

# THE Anglican PEACEMAKER

The newsletter of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship (Annual Report Issue)

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Recent years have seen the rise of populism in its many forms, where emotion and simplistic argument trump a respect for the facts and intellectual discussion. This opens the way to xenophobia and many perils. If you are not angry about this, then you are not listening.

Our opening article examines these developments and how they affect anti-war campaigning. Discussion extends to the implications of Corbynism, although not populist *per se*, because it shares some of the characteristics of populism for good or ill.

The review of books, films and art are topical and chosen because they are recent in origin or relevant to the theme.

Important changes are taking place in the fellowship's activities and our plans are outlined on page 3. We hope readers will look carefully at page 8 and note in particular our key 80th anniversary event to be held in Manchester in March.

The theme for our next issue concerns humanity's future. How do the principles of compassion, reassurance and hope for the future connect with Christian pacifism?

The editor would welcome any articles and reviews by mid January.

'For evil to triumph, what is necessary is for societies to stop thinking, to stop developing an eye for the absurd as well as the corruption in language and action, public and private.' Rowan Williams (2016). *A nervous breakdown of the body politic*. *New Statesman* 29 April.

'Morality binds and blinds: it binds us into ideological teams that fight each other as though the fate of the world depended on our side winning the battle. It blinds us to the fact that each team is composed of good people who have something important to say.' Jonathan Haidt (2012). *The righteous mind: why people are divided by politics and religion*. Allen Lane.



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## THE DELUSION OF POPULISM

### Post-truth politics and the anti-war movement

A fuller version of this article by Tony Kempster, including references is on the APF website.

'Populists are just different elites who try to grab power with the help of a collective fantasy of political purity.'

Jan-Werner Muller *The Guardian* 2 September 2016.

Truthfulness has never been an over-riding concern for politicians and lobbyists. It is about what you can get away with in the hurly burly of media debate: how far the facts can be spun or used selectively to advance the cause. The danger, of course, is that the lie may be exposed and the credibility of the argument lost.

But now the rise of populism and non-truth politics is changing the rules of the game. Lies are quite acceptable, particularly if they reinforce what people want to believe. For those with any understanding of political decision-making, such dismissal of basic facts is baffling, cynical and scary. Imagine the

unintended consequences for critical health and defence issues. How and when did facts lose their currency in public debate? And what are the implications for our anti-war campaigning? The answer to the first question is, in part, technological change. Social media allows people with fringe opinions to hook up with the like-minded, filter out

competing sources of information and let half-truths, lies and conspiracy theories run riot. But then, there is nothing especially new in this except the vast reach and speed of modern communication.

Like most campaigners, the anti-war movement has a tendency to use suspect information – largely in the form of questionable assertions – while much of its real deception is unintentional: unreliable information that conveniently strengthens the case is circulated and repeated so often that it becomes accepted fact among activists. These ‘factoids’ go unchallenged because the movement speaks mostly to itself, so they are rarely tested in the fire of debate or publicly contradicted. A classic example (and the elephant in the room) is the belief that unilateral military disarmament will unquestionably prevent wars. And then there is the view that Western (US-instigated) colonialism is responsible for nearly all of today’s military conflicts. I shall return to these concerns later after considering: (1) the characteristics of populism and (2) the arrival of Corbynism. As you read on, you might spot some resemblances between the two; you might also recognise a few populist characteristics that are common to the anti-war movement.

## THE RISE OF POPULISM

This new politics is finding its voice on both sides of the Atlantic – in the Trump phenomenon in the US, in the Brexit vote in the UK, in other separatist movements in the EU. Populism is the people pushing back against elites and giving voice to dissatisfaction about the way politics works for them. They believe that the differences between the mainstream parties are a sham, seeing a cross-party system in league with special interests including the media. Their



collective voice finds expression in a political figurehead.

Populist politicians of Left and Right thrive by offering seductively simple answers to such economic and cultural grievances, and their publicity teams have become adept at exploiting people’s feelings. The movements they lead are to varying degrees anti-intellectual and sometimes put forward eccentric solutions and policies. Expert advice, characteristically that of establishment experts, is scorned and emotion rules rather than factual debate.

Some may argue that this has merit since it encourages public involvement in politics; but we should also beware unintended consequences because populist movements can be fertile ground for subversion. Human discontent, looking for an answer to its troubles, can generally find a hawk waiting in the wings with a solution.

And there are other concerns. As populists gain influence, they are inclined to build regimes that resemble democracies initially, when they are really designed to perpetuate power. They do this by colonizing the party or state, placing loyalists in what should be non-partisan jobs.

Inherent in this logic is the implication that those who do not support populist leaders are not fit or proper. You may recall Nigel Farage celebrating the Brexit vote by claiming that it was a victory of ‘real people’. Other leaders including Mr Trump and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan of Turkey speak in the same terms. This logic can easily turn politics into a battleground that opens the door to abuse and violence by unprincipled followers as the Brexit campaign has done.

Populists also claim that they will fulfill the people’s will. But this is a fallacy since no single will or opinion exists in a modern, complex, pluralist democracy. If a state were run on populist reactions to current affairs – say by referendums on all significant issues – the outcome would be chaos.

But crucially, anyone who argues with populists in person, at meetings or on social media will have noticed that they are not interested in debate. Their view is irrefutable, and there is an answer to every doubt.

Such dismissal of evidence is not an uncommon experience in the anti-war

movement, where the expression of unpopular views may lead to rebuff, even when the point being made is factually correct.

Then there is the issue of purity and the way propagandists strive to keep the faithful in line, even more than they seem to want to secure converts. You can’t be a half-convinced populist: you must commit to the package (warts and all) or walk away.

## CORBYNISM AS A PSEUDO-POPULIST MOVEMENT

Mr Corbyn does not act or look much like a populist leader. In the conventional mould the leader is a charismatic demagogue who claims to give unmediated voice to the authentic will of the people. Corbyn tends to do the reverse: his appeal to supporters is couched in a lack of ego and the dissolution of the leader figure into the collective movement which he, nevertheless leads by the strength of his personal convictions. The more unprofessional and inexperienced he appears the more authentic he becomes; a figure onto which his supporters can project a host of virtues and aspirations.

