

# The Anglican PEACEMAKER

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Concept picture from Asgeir Hoem.

This seems a time of “desperate inevitabilities”, among which global warming has emerged as the dominant one. Other threats, especially global nuclear war and overpopulation, continue to loom large.

How we individually and collectively react to these “inevitabilities” in the next few decades will determine the future of humanity, something in which we all have a stake. Will politicians act wisely in dealing with them; will we accept the sacrifices and restrictions on our way of life necessary to prevent the worst ravages; or will the threats interact and synergise in such a way that they create a final cataclysm? And, where does all this leave pacifism and the view that our strength lies in vulnerability rather than in force and power? The theme of this issue revolves around these questions. It also touches on the psychology of threat response.

We begin with the link between climate change and military conflict, something which should now be a consideration in any discussion of international peacemaking.

Tony Kempster

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## CLIMATE CHANGE AND WAR

Based on the address, “Until we watch our children die ...”

given by Tony Kempster at the service for the feast of Holy Innocents at St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London on 27th December 2007

The service remembered the victims of war, with special thought and prayer for the children which will suffer because of our complicity in global warming. It was followed by a witness at the Innocent Victims' memorial outside Westminster Abbey.

There follow the words of “The Meadowhall carol” by Jim Boyes which was sung at the service. It tells of those caught in a “God-forsaken zone” - forgotten, that is, by the rich minority world.

And it was on a cold and angry winter's night; a bitter hail did fall  
When all should be encased in homely candle night, not in an ox's stall,  
Nor crouching round a dying fire, deprived of hearth and home  
Nor trapped by circumstance or wire in a God-forsaken zone.

There was no-one but the ox and ass to hear the cry, or so the story goes,  
'Til angels brought the news to wandering shepherd folk of a babe in swaddling clothes.  
No glad tidings or blessings rare, for numbers yet unknown;  
In sheltered squat or tent they step in a God-forsaken zone.

And wisemen came from far and distant foreign lands, brought gifts of joy and woe,  
Bow down their faces only for a little while, their homage for to show;  
A gift, some joy but woe enough for those we then disown;  
For one a love, for one a gun in a God-forsaken zone.

And so it's once again my love to tinsel town, the mystic glitter calls;  
The hoardings say that Jesus Christ is born today, is born in Meadowhall  
And far away, where Santa's sleigh can never run;  
They died to fight another day in a God-forsaken zone.

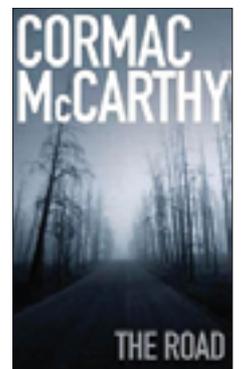
In *The Anglican Peacemaker* of last February, I reviewed a very important book about the global environment. It contains no graphs, no tables, no facts, figures, warnings, predictions or even arguments. It is a novel and those who read it will see the world through different eyes.

Cormac McCarthy's, *The road* (published in 2006) considers what would happen if the earth's biosphere were devastated by fire, and the only living creatures were humans, hunting for food among the dead wood and soot. All pre-existing social codes soon collapse and are replaced with organised butchery, then chaotic blundering horror.

McCarthy's thought experiment shines a cold light on the dreadful consequences of our universal apathy. It also exposes the one fact to which our technological hubris blinds us, that our dependence on biological production remains absolute. As George Monbiot has said: “Civilisation is just a russeting on the skin of the biosphere, easily rubbed off by environmental change”.

The other key threats, identified by the Oxford Research Group are declining natural resources, the marginalization of the majority world and militarization (which, of course, includes nuclear weapons). These are all linked and, working together, are likely to generate more armed conflict and even the chance of global war.

Then there is the p-word. Population growth has always been politically charged, because it presents an immense challenge to personal freedom. Many politicians and environmentalists seem reluctant to discuss it. I remember a couple of years ago at the Greenbelt Festival sitting through a series of



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‘Global warming is likely to become a major cause of war.’

talks by the main environmental organizations, and it did not get a mention until someone in the audience asked why. One speaker remarked that economic growth is the real problem not population growth.

Yes, it is certainly true that economic growth is predicted to increase during the century whereas population growth is likely to peak. But this is a simplistic view when the ramifications of global warming remain uncertain. Moreover, reliance at critical times on one-track solutions is a dangerous strategy.

The amount of food the world eats bears a direct relationship to the number of mouths. After years of glut, the storerooms are suddenly empty and grain prices are rocketing, and a new report has just pushed population up the political agenda: for the first time the World Food Programme is struggling to find the supplies it needs for emergency famine relief. The world is already falling behind with the 2015 millennium goal to halve the proportion of those suffering hunger in 1990. The immediate problem is water scarcity which is acute in many regions. Meeting the millennium goals will require a doubling of water use for crops by 2050, which is almost impossible.

In March 2007, The UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon said: “The majority of the United Nations’ work still focuses on preventing and ending conflict, but the danger posed by war to all humanity and to our planet is at least matched by the climate crisis and global warming”. But he also said that these factors themselves are “likely to become a major cause of war and conflict.”

Given such a situation, the world’s elite nations are likely to see climate change as a security issue. For example, in 2007 our Ministry of Defence announced a £12m research project to identify regions where climate change will lead to conflict and security threats – where battles could break out over increasingly scarce supplies of food and water, as well as predict the conditions in which British troops are likely to have to fight in future.

Further, the radical new manifesto for NATO set out by five former armed forces chiefs from the US, Britain, Germany, France and the Netherlands to tackle an increasingly and brutal world (reported in The Guardian, 22 January 2008) emphasises this. They insist that a first-strike nuclear option remains an indispensable instrument to defend against future threats because there is “simply no realistic prospect of a nuclear-free world”. They identify climate change and energy security, entailing a contest for resources and potential “environmental” migration on a mass scale, as a key threat.

(As an aside, one has to wonder how these threats could be deterred with a nuclear weapon. And the view that “there is no realistic prospect of a nuclear-free world” is not shared by four veteran US cold war warriors – former secretaries of state George Shultz and Henry Kissinger; former secretary of defence William Perry and former Senate armed services committee chairman, Sam Nunn – who are leading the call for a complete elimination of nuclear weapons.)

#### Treating symptoms or cause

Recent climate research has confirmed that global warming will lead to a drying out of the tropics affecting many of the key farming areas which support the majority of all the world’s population. Moreover this includes most of the world’s poorest people who will find it particularly difficult to cope. There will be vast numbers of people trying to move countries where



#### Editor's note.

Dr David L Edwards, former Provost of Southwark wrote a relevant article in the Church Times of 8 February where he proposes a new feast day in the shadow of climate change, as a focus of prayer and commitment. He says: “It is not controversial [unlike many other issues in the Anglican Communion at the moment] to say that all Christians need new expressions of our faith if our situation as humans in 2008 can be expressed in a terrible phrase: ‘This planet has cancer and the cancer is us’. Nor is it controversial to add that the power to hope and act must be received on our knees.” Such an initiative for the Church to celebrate creation is very timely.

they might be better able to survive.

A deep-seated attitude to “close the castle gates” is already evident in the way in which the United States is progressively fencing off the border with Mexico, and many European states see migration from Africa as a security issue. Associated with this is what Paul Rogers refers to as “liddism”, keeping the lid on things rather than addressing the underlying causes, with a readiness to use force when necessary. If the attempt is made to maintain the status quo for elite societies it will surely fail. Climate change is a security issue but it has to be seen in the context of the need for sustainable security, rooted in the well-being of all people. It is important that the emphasis in combating the effects of climate change does not lie with the military but with institutions and on a unified approach that involves actors at all levels of politics and society.

#### The theological basis for environmentalism

So what has Christianity to say about the response? That we should love our neighbours is clear enough although we tend to apply it most to those near home and should be wider in our view. But here we are also concerned with the environment per se.

