An anti-Bush demonstrator shouts through a burnt US flag in The Mall (Watson, 2003)

The Lambeth Conference is over and much ink has been spilled by press and pundits assessing its value.

This conference has not produced any resolutions as such. Instead we have the reflections of the Indaba discussion groups which, we are told, often involved the exchange of conflicting views and have led to deeper understanding and insights.

We also have addresses given at the main events, a few statements in the press and the letter given to Gordon Brown on the London Day when the bishops took part in a Walk of Witness in support of the Millennium Development Goals.

In all this, there is hardly a mention of the re-emergence of global militarism or the conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere. It is as though the Communion has no concerns about the world disorder since 2001 and role of the US in global affairs, so crucial to future developments. Without a distinctive Christian perspective on these issues, how can it participate in the broader debate about war and terrorism in the 21st century.

Besides reporting on APF activities around the Lambeth Conference, this issue focuses on how the US uses its power in what is still, for the time being, a unipolar world.

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We are pleased with our activities around the Lambeth Conference; and feel that APF’s submission to bishops and our presence there was needed in view of the absence of any significant discussion on war and peace in the main conference sessions. During our week around the Canterbury University campus, in our fringe meetings and at the Market Place, our team talked to many people from all over the world about conflict and the pacifist position.

Copies of War, Peace and the Lambeth Conference, the set of briefing papers submitted to bishops, are available on request.

The rest of our time in Kent was valuable – and also enjoyable. Our pilgrimage from London to Canterbury began with a service in the newly refurbished chapel dedicated to Dick Sheppard in St Martin-in-the-Fields and ended with a witness at his grave in Canterbury Cathedral. This followed our noon service in the Cathedral. Our annual conference held at The Friars, Aylesford was a welcome intellectual (and physical break) during the pilgrimage with some excellent speakers.

BEING THE SOLUTION IN AN AGE OF CRISIS AND FEAR:

BY FATHER LAWRENCE D. HART

The Revd Dr. Lawrence Hart is an Episcopal priest, pastoral counsellor and spiritual director. He is the author of Hell’s abyss, heaven’s grace: war and Christian spirituality, and Alleluia is the song of the desert. This is an abridged version of his talk at our annual conference.

To approximate the language of William Faulkner, the American author, in his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize in Literature, ‘We live in the age of universal physical fear.’

We live in fear of a nuclear conflagration, and we have lived this way for so long that for many people, perhaps for most people, it now tastes normal. We live in fear that ‘this blue planet, our island home’, will be so degraded by poisonous wastes that it becomes uninhabitable. We live in fear of catastrophic diseases that spread unchecked over the whole earth. We live in fear of global terrorism. We live in fear of a global warming that will lead to severe and irreversible climate changes, triggering massive migrations that are likely to be resisted with brutal force by those living in more hospitable regions. We live in fear that the war in Iraq is merely the precursor of an apocalyptic battle for food, water, and energy.

The movement of humanity across the centuries has, in many respects, been the relentless march toward this cataclysmic crisis of fear, of selfish ambition, and unutterable violence against truth, goodness and beauty. Yet, if we choose, we can walk down a different road.

The film A Beautiful Mind, the fictionalized story of the mathematical genius John Nash, tells of his long and terrible struggle with paranoid schizophrenia. It also tells the love story of John Nash and his wife Alicia who brought not complete, but...
Greed, fear, anger and violence are all factors in the mathematics of evil.

Love is the solution to every equation of life.

Considerable stability, healing, and sanity to Nash's tormented mind and spirit. In this movie's climatic scene, John Nash is giving his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize, and he says to his wife and the admiring audience that his greatest discovery in this vast experiment of our existence is that 'Love is the solution to every equation of life.'

Although a fictionalized account of John Nash's struggle and the triumph of love, this film nevertheless expresses one of the largest and most fundamental truths that we can ever discover: Love is the saving antidote to the universal fear and anger that poisons the heart of humanity. The filmmakers mean, of course, for us to understand that a truly beautiful mind is one filled with the knowledge of love. It is this knowledge, this experience, of the Divine charity that shapes and forms a truly Christian pacifism. In the eighth verse of the fourth chapter of the little Epistle of First John, one of my favourite books of the New Testament, Saint John writes simply: 'Everyone who loves is born of God and knows God... for God is love.'

All the law and all the writings of the prophets hang on this,' said Jesus, 'that you love God with all your heart and your neighbour as yourself.'

Greed offers no solution to anything; because greed can only steal from what is already there. Fear provides no solution because it can only respond to a danger, real or imaginary; that is perceived as already present. Violence is no solution to our problems, because it can only react to what already exists. Only love has the power to create something out of nothing. Evil is anti-love and anti-life. It is what diminishes or destroys life in any of its forms — intellectual, emotional or psychological, physical, or spiritual. Greed, fear, anger and violence are all factors in the mathematics of evil, which is also the mathematics of empire. Empires are inherently greedy, fearful, and violent; and, therefore inherently evil. The New York Times has asserted that: 'China’s actions [in increasing its consumption of natural resources] threaten the stability of the global economy.' The Institute for the Analysis of Global Security, contributing to the fear of large and rapid diminishing resources. How can we expand and strengthen the dominance of the American Empire? One must strain very hard to hear any voices questioning this arrogance, this presumption or hear any voices asking the question of what needs to be done to sustain all human life with grace and dignity. Perhaps that is because we do not want to hear the answers. Certainly these are answers that can only be heard with deep listening – that can be heard only by listening with love.