Mr Corbyn’s support group, Momentum does show some populist features in its organisation and operation. It was the engine of his victory in the Labour leadership contest, growing to some 20,000 members. But a civil war over aims is now beginning to cause disruption.



Seamus Milne, the Labour Party’s Executive Director of Strategy and Communications.

Like Podemos in Spain, Syriza in Greece, and Bernie Sanders in the US, Corbynism is of the radical Left and aims to replace neo-liberalism with something it claims will empower ordinary people. They say their policy is municipal, inclusive and promotes horizontal democracy. At best this may be true; but, at worst, it could simply be an

Our chairperson, Nat Reuss, who lives in Tasmania, would normally give this report. But with so many changes taking place in APF's operation, Sue Claydon, our vice-chairperson asked to share her thoughts on these developments.

## A VISION FOR APF'S FUTURE

I recently pulled up a document written a few years ago. The opening sentences struck me:

*'The Fellowship is virtually unknown within the Anglican Communion and our influence is negligible. Several things contribute to this – message, a lack of interest by senior Church figures and minimal commitment to action by most of our members.'*

I think the statement I quote above is neither completely accurate nor completely wrong. APF has made a number of strides in the last few years. We have had a presence at recent General Synods (where people continue to be surprised we exist). APF in the UK has a Bishop Protector, The Rt Revd David Walker, who has supported with timely advice. Recent letters to all the Bishops in the House of Lords with the NCPO Trident briefing brought replies from many. Bishop Paul Bayes and Bishop Steven Cottrell have advised and supported us in campaigning on nuclear weapons.

For some years, our New Zealand branch has also had a Bishop Protector. The Most Revd Philip Richardson, Bishop of Taranaki and Archbishop of the New Zealand Dioceses holds the post at the moment.

Getting our message that *'The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship is a body of people within the Anglican Communion who reject war as a means of solving international disputes, and believe that peace and justice should be sought through non-violent means'* to more people is still a challenge. Things have improved, especially through the outreach of our website, Facebook page, blog and Twitter. It is interesting that most of those who read these are not members, so we are not just 'preaching to ourselves'.

While I cannot say that the membership is more active under the APF banner, I do know that members around the world are still actively undertaking peacemaking. Meeting some members for the first time on the February Trident march confirmed this 'feeling'. Members are now contributing to the APF blog as well as to TAP. All these are encouraging to me.

So, yes I do feel that APF is not only still working to promote the Gospel of Peace but is also needed more than ever.

So, how do we move forward? Here are some of my personal thoughts.

With this new digital world, APF should consider the setting up of specific interest groups. These could focus around particular topics e.g. the Middle East, peace education or the connection of our dispersed members in the UK and around the world. These latter groups could share what they were doing locally and show how promoting peace within their local churches and communities was developing. I remember how isolated I felt in the early 1990's when no one in my parish seemed to be interested in peace issues. Then I found APF and attended a day a conference in Ely. Suddenly I found people who thought similarly to me – and they were Anglicans!

Of course one of the things we frequently do not discuss is the third word of our name – 'Fellowship'. Along with the digital groups, I can see that members who live near one another could meet locally as a good way to support each other. These might be on Diocese or even Deanery levels. If small groups could be formed this might also lead to meetings with local Bishops and items in local press and so on.

On the wider front, it will be important to work with the Anglican Alliance to support and engage with those around the Anglican Communion. Working more closely with EPF our sister organisation in the US needs to be re-energised.

APF has made a major grant to the Peace Museum in Bradford (reported in the last TAP). One thing we now need to consider is how we can use the resources that project will develop in our diocese/parishes and wider communities. We can also make small grants available to give members support on peace work locally.

I was most encouraged a few months ago, when the Church Board of Education put a small item in their newsletter and many schools responded to the offer of the 'Teach Peace' pack. It was not just the number but remarks such as 'Peace is one

of our key worship and reflection strands and I am currently updating our children leading worship resources so this is a valuable addition'. This shows how important it is for members to tell their local schools what we have available.

As many of you know, trying to get 'peace' into the media is difficult. It is vital for APF to be acknowledged as one of the places reporters should turn to for comments. That is not say other Christian peace groups should not feature in the Anglican press but to never have them come to APF (or rarely use our press releases) is frustrating. I also think that if APF members are writing letters to the press on peace issues that could state that they are members of APF.

We now have the opportunity with Tilly Martin, our new administrator, to have a phone number members can contact and



someone with the skills and time to help us put our 'vision' in place.

Finally, one area we are developing, that I believe is vital, is working with others. 'What we can do better together we should not do separately' is a good approach to follow. The Network of Christian Peace Organisations has been working jointly in many areas. Our upcoming conference with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Methodist Peace Fellowship and others is important here. If you are able to get to Manchester next year it will be a way of helping to shape how we continue to move APF forward in promoting the Gospel of Peace.

Finally, since first writing this a while ago, APF has agreed that a consultancy to work on some of the issues outlined here will take place from January 2017. The Revd Dr Clive Barrett will carry out this work and I look forward to reporting this time next year on more positive actions.

As mentioned these are my own thoughts – now I would like to hear what you think (details page 8).

## REPORT ON ACTIVITIES AND OBSERVATIONS

### INTRODUCING TILLY MARTIN OUR NEW ADMINISTRATOR

Tilly will be based at The Peace House in Oxford (details on page 8).



Before joining APF Tilly worked as an Evaluation Consultant with charities and the public sector establishing the effectiveness of their work and projects. In 2015 she was the Co-ordinator for

Oxford's first Cultural Palestinian Festival, 'Palestine Unlocked'. Before that one of her roles was as a researcher in the House of Commons. Over the years she has volunteered with peace and human rights organisations both in the UK and overseas, including Amos Trust and CHIPS (Christian International Peace Service). Tilly lives in Oxford with her family, and in her spare time has fun dancing the Lindy Hop (swing dancing).