As our awareness of environmental problems has grown, the weakness of Christian theology has become clearer. Some now recognize that a different language is needed with which to speak about the place of humanity in the natural world.

First, we have to contend with the view of many right-wing fundamental Christians that concern for the future of our planet is irrelevant because it has no future. Some might even believe that environmental destruction is not only to be disregarded but actually welcomed – even hastened – as the sign of coming Apocalypse.

Then there is the tendency at such times to latch on to already existing familiar concepts which seem at first glance to solve the problem if religion does not have a modern edge.

The biblical basis for environmental thinking revolves around the issue of ‘stewardship’ to describe the relationship of humans with the rest of the world. This is clear both from statements by the Pope and the General Synod of the Church of England. In the Old Testament, the term translated ‘steward’ usually refers to ‘the man over the house’, with responsibility to the master for the affairs of the household.

This is so in three of Jesus’ parables. These parables contain three elements: the master; the steward and the master’s possessions. Thus the perception of stewardship portrays God as a rich man who has handed his riches over to humanity to use to its greatest advantage. This God’s action and presence in the world are mediated through humans. Nature resembles a trust account, which must be allowed to accrue interest for future generations. The Pope speaks of nature as riches to be exploited, but with a view to the future wellbeing of humans.

In fact, nowhere in the Bible is humanity actually described as a steward of the natural world. There are some resemblances in Genesis but they do not stand up to scrutiny. In fact, one can argue that in destroying native religions, with their belief of God in the world, Christianity desacralised the natural world, and laid it open to exploitation. The teaching of Teilhard de Chardin which involves no radical separation of creator from creation seems much nearer to what is needed now.

The stewardship model is also contrary to political models involving political freedom, democracy and consultation. If God is not ready to give up his power; if he does not want us to determine our fate, how can we trust God? Furthermore, the idea that the Earth needs to be managed is not consistent with evolutionary knowledge. The Earth existed for millions of years without humanity, life flourished, evolution continued. The work of the scientist James Lovelock, although by no means accepted unanimously among the scientific community is important. He considers the earth as one huge, self-regulating organism.

Clare Palmer (The earth beneath: a critical view of green theology, 1992) offered a valuable critique of the model of stewardship which has been used heavily both within, the Churches and by politicians. She showed it is difficult to

# Progress on the way to Lambeth

## ► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, MARY ROE

Dear friends,

As this is my first letter to you in 2008, I would like to wish you all a happy and fulfilling New Year. It is now assumed that a Lambeth Conference will take place at Canterbury in July and August, although which bishops will be invited, who will come and what form any deliberations will take are still areas of uncertainty. The difficulties encountered by those arranging the conference are indications that we are called to be peacemakers in all walks of life, between quarrelsome neighbours, political and religious factions (such as attitudes to homosexuality, interpretation of Scripture, etc.) as well as nations. "They started it!" is no justification, according to our Lord or St. Paul, for engaging in hostile behaviour. This conference needs our prayers.

Those of us on the planning committee for the APF Lambeth campaign have had several meetings now, and our plans are beginning to take shape. The details so far are set out below. The dates and venues of these will be confirmed, and no doubt Tony will be supplying more details and encouragement in the May issue.

I want to share with you some of my thoughts and feelings when I opened a catalogue of gifts and Christmas items from the Holy Land last December. What caught my eye was a contemporary olive wood crib scene from Bethlehem in which the holy family is placed, as usual, in the stable with the baby in the manger and the star overhead. But the stable is cut off behind a towering dividing wall, on the other side of which diminutive shepherds and, behind them, the wise men, are trying to find a way in. There is no "checkpoint" nearby for them to go through. I felt quite upset and couldn't decide whether it was right or wrong to present the nativity scene in this political way. But politics cannot be divorced from our faith because faith affects every aspect of life, unlike a hobby which affects only ourselves and perhaps those who share our lives with us.

It is tragic that the situation in Bethlehem can be reflected in such a disturbing representation of the eternal gift of God to humanity at the first Christmas, but it does show us very clearly that it is our urgent task to remove both the olive-wood "wall" (yes, the makers say that it is removable!) from the traditional crib scene and the offence to the God and Father of us all, Jew, Christian and Muslim, that is the actual barricade surrounding the besieged holy town of Bethlehem. This, too, is a matter for urgent prayer. Of course, I'm not suggesting we ask God to effect peace in Bethlehem, or anywhere else, by miraculously decimating the warring factions by plague, or putting them under a spell which causes them to see their enemies as bosom buddies, which is what I fear takes the place of genuine, committed prayer in some places where prayers for peace are routinely offered. Realistic prayer, which treads the fine line between cynicism and credulity, does seem to be the only hope we have of finding the means to calm the belligerent atmosphere which is building up around us. Reasoned argument seems to fall on deaf ears, hundreds of thousands of people marching far from home on a freezing cold February day makes little impression.

But these are things we have tried to do in our own strength. I am more than ever convinced that Jeremiah (and others) was absolutely right: a complete change of heart, brought about by the working of the Holy Spirit, is the only way to restore this world to something like the one our Creator intends for us. I realised that our thinking (our hearts) have to change when I heard a high-ranking military man on the radio, trying to convince us (and himself, by the sound of it) that we alone have right on our side in Iraq, the Israelis occupying the land from which Palestinian families have been driven, etc. when he described these actions as "asymmetrical conflict" – not "unequal", "unfair" or plain "unjust war", but "asymmetrical". I bet that's one George Orwell didn't think of in 1984. So

perhaps our first, small step as we move into the year of our Lord 2008, is to campaign for words to be used honestly and not perverted to serve the political interests of self-serving governments, whether our own, our allies' or in some African country. "Speak the truth in love" really is one of St. Paul's best pieces of advice if we aim to imitate Christ in our lives and help to bring peace and joy out of violence and misery. May the Lord prosper our work in 2008. In peace,

## APF EVENTS AT AND AROUND THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE

The following sets out our programme around Lambeth. We hope APF members and representatives of other interested organisations will be with us at some or all of the various stages. An insert to this issue of TAP sets out the stages and asks members to indicate when they might be able to come. It also asks for financial support because this is an important and expensive event for our fellowship. Please note that times are provisional at this stage. They will be confirmed in the May issue.

### London service at the start of the pilgrimage

#### Tuesday 22 July

Service in the Dick Sheppard Chapel at St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. This will begin at 11.00 and also be the meeting place for those going on the pilgrimage; but all will be welcome to attend.

### Walking the Pilgrims' Way

**Tuesday 22nd** First day of the pilgrimage

**Wednesday 23rd** Second day of the pilgrimage

**Thursday 24th** Third day of the pilgrimage arriving at Aylesford mid afternoon

The pilgrimage will only involve walking certain stretches of the route over the three days. We shall have transport with us for baggage and to ferry people for other parts of the journey. Accommodation will be arranged for the nights of 23 and 24 with churches along the way.

### APF annual conference at The Friars, Aylesford

#### Thursday 24th

Arrival mid afternoon

#### Friday 25th

First full day of the conference at Aylesford. Programme to be arranged.

#### Saturday 26th

Conference delegates will travel by coach to Canterbury to meet others there, returning in the evening. (See below for our plan for the day.)

#### Sunday 27th

Final day of the conference including Eucharist. Close after lunch.

Details of the cost of the conference and registration form will be circulated with the May TAP.

### Events in Canterbury

#### Saturday 26th

We shall walk from the Old Leper Hospital of St Nicholas at Harbledown on the outskirts of Canterbury to the Cathedral. There we shall have a service in the Eastern Crypt at 12 noon. We will also have a short witness at Martyrdom and visit the grave of Dick Sheppard in the cloisters. Afterwards we shall go to the Greyfriars House for lunch in its Franciscan Gardens. Those of us at the annual conference will return to Aylesford for dinner.

