

THE Anglican PEACEMAKER



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Greenpeace protest in Washington against President Donald Trump's policy on climate change.

Few can doubt that the world has changed dramatically in the past few months. With the election of Donald Trump, the international intentions of the US are uncertain and countries sheltered under its defence umbrella are fearful about its commitment to them.

Besides the direct issue of defence, many of his policies are framed in such a way that they are likely to lead to conflict and war. These include the rejection of Obama's climate change policy, the support for Israel's expansionist agenda and a more aggressive attitude towards North Korea, Iran and China. Trump's immigrant ban is also likely to aggravate Islamic terrorism.

The world seems to be in disarray and our theme examines this and the role of Christian pacifism – to consider how its message of compassion, sacrifice and reconciliation for peace can provide reassurance and counter anger.

Important changes are taking place in the fellowship's activities and we refer you especially to page 8 and to Clive Barrett's letter to members on page 4.

I got a coin in my palm
I can make it disappear
I got a card up my sleeve
Name it and I'll pull it out
your ear
I got a rabbit in the hat
If you want to come and see
This is what will be
This is what will be

I got shackles on my wrists
Soon I'll slip and I'll be gone
Chain me in a box in the river
And I'll rise up to the sun
Trust none of what you hear
And less of what you see
And the freedom that you sought
Is drifting like a ghost amongst
the trees

Now there's a fire down below
And it's coming up here
So leave everything you know
Carry only what you fear
On the road the sun is
sinking low
Bodies hanging in the trees
This is what will be
This is what will be



'Magic' by Bruce Springsteen

CONTENTS

- 1 Resistance to Donald Trump's foreign policy
- 3 Chairperson's report
- 4 Reports and observations
- 6 International page
- 7 Book Look
- 8 Dairy of events and notices
- 9 Film Look
- 10 Pioneering the possible
- 12 The art of peace

RESISTANCE TO DONALD TRUMP'S FOREIGN POLICY

A full version of this article by Tony Kempster is on the APF website.

INTERNATIONAL STABILITY IS THE 'GREAT GOOD'

Donald Trump has brought the habits and rhetoric of his campaign to his presidency. His inauguration speech was a remarkable populist attack on political elites. 'Americans' he said, would no longer 'accept politicians who are all talk and no action'; he would 'clear the swamp'. Policies are to be run under the ominous banner, 'America first', and the world awaits what forces this self-centred America might unleash.

Anti-war campaigners have to decide how to react to Trump's plans in what Max Hastings says is now 'a world more vulnerable to fear than at any time since the end of the Cold War' (*Sunday Times book review*). Hastings was appraising *A world in disarray* by Richard Haas, an informed view of world security and a context, against which to consider Trump's intentions.

Above all, Haas argues that stability is the 'great good': however unpleasant the Cold War might have been, the world's bipolarity made us safer

than today. Through the post-1945 era in which prosperity and trade expanded rapidly, it was possible to secure a popular compliance in all manner of enlightened international causes with legal enforcement under the UN. Bans were introduced for biological and chemical weapons, land mines and cluster bombs although regrettably not for nuclear weapons.

Now, faltering western economic growth and mass migrations have ended this. The old consensus about what constituted legitimate and

'Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold. Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world, the blood-dimmed tide is loosed and everywhere the ceremony of innocence is drowned. The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity.'

W B Yeats, poet. Words taken from 'The second coming'.

'Of the Seven Deadly Sins, anger is possibly the most fun. To lick your wounds, to smack your lips over grievances long past, to roll over your tongue the prospect of bitter confrontations still to come, to savor to the last toothsome morsel both the pain you are given and the pain you are giving back.'

Carl Frederick Buechner, American writer and theologian

illegitimate actions by states enjoyed an acceptance now almost gone. Cyberspace has created an environment that resembles the Wild West. It is also clear that realpolitik is becoming the attitude of the day among Western politicians, inhibiting efforts to make the Chinese and Russians behave less oppressively to their own peoples. Agitation for human rights merely diminishes the prospects for cooperation with such states.

In these circumstances, Britain's Brexit with its likely consequences for European unity is ill advised and could have been avoided if current western leaders had talked honestly to their electorates about unwelcome realities and dealt sensibly with immigration. Here we might recall the continent's awful wars of the early 20th century and fears that fragmentation and the destabilising actions of Putin's Russia could see history returning with a vengeance.

A SHOWMAN'S MAGIC AND 'THIS IS WHAT WILL BE'



Into this disarray comes Trump's package of 'America first' policies, with little regard (it seems) for their effect on international stability. His actions to date run contrary to the essential requirement that nations deal with each other respectfully, using diplomacy to arrive at international agreements rather than force of arms. Allies also need to know that America will stand by its commitments and international responsibilities.

Most presidents have seen the investment in international alliances and institutions as modest and certainly worthwhile to prevent the emergence of major wars. The danger is that 'America first' will



destroy US credibility as the leader of the free world. Both Beijing and Moscow are readying themselves in Asia, the

Middle East and Eastern Europe to fill the power vacuum.

America's defence alliance with Europe is a major concern for all of us. At this January's security conference, Trump's vice-president's combative speech left heads of state, minister and diplomats troubled over Nato. Trump's insistence that European members pay appropriately for their defence is reasonable, as is his aim to reform the UN, which many agree is no longer fit for purpose on security issues. But these things have to be handled with mutual respect considering all the wider ramifications. In Nato's case, the nature of the Trump administration's cosy relation with Russia is a cause for alarm especially as computer leaks have led to a 'civil war' between it and the US security agencies.

