

The ANGLICAN PACIFIST

of Aotearoa/New Zealand

Newsletter of the New Zealand Branch of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

Message from the Chairman

But you Bethlehem Ephrathah, the least of the clans of Judah, from you will come for me a future ruler of Israel... He will take his stand and he will shepherd them with the power of God, with the majesty of the name of his God, and they will be secure, for his greatness will extend henceforth to the most distant parts of the country. He himself will be peace. Micah 5. 2 .4. 5a.

No doubt the Emperor lifted an assenting finger. He may have even nodded his head as staff members suggested a census in a far corner of his empire. Palestine was of strategic importance with its roads to Africa and the East, and the Jews were



known to be a stropky lot and notoriously averse to being counted. Therefore the idea of a proto-census before a major one would test local reaction as well as profit the state. Ten years later Governor Quirinius could well have found the exercise useful.

I think it unlikely the Emperor Augustus ever thought about that first census again. However his assent would have sent officials scurrying around to implement the imperial will. In the event they devised a system of counting which would cause the maximum disruption for the counted. The Emperor lifts a finger in his throne room and Mary and Joseph trudge 150 k from Nazareth to Bethlehem. The planned delivery in Nazareth becomes an emergency birth in Bethlehem.

What Augustus would never know was that in a mysterious way he had been drawn into God's most special plan to rescue the world. Unwittingly Augustus had endorsed the Messiahship of Jesus.

The circumstances of the birth were already beginning to show the contrast between the Lordship of Jesus and the Lordship of Caesar with their differing values and definitions of power and glory. A contrast and critique which comes to a head when Jesus stands before Pilate.

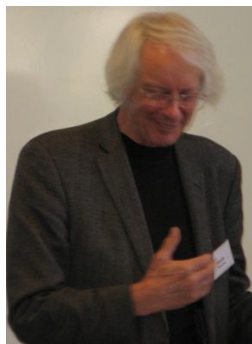
Meantime, Augustus, self proclaimed son of god and saviour of the world, had ensured that Bethlehem was the birthplace of Jesus. In doing that Augustus had unknowingly bowed his head to the will of God, and, even if only on that one occasion, he had placed his head where it always should have been.

Happy Christmas.
Jonathan.



DOROTHY BROWN INAUGURAL MEMORIAL LECTURE AND ECUMENICAL STUDY DAY SEPTEMBER 13 & 14, 2013

These two events in The St Columba Centre in Ponsonby, Auckland, were well attended: over 100 for the Friday evening lecture and about 60 on the Saturday. Excerpts from Professor Kevin Clements' lecture are printed below, and a summary of the Study Day talks appears in the September TAP. For the PowerPoint presentations of the Saturday lectures, see our website: <http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/apf/resource.htm>



Excerpts from

PRINCIPLED NONVIOLENCE IS AN IMPERATIVE AND NOT AN OPTIONAL EXTRA

Inaugural Dorothy Brown Memorial Lecture 13 September 2013

Kevin P Clements, Director, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago.

Kevin began with a tribute to Dorothy Brown, then continued:

If the 21st century is to be one of maturity then it's vital that we turn our attention to ensuring that principled nonviolence does indeed become an Ethical Imperative and not an Optional Extra at all levels of social, economic and political behaviour.

The recent debates about Syria and the use of external military force in that tragic conflict has to do with the ways in which each one of us chooses to live our own lives. It has to do with the choices we make about war and peace, violence and nonviolence. Gandhi remains the best lead on this and as Martha Nussbaum says.

"Gandhi understood something important about political struggle: that it is always, in the last instance, a struggle within the self... The real 'clash of civilisations' is not 'out there' between admirable Westerners and Muslim zealots. It is here within each person, as we oscillate uneasily between self-protective aggression and the ability to live in the world with others" Martha Nussbaum, *The Clash Within*.

Some quotes to begin:

"Violence is the behaviour of someone incapable of imagining other solutions to the problem at hand" Bettelheim

"I oppose all violence because the good it does is always temporary but the harm it does is permanent" Gandhi.

"Nonviolence is a Weapon of the Strong"
Gandhi

"Nonviolence is fine as long as it works"
Malcolm X

"Nonviolence is a flop. The only bigger flop is

violence" Joan Baez

The 20th century was one of the bloodiest in human history. What have we – as a species – learned from this experience and are we making progress towards more enlightened ways of dealing with differences, conflict and violence? Even though there is evidence that the world is becoming more peaceful and the norms against violence are beginning to take effect (Pinker, 2011) the sad reality is that we continue to be surrounded by cultures and structures of violence and are willing to be violent in thought, word and deed, at all levels, in order to ensure that "our" views, our opinions, our interests and our values prevail.