Love is the solution to every equation of life, because love does listen. Empire, what Marcus Borg calls domination systems, command, demand, order, threaten, intimidate, direct and lecture but they do not listen. Empire, each time it appears in human history, whether in Babylon or Rome or Britain or America, takes on a life and a power and a will of its own. The ring in J.R.R. Tolkien's trilogy not only gives power, but also is itself a power possessing and exerting control over the very one who thinks he or she possesses the ring. Like Tolkien's ring, empire exploits and strengthens malevolent powers and the capacity for evil of the one who wears it - of those most engaged with it. True evil is a power that erodes the ability to listen with empathy or sympathy to the perspective, aspirations, feelings or criticisms of anyone else, and undermines our aptitude for honest self-reflection. Barack Obama has been intensely criticized in the US for saying that he would talk without preconditions even to enemies. His position has been ignorantly caricatured as appeasement, as naive, as woefully weak.

Before the attack on Iraq the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, as well as leaders from other mainline denominations, asked to meet with President Bush to explain why they did not believe this would be a 'Just War.' Bush refused. His consistent reply was, 'I am the decider.' On July 3, 1988 an Iranian passenger jet, Iranian Flight 655, was exploded by a missile fired from a US warship sailing in Iranian territorial waters. Beside the crew, 190 people died, including 66 children. The first president George Bush said in response: 'I don't care what the facts are. I will never apologize for America! And that attitude, based on the mindset of empire, remains the general one in America today.

Although a Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi by reading the New Testament and discovering the non-violent teaching of Christ, deepened his own understanding of the Hindu tradition, and came to see love as the basic law of our being – 'the solution to every equation of life.' The word Gandhi himself coined to explain his commitment to peace was satyagraha, a combination of the Sanskrit words for firmness and truth. Sathyagraha connotes 'creative force' or 'soul force.' Gandhi sometimes translated it as 'truth force' or 'love force.' A concept important to understanding satyagraha is 'ahimsa,' meaning the avoidance of violence and non-injury to any being. But empire has nothing to do with truth, or the avoidance of violence and injury, or with love. It has to do with mendacity, cruelty, destruction and death. Condoleezza Rice denied the existence of 'black sites' in Eastern European democracies – a system of prisons where kidnapped suspects are held, tortured and moved about as part of the US rendition programme. But we know Rice lied. She lied by not telling the whole truth. America, Bush has repeatedly and emphatically asserted, does not torture, but with a sly smile and a twinkle in his eye he talks about the usefulness of 'enhanced interrogation techniques.' Since the start of the Iraq War, America has slid and slithered...
Dear friends,

… and Happy New Year to those who have been so long associated with our education system that September is, for them as for the Jews, a new beginning.

I didn’t go on holiday this year – my usual MCU conference in July and the time of our pilgrimage to Canterbury conference at Aylesford and week in the Market Place of the Lambeth Conference (where APF had a stand) took up my spare time. So I didn’t send any postcards or take any holiday snaps.

I found myself wondering what I might have written on a postcard from Lambeth. The first cliché would have been, ‘Extremely hot here – even the African bishops are complaining of the heat!’; but then, I might have gone on to record a few incidents and impressions of the Market Place. Among the bishops and spouses to whom I spoke, there were two quite different opinions expressed. Many of the British, US and Antipodean bishops were pleased that the small discussion groups had allowed people to get to know one another; to voice their thoughts freely to pray together openly and receptively. People had listened to each other and they were hopeful of finding a way to move forward together; whatever position they held on the two main divisive (gender) issues which, sadly, dominated the debates (or so I understand.) This impression was confirmed when one talked to local people, on the bus going into the Conference, or to local taxi drivers, who were reported to have commented how much nicer and more humble and approachable the bishops attending Lambeth 2008 were than in any previous years, when they had often been lordly and arrogant towards the local ‘peasantry.’

However; the Archbishop of Tanzania represented the views of several other African bishops to whom I spoke when he said, ‘We came here with our pain, no-one has listened to us and we are going home with our pain…’ So, had the bishops listened to one another, as ‘our lot’ thought, or not? By the end of the week, I thought I understood what created the confusion: the two groups, from two different cultural, social, historical and economic backgrounds, were using the same words but with different meanings. For us, here and now in the 21st century, ‘to listen’ means to pay attention, humbly and with an open mind and a willingness to empathise, to somebody who has a different viewpoint from one’s own, to seek common ground, to avoid accusations or being judgemental, and to strive to travel the road together giving mutual support while the debate continues. For many of the bishops from the Southern hemisphere, ‘to listen’ means something more like, ‘to hear and obey’. Anyone who really listened would have to acknowledge the truth of what they were hearing and concede that they themselves had been mistaken – and to amend their previous views and behaviour accordingly. Otherwise, it was felt that their case had fallen on deaf ears.

Will a covenant, however framed in its final form, bind us together as an effective force for spreading the Good News of Jesus, who died and rose again for all? Personally, I doubt it, but would not want to do or say anything which hindered the outcome we all desire. But I am convinced that we have here a situation which is badly in need of peacemakers,… pacifists. As I talked to the various bishops from different ‘sides’ of the debate, I heard of accusations and insults flying to and fro which really shocked me. On the one hand, the liberal US church people have been accused of being possessed by the devil or evil spirits, worshipping the Antichrist, crucifying Our Lord anew, and utter depravity. These accusations were, apparently, countered with that of being ignorant, superstitious and allowing Islam to set the Christian agenda. This is a situation in which God is calling us to be peacemakers just as much as in any of the places where blood is being shed and people killed and maimed in recognised warfare. I don’t have a strategy for how we go about this task, and I know that we are a small (some might say insignificant) group of people. We are indeed without power in the church or our country, but to be without power does not mean to be without influence – look at any number of Aesop’s fables if you doubt me.

I am sure we are all troubled by the huge emphasis which Christian people are currently placing on matters of sexuality and gender to the detriment of a right concern for the suffering of countless human beings, made in God’s image, through warfare, famine, greed and avoidable disease. Is this really the way to spread the love of the crucified Christ? So we need to bring to bear every scrap of influence we can, at every opportunity, to bring peace and healing to the Body of Christ on earth, the Church.