#### Monday 29

APF fringe meeting during Lambeth entitled 'The Church's response in areas of military conflict'. 2.30 to 4.30 at the University of Canterbury.

#### Tuesday 30

APF musical fringe event during Lambeth entitled 'Caught in the crossfire: sounds for peace and justice'. 8.15 to 4.30 at the University of Cambridge.

#### w/c Monday 28

During the week, APF will have a stall in the Lambeth Conference "market place" at the University of Canterbury. The title of the stall is 'Peace is the Church's business'. This will be open from 10.00 to 18.00 and is an opportunity for the fellowship to show its wares and talk with delegates from the conference.

‘“They started it!” is no justification for hostile behaviour.’

‘Reasoned argument seems to fall on deaf ears.’

# Remembrance, remorse, response

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY  
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

Why are we so bad at responding to lessons from the past? As we enter this New Year, it is clear that the ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan have been overtaken by other factors, particularly climate change and the global economic situation. Even the US presidential contest, for which Iraq was predicted to be the defining issue, has been dominated by immigration, health and other domestic concerns. Yet the suffering of the Iraqi people continues as the death toll approaches a million. "As we move on" (to use the political euphemism for forgetting mistakes), we seem no further forward in the constitutional reform that would prevent a future prime minister making the same mistakes as Blair. And to accompany the indifference is the creeping denial of responsibility. Government ministers now talk of Iraq as a tragedy, as if it were a natural disaster and they had no hand in its making. Baroness Helena Kennedy made these points very well in the MAW Remembrance Day lecture at the Imperial War Museum (see page 10).

Moreover, we recently heard two establishment figures, Lord Guthrie (formally chief of the Defence Staff) and Sir Kevin Tebbit (former permanent secretary at the MoD), on the Today programme, defend the secrecy and lack of accountability that allowed the events to take place.

It can take a generation or more for people to grasp the significance and magnitude of historical events. They are difficult to fully absorb. The Iraq War was about the abject failure of democracy: governments have not been held to account for a war that has squandered lives, billions in public money and the stability of an entire region with reckless criminality.

To go to war is such a terrible thing that it demands the public remorse and regret which bring about the changes that will minimise the risk of it happening again.

## MAW CD2

My major project over the last three months has been the production of a second album of peace songs for the Movement for the Abolition of War. This is a major project involving 20 tracks including songs by Sue Gilmurray, one being 'A vulnerable man' about Norman Kember. There is also included a memorial track for The Revd Gyosei Handa who died tragically at the Milton Keynes peace pagoda recently. The album will be released next month so keep an eye out for the publicity material.

And we have begun to promote the songs in concert. The first one involved Sue Gilmurray, Margaret Goodall and myself doing a Christmas gig in Cardiff Prison on 21 December.

## Visit to Northern Ireland

I visited Ireland again in November and gave talks at the Irish School of Ecumenics, Belfast and at Trinity College, Dublin on the ethics of nonviolent intervention in conflict situations. I shared these platforms with Dr Suman Aggarwal, professor of philosophy at Delhi University and a Gandhian scholar. I also had a delightful evening at Prehen House in Londonderry/Derry where I performed with an excellent traditional singer, Patricia Flynn from South Armagh.

## Holy innocents

As indicated on page 1, APF organised the Holy Innocents' event at St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, under the auspices of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations, followed by a witness at the Innocent Victims' memorial outside Westminster Abbey. The title of the service was "I am not yet born, O hear me". I did the address this year and Sue Gilmurray performed some of her recent songs. We then went down to Westminster Abbey for a short witness at the Innocent Victim's memorial.

*'Why are we so bad at responding to lessons from the past?'*

*'I am not yet born, O hear me.'*



At Westminster Abbey with Canon Robert Reiss and Brian Haw

## Some light at last on the corruption at BAE Systems

Congratulations to CAAT and Corner House for their tenacity in pursuing their case against BAE and the disclosures made this month about the Saudi attempts to block the bribes inquiry. Regardless of how it concludes, the judicial review into how criminal proceedings against BAE came to be dropped, they will have performed an invaluable service. There is now no dispute about the fact that the arms company and its Saudi patrons lobbied ambassadors, mandarins and ministers – most notably the prime minister – against pursuing the action. Nor is there about the consequent pressure applied to the attorney general and the Serious Fraud Office. All that really remains at issue is whether the pressure improperly affected the eventual pulling of the plug

## Nick Megoran's CCADD talk

I have been a committee member of the Council on Christian Approaches for Defence and Disarmament for some time and have recently taken responsibility for organising CCADD lectures and seminars. In November, APF member Dr Nick



Nick (right) with chair, Brian Wicker

Megoran gave a seminar entitled "Prisoners of war? The impact of world war thinking about contemporary". Nick is Lecturer in Human Geography at Newcastle University. His recent book "The war on terror: how should Christians respond" was reviewed last year in TAP.

Nick focussed on World War II. Beginning by describing the extraordinary hold this has on British and American imaginations as a narrative of good and evil – "a good war fought for democracy", he went on to deconstruct this view. Asking the questions: what was WW2 and when did it begin, he argued that it began at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was the conclusion of the great imperial scramble not just for Africa, but the world as a whole. All of the seven main protagonists in WW2 were involved. We expect that this talk will be published soon.

## Remembrance Sunday

In October MAW produced a new booklet entitled *Remembrance for today: remembering war, making peace*. It was edited by APF member Christine Titmus with a forward by General Sir Hugh Beach, and was a collection of readings, reflections, prayers and other resources. Hundreds of copies were sold so it was likely used at many Remembrance Sunday events around the country. Copies can be obtained (£3.50 from MAW ORDERS, 1 Thesiger Rd, Abingdon OX14 2DY.

As last year, MAW leafleted outside the Albert Hall to those attending the Royal Festival of Remembrance arguing that the best way to honour their memory is to work for the abolition of war. Several APF members were involved in this and some 500 leaflets were handed out.

## MAW Remembrance Day lecture at the Imperial War Museum



**Bruce Kent, Helena Kennedy, Tony Kempster and Sir Robert Crawford (Director General of the Imperial War Museums) photo: Imperial War Museum.**

It was a delight to meet Baroness Helena Kennedy on Remembrance Sunday and chair the lecture she gave for the Movement for the Abolition of War. Sue Gilmurray sang Martyn Joseph's "The fading of light" before Helena spoke. See page 10 for a summary of the lecture.

## Meeting on Jägerstätter

In February, I organised a CCADD meeting on Franz Jägerstätter. It was entitled "Resisting evil: a twentieth-century martyrdom". Bruce Kent gave the main talk and a response was given by Major-General Sir Sebastian Roberts. The text of the talk is on the CCADD website <http://lineone.net/~ccadd> or from me.

In an age of war and violence, we urgently need the example of those who use their consciences to make judgements about what is evil – and refuse to take part in it. The recognition of this man's holiness by the Church should encourage us all to stand up for peace, justice and human dignity.

## World Disarmament Campaign meeting in the House of Lords

I spoke on "Religion and violence with special reference to apocalyptic Christianity in the US" at the WDC annual conference in the House of Lords in October. I took a broad brush view of the subject relating it to the overall conference theme, Global security: new challenges which had a strong focus on globalisation and climate change. Speakers included Glynn Ford MEP, John Gittings former Guardian East Asia Editor and Dan Smith, Secretary-General of International Alert. Please contact me if you would like a copy of my paper.

## Informed choice?

It was good to see that David Gee, Quaker peace activist and researcher, gained some good media publicity for his in-depth report, *Informed choice? Armed forces and recruitment practice in the UK* ([www.informedchoice.org.uk](http://www.informedchoice.org.uk)). According to the report, potential new recruits in the army are subjected to a misleading picture of life in the military as advertisements and recruitment literature glamorise warfare, omit vital information and fail to point out the risks and responsibilities associated with a forces career. The report recommends sweeping changes to armed forces recruitment policies including: a new Charter setting out

the state's responsibilities; a radical review of recruitment literature; phasing out recruitment of minors; and new rights for recruits to leave the service.