### THE 2016 WILSON-HINKES PEACE AWARD

Keith Scott has been given this year's award. The judges say it was for his initiation and commitment to the Woking Debates, a series of discussions on questions that are important to the local community and the wider world. These have included: *'Is war justified?'* *'Should the UK replace Trident?'* and *'Restorative Justice – does it work?'*.

These engaging and mind-opening gatherings take place up to six times a



Wilson/Hinkes Peace Award recipient, Keith Scott with Co-chairs of WPWP, Maggie Brizzi and Jennifer Jackson.

year and are attended by between 30 and 80 people, including regular attendees as well as one-off visitors, of varied cultures, and from all faiths or none. One or two knowledgeable speakers are invited to introduce the topic, which is then opened to the floor for comments, questions and debate.

Keith has been an active and committed Quaker for 40 years and in that time has undertaken a wide range of roles within the organisation. The Woking Debates were initiated when he was attending a course at Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre on 'Equipping for ministry'.

Keith received his award at a Week of Prayer for World Peace (WPWP) gathering of prayer and peace held on 23 October at Westminster Quaker Meeting House, 52 St Martin's Lane, London WC2N 4EA.

Named in honour of The Revd Gordon Wilson and The Revd Sidney Hinkes, both former chairpersons of the WPWP, the Award is made annually.

### SO LONG LEONARD, TROUBADOUR OF THE SPIRIT



The Canadian singer, songwriter and poet, Leonard Cohen died this month at the age of 82. He will be fondly remembered for his gruff vocals, his self-deprecating humour and the haunting lyrics that made his songs the perennial favourites of many generations.

On his Facebook page, Cohen's son, Adam wrote: 'as I write this, I am thinking of my fathers unique blend of self-deprecation and dignity, his approachable elegance, his charisma without audacity, his old-world gentlemanliness and the hand-forged tower of his work'.

I have sung many of his songs over the years and used his words to open many talks and articles. Their poetry has softened arguments and challenged ideologies like these of 'Anthem' that stand against perfection and closed minds.

Ring the bells that still can ring,  
Forget your perfect offering,  
There is a crack in everything,  
That's how the light gets in.

Tony Kempster



### APF MEMBER'S DAY

Members met at Peace House, Oxford on 29 November to reflect on the theme of 'Conscience objection' (past and present). A moving speech by Kenneth Wadd, a CO in 1939 was read. Christopher Idle then shared his experience of a tribunal in 1957 when he was 18 and how people reacted then and in the years to follow.

Robin Brookes, a Director of 'Conscience' introduced himself as a 'Conscience Objector to paying war taxes'. He went on to discuss the second reading of the 'Peace Tax' Bill this coming December, encouraging us to write and bring it to the attention of their MPs. 'Conscience' is also asking everyone who objects to their taxes being used to kill people to write a personal statement of conscience either on a form and posted to Conscience or filled in online on [www.conscienceonline.org](http://www.conscienceonline.org).

The Revd Donald Reece celebrated the annual APF Eucharist. This was followed by the AGM at which Tony Kempster, who is retiring after many years as General Secretary, was thanked for all his service. The minutes of the AGM will be available on the APF website.

## APF'S DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The Revd Dr Clive Barrett, a past chairperson and APF counsellor has been commissioned to carry out a consultancy project, which begins in January 2017. This aims to devise and deliver a strategy for increasing the profile of APF and for increasing the prayer, thinking and action on peacemaking and opposition to violence and war within the Anglican Communion. This will be done through relationships with the current APF membership, with those with influence in the Church including the wider Anglican Communion and young people following APF's desire to encourage and promote young people in leadership.

This work will have an ecumenical dimension, and will be pursued in consultation and co-operation with partners in the Network of Christian Peace Organisations. Some gatherings addressed and the resources used may be directed at a broad Christian constituency, not only Anglicans.

The process is based on networking, building up a network of core supporters – new and already established – through contact, visit and encouragement. (If you feel you have anything to contribute please contact the office see page 8).

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR FROM FRANK MCMANUS, APF MEMBER, TODMORDEN



Canon Tom Scrutton speaking at Tower Hill on a Sunday afternoon in the 1950s.

Our previous chairman, Canon Tom Scrutton wrote in 1957 that 'Whatever good results may in a particular case be claimed for (the use of national armaments ...) they always stand for and perpetuate increasing division in God's family and hostility against God himself.' I fear that your June 2015 editorial contradicts this, and I hold that

whilst some good deeds may be done in war, e.g. excluding bombing aircraft down by effective balloon-barrage, it is forbidden by Jesus 'to take the sword' (Matthew 26.52), so that Christians should deploy only God's weapons (Ephesians 6.11).

As individuals, we may need to be violent, like the fictional hero who grabbed a club to stun the local ripper that was about to cut up the heroine. But military action is not mere policing, and more work is needed on developing the latter as Studdert Kennedy urged. We must stress that Christianity is pacifist, for if our spiritual trumpeting is uncertain and muted, who will take up the cause? UK military action 'to protect civilians' has killed several hundreds of them in Syria and the CofE Synod should note that the Prayerbook's Lentern 'Commination of sinners' teaches that 'Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man, and taketh man for his defence, and in his heart goeth from the Lord.'

Yes, we must uphold the wider peace movement, but we have a distinct Christian call to add. You cite the 'US defence shield' or 'military umbrella' and (December 2015) 'support for defence of Europe' ignoring the fact that the US Pentagon has attacked over 20 nations since its A-bomb deployment in 1945. Mr Putin is no hero of mine, but you quote Mark Urban's denunciations whilst not recognising that it was not Russia by EU/NATO intrigue behind the coup which ousted Ukraine's democratically-elected President Yanusovich in early 2014. What we must teach is 'The power of God to hold and lead ... His heavenly host to be our guard'.