On a more positive note, all the bishops, spouses and others to whom we gave our booklet, especially the section setting out the resolutions of previous Lambeth conferences on the subject of Christians and War, received it very gladly and several even came back a day or so later and thanked us for it. Let us hope that will prove to be a pebble thrown into the pond, whose ripples will spread throughout the Anglican Communion and beyond.

This has been a long letter - and obviously an impossible postcard! – and I haven’t expressed my heartfelt thanks for the wonderful people who made our impact at the Market Place possible. I am always wary of listing names, as it’s so easy to miss one, often one of the most obvious ones, but Tony, the two Susies, Jenny, Joyce, Donna (from EPF), Chris and Pat (from New Zealand), David and Joyce, and others, are heroes and have completely restored my faith in (redeemed) human nature. I wish I had time to tell you about the conference, and the inspiring presence there and at our service in Canterbury cathedral of Bishop Colin and Margaret, of the joy which Sue’s music gave to the atmosphere in our hall of the Market Place and … and, but there is space only to wish you all every blessing and may your work of peacemaking in your communities go from strength to strength.

HONOURING DICK SHEPPARD

The pilgrimage for APF members and supporters to the conference at Aylesford and to Canterbury, started with a service on 22nd July in the Dick Sheppard Chapel in St Martin-in-the-Fields and ended on July 26th with a witness at Dick Sheppard’s grave in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral.

Jenny Nicholson gave a short talk about his life and achievements in promoting pacifism. The Revd Dick Sheppard was vicar of St Martin-in-the-Fields from 1914 to 1927. During that time he gained a national reputation, not least for his sermons, the first to be broadcast. They attracted huge congregations and after each broadcast, a flood of letters. He had a vision of what the church might be everywhere if it could really ‘seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness’. His appeal was to people of all backgrounds.

In 1929 he became Dean of Canterbury. Although fighting ill health, his name acted as a magnet, and the Cathedral was thronged. It was reported that ‘He used the simplest words that all could understand.’

Dick Sheppard was also highly influential in the framing and promotion of Resolution 25 (the ‘incompatibility’ resolution) at the 1930 Lambeth Conference. Our counsellor Clive Barrett gives the details in an excellent paper ‘The Lambeth Conference – a vehicle for Christian peacemaking’ (Leuven conference, July 2008). The paper can be read on our website or obtained from the secretary.
From a land of miracles to a land of hubris

As this US presidency stumbles towards its conclusion, there is an overwhelming liberal consensus on both sides of the Atlantic that it has got it wrong about almost everything: declaring a ‘war on terror’, mismanaging Afghanistan, invading Iraq, identifying the security interests of America with those of Israel and especially in the deployment of vast military force as a substitute for policy, diplomacy, intelligence. The US has exercised unprecedented and unaccountable global power, arrogating to itself and its allies the right to invade and occupy other countries, untroubled by international law or institutions.

Considering the implication of this for world peace, I took the opportunity at the Lambeth Conference to ask the delegates and the media people I met why such issues did not figure on the conference programme – particularly when the Church does not have a distinctive position on them. Views were varied and several thought that the political scene was too complex for the Church to have any real impact; there was also concern that if the Church took positions for or against a particular conflict it might endanger Christians in the countries concerned. Most said they believed the Just War provided an adequate ethical framework for decision making by politicians and the Church should promote its use.

There is more than Just War

But how does the Just War relate, for example, to the crisis in Georgia where fighting seems to have broken out unexpectedly and might well develop step by step into a major confrontation between Russia and America?

In our submission to the bishops, we argued that the Just War tradition is inadequate and there is a case for placing it within the context of an ethical foreign policy. (At the moment it is concerned essentially with the waging of war and does not cover associated military activities which can be equally dangerous or immoral.) We mentioned the arms trade, clandestine involvement in military conflict, non-involvement with or reneging on international agreements to reduce armaments and provocative action which threatens other nations – a significant factor in Russia’s invasion of Ossetia. Russia almost certainly had several motives for the invasion including access to the Black Sea rich gas deposits. But the process of NATO-isising Ossetia and locating missiles in Poland and in other countries on Russia’s borders have triggered its fear of encirclement. The Just War should have been invoked at the stage of military threat but after the fighting had started. Now the bitterness and recriminations about the people killed (on both sides) make all future action difficult and sensitise the region for further conflict.

With early recognition of such a problem, it may have been possible to strengthen international law as it relates to the sovereignty of individual states and so avoided military conflict. One could argue that the protection of territorial integrity is not the heart of the matter here; what is needed is something more like procedural integrity in the way necessary change is brought about. The frontiers of existing states must be respected, but in exceptional cases territories within states may negotiate special-autonomies or even vote to become independent.
The annual conference

Along the Pilgrims’ Way from London to Canterbury we held a three-day conference at The Friars, Aylesford. Besides the talk by Lawrence Hart, there were a number of other talks on subjects which are of particular interest to APF. Judith Baker, the chairperson of the UK Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers gave an overview of the global situation. Some 300,000 child soldiers are still active although the number has declined somewhat since 2001 because a number of conflicts have ended, notably Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Peace agreements in Burundi, Ivory Coast, DRC, Nepal, southern Sudan and Uganda have also reduced if not stopped child recruitment.

Judith went on to explain the international instruments that now exist for the protection of children in armed conflict. She ended with some case studies of the experiences of individual child soldiers.

Judith Baker, chairperson of APF’s New Zealand branch described the successful establishment of the new Peace Centre at Otago University (for which the branch has played a major role) and how she hopes the centre will develop in the future. This was followed by a lively discussion on the role of such centres and how they can most successfully be used to promote peacemaking.

Sue Claydon, who joined us almost directly from Zambia gave a talk on her 6-month placement there to work with children and young people. Her project was concerned with improving the quality and availability of education of children from poor homes.