Then there is the fear about the appointment of certain members of Trump's inner-circle particularly Stephen Bannon who has a dark worldview and appears to relish chaos. Bannon's conviction that violence and war can have a cleansing effect is alarming particularly as he believes that a war against Islam is on the cards. One wonders how much his extremist views are already influencing the administration's war planning. Mercifully, Trump appears now to have stopped recruiting top officials in his own



image. Indeed with his latest choice of respected military men, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that a struggle develops between radicalism and pragmatists pulling the administration back to a more conventional stance.

Then it is equally hard to determine at present how Trump's policy towards individual countries will pan out but it does look as though he is dividing the world into goodies and baddies. Solid support is being given to Israel, while Iran is identified as the major threat in the Middle East. He places North Korea beyond the pale and has stated that a nuclear missile threat to the US mainland 'will simply not happen'.

This brings us to the crucial nuclear question. Trump is unlikely even to contemplate nuclear disarmament and, indeed, he has said he intends to greatly increase America's arsenal. If so, Barrack Obama's audacious goal of a world without nuclear weapons – spelt out when he became president and the reason for his Nobel Peace Prize – has no legs.

In July, international negotiations will take place on a UN treaty that would ban all nuclear weapons (see page 4 for details of the NCPO briefing paper and a petition). For an expert assessment of recent developments, I would recommend Mathew Harries' article entitled 'We'll all go together' in *Prospect* magazine. He is very pessimistic about the success of such a ban. 'Given the current gloomy circumstances' he says 'the whole debate feels somewhat disconnected from reality. Instead of stemming the nuclear tide, a ban could actually undermine the credibility of multilateral diplomacy. Nevertheless, Harries concedes that the ban treaty is clever politics. The weak spot of deterrence is that it relies on a fundamentally monstrous threat. A ban skips the tedious intricacies of how exactly disarmament would happen, and focuses on that weak spot. In tactical terms, it could just be a way to hold the nuclear state's feet to the fire.

A VIEW OF POPE FRANCIS' MESSAGE ON NONVIOLENCE

FROM THE CHAIRPERSON – NAT REUSS

His Holiness Pope Francis' message for the celebration of the 50th World Day of Peace (1 January 2017) was 'Nonviolence – a style of politics for peace'.

This message comes on the back of a very successful Vatican conference last April, where around 80 Roman Catholics met for three days to discuss Jesus and nonviolence with officials. The culmination of this was to ask the Pope to write an encyclical on nonviolence. Fr John Dear, a long time advocate for Jesus' nonviolent teaching, along with others from Pax Christi International constructed a draft, much of which was contained in Pope Francis' Peace Day message.

It is remarkable to have such a message from the Pope. Insiders will tell you that this is the first statement on nonviolence in history, so this is a very significant message for the Roman Catholic Church and indeed all Churches.

In what is a prescient message for the times, Pope Francis quotes Blessed Pope Paul VI when he wrote in the inaugural message for World Day of Peace in 1967, 'Peace is the only true direction of human progress – and not the tensions caused by ambitious nationalisms, nor conquests by violence, nor repressions which serve as mainstay for a false civil order.'

Like the inaugural message, Pope Francis is writing not just to the Roman Catholic Church but also to the world's peoples and nations. There is a broad scope to this message and his opening is right to encourage people of difference faiths to respect the 'deepest dignity' of the image and likeness of God in each person.

Pope Francis then moves to the subject of politics and nonviolence. This is often a tricky area and one where Churches struggle to have a consistent nonviolent ethic, even within the Body of Christ. Pope Francis is looking further afield, when he calls all to nonviolence as a style of politics for peace. He then seeks to address the heart of the matter, which is rightly identified as God's work. Pope Francis is praying here for God to be at work in people's lives and helping them to

cultivate nonviolence in their most personal thoughts and values. For if violence is the overflow of deep-seated anger and resentment, then it can only be addressed by a work of God in people's hearts.

This shows positively the relationship between peacemaking and prayer. You cannot have one without the other; and Pope Francis teaches us afresh that the starting point for all Christians and activists is to come before God in prayer and to ask. In 1964 America, during the Vietnam War and the battle for civil rights, Thomas Merton led a retreat for political activists entitled the 'Spiritual roots of protest.' It was commented that, at times when activists were desperate, threatened and tempted to give up, monks like Thomas Merton 'salvaged' them due to their 'highly advanced spiritual dimensions.' It is people of deep faith and prayer who undergird and support activism through their constant love for and embrace of our broken world.

Pope Francis addresses the times with the harrowing but truthful description of finding ourselves engaged in a 'world war fought piecemeal.' This is the term Francis uses to describe the different kinds and levels of violence. Here he also addresses the dangers of the spiral of violence and its impact on migration and the environment, 'Violence is not the cure for our broken world. Countering violence with violence leads at best to forced migrations and enormous suffering, because vast amounts of resources are diverted to military ends and away from the everyday needs of young people, families experiencing hardship, the elderly, the infirm and the great majority of people in our world. At worst, it can lead to death, physical and spiritual, of many people, if not of all.'

The solution, Pope Francis adds unequivocally, is Jesus. He begins with Jesus addressing the 'true battlefield' of the human heart in Mk 7:21 before choosing a selection of Gospel passages where Jesus reveals through word and



CNS Photo

deed, a life of radical love for all; unveiling systems of oppression and warning his followers not to take up arms if they were to be faithful followers of Jesus. Pope Francis writes, 'Whoever accepts the Good News of Jesus is able to acknowledge the violence within and be healed by God's mercy, becoming in turn an instrument of reconciliation. In the words of Saint Francis of Assisi: 'As you announce peace with your mouth, make sure that you have greater peace in your hearts.'

In a remarkable statement that must give so much encouragement to Christian peacemakers all the world over, Pope Francis then writes, 'To be true followers of Jesus today also includes embracing his teaching about nonviolence.'