## COLIN ARCHER'S AWARD

Our fellowship has been a member of the International Peace Bureau for many years and I have served a term as IPB



vice-president. It is a pleasure to announce that the IPB board has awarded this year's Sean McBride Peace Prize to its own Secretary-General, Colin Archer on his retirement. He has served the organisation with outstanding commitment and competence since 1990. He was a pleasure to work with and an exemplary peace campaigner.

*This prestigious prize is awarded to a person or organisation that has done outstanding work for peace, disarmament and/or human rights. These were the principal concerns of Sean MacBride, the distinguished Irish statesman and Nobel Peace laureate.*

Tony Kempster

## THE ARMS TRADE ON TRIAL: HIGH COURT HEARING DATE CONFIRMED



APF was a founding member of the Campaign Against Arms Trade and I was on its Steering Committee with responsibility for strategic planning for some years. Since then CAAT has continued to grow from strength to strength, gaining an international reputation for the integrity and value of its work. It is with pleasure that I can report its contribution to achieving a ruling that there will be a full High Court hearing on 7-9 February 2017 on the sale of arms to Saudi Arabia.

Since March 2015, Saudi Arabia has been engaged in brutal bombing raids in Yemen. The UK government has supported these attacks by licensing £3.3 billion worth of arms sales since the conflict began. Over 10,000 people have died and schools and hospitals frequently hit in violation of International Humanitarian Law.

The UK government has rejected this criticism. But, since the judge's ruling, the call to end sales has grown to fever pitch. Two parliamentary committees have called for the sales to be suspended immediately, and even the government has backtracked, admitting that it has made no assessment that international law is being broken.

If anyone wishes to support CAAT in its work financially or otherwise please visit its website [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk).

Tony Kempster

## INTERNATIONAL PAGE

### LAUNCH OF THE EPISCOPAL PEACE FELLOWSHIP'S YAN AMBASSADORS

In February EPF, our sister organisation in the US, launched the Young Adult Network Ambassadors, an innovative programme to reach young adult peacemakers throughout The Episcopal Church. The Ambassador's Network is a group of young adult leaders, spread throughout the country, who are inspired to wage the gospel of peace with EPF. Chosen from a large pool of applicants, Ambassadors have monthly tasks that include creating social media posts, blogging about the issues they are passionate about, and (when possible) being a voice/presence in local peace movements.

Reported in full on its website, EPF says:

*The Ambassadors are helping EPF and the Young Adult Network increase our visibility and presence more than ever. Readership is up in our monthly newsletter, and social media engagement has improved 300%.*

*While plans are still being formulated, the Young Adult Network and our Network Ambassadors are hoping to host an incredible Urban Pilgrimage in late fall/early winter of 2016. With 2016 being the ten-year anniversary of the very first Urban Pilgrimage, we hope to build enough support (both human and financial) to put on a pilgrimage surrounding the consecration of the new Bishop Suffragan for Armed Services in Washington D.C.*

*Our goals and ambitions do not stop there. With a team of young, strong leaders, we want to give our Ambassadors the opportunity to lead our network, and in turn our church, to pathways of peace. Through guidance and training, we hope to enable Ambassadors to lead Urban Pilgrimages and retreats with us across the country, this year and beyond.*



Bishop Michael Curry, who has been a major supporter of EPF's activities, with some YAN Ambassadors.

### RELIGIOUS LEADERS CALL ON SOUTH SUDAN'S WARRING PARTIES TO PRESERVE HUMANITY

Religious leaders of Acholi sub-region in northern Uganda, under their organization: Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative (ARLPI), have called on the international communities, to do all it takes within their powers to ensure that calm returns to South Sudan.

ARLPI is an interfaith peace building and conflict transformation organization that was formed in 1997 as a proactive response to the conflict in Northern Uganda. It brings

together Anglican, Catholic, Muslim, Orthodox, Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist religious leaders and their respective constituencies to participate effectively in transforming conflict in northern Uganda and the surrounding region.

The organisation played a key role in convincing both government of President Museveni and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) leader warlord Joseph Kony to accept ceasefire and peace talks in 2006, which led to relative peace in the region when the LRA relocated to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Central African Republic (CAR).



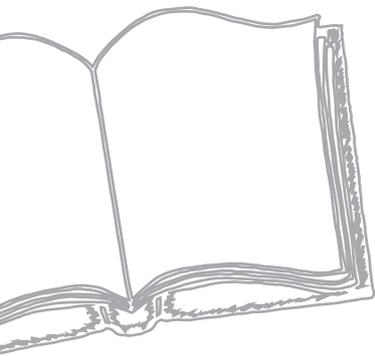
Archbishop John Baptist Odama (L), Bishop Nelson Onono-Onweng (C) and Bishop Macleod Baker Ocholla II, addressing the media on the situation in South Sudan. Bishop Nelson is an APF member and Bishop Macleod an APF counselor.

The religious leaders expressed their concern in a 7-point press statement, under the theme: 'Preserve Humanity' which was released on Friday 12 August 2016. It read:

*'We are deeply saddened by the recent conflict in South Sudan especially the violence in which many innocent lives were lost, others displaced and many more suffered innocently. As a good neighbor we feel duty bond and obliged to stand with you during this difficult time and also pass on to you and the whole world our feelings about the situation. We give our condolence to those who lost their dear ones in the South Sudan conflict. As we yearn for the situation to calm down, we make the following appeals':*

1. *'The government of South Sudan should stop the fight unconditionally in order to save lives of innocent people.*
2. *The people of South Sudan should stop killing each other and strive to work together to develop South Sudan, the youngest African nation.*
3. *The international communities should do all it takes within their powers to ensure that calm returns to South Sudan and should provide relief and medical assistance to the affected population of South Sudan.*
4. *The government of Uganda should continue with the rescue mission for Ugandans and other nationals still stuck in other regions of South Sudan other than Juba.*
5. *Those rescued Ugandans and other nationals should thank God for protecting them but to observe law, live peacefully and to look for something else to do for a living.*
6. *The districts bordering South Sudan should be vigilant, kind and hospitable to their brothers and sisters from South Sudan who are seeking refuge in their areas.*
7. *South Sudanese seeking refuge should appreciate the hospitality of the communities receiving them and to strive to live with them in harmony as they wait to go back to their country.'*

# BOOK LOOK



**PATRICK COCKBURN (2016)**

***The age of Jihad: Islamic State and the Great War for the Middle East***

Verso

Today's Middle East bears witness to a roll call of tribal and factional wars, clumsy foreign interventions and cruelty that make Europe's 20th-century wars seem almost reasoned.