This report is especially important when one reads an account in *The Times* of 31 January that nearly 1000 new army recruits may face having their combat training reduced by half so they can be rushed to the battlefields of Afghanistan. This is a measure being proposed by senior officers to meet a serious shortage in manpower.

I have organized for David Gee to speak at CCADD meeting on 9 April and hope that representatives of the army will be there. This is an open meeting and all are welcome (See Diary of events on page 8).

## Global Summit for a nuclear free world: 50th Anniversary of CND.



On the 16/17 February, I attended the CND Summit held in City Hall, London. There were 150 people from all over the world including many experts talking strategy and a reception held in London's Living Room, right at the top of leaning building and looking over Tower Bridge and the Tower of London.

Keynote speakers included Ambassador Sergio Duarte, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Bianca Jagger, Chair of World Future Council and Ambassador Abdul Minty, South Africa's representative to the IAEA.

Looking to the future was a paramount consideration. The Summit opened with a plenary and then broke into two parallel workshop streams. One stream comprised a group of experts looking at technical and political/diplomatic issues. The other allowed campaigners and activists to look at the political, legal and mobilising issues. The outcomes and ideas from both streams were brought together at the end. Papers will be published on the CND website: [www.cnduk.org](http://www.cnduk.org) and a book produced in due course.

I was particularly taken by the talk by Professor Ken Booth, University of Aberystwyth who simplified strategic campaigning points to 10 points as follows which These are as follows: (1) seize the moment; (2) save the Non-Proliferation Treaty; (3) act globally; (4) move beyond the negative; (5) zero is the prize; (6) focus on risks not ethics; (7) get skilful; (8) resist reality control; (9) abolition may be easier than we think; and (10) be realistic. These points also have some relevance to APF's work. Let me know if you would like more detail about them.

Just before I went to the Summit, I received the finished track of a new song donated to the MAW CD2 (mentioned above) by Karine Polwart, the Scottish singer-songwriter. It is an excellent anti-nuclear song and I asked that it be played at the Summit. (Karine's first album 'Faultlines' was the 'Best Album' winner in the prestigious BBC 2 Radio Folk Awards in 2005.)



2008 is also the anniversary of the first Aldermaston peace march. In commemoration CND is organising a major event at the Atomic Weapons Establishment at Aldermaston on Easter Monday (see Diary of Events).

'We need the example of those who use their consciences.'

'Recruitment literature glamorises warfare.'

# Conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe

## From Kenya

A letter received at the beginning of February from Elijah Nyagah Karanga, a theological student at St Andrews College, Kabare, and APF member:

Dear friends,

We are ok here in Nairobi despite the hostility which has taken place recently in Kisii in western Kenya. But, attacks are taking place here, even though the situation is more contained, where the internally displaced people are being threatened by the government with relocation to their rural homes.

Here in college I have mobilised students to donate clothes and other items. We are also planning to visit one of the camps to pass on the message of peace and reconciliation, especially to central province where I come from and where there is vengeance towards other communities who displaced the Kikuyus from their land. Now they are displacing communities who come from the western region (there are a large number here in central Kenya). We are planning to visit on 23 February and would welcome anything you may be able to donate or send especially peace messages printed or emails to pass to our people.

God bless and in his peace, Elijah

## Prayer for Kenya (from the Mothers' Union)

○ God of peace, send Christ, your peace,  
that peace may be established throughout Kenya  
at this troubled time.

○ God of power, send Christ, your power;  
that the right power may govern Kenya  
at this troubled time.

○ God of love, send Christ, your love,  
that all people may behave lovingly in Kenya  
at this troubled time.

○ God of comfort, send Christ, your comfort,  
that all who grieve or are in pain may be comforted in Kenya  
at this troubled time.

At this troubled time, and always,  
be with Kenya, O God. Amen

## Is there hope in Zimbabwe?

A fringe meeting of the General Synod was held on 13 February, providing an opportunity to hear Rt Rev. Sebastian Bakare, newly enthroned as Bishop of Harare, speak about the crisis in his diocese and country.

The meeting was chaired by Rt Rev. Michael Doe, General Secretary of USPG, Anglicans in World Mission, and there was another speaker, Mr Ben Llewellyn Jones of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. He spoke first and mentioned the £40 million being given by the UK Government per annum, and that an estimated 1.5 million destitute people depend on it for their livelihood. He said that the General Election due in Zimbabwe on 29 March is "a very important democratic moment" and added that the Movement for Democratic Change is proving resilient despite beatings and harassment of its supporters, and that the ZANU/PF Government is experiencing division with a top member now standing in opposition to Mugabe's leadership.

Bishop Bakare admitted he is in post in Harare with no salary, no transport, no equipment, no staff and only recently an office in Greendale. However, all the parishes of the Diocese have refused to follow the deposed Bishop Kunonga, its people showing courage and determination (and anger against Kunonga and Mugabe). Between eleven and twelve thousand people attended Bishop Bakare's enthronement in the City Sports Centre in Harare. He takes courage from the experience of the prophet Nehemiah and the broken walls of Jerusalem. The cathedral in Harare has been desecrated –

young priests elsewhere have been beaten up in the presence of police. However, "we are not cowed, rather the Diocese is galvanised...congregations are prepared to be arrested – even want to be arrested, to show defiance, and this includes the Mothers' Union."

Support through prayer, money and time spent in Zimbabwe in reconstruction is much needed.

All should feel they can be part of 'Nehemiah's team'. Questions and comments followed from representatives of linked dioceses, from USPG, from Christian Aid, Tearfund, the Community of the Resurrection and Lambeth Palace.

Jenny Nicholson Mission teacher in Zimbabwe 1962 –'64

## A remarkable man

Sari Nusseibeh with Anthony David (2008). *Once upon a country: a Palestinian life*. Peter Halban.

This is an autobiography cum-memoir about the life of Dr Sari Nusseibeh, the Palestinian peace activist. It is a gem about a man trying to see both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in an uncompromising way trying to reconcile the differences between the two sides.

On the one side it should put matters right, particularly for that majority of Israeli and diaspora Jews who either maintain silence or choose to swallow the deceit disseminated by Israeli governments that creating settlements on Palestinian land is to ensure security for the Jewish state and not part of an expansionist policy. Equally, it should enlighten organizations like Hamas, Hezbollah and some Arab Governments that Nusseibeh's uncompromising platform, whereby "Palestinians and Israelis share common interests in a two-state solution and as such are more allies than enemies" is the only solution to the conflict; and that for its achievement, they must reject fanaticism and embrace, in the tradition of early Islamic thinking, love for all humankind.

Perhaps his most important insight is his realization that since many politicians, on both sides, have been corrupt and self-serving, peace can only be achieved by mobilizing grassroots Palestinians and Israelis.

Nusseibeh's conviction that enlightenment is dependent on knowledge makes him a unique activist. Imbued with Western philosophy, he went on to immerse himself in the philosophy of Islam's golden age. Al Farabi taught him that every individual must do his best to humanise an "imperfect society". Ibn Sina (Avicenna) inspired him to conceive that human will can conjoin inner and outer worlds. Abn el-Jabbar Ibn Ahmad impressed on him that human beings have free will and that, therefore, they are responsible for their actions. Ibn Rushd (Averoes), the "father of secular thought" advocating the imperative of separating the state from religious doctrines, confirmed that the region's political divisions were rooted in the "religious imagination" of both communities. That consequently was the first challenge.