This is a significant shift for the Church and I pray that this will pave the way even more for Churches, particularly Churches that have been bound by nationalism and the protection of sovereign states, to discover afresh a renewed relationship with God and the response that Jesus calls us to in living lives as peacemakers. A counter argument is often put that this isn't a realistic approach to life. Pope Francis is alert to this question and quotes his predecessor Blessed Benedict XVI who writes that Jesus' teaching, 'is realistic because it takes into account that in the world there is too much violence, too much injustice, and therefore that this situation cannot be overcome except by countering it with more love, with more goodness...this 'more' comes from God.' When we look to God's work in the Bible, we find that God is acting through people to bring in his project of re-creating the world by overcoming the world's tendency to being fallen. For the Christian peacemaker, we know that our witness is nothing other than the New Testament witness in our own lives.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES AND OBSERVATIONS

A LETTER FROM CLIVE BARRETT

Dear friends,

I am privileged to have been appointed a consultant, a Strategic Adviser, to the



Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The brief is to help spread APF's message of peace – that is the Church's Gospel of Peace – across the Anglican Communion and especially in the Britain. Let's energise the preaching, the study, the commitment to peace,

especially where you live, and work and worship. Let's build up APF to be a forum for peacemakers and a voice for peace in our Church and in our society.

For this, I will need your help. In the next few weeks I will contact a number of APF members, with a view to exploring with you what might be possible in your area. No ideas are ruled out, however large or small: a talk, a sermon, a Bible-study or set of study resources, an exhibition, a vigil... What would galvanise people where you are? What is the programme for your local women's groups, clergy groups/synods, youth groups, student groups? Are there openings for an Anglican pacifist speaker at a local demonstration or a campaign group; at a Eucharist or a prayer group?

Don't wait for me to contact you – please feel free to contact me straightaway. We live in a complicated and dangerous time. Many people are feeling nervous about the new regime in the United States, about increased levels of threat on British streets, about being in a world where walls are replacing bridges. How long before a wall blocks YOU out?

Nonviolence is at the heart of the Gospel, in the person of Jesus; so what is it that we are wishing each other when we say 'The Peace of the Lord be always with you'? What does Jesus' teaching of 'Love Your Enemy' mean in an age of Donald Trump and Isis?

Are these matters being discussed in your church, in your Christian groups, in your community? If not, and you would like

to do something about that, then please get in touch with me. I would be very interested in arranging an opportunity to come to your area to explore the hope that is at the heart of the Christian Gospel of peace.

Of course, I will also engage directly with people in the structures of the Church, with those in leadership positions and in influential roles, with people in Synods, the policy-makers and decision-makers. Let's make sure that the pacifist voice is heard right across the Anglican Communion. In particular, let's work and pray together that the Church of England does not assume the compromised values of the Government of the day.

A generation ago, the APF held a Mission, first in New Zealand, then in the UK.

Ordinary members arranged for the APF missionary to speak at many different meetings and events. It is time for us to be missionary once again, to take our message of peace out to the Church, to convert our Church to the Gospel of Peace.

If you would like to explore how we might pursue any of the above in your parish, deanery, town or diocese, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me: clive@anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk or 07966 540699.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

In peace, Clive Barrett

A CHANGE TO THE DOOMSDAY CLOCK

The Doomsday Clock was established in 1947 by scientists working on the Manhattan Project Under the banner of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, these experts knew better than anyone the dangers for people and the environment these weapons represented and wanted to communicate that to the public. The Doomsday Clock indicates, based on technical and geopolitical developments, how acute the current danger of a nuclear disaster is in terms of the minutes to midnight.

Experts have just advanced the clock 0.5 minutes (to 2.5 minutes) closer to midnight. It hasn't been closer to midnight since 1953 when the hydrogen bomb was developed by the USA. The reasons for this is the public threats by



Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin to use nuclear weapons, North Korea's nuclear weapons tests, and the increasing tension between the nuclear powers India and Pakistan.

The reset shows just how important it is that negotiations for a global ban on nuclear weapons get under way at the UN in July (below). This kind of international tension doesn't have to be an obstacle to disarmament: even during the height of the Cold War, there were negotiations on reducing the nuclear arsenals.



Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has just published a new comprehensive report entitled Security not Trident which is can be read or downloaded from its website, www.enduk.org

NUCLEAR WEAPONS' BAN TREATY



International negotiations take place in July 2017 on a UN treaty that would ban all nuclear weapons. The Network of Christian Peace Organisations (APF is as member) offers a briefing for use by individuals, organisations and churches in preparation for these negotiations. Copies are available from the APF

website or telephone (see page 8). You are also encouraged to sign the petition urging the British Government to participate in the conference: <https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions/175096>.

CHELSEA MANNING TO BE FREED

On 17 January, just before leaving office, President Obama commuted the sentence of Manning who was serving a 35-year term for releasing information about human rights violations by the US military. She is due to be released in May after seven years in a maximum-security prison.



Manning said she acted in the public interest, hoping to start a meaningful public debate on the costs of war and the conduct of the US military in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, she was not allowed to present this as evidence at the trial. Her sentence was much longer than those of other military personnel convicted of leaking classified materials to the public, or even of offences such as murder and war crimes.

While I was serving as a vice-president of the International Peace Bureau (APF is a member), we awarded Chelsea Manning the prestigious Sean McBride Prize for her actions. Although the issue was controversial, we believed that her motive was noble and that she was manipulated by others. Furthermore, there is little doubt that Manning was a troubled soldier and about as un-military as could be imagined. A slender, 5ft 2in male called Bradley Manning when convicted in 2013, she has since become a transgender woman fulfilling a role she wanted from childhood.

Obama was right to free the transgender traitor but the more guilty people are still at large.

