Landler takes us into the fraught and fascinating relationship between Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton that has framed American foreign policy for the past decade.

Although Landler emphasises that Clinton was always loyal to Obama during her time in office, he clearly relishes the tension that grew between the two. It was US policy towards Asia and China where this tension became most acute. She differed with Obama on a number of key issues. She was tougher and more sceptical; favoured a no-fly zone and arms shipments to Syria; opposed Obama's decision to ignore the 'red-line' threat to Bashar Assad, would have retained a substantial ground force in Iraq as recommended by the US military; and opposed Obama's decision to push Hosni Mubarak to resign quickly from the Egyptian presidency.

After eight years of George W Bush's war presidency and eight years of Obama's acting to reverse course, Clinton may chart a new path for America's leadership role in an era of terrorism, instability and renewed competition in Europe and Asia.

DIARY OF EVENTS, AND NOTICES

A WELCOME NEW POST

The fellowship is creating an administrative post. This will be based in Oxford at two days a week. Full details are on the APF website for anyone interested.

CALLING FOR NEW MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY

The fellowship is seeking new members for several places on its Governing Body. This is not an arduous task, involving only three meetings each year, most of the business being done by email and Skype. Please contact the secretary below if you are interested in standing as a member.

We would also be pleased to receive nominations for consideration at the next AGM, which will be held in on 29 October. These should be sent to the secretary (details below) and received by end of September.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL EVENTS

27 June All day Faith Witness at Burghfield AWE. APF will be leading the worship at 2 pm. It will take place at the north end of The Mearings, which is the entrance to the MoD road leading to the AWE.

13 July Stop Trident Lobby of Parliament. APF will be joining other members of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations for a Prayer service at noon in the chapel at Methodist Central Hall.

15-17 July National Justice and Peace Network annual conference, at Swanwick, Derbyshire. See www.justice-and-peace.org.uk

18 September Peace Sunday. Resources are available from the Fellowship of Reconciliation at for.org.uk/peacesunday.

16-23 October Week of Prayer for World Peace. This is a chance to get this week of prayer on your parish/deanery/diocesan calendars. The leaflet will for this year will be included in the next Anglican Peacemaker.

29 October APF 'members day' at Peace House in Oxford. Titled 'COs Past and Present' it will address our theme for 2016 of 'Conscientious objection to military service'. **The AGM and the Annual APF Eucharist will also take place.**

2017 ADVANCED NOTICE next year is the 80th anniversary of APF. We will be joining with FoR, MPE, and others for a joint conference in March 2017. We are hoping the venue will be in Manchester and that the Saturday may see the launch of the Colin Scott Memorial Lecture.

APF WEBSITE

We have upgraded our website and become more involved with communication generally on the web through Facebook and other channels. Keep in touch with what we are doing at www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk. By using the following links in your browser the following is now available:

Facebook: www.facebook.com/anglicanpeacemaker
You can access the Facebook Page via the APF website or via Google.

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

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

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

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

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

Members must be 18 or over and members of the Anglican Communion or Christians in communion with it. Then please (✓) box **one** in the form below.

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

Send your completed form to the Membership Secretary:- **Sue Gilmurray, 13 Danesway, Pinhoe, Exeter EX4 9ES.**

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

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

please print clearly and give your Christian name first.

Address

..... **Year of birth** **Diocese**

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

Please ✓ if you are a UK-income tax payer and want your donation to be treated as a Gift Aid donation.

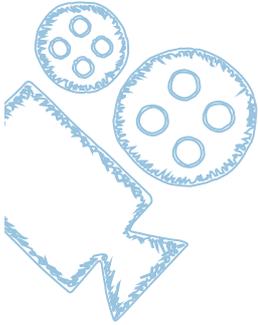
APF can then reclaim income tax paid on the donation.

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

I heard of APF through **Signed** **Date**

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

FILM LOOK RECENT FILMS REVIEWED



EYE IN THE SKY (2016)

Directed by
Gavin Hood

The peculiarly disengaged nature of modern warfare has been explored in several recent dramas, from Rick Rosenthal's 2013 thriller *Drones* to Andrew Niccol's more celebrated 2014 drama *Good Kill*. Here, the South African director Gavin Hood presents a provocatively tense thriller that negotiates the moral minefields of its thorny subject matter.