I discussed the International Peace Bureau’s Disarmament for Development programme (based on the article in the last TAP). This 5-year programme was launched in 2005 to encourage governments and other agencies to review the funding priorities and shift resources from military areas to development.

The fringe meetings

At the University of Canterbury during the Lambeth Conference, we held two fringe meetings. One was entitled ‘The Church’s response in areas of military conflict’ and focused particularly on the Middle East. It was chaired by Bishop Colin Scott and the panel included Norman Kember and Donna Hicks of the Christian Peacemaker Teams. (Donna’s reflections on Lambeth are on page 6.)

This fringe meeting was held in the rather prestigious lounge of the Keynes Building where there was an art exhibition organised by Christian Aid. This, southern Sudan’s first art exhibition since the war – ‘The art of reconciliation’ – is touring the UK and stopped off at the Lambeth Conference (see The art of peace on page 12). We met Archbishop Rowan Williams there.

Our other fringe meeting was entitled ‘Caught in the crossfire – sounds of peace and justice’. Delegates were invited to come along and hear some new hymns and songs by APF members Christopher Idle and Sue Gilmurray. These were written to challenge, encourage and inspire Christian peacemakers and are published in a special song book, Songs for the road to peace (see page 10).
Three challenges at the opening Eucharist of the Lambeth Conference

Dr Pararasan Arulantham (Arul), an APF governing body members (and originally from Sri Lanka) was the first of our team to take part in a Lambeth Conference event. He was at the opening Eucharist on Sunday 20th July and heard Bishop Duleep de Chikera of Colombo deliver the sermon. He presented three challenges to those present. The first was that the Anglican Communion must return to the discipline and practice of self-scrutiny; the second was the challenge of unity in diversity.

The third challenge, which was certainly tinged with his experience of coming from a country in conflict and the tragedy of this, was that need for a prophetic voice. His words were as follows.

‘Very often people say: ‘all this talk of reconciliation is not complete unless we address and deal with the injustice of the world!’ And so the Anglican Communion must articulate this prophetic voice regardless of where we serve in the world. Now as many of you will be aware, the prophetic voice has two strands, and it imperative that these strands are held together. The first is the prophetic voice is for the voiceless. There are those who for political reasons, cultural reasons, economic reasons, military reasons, cannot speak for themselves, or if they do, they do so at tremendous risk. And so the Anglican Communion must speak on their behalf – whether it is in the crisis in Sri Lanka, whether it is in the crisis in Zimbabwe, or Sudan, or Afghanistan or Iraq.

The voiceless must be given a voice through the leadership of the Anglican Communion. The second strand that goes with a voice for the voiceless, is the calling into accountability of those who abuse power: authoritarian regimes who oppress and suppress the people. The prophetic voice will ask poignant, relevant questions: ‘why’, and sometimes, ‘how dare you?’

In the sermon, Bishop Duleep also referred to Christ Church in Jaffna which is being converted into a centre for conflict analysis and peace. The Church has been renovated after several bouts of bombing and shelling. He said: ‘Something is emerging: a consciousness of coming from a country in conflict and the tragedy of that action to which they know themselves to be obliged as members of the Body of Christ.’ She begs every practicing Anglican who is convinced that his communicant status involves unlimited brotherly love, and so the total rejection of war, to join [the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship]; and thus help forward a movement which, though it may seem in its beginning to be small and of no reputation, may yet be disclosed as an instrument of power in the Hand of God.’

What, I ask, would happen, if every bishop, priest, deacon, and layperson, became a volunteer like the buddleias along the railway line? What if we grew up in the rubble of the wars and violence of our world today and transformed it? What would our world then look like?

Let us dream this dream of peace together and make it a reality.

SIX
Ron Suskind (2008)

The way of the world: a story of truth and hope in an age of extremism
Simon & Schuster

In this rather startling book, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Ron Suskind investigates how the West relinquished its moral leadership in the wake of the real threat of nuclear weapons, terrorists, and the war on terror.

It is a portrait of a group of people touched by the war on terror, either as actors or victims. They include George Bush, Benazir Bhutto, a Guantamano Bay lawyer; an Afghan exchange student and a CIA agent obsessed with the spread of nuclear weapons. ‘Each’, says Suskind, ‘is walking the fine line between faith and reason’. Each is at the mercy of a lie. The lie is the book’s dominant scoop, known before but not in such detail. Prior to the Iraq War, both American and British intelligence were privately (but separately) informed that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction. They had been destroyed after 1991. The American’s were told this by the frantic Iraqi foreign minister; Naji Sabri, but he was dismissed by Bush and the vice-president, Dick Cheney, when they heard what he was saying. They wanted no intelligence that might prevent the invasion.

At the same time, Tahir Habbush, Iraq’s head of intelligence, was in contact with a British agent, Michael Shipster, in Jordan. His message was the same. The message was sent to the White House in a desperate bid by the British to stop the war at the last minute, itself an intriguing sidelight. Not only was the material again dismissed by the White House, but the British were not told that Habbush was corroboration of their own information. A CIA source admitted to Suskind: ‘We conned the British, our closest ally, about Sabri so they couldn’t place in proper context the incredibly valuable channel they had set up with Habbush.’ Shipster apparently later told the CIA that, had London known this, ‘We would never have gone to war’. Bush and Tony Blair knew they were telling lies.

Suskind is never unsympathetic to his characters, which appears to have been debriefed intensively. He is a romantic, a writer who clearly believes that the market state empowers the terrorist as much as the individual at the expense of the legitimate authority and order. It is vastly more difficult to think properly about it. He argues that we need to re-forge the links between law and strategy; to realise how the evolution of modern states, which have always produced terrorists in their own image, has now produced a globally networked terrorism; to combine humanitarian interests with strategies of intervention; and above all to rethink what ‘victory’ in such a war; if it is a war, might look like – no occupied capitals, no treaties, no victory parades, but the preservation, protection and defence of human rights and states of consent. It is central to his argument that we are fighting terror and not just terrorists.