Bishop Sebastian



Sari Nusseibeh (with glasses)

# Book Look

## ► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

### David Owen (2007)

*The hubris syndrome: Bush, Blair and the intoxication of power*  
Politico's Publishing

Former Foreign Secretary David Owen says the post-Saddam debacle is born of the intoxicating allure of power. For many politicians, power seems to go to their head, and becomes a heady drug affecting every action they take. The Greeks called it hubris,

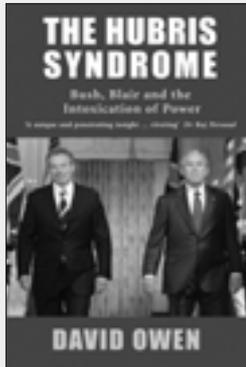
where the hero wins glory, acclaim and success – but it is often followed by nemesis.

He suggests George Bush and Tony Blair developed a Hubristic Syndrome while in power. He provides a powerful analysis, looking at their behaviour, beliefs and governing style, in particular the nature of their hubristic incompetence in handling the Iraq War. Both of them, and in her last year in office, Margaret Thatcher, developed many of the tell-tale and defining symptoms.

As a statesman, politician and medical doctor, with personal knowledge of the war in the Balkans, David Owen has unique insight into Blair's premiership, including several meetings and conversations with Blair from 1996-2004. On taking office, Blair was the most inexperienced British PM since Ramsey MacDonald in 1924 and had not real management experience. He appeared to see himself as a chief executive running UK plc. In 2001 after winning a second election, he changed the whole basis of Cabinet government as it related to foreign and defence matters, giving him much the same powers as the American President.

It was Blair's handling of the Kosovo crisis that began the rot and unmistakable signs of hubristic attitudes soon began to emerge. Clinton's aides mocked Blair's Churchillian tone and Clinton suggested he was sprinkling too much adrenalin on his cornflakes. From then onward, the hubristic tendencies appeared – excessive self-confidence, restlessness and inattention to detail. The same happened to Bush after 9/11. He quickly saw himself as a 'wartime President' and he saw his main priority as mobilizing America for military action. His self image became inflated and he promised 'smoke 'em out and get 'em running' and 16 September vowing to 'rid the world of evil doers'. He saw the war as a military war, like the First and Second World Wars. He had not recognized that those wars were a thing of the past and that wars now were, in British general Rupert Smith's words, 'war amongst the people'.

Owen has written a devastating critique of the way that Bush and Blair manipulated intelligence and failed to plan for the aftermath of taking Baghdad. Their messianic manner, excessive



confidence in their own judgement, and unshakeable belief that they will be vindicated by a "higher court", have doomed what the author believes could have been a successful democratic tradition of Iraq.

### James J Sheehan (2007)

*The monopoly of violence: why Europeans hate going to war*  
Faber

The British sociologist Martin Shaw coined the phrase "post-military" to describe the phenomenon of west European societies which have become essentially pacifist while maintaining

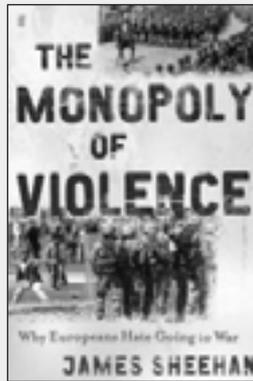
small, if still sometimes quite lethal professional armed forces. War is now unthinkable, from Dublin to the edge of the Balkans. Violence has been eclipsed as a tool of statesmen. This astonishing reversal is the subject of Sheehan's book. It is nothing less than

the story of war and peace in 20th century Europe, and how the first came to be dominated by the second. European states are now shaped by "civilian" values and institutions. Politicians are measured on their ability to deliver well being and prosperity, not on their ability to lead nations to war. To citizens of the major European countries, this would have seemed and incredible, almost utopian project.

But Sheehan's book is also a timely reminder of the differences between Europe and America, at a time when the USA is asserting its right and duty to make war for ideological or self-interested ends. And how Europeans will live in this dangerous violent world is a question that becomes ever more urgent as the chaos in the Middle East affects the stability of societies with open frontiers and liberal traditions. Will Europe as a whole learn to use some form of military power to defend its own interests when necessary? Or will it remain in thrall to a USA whose armed might it both respects and fears.

The fundamental difference in attitudes to war between Europe and the US can, he says, best be illustrated by looking at reactions to the terrorist attacks on 9/11 2001. While Americans tended to interpret terrorism as a 'global war', requiring an immediate and awesome military response. Europeans were more likely to view it as a challenge to law and order. For Europeans, the solution was not Tomahawk missiles, but improved surveillance.

Perhaps the analysis tends to understate the large and growing opposition to war among ordinary American citizens, while overstating pacifist tendencies in Europe. Anti-war protesters were quickly dispersed and peace-loving sentiments have failed to translate into politics and have not had tangible effects. The UK has been at war in Afghanistan and Iraq for many years now.



### Kai Bird and Martin J Sherwin (2007)

*American Prometheus: the triumph and the tragedy of J Robert Oppenheimer*  
Atlantic

More than any man, J Robert Oppenheimer represents to us the insufferable burden of the nuclear age. The father of the atomic bomb, he was tormented by the consequences of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and hounded as much by his conscience as by the hysterical red-baiters in Washington.

In this biography, the authors attempt to unravel the complications of a brilliant and vain human being and the tragic and heroic themes of his life.

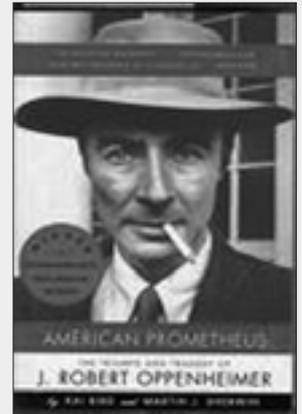
Educated in physics at Cambridge University, he taught at the University of California at

Berkeley and at Caltech in Pasadena, bringing the new European physics to the US west coast. Chosen in October 1942 by General Leslie Groves to head the Manhattan Project, as he was later to bring many European physicists to Los Alamos to build the atomic bomb. Here he turned out to be an inspiring leader. Enrico Fermi once turned to him and said: "I believe you people actually want to build a bomb."

Despite his influence and success, he was not trusted by the US political establishment. His Damoclean sword was his contradictory accounts of a meeting that he had with a colleague named Haakon Chevalier who passed on to him a request for information from a second-hand request for information from the Soviet consulate.

Yet Oppenheimer was haunted by Hiroshima as he came to believe that the Japanese were already "essentially defeated". He despised the science at Los Alamos. As director of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton and as chief scientific adviser of the new Atomic Energy Commission, he campaigned to push the atomic genie, if not back into the bottle, at least into international control. His meeting with President Truman in October 1945 was a fiasco and the president took to calling him the 'crybaby scientist'. He infuriated the military by his opposition to plans to build a 'super' or hydrogen bomb a thousand times more lethal than the Los Alamos weapons. He aged quickly and his family had their share of the torment.

Einstein, an altogether harder personality, said one evening in Princeton as Oppenheimer walked him home: "You know, when its once been given to a man do something sensible, afterwards life is a little strange."



# Diary of Events

## ► LOCAL AND NATIONAL

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**28 February to 11 April** "Margaret Glover – Brushes with peace" An exhibition of 100 paintings and sketches at Gallery II, Chesham Building, University of Bradford, off Great Horton Road, Bradford BD7 1DP. Free entrance. Contact 01274 235495 for details and opening times.

**1 March** Peace Education Network annual conference for teachers and educational professionals. Friends House. More information from Pax Christi 0208 2034884 or visit [www.peaceeducation.org.uk](http://www.peaceeducation.org.uk). Sue Gilmurray is singing and Tony Kempster is chairing the final (evaluation) session at the end of the conference.

**19 March** Christian peace witness for Iraq, marking the 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the start of the war. To be held in London. Contact Pax Christi or FoR: 01865 748796 or [office@for.org.uk](mailto:office@for.org.uk) for further information.