A team of British officers overseeing a drone missile strike over Kenya. Satellite intelligence has helped them identify the precise whereabouts of a pair of suicide bombers who are about to commit an atrocity similar to the 2013 Westgate shopping mall attack in Nairobi that claimed 67 lives. But just as the British colonel prepares to order the drone

strike, a nine-year-old girl is spotted entering the kill zone to sell bread. Suddenly, the prospect of a child becoming collateral damage prompts a transatlantic dispute, as minister wrestle with the moral implications of causing the death or serious injury of a minor.

The thought provoking plot provides a valid insight into the complex, and highly challenging decision-making process that takes place prior to the authorization of real-life drone strikes. It also offers a much-needed assessment of their

efficacy at a time when the more established narrative is that any operation undertaken by this new form of remote controlled warfare is at best unethical, at worst, downright illegal.



The makers of 'Eye in the sky' deserve for bringing these difficult issues to a wider public.

ALONE IN BERLIN (2016)

Directed by
Vincent Peréz

The film is based on a novel Rudolf Ditzzen, who wrote under the name Hans Fallada.

Otto and Anna Quangel are a Berlin working couple, laborious, unsociable, thrifty to the point of stinginess, and originally not hostile to the National Socialists. That changes in 1940 when their beloved son, Ottochen, is killed while fighting in France. Otto is provoked into resistance. He spends his Sundays writing anonymous postcards against the regime and dropping them in the stairwells of city buildings. 'Mother Don't give to the Winter Relief Fund! – Work as slowly as you can! – Put sand in the machines! – Every stroke of work not done will shorten the war!'

They were betrayed, arrested on 20 October 1942, sentenced to death by the People's Court and executed in Plötzensee prison the following April.

Of the 276 postcards and eight letters deposited by the Quangels over two years, all but 18 are handed straight in to the Gestapo where they destroy one life and two careers and sow chaos in an arbitrary and unmanageable organisation.

Otto and Anna themselves enjoy a moral triumph before the People's Court. Those who have seen newsreel film of judge Roland Freisler screaming at defendants may find the People's Court scenes hard to credit. There a witness stands up in court to sing a Lutheran hymn.

WORLD WAR THREE: INSIDE THE WAR ROOM (2015)

Directed by
Gabriel Range

Following the crisis in Ukraine and Russia's involvement in Syria, the world is closer to super-power confrontation than at any time since the end of the Cold War. In the film, a committee of senior former British military and diplomatic figures comes together to war game a hypothetical 'hot war' in Eastern Europe, including the unthinkable – nuclear confrontation.

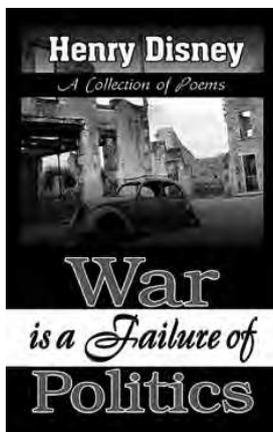
The War Room faces a scenario that has haunted western strategists since the Ukraine conflict began: potential Russian military involvement in the Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia. Like Ukraine these countries have sizable Russian speaking minorities, but unlike Ukraine they are members of NATO, whose founding treaty states that an attack on one ally is an attack on all of them.

Because of this, western analysts regularly war game a situation where Russia seeks to exploit ethnic tensions in the Baltic and test the strength of the NATO Alliance.

The war game was filmed over a several hours in a single sitting, using concealed cameras in a purpose built set in a secure location in Central London. The scenarios were developed over many months of research, including conversations with serving military, diplomatic and political experts around the world. The film captures the escalating drama and tension of an unfolding conflict and the heated debate, as the War Room decides what actions Britain should take – right up to the brink of Armageddon.

WAR IS A FAILURE OF POLITICS

A REVIEW BY APF MEMBER – PROFESSOR NICK MEGORAN



Henry Disney is a Cambridge University entomologist whose latest collection of poems is a searing critique of the Bush-Blair era wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Most have been published previously, but *War is a Failure of Politics* draws

together his anti-war poems in a single volume.

Disney provides a familiar set of arguments against ‘war on terror.’ It kills civilians, assumes an arrogant belief that we have the right to intervene in someone else’s country and, because of UK-US support for sympathetic tyrants, is hypocritical. He expresses particular disappointment in Tony Blair who rose to power on a wave of optimism, yet now whose ‘hands, with children’s blood, drip red.’