Tony Kempster

REMEMBERING THE KINDERTRANSPORT: A NEW DISPLAY AT THE PEACE MUSEUM

The Peace Museum is telling the story of the Kindertransport children through items and personal effects, including suitcases, belongings to two children who were evacuated to Britain prior to the outbreak of WW2. Almost 10,000 children, mainly Jewish, were brought to the UK to escape the Nazi persecution; many never returned as their families became victims of the Holocaust.

The display will be open until 7th April. For more details visit: <http://peacemuseum.org.uk/upcoming-display-remembering-the-kindertransport/>

PUTTING THE ARMS TRADE ON TRIAL

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.

For anyone interested in the detail, the documents from the case are on CAAT's website, <https://www.caat.org.uk/resources/countries/saudi-arabia/legal-2016>

A PROPOSAL FROM BRUCE CARLIN REGARDING THE WEEK OF PRAYER FOR WORLD PEACE

This year I was away for most of the Week of Prayer for World Peace (WPWP), and though I do pray while I am away I don't take all my prayer diaries or cycles of prayer with me! So when I returned and it was Friday I got out the leaflet but thought, do I really want only to do the last three days of this? Would it matter if I prayed the whole week the following week. I would be a week out of step with others, but I would do it all.

And then it set me to thinking, why not turn the Week of Prayer into a Year of Prayer for World Peace? I wouldn't want to do it myself, as, though the prayers in the leaflet will stand some repetition, they would become tedious after a few weeks of continuous use. But if a few APF members were to join me, maybe we could do this.

I reckon the prayers in the leaflet would be fine to use four times a year, on which basis we need only 13 members to sign up to a rota, each of whom would use the Week of Prayer once a quarter. If we can't get that number I think we have to accept that there is insufficient interest. If we get more I think we should stick to quarterly but we would have company, knowing that if 26 signed up someone else was praying it with 'me', if 39 there would be three of us, and so on. This also allows for someone being away or sick, or simply forgetting their turn without breaking the cycle.

I thought we couldn't get started until next year as we will all have thrown out our leaflet, but I am told there are spare copies in the APF Office, so we could get going as soon as we like.

Would anyone who is interested with this, please contact Bruce directly at brucecarlin@cooptel.net or write to him at 120 Huddersfield Road, Elland, HX5 0EE.

TK

INTERNATIONAL PAGE

A REPORT FROM THE EPISCOPAL PEACE FELLOWSHIP

EPF is APF's sister organization in the USA.

Since 2009, EPF has supported the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement on behalf of human rights and dignity for Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. EPF's Palestine-Israel Network works to educate and advocate for BDS in the Episcopal Church. This work is founded in our Fellowship's commitment to nonviolent resolution of conflicts, in this case an asymmetrical conflict that has intensified through 50 years of illegal Israeli Occupation and war, propped up with US taxpayer dollars. EPF's PIN member The Revd Ann Coburn reports on a 2016 trip to Gaza.



Ann Coburn is on the far left.

We were driving through Shuja'iyya, a neighborhood of Gaza City, where a year ago we had first seen the results of the massive bombing by Israeli forces in August 2014. Nine months after Protective Edge the area was mostly rubble and no rebuilding was happening. It was one of the most depressing sites any of us had ever witnessed, especially knowing that these homes belonged to civilians many of whom lost their lives in 2014.

Our van drove through an open wrought iron gate into a parking area in front of what looked like a two-story building that had escaped the bombs. We all got out of the van and walked inside passing a sign on the outside saying the building had been built with funds from one of the Gulf nations. The entry hall was an open area with a reception desk and a number of closed doors around the perimeter that apparently were offices but no one was around.

The large stone staircase took us upstairs to a floor that was so totally different from the one we had just left that it literally froze us in place. We were then told that this building had been a center for children with Down's Syndrome, and fortunately they were not there when the bombs reigned down. Rubble and glass were everywhere and pieces of ceiling and roof still hung precariously over our heads.

The most devastating sight of all was to see the small stuffed teddy bear in the hallway covered in dust and debris and the plastic toys and puzzle pieces in the classrooms that were strewn about the floor. Only hours before the bombs fell a child held that bear and played with the truck and pieced together a puzzle.

We were told that all the children were safe but there were no funds forthcoming to clean up and rebuild their center. We had to wonder whether the children were truly safe as everyone seemed to be waiting for the next bombings that they were sure would come soon. Were the children really safe from those who destroyed a place of play and sanctuary for them in a world where those were hard to find.

All of this made me think of standing outside the building unprepared for what we found inside. The façade it presented gave nothing away. Then I thought of the rebuilding we had passed on the way to the center and wondered what was behind those new walls. Were they facades as well hiding empty spaces, untold stories? What about all the people of Gaza we met over those four days? So many seemed to be 'normal', going about their everyday lives, offering us hospitality and greeting us warmly, grateful that we were there. Even those who shared the trauma of what that tiny strip of land had gone through and continues to go through, they, too, I am sure, had facades that hid their deepest wounds and their worst nightmares. Each time we go, however, I pray that maybe we pass through a layer or two of the façade.

None of us will ever know the depths of their despair and grief and mistrust and loss of hope, but being allowed a small window into their world, to walk a few steps together with them, to sit and listen to their stories has been the most transformative and life-giving experience of most of our lives.

EPF STANDS WITH THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (USA) IN CONDEMNING TRUMP'S EXECUTIVE ORDER RESTRICTING US ENTRY OF FOREIGN NATIONALS

EPF staunchly opposes President Trump's discriminatory executive decision, which turns our country's back on refugees at a time when they are most in need of safety. It has endorsed the Fellowship of Reconciliation's condemnation of President Donald Trump's recent "Executive Order: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States" that forbids foreign nationals from seven Muslim-majority countries from entering the United States. The Fellowship of Reconciliation's statement is at <http://forusa.org/blog.php?i=142>



The Revd Allison Liles, executive director of EPF says 'The United States was created and sustained by immigrants who came to our country from throughout the world. Now is the time for the United States to embody our historic principles of hospitality and religious freedom.'