He poses some questions that are hard to answer – for instance, if terrorism is rooted in western support for Israel or engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq, why are so few of those apprehended in support for Israel or engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq, why are so few of those apprehended in

Bill Emmott (2008)

Rivals: how the power struggle between China, India and Japan will shape our next decade

Allen Lane

Bill Emmott is a past editor of the Economist. He is one of the world’s most authoritative international commentators. Nineteen years after his book, The sun also sets, predicted the decline of Japan in the 1990s, Emmott returns to the wholly new and different challenges which have arisen from and among China, India and Japan. Rivals will be the book which defines the geo-politics of the world’s most rapidly evolving economies and nation states; and assesses the challenge to America’s global economic and military leadership posed by the emerging Asian superpowers.

The book explores the legacies of history, the likely future trajectories of China, Japan and India, and the potential collisions and intersections between them which will shape the twenty-first century. It is not, as many argue, a question of the rise of China. For the first time in history, Asia will not be dominated by just one country or by outside powers. It will contain three large, economically powerful countries, all with interests and ambitions that range across the whole region and the world. The future of the world economy will be determined by the competition between three countries, as will world politics. Their new wealth in the reason is disruptive and could set off conflict in any one of a number of off places. The rise of China threatens Japan – the revival of Japan challenges China – the arrival of India as an economic and political actor creates a balancing power. All the while titan forces reshape global trade and wealth.

There is also some optimism. His theme is managing conflict to avert its ravages and he dismisses fears that China’s rise must mean war. But feelings of racial superiority plus a sense of grievance have played into the hands of militant realists in Asia before. Take the toxic talk as China poured out its resentment against foreign criticism over Tibet. He says this ‘resembles the texts of Japanese propaganda in the late 1930s – chauvinist, insecure and wrathful.’

Rivals is a clever and concise book. It opens with a look at the power game in Asia. It weights up the opportunities offered by China against it primitive political system. It examines India’s claims to first-rate status and says ‘not yet’.

Race, nation, belief and identity can all create an atmosphere of danger that is best restrained by a policy that stops one power emerging supreme.

Philip Bobbitt (2008)

Terror and consent: the wars of the twenty-first century

Allen Lane

This is a challenging book which takes issues with many of the widely held ideas we currently entertain about twenty-first century terrorism and its relationship to the wars against terror but is not always easy to accept. The threat of terrorism is now part of the landscape of our daily lives all over the world, yet we have hardly begun to think properly about it. Terror and consent argues that we are fighting these wars with weapons and concepts which, though useful to us in previous conflicts, have now been superseded.

Bobbitt points out forcibly that the objective of the wars on terror is not the conquest of territory or the silencing of any particular ideology but rather to secure the environment necessary for states of consent and to make it impossible for our enemies to impose or induce states of terror.

He argues that we need to re-forge the links between law and strategy; to realise how the evolution of modern states, which have always produced terrorists in their own image, has now produced a globally networked terrorism; to combine humanitarian interests with strategies of intervention; and above all to rethink what ‘victory’ in such a war; if it is a war, might look like – no occupied capitals, no treaties, no victory parades, but the preservation, protection and defence of human rights and states of consent. It is central to his argument that we are fighting terror and not just terrorists.

He poses some questions that are hard to answer – for instance, if terrorism is rooted in western support for Israel or engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq, why are so few of those apprehended in support for Israel or engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq, why are so few of those apprehended in support for Israel or engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq, why are so few of those apprehended in...
If you would like to join the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and are in agreement with the pledge:

“We communicant members of the Anglican Communion or Christians in communion with it, believing that our membership of the Christian Church involves the complete repudiation of modern war, pledge ourselves to renounce war and all preparation to wage war, and to work for the construction of Christian peace in the world.”

Then please (✓) box one in the form below.

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

Send your completed form to the Membership Secretary:- Sue Gilmurray, 1, Wilford Drive, Ely, Cambridgeshire, CB6 1TL

✓ I am in agreement with the pledge and wish to become a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

✓ I wish to become an Associate of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

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

please print clearly and give your Christian name first.

Address

Year of birth  Diocese

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

Please ✓ if you are a UK-income tax payer and want your donation to be treated as a Gift Aid donation. APF can then reclaim income tax paid on the donation.

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I heard of APF through

Signed

Date

And remember to visit APF’s website: www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk, which has recently been revamped, to find out more about what we do. An administration facility exists on the website and we are looking for someone to look after this. If you are interested or would like further information about what is involved, please contact Roger Payne at rjpayne@o2.co.uk.
In this issue we review just two films. They are both documentaries about the abuse of human rights and torture in Afghanistan and Iraq. These are followed by a brief review of Philippe Sands’ new book Torture team which describes the deception at the highest levels of the US government which encouraged the abuses reported in the films. It also shows the dangers implicit in the licence that goes can give.

In the past five years much has come to light about the way prisoners have been treated in US military prisons and one hopes that the situation has improved and that this publicity has made the imprisonment of existing prisoners easier to bear; and that fewer innocent people have been caught in the web of abuse.

**Taxi to the dark side**

Directed by Alex Gibney

This is a first-class documentary which has been described in reviews as a Goya-like tableau. In 2002, a 22-year-old taxi driver known as Dilawar was turned over to US interrogators at the Bagram Air Base by Afghan militiamen who claimed he had been launching rocket attacks on Allied forces. Five days of American hospitality, and Dilawar was dead, killed by savage beatings, torture, sleep deprivation, enforced standing and tissue damage. Alex Gibney’s Oscar-winning film collects the testimonies of those present at Bagram, some of whom show little remorse for what happened there.

The story might have been enough on its own for a whole film. But just when you’ve heard it, you are presented with another view of events, such as when the New York Times reporter Carlotta Gall tracks down Dilawar’s family members; and they produce a note that came attached to his body. It is the death certificate, with a tick in the box marked ‘homicide’, and Gall has to explain to them what this means because they do not understand English.