This litany of ills is nothing new. But central to Disney’s anger at ‘the misguided pair’ is that ‘both believe in Christ, they say / But both ignore his way of peace: / For both rely on force instead.’ Claims to be followers of Jesus are negated by practical worship at the shrines of Mars and Mammon: ‘Both Bush and Blair profess belief / In God, but by their acts it seems / They worship Mars and Market Place.’ For all his ability to see public relations strategies, Blair is ‘blind / to Gospel’s word to use the force / of love.’

The core of Disney’s text is exactly this advocacy of a model of enemy love based on Christ’s life and teaching: ‘The use / of death, as means to end, is not / a choice in eyes of Christ, who taught / a special care for those we hate,’ and eschewed revolutionary violence against the Roman oppressors. This is an Anabaptist-type emphasis on Christ’s words and lifestyle as authoritative for us. This reviewer missed a deeper theological reflection on war as a

manifestation and consequence of sin (rather than simply a ‘failure of politics’), and on the significance of the cross and resurrection for what the New Testament calls ‘the gospel of peace.’

Nonetheless, this is no naïve, unreflective pacifism. A number of poems anchor it in his youthful experience fighting for the British armed forces in Cyprus: ‘my lasting hate of war derives / from time in youth, as soldier sent / to play a minor part in fight.’ Disney saw this as a futile attempt to shore up order, that cost lives but did nothing to prevent the eventual disintegration of the state. He writes movingly of the ambiguity he feels of participation in Remembrance Day events as a veteran. Anger at the Greek Church’s backing of nationalist Cypriot violence informed his lifelong objection to the welding of church authority to military power. Its reappearance in the ‘war on terror’ thus attracts his particular ire throughout the book.

Nor does the book ignore the problem of evil. Although Disney places the blame for violence squarely at the feet of politicians and sees its solution in the gospels, he nonetheless asks ‘so why does God withhold his might? / And why not intervene to halt / the terror gangs before their bombs / are primed? Is freedom such a boon / when children die?’ This question is left unanswered.

Although the book focuses on the movement between Cyprus and the war on terror, it is sensitive to ways in which the militaristic belief in the rightness of violence infiltrates society. He damns the Duxford Imperial War Museum for boasting about its ‘ghastly ordnance’ presented in beguiling slick exhibitions to children. Likewise he takes a wry swipe at an absurdly pompous ‘classics scholar’ who admires Rome yet is ‘blind to nasty facts behind / its ordered state. His weighty tome / selected data most admired / ignoring trampling legions feet.’

Henry Disney’s poems state bold truths clearly. They are also tragically prescient, warning of the unintended implications of ignoring Christ’s command to ‘put up your sword.’ Disney writes that Tony Blair ‘never paused / to contemplate the deaths and tides of hate he’d thus

unleash.’ In a poem imploring George Bush to ‘desist for all our sakes,’ he believes that ‘he cannot see he’d light / a fuse unleashing hell,’ and warns his war would ‘trigger chain reactions far and wide for years to come.’

On one thing, though, Disney was wrong. He wrote that the ‘replenished hate’ produced by the UK-US wars will ‘fester down the years ahead. / But when the seismic vents erupt / Anew our pundits will be dead.’ The dreadful eruption of Islamic State from the seismic events of the Iraq invasion has occurred within the lifetimes of most of the war’s cheerleaders.

Disney’s remedy remains the same: unwavering commitment to enemy love and the ways of peace, as exemplified by Christ. Fittingly, therefore, royalties from the book are to be donated to APF. The price is £7. It is also available on Kindle. It can be ordered from admin@pneumasprings.co.uk, or 01322 377445. The postal address is 7 Groveherst Rd, Dartford, Kent DA1 5JD.



NAT REUSS CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE

ancient cultures and in the Bible. This is to our detriment. For we fail to see the Spiritual nature of our present reality and how Jesus leads us in confronting the fallen powers that exist all around us. Powers that destroy creation, pollute the environment, increase the cost of living, enslave third world economies, take benefits from the disabled, promote the production of armaments and the conditions that lead to war.