Patrick Cockburn has chronicled these struggles for almost two decades, mostly for *The Independent*. This book is an edited compilation of his dispatches from Iraq, Syria, Libya and Afghanistan. He is a man of the left who has always relished telling western governments where they have gone wrong. But he is a fine and courageous journalist, who has displayed a sustained commitment to laying bare the tribulations of the Middle East.

Unlike those journalists who allowed themselves to be spoon-fed stories by their respective military forces and governments, Irish-born Cockburn took the riskier path of chasing down reality using local guides and travelling alone.

Cockburn builds his case with care and diligence, proving how the course of action taken by primarily British and American governments in the Middle East has created the atmosphere that has allowed the rise of extremism.

But it is dismaying to reach his concluding his sentence: 'The demons released by this age of chaos and war in the Middle East have become an unstoppable force'. It would be absurd for him to propound solutions that do not exist, but

he might at least have made some reflections on how the West can avoid making things worse.

**GIDEON RACHMAN (2016)**

***Easternisation: war and peace in the Asian century***

The Bodley Head

The West's domination of world politics is coming to a close. The flow of wealth and power is turning from West to East and a new era of global instability has begun.

Easternisation is the defining trend of our time – the growing wealth of Asian nations is transforming the international balance of power. This shift to the East is shaping the lives of people all over the world, the fate of nations and the great questions of war and peace.

Asia is riven by racial divisions and historical enmities and dotted with flashpoints that could spark a larger conflagration on land or sea.

We are at a turning point in history: but Easternisation has many decades to run. Gideon Rachman offers a road map to the turbulent process that will define the international politics of the twenty-first century.

Instructive here is the experience of Australia, which lives under the US security umbrella but is umbilically tied to Asian markets. Australia has now become a lightning rod for Beijing's irritation at the West, and is increasingly wary of Chinese investment in its energy infrastructure.

Australian prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull has spoken of his concern about the 'Thucydides Trap'. This notion is a creation of the Harvard political scientist Graham Allison, who calculates that in the past 500 years there were

12 of 16 cases where the rising power has gone to war with a status quo power. China watchers suggest that the period of 'hide and bide' may now have passed.

**ROBERT GERWARTH (2016)**

***The vanquished: why the First World War failed to end, 1917-1923***

Allen Lane

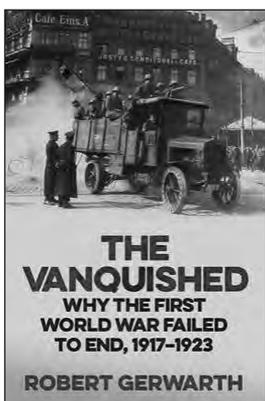
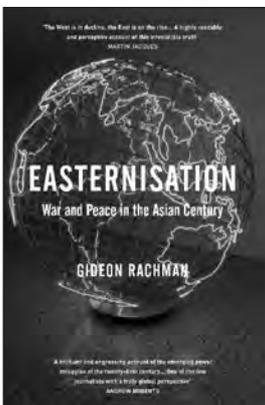
The way World War I ended created a new logic of violence that paved the way to the Hitlerian concept of total war. One of the towering lessons of history is that the composition of all states is not established fact, but a matter of continuing debate.

For the Western allies 11 November 1918 has always been a solemn date – the end of the fighting that had destroyed a generation, and also a vindication of a terrible sacrifice, with the total collapse of their principal enemies: the German Empire, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. But for most of the rest of Europe this was a day with no meaning, as a continuing nightmarish series of conflicts engulfed country after country.

In this highly original, gripping book Robert Gerwarth asks us to think again about the true legacy of the First World War. Everywhere there were vengeful people, their lives racked by a murderous sense of injustice, looking for the opportunity to take retribution against enemies real and imaginary. Only a decade later, the rise of the Third Reich and other totalitarian states provided them with the opportunity they had been looking for.



The face of despair: an Iraqi refugee fleeing Isis is refused entry to a Kurdish-held area (Getty).



# DIARY OF EVENTS, AND NOTICES

## 2015-16 ANNUAL REPORT

The full Trustees Annual Report and Accounts for the year ending 5<sup>th</sup> April 2016 is on the APF website under 'Resources'. The Treasurer's Report and Accounts are also given on page 10 of this TAP.

## 'THE THINGS THAT MAKE FOR PEACE'

**A joint conference with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Methodist Peace Fellowship will be held at Luther King House, Manchester on 10-12<sup>th</sup> March 2017.**

The programme is designed for both a residential conference and a day conference (Saturday). Please mark it in your calendar as this will also be a chance to celebrate the 80th Anniversary of APF.

Dr Alan Storkey will be delivering the inaugural Colin Scott Memorial Lecture. Other presenters include The Revd Ray Gaston, Elfrida Calcocoressi (CHIPS: Christian International Peace Service), The Revd Clive Barrett and Liz Firth (Peace Museum).

Places are limited and booking is required. To register please complete and return the booking form inserted into this issue of TAP. Please contact Tilly Martin if you have any queries (details below).

## OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

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## LOCAL AND NATIONAL EVENTS

2017

**1 January** Peace Sunday. The theme for this is 'Nonviolence: a style of politics for peace.' Resources are available from Pax Christi ([www.paxchristi.org.uk](http://www.paxchristi.org.uk) and 020 8203 4884).