But what makes ‘Taxi to the dark side’ an important film, rather than just a compelling one, is Gibney’s ability to situate Dilawar’s death in the context of the relationship between the White House and the soldiers involved at Bagram, who escaped charges of dereliction of duty because no one clarified how much force could be used.

This story is also about language. George Bush’s declaration that ‘we do not condone torture’ is perfectly true, once you understand that he is using his own personal definition of torture. The film touches a number of times on the ways in which acronyms and the use of words are used to obscure or ratify brutality. The film is about how senior military and civilian officials demand results from their subordinates, even if the results are to be obtained by unconscionable, immoral, and illegal means, up to, and including, torture and murder. The fact that many of these results - what the military like to call ‘the mission’ - are fake or just wrong is of no particular concern to them. This film is not comfortable viewing, and some of the images will stick in your mind for days. But make the effort to see it, if only to understand, a little, how easy it would be for any of us to take a ‘taxi to the dark side’.

The film’s expertise lies in its intelligent arrangement of material, and the way Gibney keeps pulling back from the Dilawar case to show its precedents and repercussions. Oh – and Dilawar was innocent, in case you were wondering.

**Standard operating procedure**

Directed by Errol Morris

The queasy apprehension of pure evil is what Errol Morris’s documentary appears to offer: it is a series of interviews with those people responsible – some of them, anyway – for the Abu Ghraib prison scandal of 2003. Digital photos showed US soldiers clowning around for the camera while they brutalized and dehumanized Iraqi prisoners. One picture shows a soldier grinning next to a corpse of a man who died while in the ‘stress position’. Eventually it was the responsibility of the US military police to decide which of the pictured events constituted torture and which did not. By recording these ‘standard operating procedures’, the deputies were only higher than the rank of `staff sergeant was ever brought to book despite the fact that a vaguely defined policy of ‘fucking with’ the prisoners was sanctioned from the very top.

The film includes many of the photos, showing what happened as a hardcore porn image of unalloyed horror. Yet, if anything the interviews are even more disturbing because some of the soldiers seem entirely unrepentant. Watching the film is the grimmest experience imaginable. Of course, abuses and sadistic photo mementoes are nothing new in war and there have been horrors far greater in scale. But for American military personnel to descend to Saddam’s level was one of the worst moments in US history, and Morris’s film reveals the truth: the poisonous Abu Ghraib pictures were not merely an American scandal but a human catastrophe.

Is it possible for a photograph to change the world. Photographs taken by soldiers in Abu Ghraib prison changed the war in Iraq and changed America’s image of itself. Yet, a central mystery remains. Did the notorious events constitute evidence of systematic abuse by the American military, or were they documenting the aberrant behavior of a few ‘bad apples’?

The Abu Ghraib photographs serve as both an expose of what happens and a cover up because they convinced journalists and readers that they had seen everything. But the research carried out for the film indicated that there was more and evidence had been destroyed. The underlying question that still has to be resolved is how could American values become so compromised that Abu Ghraib – and the subsequent cover-up - could happen.

**Philippe Sands (2008)**  
Torture team: deception, cruelty and the compromise of law  
Allen Lane

Philippe Sands is A QC and Professor of Law. He is the author of Lawless world making and breaking global rules as well as several other books on international law. In this forensic investigation of deception at the highest levels, he questions the role of lawyers who are required to give legal opinions on sensitive political matters, and asks what responsibility they bear? ‘Or’, he says, do lawyers carry a unique responsibility to uphold justice in democratic societies? The answers to these questions will be of particular concern in the next few years as the US tries to regain some moral integrity from its eclipse during the Bush presidency.

It is essential about a single incident, one of several when, to use a phrase by Noam Chomsky, ‘the US self-exempted itself from the delicate fabric of international law on which human survival rests’.

Few pieces of paper have the power to change the course of history. On Tuesday 2 December 2002, Donald Rumsfeld signed one that did. With a signature and a few scrawled words he wantonly discarded principles dating back to President Lincoln’s famous edict of 1863 that ‘military necessity does not admit of cruelty’. Drafted a few days earlier by the Defense Department’s lawyer, William Haynes, the aptly named Action Memo was entitled ‘Counter-resistance techniques’, and attached to it was a request for approval of eighteen new techniques for interrogating detainees at Guantanamo - techniques which disregarded the US Army Manual’s instructions on interrogation and violated Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions.

Torture team reveals the gripping story of how the Action Memo and its four apparently innocuous attachments came to be legal documents, the cover-up by the Defense Department to hide their origins, the whistleblowers who forced the resicding of Rumsfeld’s approval and the human consequences of the new techniques for one detainee at Guantanamo, and their migration to Abu Graib and Basra.
Songs for the road to peace

By Sue Gilmurray

On APF's market stall at the Lambeth Conference, alongside the briefing documents, newsletters, badges and stickers was a new music book, containing a dozen peace-related hymns and songs by Chris Idle and myself. We called it 'Songs for the road to peace' (SRP where quoted below.)

In the Movement for the Abolition of War, Tony Kempster and I, with friends and colleagues, have been recording songs for a new CD entitled 'Call back the fire' (CBF below): songs against war, and for peacemaking. (See CD advertisement on page 12.)

We both use songs when we contribute to peace events of all kinds, and you will frequently find them quoted in this newsletter: But why respond with music to the vexed questions of violence and pacifism? Does it make a difference? There are some easy answers to the first question. We do it because we can, and because it is pleasurable and satisfying. Music-making is creative and joyful, and when we do it well, everyone else enjoys it too.