This complex problem is in part the result of the pervasiveness of evil in ourselves and in the world around us. There is no simple solution. But we do hold onto the book and we try in faith to live it’s story that unveils the world of its evil pretensions and invites us from siding with being part of the problem, to joining in the work of the God and living to build a world that is graced by God’s liberating power and loosening ourselves to the ties of violence and evil.

a combination of strains. Western democracy may have taken the teeth out of political evil, but time has put dangerous new weapons in the hands of extremists and resurgent powers. This forces us to rethink both the optimism of yesterday.

Whether we like it or not, protection of the liberal world order, which includes the prevention of evil by policing and military means, is largely dependent on US foreign policy. This is now in a flux as a change of president is imminent.

Despite Barack Obama's peace credentials, it is evident that the eight years of his administration have seen more global disorder, which increases the likelihood of future political evil. His policy has been largely non-interventionist; he hoped that some problems, like Syria or Ukraine, would resolve themselves; that extremists like IS, could be contained through limited military air strikes; and that still others, as in the case of China and the South China Sea, would be deterred by US declarations of interest in the status quo. It seems, therefore, that by trying to avoid risk, Obama will instead bequeath to his successor a far more dangerous world than he inherited in 2009.

And herein lies the terrible dilemma: how does the leading military power speak peace and friendship to other nations and groups that have an expansionist agenda. History repeats itself in that political challenges to the dominant power very often result in military conflict. Whether sensing US weakness or opportunity, aggressive states around the globe have begun to challenge the rules and norms of the WW2 world. While the major liberal states have not yet directly fought Russia, China or Iran, we are indeed in the environment described by Thomas Hobbes, who explained that 'war consists not in battle only, or the act of fighting; but in a tract of time, wherein the will to contend by battle is sufficiently known'.

It looks like Hilary Clinton will be the next US president, which makes Mark Landler's (2016) book *Alter egos: Hilary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the twilight struggle over American power* very relevant indeed. Although loyal to the president, Clinton has a radically different view on American foreign policy. (See Book Look, page 7.)

Clearly we must hope that diplomacy and other non-violent means are used avert

serious conflict; and many peace organisations are taking part in the International Peace Bureau's Global Campaign on Military Spending calling for nations to disarm. But those organisations are almost inclusively in western liberal democracies and without influence in totalitarian states.

PUNISHING EVIL DOERS

In all this, it is evident that heads of nations or movements are very much in the frame when it comes to political evil. They are most likely to lead their followers to evil when they take absolute control and it is important to ask whether the prospect of trial and punishment influences their decision. Does the possibility of being arraigned for crimes against humanity and genocide deter tyrants of the future?

The International Criminal Court (ICC) was created in 2002 to try to punish individuals for such crimes. After 14 years the ICC has begun to show that it can operate as a court with several convictions, most from African countries and usually after the event. But what it has singularly failed to do is to act as a deterrent. It means nothing to the world's worst war criminals, such as the Bashar al-Assad or to the leaders of IS. It meant nothing to Muammar Gaddafi in Libya or Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

To be effective, there has to be an international police force that has the right and military capability to intervene at an early stage when the first signs of political evil begin to show. Punishment of the criminals that were responsible for starting a bloody war is too late.

ENDNOTE

The international community should be liberal and idealistic enough to identify political evil and to do everything in its power to limit its reach as soon as the head of the monster appears. And those of us involved with peace campaigning should not exclude the possibility of military force in extreme circumstances when there are no more feasible alternatives. There is no debate about the action that should be taken when an existential threat is imminent and mention in the opening of this article.

Wolfe argues this point with reference to Reinhold Niebuhr book *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*. Niebuhr wrote this in 1944 while

considering democracy, which was under strong attack during the war years.

According to Niebuhr, the children of light are optimistic, and believe that evil can be governed and enlightened by reason. They are democratic and believe that everyone will do what's best for the people around them. The children of darkness by contrast are anti-democratic, anarchic in a sense, and they have a propensity to be evil. They are also wise, and can truly understand the power of self-interest, and turn it against the children of light.

In today's complex and threatened world we would like to believe that the children of light will win. Here are the stories where the hero, representing everything that is good, arrives in the nick of time to save the day. But can we necessarily count on a hero in an extreme existential situation? Will God, as Clive Barrett implies (when he says that military action always leads to a bad result) put things right sometime in the future if we do not take military action? Who knows?