Liles continued to say *Our Episcopal Book of Common Prayer's Prayer for the Human Family asks that God look with*

compassion on the whole human family, taking away the arrogance and hatred which infect our hearts, breaking down the walls that separate us and instead unite us in bonds of love.

BOOK LOOK



PANKAJ MISHRA
(2016)

Age of anger

Allen Lane

Could there be a better time to publish this book when rage seems the dominant emotion of our times?

How can we explain the great wave of hatreds that beset us – from Trump to American ‘shooters’ and Isis, from rise in vengeful nationalism to racism and misogyny on social media?

Mishra posits some answers. He shows that as the world became modern, those who were unable to fulfil its promises were increasingly susceptible to demagogues. The many who came late to this new world or were left or pushed behind, reacted in alarmingly similar ways: hatred of invented enemies, attempts to re-create an imaginary golden age, and self empowerment through spectacular violence.

Today, just as then, the wider embrace of mass politics, technology, and the pursuit of wealth and individualism has cast many more millions adrift in a literally demoralized world, uprooted from tradition but still far from modernity – with the same terrible results.

Violence, Mishra writes, feels ‘endemic and uncontrollable’. But is it? A less angry corrective to this gloomy view can be found in Steven Pinker’s (2011) study

The better angels of our nature demonstrated, through careful statistical analysis, how the world has, in fact, become steadily less, not more, violent. Pinker found a long-term historical decline in violent deaths. Homo sapiens has never had it so good. Why do we feel otherwise?

The answer is almost certainly affected by journalism, and its relentless purveying of overblown doom, and we should ask what we do about this.

RICHARD HAAS
(2016)

A world in disarray: American foreign policy and the crisis of the Old Order

Penguin

The rules, policies, and institutions that have guided the world since World War 2 have largely run their course. Respect for sovereignty alone cannot uphold the order in an age defined by global challenges from terrorism and the spread of nuclear weapons to climate change and cyberspace.

Meanwhile, great-power rivalry is returning. Weak states pose problems just a confounding as strong ones. The US remains the world’s strongest country but its foreign policy has at times made matters worse. The Middle East is in chaos, Asia is threatened by China’s rise, and Europe, for decades the most stable region, is now anything but.

In this book, Richard Haas argues for an updated global operating system – call it World Order 2.0 – that reflects the reality that power is widely distributed and that borders count for less. One critical element of this adjustment will be adopting a new approach to sovereignty, one that embraces its obligations and responsibilities as well as its rights and protections.

PAUL BLOOM
(2016)

Against empathy: the case for rational compassion

Bodley Head

Bloom’s new book flies in the face of what most people believe, namely that empathy is very important, indeed essential. That is, the belief we should endeavour to put ourselves in others shoes, feel their pain and anguish. It differs from compassion.

He argues no, we need to reason in order to puncture our biased

self-concern. We think of empathy – the ability to feel the suffering of others for ourselves – as the ultimate source of all good behaviour. But while it inspires care and protection in personal relationships, it has the opposite effect in the wider world. As the latest research in psychology and neuroscience shows, we feel empathy most for those we find attractive and seem similar to us and not at all for those who are different, distant or anonymous. Empathy therefore biases us in favour of individuals we know while numbing us to the plight of thousands.

It is very easy to see why so many of us view empathy as a very powerful force for goodness and moral change. Many believe we can’t have enough of it. It is Bloom’s view, however, that empathy is a poor moral guide. It can motivate indifference and even cruelty. It can lead to foolish judgements and irrational political decisions.

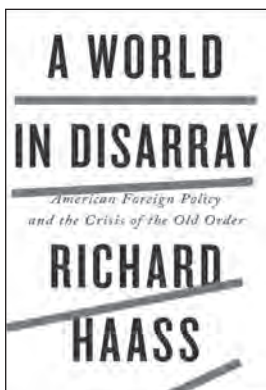
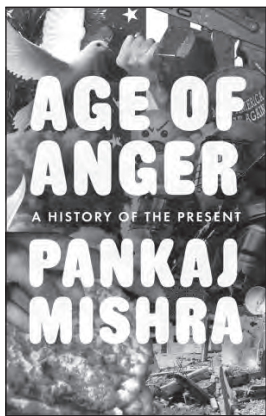
Bloom’s position is radical but he is not arguing that we need to be selfish or unkind only that we can make the world a better place by ditching an overemphasis on empathy.

In brief, Bloom argues three key points: first, our moral actions are powerfully shaped by the force of empathy; second, this often makes the world worse; and third, humankind has the capacity to do better. Empathy is too biased.

It pushes us dangerously close to parochialism and fascism. It can spark violence, think of war.

This book overturns widely held assumptions to reveal one of the most profound yet overlooked sources of human conflict.

It demonstrates with absolute clarity that, when faced with moral decisions, we must choose reason and compassion, not empathy, as our guides.



Paul Bloom

DIARY OF EVENTS, AND NOTICES

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. We are looking particularly for people who can bring new ideas and help us decide how best to use the resources now available to the organisation. Please contact the secretary below if you are interested in standing as a member.

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 10-12th 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 Calcoressi (CHIPS: Christian International Peace Service), The Revd Clive Barrett and Liz Firth (Peace Museum).