**10 January** A discussion in a spirit of 'New Year – new beginnings' organised by the London Pacifism and Nonviolence Discussion Group. At Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX. Contact: [SecondTuesday@groupmail.com](mailto:SecondTuesday@groupmail.com).

**14 January** Talk and discussions on 'New Approaches to Foreign Policy' with reference to the fact that 123 countries voted for negotiations on a global nuclear ban to begin in 2017. SOAS University of London, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square. Contact [david.lrcnd@cnduk.org](mailto:david.lrcnd@cnduk.org) / 020 7607 2302

**27 January** Holocaust Memorial Day. The theme for this is 'How can life go on?' Information is available from [www.hmd.org.uk](http://www.hmd.org.uk).

## 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](http://www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk). By using the following links in your browser the following is now available:

Facebook: [www.facebook.com/anglicanpeacemaker](http://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](mailto:vicechair@anglicanpacifists.com)

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

Twitter and Facebook can also be accessed through the website ([www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk/](http://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.

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.

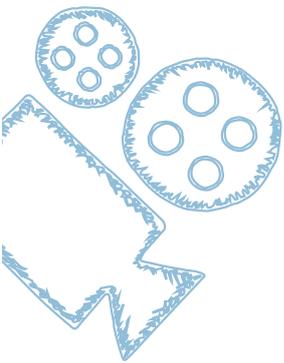
APF can then reclaim income tax paid on the donation.

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



## HACKSAW RIDGE (2016)

Directed by  
Mel Gibson

This film, which has recently been premiered at Venice, is like a combination of ‘Saving Private Ryan’ and what Angelina Jolie wanted, ‘Unbroken’ to be. It is at once an inspirational film and viscerally violent, just like



US medic, Desmond Doss.

Gibson’s ‘The Passion of the Christ’.

It is a true story about Desmond Doss, a US medic who served in the Battle of Okinawa against the Japanese in 1945. He was a Seventh Day Adventist who placed himself in the hands of

God as a conscientious objector and refused to touch a weapon. Doss was one of only three

COs to have received America’s highest medal for bravery – ‘for saving the lives of dozens of men while under heavy fire, ultimately being wounded himself’.

From the shocking scenes of battle, in which some one hundred thousand were killed in all, the film turns back 16 years to Doss’s childhood in rural Virginia, with a father traumatised by the First World War. We also follow him through his military training during which officers and fellow recruits bully him. He also faces court martial.

There is one moment amid the horror when Doss asks: ‘What do You want of me? I don’t understand. I can’t hear you.’ Then when a wounded man cries ‘Help me!’, he takes this for his answer – repeatedly praying, ‘Let me get one more.’

The film is powerful, spectacular, emotional, gripping.

## ANTHROPOID (2016)

Directed by  
Sean Ellis

When it comes to conquered civilians fighting back against the Nazis in WW2, French resistance is what people remember. Yet it was the Czech resistance that achieved the most spectacular result: the 1942 assassination of leading Nazi Reinhard Heydrich in Prague by London-trained commandos of the exiled Czech government, who were parachuted in for the job.

Heydrich was a spectacular target. Appointed Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia – the lands incorporated into the Third Reich in the spring of 1939, he was proving utterly ruthless. Intelligent, ambitious, cunning and cruel he was one of the architects of the extermination of the Jews, third in line in seniority to Hitler and Himmler and was in the process of undertaking the racial cleansing of his fiefdom.

The film follows the two commandos, Josef Gabčík and Jan Kubis who are parachuted into their occupied homeland in December 1941. With limited intelligence and little equipment in a city under lock down, they did manage to achieve their objective.

(The story of the assassination is told well in Giles Milton’s (2016) book, *The ministry of ungentlemanly warfare*.)

This film is interesting from the pacifist point of view because it raises questions about the morality of the action as a political assassination, in the same way as does Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s involvement in the attempt to kill Adolf Hitler.



## WHERE TO INVADE NEXT (2016)

Directed by  
Michael Moore

This review is from an interview with Moore by Carole Cadwalladr for *The Observer* (5 June 2016).

This is not a film about war and peace. But Michael Moore says he is commenting satirically on the fact that when the US visits other countries, it tends to be in a tank or a bomber: ‘I wanted to ask what if we were to visit these countries or, in the American terminology “invade” them, in more typical ways and do things which might actually benefit us as a people.’

He said that his aim was to confuse his audience by proposing solutions rather than problems. So instead of going into the military-industrial complex, he goes into sex education in French schools.

At the centre of the film, he suggests that Germany has come to terms with its history in the way the America hasn’t and this is reflected to some extent in the outcome of the recent presidential election. Asked to explain the Trump phenomenon to Europeans, he said that Americans are very alpha: like we’re number one! Trump is that on steroids, and it’s a tune that Americans like to listen to.

Moore is a rust belt prophet. He was almost the only commentator to predict that Donald Trump would become the 45th president. Having come from the Michigan wilderness, the son of a car-assembly-line worker, he understands Middle America. He has been warning for years that too many have been left behind. ‘I live in what they call the flyover but I like the Bob Dylan line, “the country I come from is called the Mid West’ he says.

# TREASURER'S REPORT ON ACCOUNTS FOR YEAR ENDING 5TH APRIL 2016

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

REGISTERED CHARITY NO. 209610

The principal source of funds continues to be gifts of members and associates. Voluntary income has returned to levels before last year's large legacy. Income this year is £16,999 and a deficit of £6,729. The accounts have, as last year, been prepared on an accruals basis. Member subscriptions produces over 90% of non-legacy income. The 3 legacies part received last year and two small ones have been finalised and received. Another has been notified but an amount is not yet known. Expenditure increased with the new website designed and commissioned and renewing of promotional materials. As reserves are now high, grants activity, as described last year, was initiated and will expand. This is expected to increase in subsequent years. A fraud investigation is underway concerning a grant to South Sudan. This loss, if any, will be fully reported next year. Plans to use paid administrative help will also result in significant expenditure.