We also do it as Christians because it is an integral part of most Christian worship. Services have hymns, and peace services have peace hymns:

- Christ who lives in each believer;
- come to make these murders cease;
- win in us this greatest triumph;
- Christ our champion, Christ our peace! (Chris Idle, SRP)

In the secular peace movement, songs have long been used by protesters and campaigners to inspire one another and to put across their message:

- Feel the cool breeze blowing through the smoke and the heat,
- singing 'Call back the fire, draw the missiles down,
- and we'll call this earth our home' (Fred Small, CBF)

The second question is the one that really counts: so does it make a difference, and how?

In some ways, being a pacifist or peace campaigner parallels being a Christian. The world sees our faith as naïve, impractical, irrelevant, while we see the world following potentially disastrous policies for lack of it. We need to be humble because we are still fallible and still learning, but we must be firmly rooted in the central truth, the creative love that motivates and guides us; and we need, for their sakes, to share it with others, to make a difference to them.

We leave behind our lies to follow Jesus,
we leave behind our wars to follow Jesus,
we leave behind our lies to follow Jesus,
we pray that we may be filled with God, to help his kingdom come.
We leave behind our lies to follow Jesus,
we leave behind our wars to follow Jesus,
we leave behind our lies to follow Jesus,
for life is in his words. (Sue Gilmurray, SRP)

We are aiming then, at using our words and music to persuade people away from the acceptance of war as a justifiable course of action. Music can be a powerful way into people's emotions, indeed, it can be manipulative, and there is plenty of precedent for its being used to rouse the fighting spirit. The poet Charles Causley, who spent World War II in the navy, came out with a poem 'Skylark one ear and not coming out of the other.' (Charles Causley, Skylark)

We as pacifists want to do the opposite, to harness music's power to encourage common-sense, good character and honest intent. Often we go about it by emphasizing the dreadfulness of war:

'Houses burnt beyond repair; the smell of death is in the air;
A woman weeping in despair says he has been here.
And I see no bravery...' (James Blunt, CBF)

Music can be a powerful way into people's emotions.

This by itself is not enough, however, and risks alienating people by being too horrific or depressing. We also need to express in our music the hope that is in us, and ground it in the real world. As Christians we can point to the supreme example of Jesus' nonviolence:

- He said we should do good to those who hate us.
- He said to use the sword makes us its victims.
- He said when we make peace we are God's children.

(Sue Gilmurray, SRP)

In the secular context we can tell positive stories of peacemaking, such as the achievement of Neve Shalom in bringing Israeli and Palestinian children to work and play together:

Divided sons of Abraham exhausted embrace;
prince of Islam, pride of Judah know each other's face.

(Fred Small, CBF)

Perhaps we can draw inspiration from the story of conscientious objectors:

Army unarmed, let it swell into millions:
Cry Yes to peace with the ones who said No

(Sue Gilmurray, CBF)

Sometimes, because songs of protest tend by their very nature to be negative, I deliberately set out to write a positive song:

We will put one foot in front of the other, on the road to peace...
And with each small step we're all getting closer; on the road to peace. (Sue Gilmurray, SRP)

And we can encourage Christians by turning to biblical prophecies of peace:

It was no empty dreamer foretelling our release;
our God, the great Redeemer, has promised perfect peace.

(Chris Idle, SRP)

On a purely human level, Karine Polwart calls us to hope in her song 'Better things'. After describing how the human race has developed nuclear weapons: 'A grand design, a shiny rocket, a bullet in a bully's pocket,' and brands them 'to demonstrate our just dominion,' she directs us deftly to the better side of human nature:

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

Is this the best that we can do? (Karine Polwart, CBF)

This is no angry political rant, but it is extremely powerful.

We can count the victims of violence, those killed in a bomb blast or a hail of bullets, while we can never know how many lives have been saved because a book, a sermon, a hymn or a song had an effect on minds and hearts, and so altered a course of action. But saved they are.

The CD makes its appeal on a human level:
In a hurting world, in a hating world, love, we reach for love...
We cannot kill for love! (Fred Small, CBF)

The Christian songs call to us on a spiritual level:

We pray that we may be filled with peace,
we pray that we may be filled with God, to help his kingdom come. (Sue Gilmurray, SRP)

It is appropriate here to mention that our member Chris Idle has just published a new book of hymn texts.

Walking by the river (published by the Good Book Company at £10)

Ten years on from his earlier book, Light upon the river, this new collection contains one hundred hymn-texts written in the past decade. As before, each item is anchored in scripture, with Bible references and notes, recommended tunes and full indexing. Some are locally focused and some written with children in mind, but most are for singing by the whole congregation.
Injustice, and to war – some pragmatic ways in which we might make as a believing community to empire, to violence, to more strength and clarity, seven possible responses we might.

It was a terrible embarrassment so I want to try to suggest, with a little fact saying how could I possibly be a man of God? It was a pastor, obviously used to dealing with the practical issues of peace and justice, called in and wanted to know if I was saying there was nothing we could do, and if that was what I was in the host asked about what we could do, what we maybe should do, for the justice of God and the peace of Christ, I am afraid I fumbled around and gave a rather anaemic answer. A Black pastor; obviously used to dealing with the practical issues of peace and justice, called in and wanted to know if I was saying there was nothing we could do, and if that was what I was in fact saying how could I possibly be a man of God? It was a terrible embarrassment so I want to try to suggest, with a little more strength and clarity, seven possible responses we might make as a believing community to empire, to violence, to injustice, and to war – some pragmatic ways in which we might find love to be the solution in an age of fear and crisis.

(1) The first thing we can do then is to ring out justice, and peace, and love. We can write – we can write to newspapers, magazines, members of congress and parliament, and priests and bishops. We can gather and march and sing. We need to encourage our bishops to become stronger (2) charitable, prayerfully, lovingly, but we must become truth, we must become charity, we must become prayer, we must promote peace, but what the church, and we as her members, must be. If you were to ask me whether I think the teaching of Christ and the Apostles, as given in the New Testament regarding peace, justice, compassion, truth and love, are not a bit excessive, somewhat extravagant, I would say, ‘Yes, certainly.’ And then the love of God demonstrated in Christ dying on the cross is rather excessive, rather extravagant – isn’t it? Alcoholics Anonymous has a slogan that is pertinent to our discussion, ‘Half measures availed us nothing.’ That is why we must reject the notion of Just War, which has no Biblical basis to begin with, and that is why we must reject an easy, superficial, and popular form of Christian spirituality. ‘Half measures will avail us nothing.’