£30-£220 (subsidies available). Please contact Tilly Martin at Peace House, 19 Paradise Street, Oxford, OX1 1JD. 07494 272595. tilly@apf.org.uk

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LOCAL AND NATIONAL EVENTS

2017

8 March International Women's Day.

For information on events www.internationalwomensday.com

25 March Global terrorism – the peace movement response. A conference to be held at Wesley's Chapel, London EC1Y 1AU. More information from Uniting for Peace – www.unitingforpeace.com or 0207 791 1717.

20-23 April Global Days of Action on Military Spending. Details from <https://demilitarize.org.uk/>

15 May International Conscientious Objectors Day. The CO ceremony is being organised by the First World War Peace Forum, 12 noon in Tavistock Square WC1H 9HE. mail@coproject.org.uk.

10 June Peace History Conference at the Imperial War Museum. Movement for the Abolition of War will have the details. www.abolishwar.org.uk

6 August Hiroshima Day. www.londoncnd.com

21 September International Day of Peace. www.un.org/en/events/peaceday

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.

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.

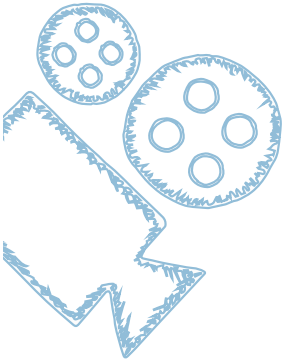
APF can then reclaim income tax paid on the donation.

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



SILENCE (2017)

Directed by
Martin Scorsese

Based on a novel by Shusaku Endo, this film fictionalises true historical events and the persecution of Christians in 17th century Japan

The young Portuguese Jesuit Sebastião Rodrigues is sent to Japan to succour the local Church and investigate reports that his mentor, Fr.

Ferreira has committed apostasy there.

When he arrives he finds the local Christian population driven underground. To ferret out hidden Christians, security officials force suspected Christians to trample on a *fumie*, a

crudely carved image of Christ. Those who refuse are imprisoned and killed by *anzuri*, which is by being hung upside down over a pit and slowly bled.

Rodrigues is eventually captured and forced to watch as Japanese Christians are killed. He was told that all he must do is renounce his faith in order to end the suffering of his flock.

Rodrigues' journal depicts his struggles: he understands suffering for the sake of one's own faith; but he struggles over whether it is self-centered and unmerciful to refuse to recant when doing so will end another's suffering. At the climactic moment, Rodrigues hears the moans of those who have recanted but are to remain in the pit until he tramples the image of Christ. As Rodrigues looks upon a *fumie*, Christ breaks his silence: 'You may trample. You may trample. I more than anyone know of the pain in your foot. You may trample. It was to be trampled on by men that I was born into this world.'



DENIAL (2017)

Directed by
Mick Jackson

The timing of this film's release, on Holocaust Remembrance Day amid president Trump's destruction of the fabric of his nation to the concept of post-truth world, is ruefully spot-on. It is based on the book *History on trial: my day in court with a Holocaust denier*.

When university professor Deborah E. Lipstadt includes World War II historian David Irving in a book about Holocaust deniers, Irving accuses her of libel and sparks a legal battle for historical truth. With the burden of proof placed on the accused, Lipstadt and her legal team fight to prove the essential truth that the Holocaust occurred.

The British Jewish community pleads with her to settle out of court to avoid creating publicity for Irving. However, her team has a promising start when they persuade Irving to agree to a trial by judge instead of a jury, which he could have manipulated.

As the trial concludes, the judge disquiets the defence by suggesting that if Irving honestly believes his own claims, then he cannot be lying as Lipstadt asserted. After an agonising wait for the ruling, Justice Charles Gray rules for the defence, convinced by the evidence that Lipstadt's criticism of Irving as a deceitful Holocaust denier is valid.

The judgment against Irving was not just an important victory for the truth about the Holocaust. It was also a victory for the fact that there is such a thing as truth, however difficult it may be to work out what it is. Exposing lies in a post-truth world is vital. This film shows the danger of thinking that facts are a matter of opinion.

SS-GB (2017)

Directed by
Philipp Kadelbach

BBC mini-series

Would SS-GB have felt half so resonant a year ago? One can't believe it would. When it comes to WW2, after all, the present has helpfully stepped in where memory is just beginning to leave off. The EU is in the process of fragmenting; it is now more than ever powerless to act in the matter of rogue states, even among its own membership.

This BBC TV series is adapted from Len Deighton's novel, set in 1941 under Nazi occupation. In an isolationist United States, panic stricken by the onset of WW2, the aviator Charles Lindbergh defeats the incumbent Franklin D Roosevelt in the presidential election of 1940 and forges a pact with Hitler. Winston Churchill has been executed and the resistance is struggling to hold on to its last strongholds in the countryside.

The story revolves around Douglas Archer, a detective at Scotland Yard, now under the control of the SS. He is an ambiguous figure neither (at present) a member of the resistance (we gather) or a fully committed collaborator. He is – or so he tells himself – merely doing his job, biding his time until those braver or more foolhardy do something to restore order. The story is how this ambiguity plays out.

The big question asked by SS-GB, but not clearly enough, is which side you would be on. In Nazi Britain, would former pillars of the establishment morph into a kamikaze resistance, while far-right extremists took their place? And what would pragmatists and the pacifists do?

PIONEERING THE POSSIBLE: AWAKENED LEADERSHIP FOR A WORLD THAT WORKS (2014)



This is a review by our trustee, The Revd Donald Reece of a stimulating book by Scilla Elworthy.

There is an urgency throughout this book linking the author's

development and experience with traumatised people locally, and with decision makers globally. Elworthy calls for a leap in consciousness, the necessary inner transformation for pursuing the vision of global healing and ecological

redemption. Her exposition of inner power and fruitful application is well illustrated by biographical sketches including Thich Nhat Hanh, Henri Ladyi, Aung San Suu Kyi and Desmond Tutu.