## Statement of Financial Activities for the year ended 5 April 2016

	Unrestricted Funds	2016 Total Funds	2015 Total Funds
	£	£	£
<b>Incoming resources</b>			
Incoming resources from generated funds			
Voluntary income	13,307	13,307	294,804
Investment income	3,160	3,160	97
Incoming resources from charitable activities	531	531	764
Other incoming resources	—	—	—
<b>Total incoming resources</b>	<b>16,999</b>	<b>16,999</b>	<b>295,666</b>
<b>Resources used</b>			
Cost of generating funds			
Cost of generating voluntary income	361	361	440
Fundraising trading cost of goods sold and other costs	794	794	3,588
Charitable activities	19,918	19,918	10,663
Governance costs	2,653	2,653	2,455
<b>Total resources used</b>	<b>23,729</b>	<b>23,729</b>	<b>17,147</b>
<b>Net surplus (deficit)</b>	<b>(6,729)</b>	<b>(6,729)</b>	<b>278,518</b>
<b>Total funds brought forward</b>	<b>310,094</b>	<b>310,094</b>	<b>31,575</b>
<b>Total funds carried forward</b>	<b>303,364</b>	<b>303,364</b>	<b>310,094</b>
<b>Represented by</b>			
Unrestricted			
General fund	303,364	303,364	310,094

## Balance sheet as at 5 April 2016

	2016 £	2015 £
<b>Fixed assets</b>		
Computer & Software	637	637
Promotional Equipment	1,385	1,385
<b>Total Fixed assets</b>	<b>2,023</b>	<b>2,023</b>
<b>Current assets</b>		
Inland Tax Recoverable	1,401	1,387
Literature Stocks	3,344	4,139
Nat West Current Account	8,308	17,793
CBF Church of England Deposit Fund	49,780	49,573
Virgin Money Charity Deposit Account	53,045	38,368
Virgin Money Charity 100 day Notice Account	101,626	100,000
Cambridge & Counties 95 day Notice A/C	83,561	83,000
PayPal Account	270	448
Accounts Receivable	-	14,200
<b>Total Current assets</b>	<b>301,341</b>	<b>308,910</b>
<b>Liabilities</b>		
Accounts Payable	-	839
<b>Total Liabilities</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>839</b>
<b>Net Assets</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>303,364</b>
<b>Reserves</b>		
Represented by funds		
Unrestricted General Fund	303,364	310,094
<b>Total</b>	<b>303,364</b>	<b>310,094</b>



A new poem by the former Poet Laureate, Andrew Motion reflecting on a country he no longer recognises after Brexit and populism politics.

Published in *The Guardian Review* of 2 July 2016, section entitled 'This is a revolution'.

### In the Air

When I set out I looked over my shoulder  
at my country falling away beneath me,  
the shining reservoir and sewage farm,  
the textbook motorway and ring-road,

telling myself in so many words; no matter,  
everything will be here and almost the same  
supposing I ever choose to return and find it;  
I am the one who will first become a  
stranger,

But the will of others is rightly or not such  
that none of us can be certain of our choices;  
history does not exist to benefit ourselves  
and bring us peace and homecoming at last.

History flies onward like the lonely albatross  
launched in the beginning from its high cliff  
then riding the wind until it decides enough  
is enough and lands roughly where it pleases.

*Roger, we hope you are happy about this lovely poem being on the finance page. It is by way of thanks for all your hard work. We also think it softens the solidness of the numbers.*

T & T

expression of revolt and a list of unrealistic demands made by people who have not thought through the unintended consequences of their actions. And all this will be influenced significantly by what the leader thinks: supporters being moved more by personal loyalty than by specific policies.

Populist movements are sometimes breathtaking in their claims and the Corbyn Left portrays itself as speaking for the many when in reality it is narrowing dramatically the appeal of the Labour Party, distancing itself from the more moderate MPs and the wider public, and making it virtually impossible, to form alliances with more centrist political parties.

## CORBYNISM AND THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Many in the anti-war movement view the rise of Corbynism as a heaven-sent opportunity. After so many decades of near ineffectual campaigning, here is a conviction politician and, more importantly, a party leader who shares the movement's aims. But it is hard to see Mr Corbyn's style of anti-militarism as part of an election-winning manifesto given his background and that of his compatriots. Credibility is the foundation of effective radicalism: if you are not credible in your trustworthiness and your judgment, then your radical policies will not be given a chance to breathe.

Quite a number of Mr Corbyn's supporters rail against anti-Western colonialism, and blame the US for most of the world's ills. Accordingly, they are uncritical about the military aggression of authoritarian nations sometimes to the extent of giving it tacit approval. Indeed, Britain's parliamentary opposition, to the extent that it is Corbynist, has become all but incapable of contributing to the current debate about the balance between hard power and diplomacy necessary to bring about peace in the Middle East.

The foremost voice for anti-US colonialism in Britain is Stop the War Coalition, an organisation once chaired by Mr Corbyn and for which he continues as the leading speaker at its rallies.

Stop the War was set up by members of Hard-Left groups including members of the Socialist Workers Party shortly after the al-Qaeda attacks on America and

President Bush's announcement of a 'War on Terror'. Effectively, the anti-war sentiment was hijacked to create a front organization with an air of political respectability.

Stop the War's supporters claim to be on the side of the oppressed, but they are all too eager to side with the enemies of freedom if their ideology demands. The organisation has never, for example, attempted to hold Russia or President Assad to account for the brutal bombing of Aleppo and other Syrian cities, and neither apparently has Mr Corbyn.

And more to the point, statements by Stop the War's leaders sometimes figure in the propaganda broadcasts of Russia and Iran. This appears as a conscious validation of Kremlin messages, giving them credibility and creating a willing echo chamber in the West. Mr Farage and Mr Trump have both said they admire Mr Putin's political style.