**24 March** The bomb stops here: surround the base at Aldermaston on Easter Monday at 12pm, organised by CND. For more information on this 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary event, contact CND on 020 7700 2393, [www.cnduk.org](http://www.cnduk.org).

**28 to 29 March** Peace history: people, places, culture. Two-day conference at the Imperial War Museum (London), with speakers, film, art and music. Subjects range from Erasmus to the first Aldermaston March. Details from Movement for the Abolition of War: 020 8347 6162 or visit [www.abolishwar.org.uk](http://www.abolishwar.org.uk).

**29 March** "Caring for creation: Thy Kingdom come: what sort of world do we want?" Christian CND conference at Oxford Town Hall. 10.30 to 5 pm. Interfaith links to environmental and poverty issues. Details from 020 7700 4200 or visit [Christians@cnduk.org](mailto:Christians@cnduk.org).

**9 April** Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament open seminar to be given by David Gee, author of *Informed choice: armed forces recruitment practice in the UK*. 1.00 at 39 Eccleston Square, London SW1. Contact 01603 279939 or [ccadd@lineone.net](mailto:ccadd@lineone.net).

**19 April** "Nuclear power and nuclear proliferation". World Disarmament Campaign AGM and Spring Conference. Wesley's Chapel, 49 City Road, London EC1Y 1AU. 10.30 to 4.30. For details contact: [editor:worlddisarm@ntlworld.com](mailto:editor:worlddisarm@ntlworld.com).

**3 May** MANA Concert for Peace with John Williams, guitar. 7.30 pm at St James Church, Piccadilly, London. Information and tickets from 020 8455 1030.

**15 May** International Conscientious Objectors' Day ceremony at 12 noon, in Tavistock Square.

**1 to 8 June** Stop the Arms Trade Week. CAAT Christian Network's Day of Prayer is Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> June. Further details from CAAT on 020 7281 0297 or visit [www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk).

**22 to 30 July** APF Lambeth campaign. See page 3 for details.

**Editor note:** I was going to review the book by Charles Guthrie and Michael Quinlan (2007), *The Just War tradition: ethics in modern warfare* (Bloomsbury) in this issue. However, an important meeting entitled 'Is a Just War possible?' is being held in Windsor on **17 March** (for details visit [www.cumberlandlodge.ac.uk](http://www.cumberlandlodge.ac.uk)). Sir Michael Quinlan is a speaker with, among others, Sir Stephen Wall and Sir Malcolm Rifkind. So I decided to wait until after the meeting because I am attending and may be able to ask some questions, and perhaps obtained some further gems of wisdom.



### Clive Barrett becomes an APF counsellor

A proposal at the AGM that The Revd Dr Clive Barrett be made a counsellor was accepted by Governing Body at its meeting on 9 February. Clive is a past-chairman of the fellowship, an expert on the history of Christian pacifism, and one of the driving forces behind the Peace Museum (Bradford/Leeds). He is (take a deep breath) the County Ecumenical Development Officer for West Yorkshire Ecumenical Council.

**Our Vice-chair Sue Claydon** leaves this month for a five-month VSO period in Zambia. We wish her all the best for her work there and look forward to seeing her when she returns in July, just in time for the annual conference at Aylesford during the Lambeth campaign. We remain in contact with her at [sue.claydon@tesco.net](mailto:sue.claydon@tesco.net).

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### APF website

And remember to visit APF's website: [www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk](http://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](mailto:rjpayne@o2.co.uk).

There has been quite a crop of war-themed films premiered this year, some of them extremely anti-war and challenging to the view often portrayed by those who seek to wage them, that wars are glorious.

## The battle for Haditha

Directed by Nick Broomfield

On 19 November 2005, an incident in western Iraqi city Haditha left one American Marine and 24 Iraqis dead. Initial reports claimed that marines had returned fire after a "gunmen attacked the convoy with small-arms fire". A day after the incident, a Haditha student videotaped the scene at the local morgue and at the homes where the killings had occurred, which provoked a Time magazine article disputing the original account. A Pentagon probe alleged that Marines had massacred the Iraqis in retaliation for the death of one of their comrades and some commentators began to refer to the event as Iraq's "My Lai".

Having switched from documentaries with the 2006's "Ghosts", Nick Broomfield continues in this vein with an account of what might have happened in the episode above. He was chiefly concerned to evoke the hellishness of life in Iraq as experienced both by Iraqis and by frightened, exhausted soldiers.

Nick Broomfield approached the making of the film by preparing in the same way as one



would for a documentary. Ex marines and Iraqis who had lived through the conflict were used as "non-actors". He met with marines from Kilo Company, the unit involved in the killing of civilians. Their dialogue

revealed traumatised young boys unable to deal with what they had endured. They were all on tranquillisers, with uncertain futures, haunted by memories that would remain for the rest of their lives.

The film-making process revealed the humanity of both reconciliation and conflict, not to mention the incomprehensible, horrible reality of Iraq.

As My Lai is for Vietnam, Abu Ghraib and the Haditha massacre of 2005 will be remembered as the most haunting symbolic events of the Iraq war. In reality there were countless Hadithas, this kind of thing will always happen in any serious conflict. It is an inherent part of war, and the Tony Blairs and George Bushes know when they embark on such misadventures that countless numbers of innocent people will inevitably be killed. A million Iraqis have died in the last five years, and the responsibility can only be taken

by the same politicians who actively chose to create war.

The trial for the marines of Kilo Company continues and will not be realistically resolved until the end of March or April – if ever. But isn't it the architects of this war, Blair and Bush, who knew what they were doing and what the repercussions could be, who should be standing in the dock.

"Battle for Haditha" was released on 1 February and will be shown on Channel 4 on 17 March.

## In the Valley of Elah

Directed by Paul Haggis

This is a procedural thriller which is being seen as very unpatriotic by the Hollywood establishment. Hank Deerfield, a retired military police officer, is informed by the US army that the body of his son, Mike, has been recovered from some scrubland around his base in New Mexico. He expects a military cover-up and is determined to get to the truth, which may stem from an unspecified "incident" involving Mike's unit during its final tour in Iraq.



It then becomes a frank and uncompromising film with a boldly challenging and even blasphemous shot of the star-spangled banner. The title, incidentally, refers to the location for David's contest with Goliath which Hank tells as a story to his daughter, Emily.

The movie adroitly absorbs modern communications into the narrative as Hank tries to track his son's latest movements by hacking into his internet banking records, and crucially he has a techie whizkid import mobile phone images to his laptop. These are the images that show up, not only what happened to Mike, but what is happening to America itself. The film director has cleverly played on these images of a soldier's life in Iraq, the boredom and the tense and even terrifying experience of moving across country in convoy. It all feeds into a crucial idea that the American civilian population is tortured, not by knowing what is going on out there, as they might be in an era when new and letters home were censored, or even by the new "surge", but by the lightning-glimpses of the grisly that these post-modern media are giving us: wobbly, fuzzy video clips of something unspeakable, chaotic, alien.

In its denouement, it gestures at the idea of an insidious corruption and spiritual debasement that the war has engendered in soldiers who might in other circumstances be entirely decent.

This is a powerful and muscular film with an anger in its heart.

## My boy Jack

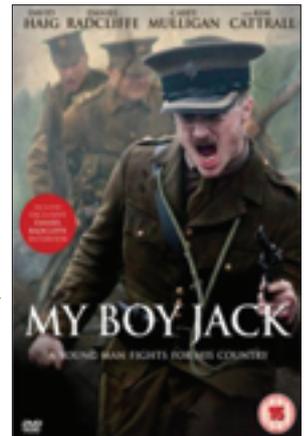
Directed by David Haigh

This is a fictional version of the death of Rudyard Kipling's only son at Loos in WWI, just as he turned 18, and of the guilt and remorse felt by his jingoistic father, Rudyard Kipling.