Her wide-ranging experience is expressed with a vocabulary accessible to most. In emphasizing the importance of meditation, she acknowledges many approaches, and Christians will understand this as prayer. She mentions an Oxford research group gathering in a manor house, when a US state department negotiator said: 'This is a very special room... I mean there is something coming up through the floorboards.'

He was amazed when told that their meeting was being supported by meditation taking place in the library below.

There is a critique of many modern worldviews such as endless economic growth being essential, and armed force trumping ethics. But the subsequent chapters, such as the shift to different norms, and strategies to get from here to there, are widely resourced and positive in application. One of the green shoots is the empowerment of women to share with men the responsibility of decision-making. The book rounds off with an appendix of exercises, tools and resources.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO
Trump's defence pronouncements have to be seen in the context of the populist movement that brought him to power. Although these people may have opinions about global security, the anger he whips up is mainly about falling living standards, unemployment and the impact of immigration. Yet, everything is linked, and most observers believe that the driver for greater American success and leadership in the world is economic growth. This demands global stability, a commitment to free trade, more spending on defence particularly to protect trade routes and communication generally, as well as immigration reform and a heavy investment in education. Nothing is simple or without consequences.

HOW THEN DO WE RESPOND TO TRUMP'S FOREIGN POLICY FAILINGS?

In the main, there is nothing above which to disagree although the anti-war movement is bound to be critical of any increase in defence spending, arguing for disarmament (unilateral if necessary) to prevent future wars. I have discussed this elsewhere, questioning such a one-dimensional solution, when wars today involve veiled threats, cyber war, pseudo-military incursions and nuclear blackmail as the dominant features. Christian pacifist belief stands outside these considerations but our fellowship like other anti-war organisations should be paying attention to these modes of conflict, to inform campaign strategies.



We can agree though, that the priority is to deter great-power competition and conflict, which comes to the tricky issue of how one can ensure that aggression does not succeed. Here we must insist that the use of nonviolence is the key to reconcile conflict, so Pope Francis' focus on this in his 2017 peace day message is most welcome (see our chair's report on page 3). But it is also important to understand the limits of soft power, and of the art of the possible in a complex competitive world. Terrorism and the atrocities it commits must be contained, but it cannot be eliminated and will require ongoing military preparedness. China and Russia should be granted respect on the world stage, but a willingness to resist their acts of aggression must be supported by credible western armed forces. America needs to change its Middle East policy, but cannot conceivably walk away from the region and the tragedy it has created there.

As a pacifist organisation, we should also have a clearly stated position on UK's membership of Nato - especially as this is a nuclear alliance - and any changes that may be brought about by Trump's 'America first' policy.

Then there is the importance of countering post-truth statements when we encounter them, a subject which I discussed in the issue of TAP (16.2). Rather interestingly, the events of the past months have shown that even the unregulated ethical chaos of 'post-truth' politics is susceptible to correction. A political lie is no longer sanctified by high office and received as accepted wisdom. It is just news, sent racing around the globe, and followed by an instant cloud of reactive clutter that can be confronted, as for example the crowd claim at Trump's inauguration and the more recent Swedish terrorist attacks by immigrants. It used to fall to the mainstream media to perform this task, whereas now the media is everyone and everywhere. Truth may be under attack, but its defenders need to be nimble and strong, and honest themselves in what they say.

Besides those in America, large-scale anti-Trump demonstrations have taken place around the world. We know that those expressing dissent by women, immediately after the inauguration, annoyed Trump. But will he think twice about what happens in Britain or elsewhere before making xenophobic

statements, or enacting some of his more outlandish policies.

Trump was the democratically elected president and his policies are a response to an anger that he fuelled during his campaign, the same that Pankaj Mishra's discusses in his book, *Age of anger* (see Book Look on page 7.) This emotion will not be easily mollified; it is important for peacemakers everywhere to point up the dangers this affords to freedom, human rights and the encouragement given to extremist groups everywhere.

RALLIES AND OTHER COUNTRIES

Stop the War Coalition has taken an organisational role for demonstrations and rallies here – as one might expect given its fervent anti-Americanism. I have expressed concern about this before seeing recent events as just another example of the organisation jumping on a bandwagon to promote its hard left (anti-imperialist) agenda. The main aim at present is to block Trump's visit to Britain, although such a block would be counter-productive as the visit is about diplomacy and the maintenance of transatlantic relations. Whether Trump is accorded the privilege of speaking in Parliament is another matter.



If public protest is to amount to something tangible it surely has to be directed towards a more specific aim and become a proper force of resistance rather than a general expression of distaste. An international protest of equal dimension opposing Trump's policy (or indeed anti-policy) on climate change, for example, could be very valuable. We should also be cautious about an over-hysterical response to Trump's election. Around the world, he is being portrayed as a bogeyman – big money, racism,

misogyny, greed and corruption. He is even mentioned in the same breath as Hitler and Mussolini, which risks relativising the horrors of the Holocaust and diminishing the scale of Nazi crimes. Nothing matches the deep, indelible evil of the Nazis.

We should focus on the fights we can win, on making the world better in a multitude of small ways. It means focusing on local issues and winning the disaffected over in elections rather than marching with the already converted at rallies. We should cordon off the true racists and fascists and listen to and argue respectfully with the others with moderate views who support populism. We are at the beginning of a new opposition movement, a liberal version of backlash politics that feels the need to drive the right from power.

So keep campaigning, stay plugged in and listen. Be vocal using social media, argue with people who get their confidence from going unchallenged. Listen to what is being said. And be prepared to be wrong as things develop. Although the role of foreign states is inevitably limited, opposition to Trump outside America has a part to play. Foreign opposition sets a mood and seeks to uphold the international order in the ways that Americans on both sides of the argument would understand.