(3) As a corollary to this I would hope that someone with the expertise and resources would develop training and educational events that would teach bishops, priests and deacons and lay leaders how to develop a ministry that is both pastoral and prophetic. I believe that love as the solution to every equation of life knows the way to hold pastoral and prophetic concerns together.

(4) Walter Kronkite, news reporter and Episcopalian, has endorsed US Congressman Dennis Kucinich’s proposal for the establishment of a Department of Peace. ‘This would advise the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State on all matters relating to national security including the protection of human rights and the prevention of, amelioration of, and de-escalation of, unarmed and armed international conflict. The Department of Peace, with a highly trained and dedicated staff, would be a constant counterpoint to the Defense Department. The Secretary of Peace would be responsible for developing and offering peaceful alternatives in the councils of war.’ I think we would do well to promote such a idea for other countries.

(5) Christians need to be clearly heard in resisting and renouncing the temptations of empire. In the Apocalypse John sees the Roman Empire, which along with Babylon is symbolic of all empires, as the ancient serpent, the primordial evil, who threatens all creation with chaos. John’s indictment of empire then goes on to picture it as a great whore who rides upon the monstrous serpent and seduces the rulers of this world with promises of wealth and power.

(6) I would even suggest, that the church in both the US and the UK call for a period of honest and rigorous national self-reflection in an effort to find where we are in the problems of the world – and to then repent and pledge ourselves to be more loving neighbours. And I would like to see people who are much smarter than I am write a Christian manifesto, a Manifesto of Love, picturing what a sustainable world a hundred years from now might look like.

(7) In Ephesians 4:15 St. Paul wrote: ‘Speaking the truth in love, we will in all things grow up into him who is the Head, that is, Christ.’ The word ‘speak’ is not there in the Greek. The verse literally says something like: ‘Trusting one another in love.’ We are not only to speak truthfully, and to act charitably, prayerfully, lovingly, but we must become truth, we must become charity, we must become prayer, we must become love – that love that is the solution to every equation of life.

The ultimate question is not what the church must do to promote peace, but what the church, and we as her members, must be. If you were to ask me whether I think the teaching of Christ and the Apostles, as given in the New Testament regarding peace, justice, compassion, truth and love, are not a bit excessive, somewhat extravagant, I would say, ‘Yes, certainly.’ But then the love of God demonstrated in Christ dying on the cross is rather excessive, rather extravagant – isn’t it? Alcoholics Anonymous has a slogan that is pertinent to our discussion, ‘Half measures availed us nothing.’ That is why we must reject the notion of Just War, which has no Biblical basis to begin with, and that is why we must reject an easy, superficial, and popular form of Christian spirituality. ‘Half measures will avail us nothing.’
‘The art of reconciliation’

The Sudanese civil war finally came to an end in 2005, after claiming 2 million lives. Now southern Sudan’s first art exhibition since the war – ‘The art of reconciliation’ – is touring the UK and stopped off at the Lambeth Conference. APF held one its two fringe meetings in the exhibition room and Sue Gilmurray performed some songs there.

The exhibition which features work by Sudanese artists and school children, is the brainchild of Bishop Hilary of Malakai from the Episcopal Church in Sudan.

A main feature of the exhibition is a fish sculpture in wire and net created by Bishop Hilary. It shows three fishes swimming entwined, which represents the three ethnic groups, living on the banks of the Nile in Malakal, the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk – and their journey towards reconciliation. The exhibition was sponsored by Christian Aid and the photos are by Caroline Wood.

‘Call back the fire’ – a new CD

A new 20-track CD, produced by Tony Kempster and Sue Gilmurray, is now available from the Movement for the Abolition of War (MAW). Its production was more complicated than anticipated because so many good songs were available and there was much interest from performers. The songs involve accompaniment by drums, piano, flute, guitar, banjo, piano accordion and banjo.

The songs have an anti-war theme (in its broadest sense) and are by both British and American songwriters. Most are performed by people associated with MAW and there are two donated tracks by the professional singers Karine Polwart and John Connolly. Several songs are by Sue Gilmurray who also performed on MAW’s first CD ‘Singing the music of healing’. A film is also being made of the preparation and recording of the CD for education purposes.

There are also two special pieces on the CD. One is a song about Norman Kember, entitled ‘A vulnerable man’ by Sue Gilmurray followed by some comments by Norman. The other is in remembrance of The Revd Gyosei Handa who died last year in an accident at the Nipponzan Myohoji pagoda in Milton Keynes (details of Handa’s work for peace has been reported in earlier TAPs). We have used a violin piece entitled ‘Owase’ about rural Japan and played by Maeve Auer, a professional musician from Austria.

The title of the CD comes from a song by Fred Small called ‘Peace is’. There CD will be promoted in a series of concerts around the country. The first was held in Milton Keynes on 7th September. We would be interested to know if anyone would like to organise one in their part of the country.

The CD can be obtained from MAW on 01908 511948, for £12 (which includes p&p), or call for more information if needed.

Greenbelt 08 – ‘Rising sun’

As usual APF collaborated with other members of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations with its activities in the Peace Zone. Besides the talks and presentation of information on peacemaking, art highlights were the making of a peace mandala and Sue Gilmurray’s knitting project in which many people participated.

The focus was on how well-known peacemakers contribute to those now making their own journeys for peace. Jan Benvie, Donna Hick, Maya Anne Evans and Adam Dickson (peace activists) talked about their experiences.

20,000 people were at the festival.