Kipling brought up his son with a combination of rugged criticism and expectant, though not conditional, love, to defend the natural order of things. But Jack was less than rigid in his views of duty and, without glasses, as good as blind.

Kipling, who counted George V as a friend, shoe-horned Jack into the Irish Guards, despite his failing the eye test. Jack died along with most of his men, after going over the top at Loos. One sees this heroic death, storming machine guns that looked like something from Thunderdome. The Kiplings spent years trying to find their son's grave, but never did. There was one dubious report that he had been seen with a wounded jaw, weeping. It is only with the smugness looking back that one can see Jack's death as ironic comeuppance for the patriotism of Rudyard. Nobody in 1914 foresaw the breadth and depth of the calamity, or the fathomless lake of grief the war would dig.

For Jack, Kipling wrote his longest and least read book, a regimental history of the Irish Guards (the "Wild Geese") in WWI. Jack's death merits only one bleakly factual line. Kipling would not give his son any special treatment in



death, or single him out above anyone else's son. Harry Potter star Daniel Radcliffe has drawn parallels between his latest character Jack Kipling and British soldiers fighting today in Iraq and Afghanistan. One "couldn't help but feel there are parallels between them when there are boys of Jack's age still going to war," he said at a screening at the Imperial War Museum, which will also host an accompanying exhibition.

Kipling only accepted his son had died in 1919 and then devoted his energies to commemorating the war dead. He did not collapse under the weight of self-reproach but, instead tried to find ways of atoning without admitting that the war was wrong. In the David Hague's play of the same name, the final scene jumps forward to 1933. It has been twenty years since *My Boy Jack* first began, in 1913. There are rumours of war, again, and Kipling wonders why the Great War was even fought. What was the point of his son's death, if there will just be another war?

# Law not war

Edited extracts from the Movement for the Abolition of War Remembrance Day lecture 2007 given by Baroness Helena Kennedy QC at the Imperial War Museum (London)

The invasion of Iraq in March 2003 and the ensuing occupation raises urgent legal, moral and political questions for all of us who inhabit the earth in the early twenty first century. Those questions are about the very status of war, about the motivation for war and about the effects of war in a globalised world.



I believe the Iraq war to be illegal and immoral. I have no doubt that Saddam Hussein and his oppressive regime were responsible for egregious crimes against the people of Iraq. I signed petitions against his dictatorship, met with some of his victims who sought asylum here. I am sure many Iraqis, particularly the Kurds who suffered monstrously at his hands must feel a degree of elation that he is gone, but I reject that war was the only means to securing Iraqi freedom. In addition to not having been authorised by the

United Nations, the war was opposed by world opinion and especially by the peoples of the Middle East. It was also a war based on widespread deception by the government and officials here and in the USA as to the threat of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. By its actions our government violated the right of all of us as citizens in democratic society to trust in the integrity of leaders, especially in matters of war and peace.

Are we entitled to ask other mother's sons and daughters to engage in war on our behalf in anything other than circumstances where our very own survival is in question, where disaster is on our doorstep and we have absolutely no alternative? By what right can we visit such horror on a country that was not threatening us; by what right can we ignore the laws of war; by what right do we tear up the international conventions painstakingly under construction in the hope of creating a world ordered upon respect for humanity and a desire for peace?

The horrors of the Second World War and the attempt to exterminate the Jewish people in European gas chambers shocked people around the globe into a rethink of international law. In consequence we saw a wave of new thinking about law. And about how the world might be ordered to deal with conflict, aggression, crimes of inhumanity and territorial disputes. The UN charter in 1945 established the United Nations and the Security Council. (We saw the first glimmers of contemporary human rights in language used by Roosevelt and Churchill in the Atlantic Charter 1941 with talk about the dignity and rights of man).

Human rights lawyers like myself see rights now in two waves. The first wave of rights thinking had taken place in the 18th century at the time of the American and French revolutions, drawing upon Enlightenment thinking and Thomas Paine's 'rights of man' and the need to protect individuals from the power of the state and the church. The post-war human rights movement is seen as the second wave in rights thinking and this was the crucial advance because it sought to blend individual rights with the concept of community.

The Iraq war was not lawful. That I am told is also the view of the majority of judges in our own 'supreme court'. But the war was also immoral.

This was a war of choice which was sold to us as a war of necessity. It involved serious deception of the public and, as a result, thousands of lives have been lost and the world made more dangerous ... The war in Iraq has eroded international law, undermined the UN, damaged British relations around the

world and fed the flames of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism here and abroad. It has also created a galloping distrust of our own political processes. Most of us could have written the disastrous events now playing out in Iraq.

Respect for the rule of law and a workable democratic structure of international law will be a far greater guarantor of peace and security than displays of power and might. Law is one of the keys to any new order. Otherwise in our rush to win the so called war against terrorism we will unleash an even greater terror. (Edited by Pax Christi)

CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO

establish a clear-cut biblical concept of stewardship which corresponds to the tasks it is now used to fulfill in the debate. She also asks questions about whether any possible interpretation of the term is capable of grounding the critical view of the relationships between humans and the natural world which now seems to be required. What we need are new and more appropriate models for this relationship.

## Reverence for the earth

The Archbishop of Canterbury in his 2007 Christmas Day sermon moved beyond stewardship. He said: "When we threaten the balance of things, we don't just put our spiritual survival at risk. More profoundly, we put our spiritual sensitivity at risk, the possibility of being opened up to the endless wonder by the world around us." He said the world was not merely "a warehouse of resources to serve human selfishness" and he urged people to treat each other and nature with 'reverence'. He said that the whole point of creation was that there should be people 'capable of intimacy with God – not so that God can gain something, but so that these created beings may live in joy.' But the question is how we put this into practice in a practical way. Fears of environmental disaster seem like a stone dropping into the pond which a second later it is smooth again. Most people will read or hear these things and turn the page and carry on with their lives. Everyone is watching and waiting for everyone else to move. The unspoken universal thought is this: "If it were really so serious, surely someone would do something".

Who then will persuade us to act? However strong the opposition parties' policies appear to be, they cannot be sustained unless the voters move behind them. We won't be prompted by the media. The BBC drops Planet Relief for fear of breaking its impartiality guidelines: heaven forbid it should come out against mass death. Think of the shows which encourage us to consume or travel. The schedules are crammed with shows urging us to travel further; drive faster; build bigger; buy more yet none of them deemed to offend the rules, which really means that they do not offend the rules of business. The media driven by fear and advertising, are hopelessly biased towards the consumer economy and against the biosphere.

It seems that we are already pushing other people ahead of us down *The road*. As the biosphere shrinks, McCarthy describes the collapse of the protagonist's core beliefs. One senses that this might be happening already: that a hardening of interests, a shutting down of concern, is taking place among the people of the rich world. If this is true, we do not need to wait for the forests to burn or food supplies to shrivel before we decide that civilisation is in trouble. Perhaps civilisation ends with a shutdown of human concern. Are we there already? If so religion has failed us.

Those of us involved in peacemaking should embrace reverence for the earth, in its widest sense, as part of our message and rehearse it whenever we speak or write about the measures needed to avoid military conflict. The political and theological arguments need deep spiritual underpinning.