This anti-colonial ideology also leads to a criticism of Israel because it is viewed as a Western colonial implant in the Middle East. In his book, *The Left's Jewish problem* (2016), Dave Rich examines the relationship of this with the current spate of anti-Semitism. He points out that 'anti-Semites have evidently imbibed a feeling of empowerment from the rise of Mr Corbyn whose political assumptions are taken from the anti-Zionist New Left.

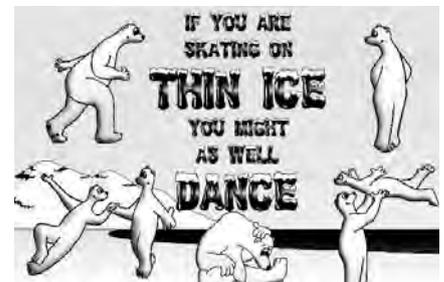
## MAKING THE WORLD MORE SECURE

The foregoing raises serious concerns for global peace and security if the truth is to be openly flouted for ideological purposes, populist or otherwise. As authoritarian states challenge the free world for dominance in various regions of the world is it sensible or even moral to support a populist international policy. We should be careful what we wish for when the populist agenda is unpredictable

and dependent on the views of people such as Trump, whose declared policy (whether he intends to implement it or not) is to tear up the international rulebook. He has repeatedly welcomed the idea of Saudi Arabia, or South Korea, or Japan having nuclear weapons. The thinking is that this will achieve a balance of terror, which will keep the peace better than costly American intervention. But the deadliest threat to European security is Mr Trump's attitude to NATO. He has repeatedly questioned whether the US should continue to protect European countries, most of which fail to pay their way on defence. He and some of his advisers have also shown undisguised admiration for Putin, the single greatest threat to the stability of Europe.

As the descent into a post-truth world continues at a depressing rate, we as anti-war activists should be cautious about what we say and whom we support. We need a far more honest understanding of the degree to which unilateral disarmament will reduce the likelihood of war – as well as a more nuanced insight into the precise ways in which it might do so. We should also beware any bias that enters our arguments from the anti-Western ideology of the Left. The fact that it is very difficult to persuade people to change their mind should not be an excuse for misrepresenting the truth; and our campaigns should be tested on those who don't share our views.

And let us show a little more intellectual curiosity, tolerance, plurality and perhaps even a dash of mischief in our dealings: all the qualities that seem to be strangely absent among the New Political Left.



And let us also be honest with ourselves. All of us know that we skate on thin ice sometimes and say things that are blatantly untrue, especially in the heat of the argument. The important thing is that we recognise this, so that we can (perhaps) look back, smile, even dance – and resolve to avoid doing it again.

# THE ART OF PEACE

## BALLETBOYZ: 'YOUNG MEN'

Michael Nunn and William Trevitt founded the all-male dance troupe BalletBoyz in 1999. The team is still pushing the boundaries of dance, with the company becoming the first to make a full-length feature film. 'Young Men' which was originally performed at London's Sadler's Wells, last year follows a group of young soldiers as they experience war for the first time.



It was envisaged as an ambiguous depiction of soldiers and war. The directors say 'one scene that we knew we wanted was called Lookout and featured the men peering over the top of the trenches, daring to look the enemy in the eye'. This became the anchor for the period of the film, and placed it in the era of World War 1.

The story is without words, performed by the 10-strong all male BalletBoyz, along with several female dancers. Filmed in Normandy, it is an evocation of war and its destruction of the young men who fight it, and will be screened on BBC2 as part of its Remembrance Day programming.

A slightly longer version will have a cinema release, and they hope to tour it with a live orchestra, perhaps to offer it to youth orchestras and schools to watch and perform.

## TATE BRITAIN EXHIBITION ON NASH

Famous for his WW1 paintings and landscapes, Paul Nash was the greatest British artist of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He successfully reinvigorated the English landscape tradition in modern terms. Initially he drew landscapes of the mind, inspired by his reading of the romantic poets. These are intense works of immense imaginative power.



What shook him to the core, and brought about a dramatic change in his art, was his experience of war and its effect on the landscape. Sent to the front in 1917, Nash had all the pre-Raphaelite whimsy turned out of him by the horrific reality of the trenches.

The huge painting that dominates his first war room is 'The Menin Road', from 1919. Across a gigantic expanse of mud, painted in his trademark greys, browns and beiges, a few tiny figures dodge between the broken stumps that rise-out of the wasteland and like burnt-out matches there are remains of trees.

## MARC RIBOUD: SHOWING 'LIFE AT ITS MOST INTENSE'

Marc Riboud who died this year aged 93, was one of the generation of French photojournalists in the immediate post-war years. One of his images, a young American girl with flower (1967) has become iconic. It shows a 17-year old confronting a line of soldiers on an anti-war demonstration outside the Pentagon.



Riboud said: 'I had the fleeting impression the soldiers were more afraid of her than she of their bayonets.' The subject did not see the picture until a decade later, and revealed herself as Jan Rose Kasmir. Photographer and subject were reunited in London in 2003, when Jan joined the crowds protesting against war in Iraq.

## DYLAN: POET, MUSICIAN, NOBEL LAUREATE

In the latest of many distinctions to garland a career stretching back six decades, Bob Dylan has become the first member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame to win the Nobel Prize in Literature. Some will argue against the award as others have contested the meaning and value of every phrase and nuance of his output. Others will feel that he deserves the creation of a special Nobel Prize simply for being Bob Dylan, however that condition is defined.

The admirable delicacy of the Nobel committee's citation – 'for having created new poetic expressions within the great American song tradition' speaks for itself. Lyrical musings over war, heartbreak, death and moral faithlessness in songs that brought beauty to life's greatest tragedies.



Essentially, in the work of Dylan, the words and the music cannot be separated. Take any of his words, for example those of his best-known anti-war song 'Come you masters of war, you that build all the bombs' and say them to yourself, as we all do sometimes. You'll be hearing them with his voice and his sound. 'The times they are a changing' is perhaps most apt for these days of populist politics and unrest in society.

And for many of us in the anti-war movement, it is the songs on the marches and demonstrations that have moved us most.

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