But then, as László Nemes the director of 'Son of Saul', a film set among the Sonderkommandos at Auschwitz (see review in TAP 15.1) said when he was interviewed about the making of the film: 'It would have been difficult to cope, did I not believe that God, 'who is all-capable in some mysterious way, was there holding the hand of every Jew in the gas chamber – each and every Tutsi, Armenian, Kurd, Palestinian who suffers injustice'.

Niebuhr argues that for the children of light to prevail, they must be armed with the wisdom of the children of darkness, but remain free from their malice. The essence is that we should be selfless and use all of our God-given gifts of wisdom and intellect to protect the just society. Whether we can do this without using military force in extreme circumstances should be a matter of considered judgment.



Reinhold Niebuhr

Tony Kempster

THE ART OF PEACE

A SONG FOR THE CRIMEAN TATARS

In the most politicised Eurovision Song Contest in recent memory, Ukraine won against Russia's entry. Singer of the Ukrainian song, Jamal said her ballad '1940', was not only about the deportation of the Crimean Tatar population in WW2, but the events of the past two years on the peninsula. Although the contest is considered to be kitsch by many, it made a point about repression and was watched by 200 million people.

In the past two months, the Crimean Tatar community has come under huge pressure from Russia. While some have decided to work with the Russian authorities, many have declared them occupiers.

EDWARD BARBER AT THE IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM

Acclaimed documentary photographer Edward Barber captures the anti-nuclear protest movement in 1980s Britain in a new exhibition this summer. He says 'I see this as preventative photography: the photos here are both a celebration and a warning'.



Taken originally to gain publicity for the anti-nuclear movement, Barber's collected body of work, 'Peace signs today' represents an important social document of these major protests against the presence of American nuclear cruise missiles in Britain between 1980 and 1984. Barber's images will appear alongside a newly commissioned graphic installation entitled 'Mind Map of Anti-Nuclear Protest' to create a social record of both individual and collective responses to war.

The exhibition is on until 4 September.

BRAVE VOICES SING OUT AGAINST THE TALIBAN

(Laal/Asian Dub Foundation, Alchemy Festival, Royal Festival Hall London)

In 1988, Eddy Grant brought the anti-apartheid campaign to the British charts with 'Gimme Hope Jo'anna, a classic political pop song that mixed an angry message with a gloriously upbeat melody. Now it has been revived and reworked to attack the Taliban by the Pakistani band, Laal.



Their UK debut alongside the British veterans Asian Dub Foundation included a memorable encore, as the two bands came together under pictures of Malala Yousafzai, the teenage Nobel prize winner and education campaigner who survived a Taliban attack.

'They've got a system just like apartheid, they keep women in subjugation', sang Mahvash Waqar, and the crowd joined her in the chorus, chanting 'you give me hope Malala'.

It was a bravely emotional song from a Lahore band who specialise in mixing upbeat melodies with political courage. Laal is led by Taimur Rahman, an unlikely pop star in his mid-20s who is also an assistant professor at Lahore University. With Laal, he started out attacking military dictatorship but now campaigns for human rights and religious extremism. The Taliban hate him and the band, of course, and he never announces their tour dates around country villages and social media for fear of reprisals.

'IN PARENTHESIS', AN OPERA FOR THE SOMME

(At the Millennium Centre, Cardiff until June 3, then tours until July 1.)

New operas are rare events and even rarer are ones that are as good as 'In Parenthesis'. It is being staged both to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Welsh National Opera and marks the centenary of the slaughter at the Battle of the Somme. The reputation of the WNO goes before it and the reviews are very good – key points below.

Iain Bell's opera is based on Welsh poet, David Jones's epic poem. It is an ambitious project, with WNO director David Pountney, Emma Jenkins and David Antrobus's libretto combining to excellent effect with Bell's music.

Through the eyes of tenor Andrew Bidlack's Private John Ball, one watches a band of Welsh soldiers embark for France, journey to the horror of the trenches and perish in the final bloody battle at Mametz Wood. The production brilliantly captures the terror and claustrophobic atmosphere of a troop ship and the trenches of northern France.

But, as ever with the WNO, it is the choral singing that pulls all the strands together. They are a perfect match for the drama of the reckless death of so many young men.

The mythic return to the earth of the slaughtered band of Royal Welsh Fusiliers is touchingly realised by the nymphs who haunt Mametz Wood.



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