The world is unlikely to have stability or prosperity without the US, but that country cannot be a force for global stability and prosperity without its politicians and citizens reaching a new understanding. The anti-war movement has a role to play here particularly to argue against Trump's planned increase in military spending at the expense of foreign aid and the UN. Understanding the anger that is driving populism, and at grass roots level saying sensible things about the lies, bigotry and xenophobia that surround this new politics, without demonising the key figures. APF should be sharpening its message about war and the preparation to wage war and enter dialogue where it can have productive discussions with those who believe in the non-violent response to conflict but cannot accept the complete rejection of military defence as an answer to a world in disarray. For the present the preservation of stability is the 'great good'.

CHAIR'S REPORT CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE

That God's Spirit has been at work in our hearts to enable us to not fear an enemy, but rather, to have a loving attitude and concern for others, that our national leaders would consider to be enemies. How I long that our Churches would recognise and celebrate their peace movements as signs of God at work in our lives, rather than held at a respectable and safe distance.



New Testament scholar Richard B Hays writes, 'None of the New Testament's witness makes any sense unless the non-violent, enemy-loving

community is to be vindicated by the resurrection of the dead. Death does not have the final word; in the resurrection of Jesus the power of God has triumphed over the power of violence and prefigured the redemption of all creation. The church lives in the present time as a sign of the new order that God has promised.'

Pope Francis has struck a similar tone in stating that to be a true follower of Jesus today, also includes embracing his teaching on nonviolence. What else can we do when our lives have been graced by the love of God, who calls us to love God and our neighbours as ourselves? What other response to God can we offer, now that the enmity in our hearts has gone and we now share in His resurrection from the dead?

As fascism rises through the west and our once 'Christian nations' have become anything but Christian, we need to pray for our world and our leaders to be rooted to God in prayer and embracing our broken violent world evermore in an attitude of nonviolent love. As one of my lecturer's used to teach us, 'If there is no difference, there is no witness.'



THE ART OF PEACE

THE 'NO TRUMP' CHANT FROM PUNK

There were many chants at the anti-Trump demonstration on 30 January, but one was particularly satisfying. It has a bracing staccato energy, like a weaponised cheerleader chant, and it has already been heard at protests across the USA: 'No Trump! No KKK! No fascist USA!' Try it, it feels good.



The chants popularity took off at the American Music awards last November, 12 days after the US election. Midway

through a furious performance of the single 'Bang bang', the politically minded band, Green Day broke the song down to a tense dirge and frontman Billie Joe Armstrong barked the chant six times.

It appears that the chant originated more than 30 years earlier with the band MDC. The punk scene's resistance to the Ku Klux Klan's harassing Latino farmworkers while trying to recruit new members at punk shows, inspired MDC to write a two-minute tirade called 'Born to die' with the blurted chant 'No war! No KKK! No fascist USA.' Slowed down and tightened up, the chant became a fixture at protests for years to come.

FIGHTING FOR PEACE

The Imperial War Museum (IWM) in London is hosting an exhibition titled 'People Power: Fighting for Peace,' from March 23 through August 28, 2017.

On display are over 300 objects like placards, banners, badges, paintings, music and literature that show the creativity behind anti-war protest movements and in the process, reflecting the cultural mood of each era. The exhibits reveal a surprising breadth of creativity of the anti-war protest movement.

Visitors are invited to take a journey from the First World War to the present day, exploring how peace movements have



influenced perceptions of war and conflict in this major exhibition. From conscientious objectors to peace camps and modern day marches.

ANTHOLOGY OF NEW HYMNS

A note by Sue Gilmurray

Hymns for hope and healing is the title of a Stainer & Bell anthology of new hymns which they intend to publish in June. Editors are Jan Berry and Andrew Pratt. It will include texts and tunes from men and women of several different Christian traditions.

My own contributions include a hymn called *The healing we need* which is flowing and lyrical, and Jan Berry's *Give praise for the wonder encoded in genes*, which looks at the practicalities of modern science and medicine in the context of Christian faith.

I hope such hymns flourish. Many Christians are either rigidly attached to the hymns they learned as children, or love worship songs and write off all traditional hymns as boring. Hymns in traditional form, but written by and for Christians of this generation, can be nourishing and inspiring – and may stick in the mind longer than the Sunday sermon.

RICHARD MOSSE'S 'INCOMING'

Photography has long been seen as a powerful tool to help bring a human element to stories of war and suffering. Perhaps the most affecting are those images perceived to be the least ambiguous like the terrible shot of three year-old Alan Kurdi lying on a beach after drowning in the Mediterranean Sea.

A new work by Richard Mosse, on show at the Barbican Curve, presents an entirely different approach to documenting the crisis. Mosse created a three-screen installation, which is filmed in monochrome and set to a specially composed soundtrack. *Incoming* is a 52-minute-long artwork features footage of refugees from around the world and is an intensely compelling. Filling the (literally curved) cavernous space with three eight-metre-wide screens, the immersive artwork studies human figures and scenes from across the Middle East, North Africa and Europe via images uniquely captured on a powerful telephoto military camera, to cast the recent migration and displacement crisis in an entirely new light.



The thermal camera, which can detect the human body from a distance of more than 30km, is a counter-intuitive choice to interrogate a human subject, reducing all that falls under its gaze to a series of heat markings in a monochrome palette. But the dehumanising effect is searingly pertinent. It reveals a glimpse of women, children, young men struggling against the elements in makeshift camps, drowning at sea, crossing dangerous waters. They are displayed in a stark, clinical, ambivalent manner, accompanied only by harsh, electronic sounds that do nothing to soften the images.

The exhibition is on until the end of March.

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