*'By what right can we visit such horror on a country that was not threatening?'*

*'This was a war of choice which was sold to us as a war of necessity.'*

# Educational matters

## Peace Studies days in Cambridgeshire

On January 22nd and 25th Sue Claydon and I both took part in Peace Studies days in local schools. Comberton Village College held a Personal Development Day for the year 11 (15-16 years) group, organised by school staff and local peace activists. Twelve workshops, on topics from nuclear weapons to conflict resolution, were presented three times, so each pupil experienced three different ones. My subject was songs of peace and protest, while Sue Claydon's was child soldiers. The day finished with a talk from Bruce Kent, a questions session, and finally a group of peace songs. I was joined by a group of GCSE Music students, who sang and played guitars, bass, cello, clarinet and drums, as we presented John Lennon's "Imagine" and my songs "The war machine" and "The tide turns". St. Bede's School in Cambridge is a joint Anglican-Catholic church school, and their Reflection Day for year 11 was organised by Pax Christi. This time there were six different workshops, and the day ended with a short service, in which the students took part in Bible, poetry and prayer readings as well as singing. I have taken part in several such days now, and they are always worthwhile. The students are presented with the issues of war and peace in a variety of ways, by people with a wide range of knowledge and experience and, as Bruce Kent tells them, they are the ones who will be making the important decisions in years to come.

Sue Gilmurray February 2008

## Whose priorities? from IPB ([www.ipb.org](http://www.ipb.org))

APF is a member organization of the International Peace Bureau and it is appropriate to report on its new publication: *Whose priorities? A guide for campaigners on military and social spending (2007)*. Based on a review by Theresa Wolfwood, Director of The Barnard-Boeker Centre Foundation, Victoria BC, Canada.

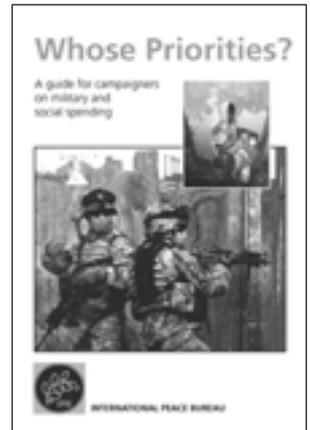
The publication contains some ideas on strategies for campaigning as well as 18 concrete examples of current campaigns around the world.

This report is the latest in an (IPB) series (see website above for information & ordering) that examines specific aspects of the obstacles and strategies on the road to peace making. It expands on the contents of *War or Welfare?* which IPB produced in 2005. All these publications provide useful information for activists who seek factual information to make our work more effective.

*Whose Priorities?* makes it clear that military spending robs most of our world of a dignified and security life, and steals resources from our finite planet. Social spending on human security internationally within a sustainable environment is neglected by most of the rich minority world.

Author Colin Archer, director of the IPB, also points out that development aid is not usually (except by peace groups) linked to decreases in military spending; even when military budgets did decrease for a few years in the early 1990s, economic restructuring directed funds to debt relief and other projects, not social spending. Archer recommends an alliance of development groups with social movements including peace and disarmament groups is needed to realize policies.

Archer uses several examples including perennially poor (but rich in potential) Ethiopia to show the appalling neglect of social priorities while militarism soars. He explains, "From a human security point of view, good basic education and healthcare, as well as adequate food and clean water are the crucial forms of security that a government should provide." Few governments see those priorities and whose priorities matter are clear in the charts of the 10 leading corporations who benefit from military spending. Halliburton is #6, the company that most profits from the war in Iraq. The discussion on strategy reflects on the power of institutions, governments and the media to influence citizens to think that war making is their priority as well. We need to think more about our imagery, our strategies and our means of communication in our campaigns for peace if we are to be more successful. The main part of this document is devoted to identifying groups worldwide which are active in creative campaigns which can inspire and inform actions by other groups. We need these examples because we rarely reflect on success; the need for coordinated resource sharing, networks like the IPB and better communication will help the cause of peace directed at social security and human dignity. IPB's publications like this are valuable contributions to strengthening our movements. While it is both a useful reference and guide for experienced activists and groups; *Whose Priorities?* could well be used in classrooms, workshops, and seminars. It could also be used to reach new activists and the yet to be active; it presents an attractive format for bookstores and literature tables of groups at meetings and conferences. It could actually be the basis of a workshop or course given in peace campaigns. The very existence of this and other IPB reports is an example of outreach and action in itself.



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.

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I heard of APF through .....

**Signed** .....

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**Application for  
MEMBERSHIP**

### A bold political statement

For one who has walked many times past Brian Haw's anti-war protest in Parliament Square there seemed little point in going to the Tate Britain to see Mark Wallinger's "State of Britain". But it is important to applaud the artist, particularly as it took the



Turner Prize in December. Mark Wallinger's meticulous recreation of Brian Haw's protest was praised by the judges for its "immediacy, visceral intensity and historical importance", combining "a bold political statement with art's ability to articulate fundamental human truths".

Brian has professed himself delighted with Wallinger's win, saying he and the artist "had the same heart" – despite having told him "politely to piss off" when first approached. It was good to have Brian with us for the Holy Innocents' witness (photo on page 5) where he recalled some of this.

### Disarming hostility

This picture was posted on the internet by rubyshooz.wordpress.com with the quotation below from Longfellow.

"If we would read the secret history of our enemies, we would find in each man's life sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all hostility."

And what a beautiful quote it is and appropriate to the pacifist belief. It is impossible to deal with our enemies without respecting them. One of the most troubling things is the lack of respect for the Iraqi people and even the previous government in Iraq. More respect for the people and more intentional listening would have taken us to a different place.



### Reluctant Nazi who drew a Russian icon

For those who did not see it, may I draw your attention to an excellent article by our counsellor Paul Oestreicher in Church



Times of 21/28 December 2007 (contact the General Secretary if you would like a copy). Paul tells the story of Dr Kurt Reuber who celebrated Christmas 1942 in the ruins of Stalingrad. "He stood for everything that Hitler's Germany was not. Wearing the invader's uniform, he was an army surgeon, saving lives where he could, both German and Russian. But he was more. He was an inspired artist and an ordained Lutheran, in civilian life a parish pastor and a member of the high church."

"Dr Reuben discovered in himself a deep affection for the Russian people, and a corresponding shame for their suffering at German hands. Long before the war he had committed himself to that part of the

Church which had declared spiritual war on that Hitler stood for. At the same time, he was painfully aware of two dictatorships, of the Martyrdom of Russian Christians at Communist hands."

"On the back of a captured Russian military map (the fold still shows), Dr Reuben drew an icon of a Russian mother and child. Their suffering had moved him deeply. Somehow, he attached that icon to the frozen earthen walls. In that holy place, Mary held the child, the Christ in every child, secure in her protective arms."

Dr Reuben died of disease in a Russian prison camp.

### Extracts from "Bosnia (or the bomb)"

Michael Rosen (2007) *Fighters for life: selected poems.*

In a room full of Generals and Leaders:

One leapt to his feet and said to the bomb

*What can you do for us?*

And the bomb replied

**I can fly from the sky and find out your enemy**

**I can seek the culprit**

**pinpoint the armaments that deal out such pain and misery and,**

**like honey on fresh bread,**

**I can spread peace and comfort to all.**

Then our leaders spoke in agreement:

**we can select an enemy**

**we can choose a culprit**

**we can set your sights**

**we can show the world**

**that we can solve problems**

**we can win respect**

**we can keep power**

**we can keep power**

**we can keep power**

**Not so fast gentlemen, said the bomb**

**I am but one.**

**Before sending me on my mission**

**you must make many more like me.**

**No problem**

**bellowed back our leaders,**

**each fresh from downsizing a hospital**

**from taking the slack out of pensions**

**from slimming down some meals on wheels**

**no problem**

**we can make bombs**

**we can make bombs**

**go, do your best, make peace.**

And the bomb got up and left the room

and did what he has always done

whether it was in Guernica or Dresden

Hanoi or Baghdad

he found out. He sought, he pinpointed

someone driving a bus

someone bathing a wound

someone digging potatoes

someone scrubbing a floor.

It is the editorial policy of The Anglican Peacemaker to include a range of articles expressing a variety of opinions. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the editors nor of the APF. The editor for this edition was Tony Kempster. Letters and contributions for the next edition should be sent to the commissioning editor (details on page 8 by April 30th 2008).

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