We, human beings, seem to have a difficult time accepting diversity, difference and plurality and we are always trying to make and remake the world in our own image instead of celebrating it in all its complexity and diversity. The challenge facing all of us is how to ensure that naming, blaming and shaming cultures – or what we peace researchers call cultures of violence – are replaced with more tolerant, diverse, interesting cultures and structures of peace? In this process I wish to argue that we can no longer think of principled nonviolence as an optional extra. It is a fundamental human imperative. If we cannot live nonviolently, think non violently, imagine non violently, work non violently and do politics nonviolently then we will be doomed

to repeating the mistakes of the 20th century.

The realist arguments against moving in this direction all highlight the idealistic/utopian nature of the nonviolent project but the reality is, as Joan Baez says, “Nonviolence is a flop: the only bigger flop is violence”. The harm done by failed nonviolence fades into insignificance compared to the harm done by successful or failed violence.

The ongoing instability and tragedy of contemporary Iraq, for example, is testimony to the harm done by a supposedly successful military intervention.

The Iraq invasion was planned as a quick and decisive operation, but the resulting eight year conflict resulted in at least 114,000 civilian casualties, four million displaced, 4,000 coalition injuries and 20,000 serious injuries. By 2008 it had cost an estimated US \$3 trillion (Reeve, 2013). To these figures should be added the numbers killed and displaced in Afghanistan and Libya and all the other places where the US and “the West” have intervened over the past 20 years

Principled and Strategic Nonviolence – Exploring the differences

Principled nonviolence	Strategic nonviolence
Rejects all physical violence as wrong	Rejects physical violence as too costly or impractical
Grounded in morality—nonviolence as a way of life, the “right” way to be human	Grounded in politics – nonviolence as a tool, method, strategy to choose among many possibilities
Sacred, spiritual, or religious base	Secular base
Idealistic, radical – dissatisfied with “armed peace”	Practical, pragmatic – embraces improvements and negative peace
Question: What is right?	Question: What will work?
Nonviolent means are an end in themselves – means oriented	Nonviolent means are a path toward an end – goal oriented
Struggle to end violence is good in itself – expect, even welcome, suffering in this morally correct work	Struggle and suffering is acceptable if it is likely to achieve goals or end an intolerable situation
Aims to end all violence	Aims to improve this particular violent situation
Focuses on root problems	Focuses on specific problems
Seeks subjective pay-off, with an assumed objective, material pay-off to follow	Seeks objective, material pay-off, with little or no interest in subjective pay-offs
Uses persuasion, cooperation, avoids coercion	Uses coercion as needed
Practitioners train their minds, their inner selves to guide their actions	Practitioners train their behaviours, their actions
Committed participants, e.g. satyagrahis	Willing participants and temporarily mobilized groups
Aim to transform self and opponent to create “the loving community” (Gandhi) and “heart unity” (MLK)	Aim to coordinate activist groups and their permanent and temporary allies to defeat an adversary
Seeks to change behaviour and heart of adversary – make them a better person without harming them emotionally or physically	Seeks to change behaviour of adversary – willing to harm them emotionally and economically (but not physically)
Compassion, sacrifice – seek to love enemies	Calculation of practitioners – be stubborn to enemies

Alternative to fighting	A superior way of fighting
“The form is merely an expression of the spirit within. We may succeed in seemingly altering the form, but the alteration will be a mere make-believe if the spirit within remains unalterable.” Gandhi.	“Nonviolence is what people do, not what they believe.” “Nonviolence is an alternative weapons system.” Sharp
e. g. Mohandas Gandhi, M. L. King	e. g. Gene Sharp

One of the first to examine these two approaches was Judith Stiehm [in “Nonviolence is Two,” *Social Inquiry* 38: Winter (1968): 23-30] when she argued that what she labelled “conscientious” and “pragmatic” approaches to nonviolence are quite distinct.

Later writers would suggest that these two are connected as sequential stages, with the phase of principled nonviolence emerging after practice in a strategic or pragmatic phase (as was the case, e.g., with M.L.King, Jr.).

Thomas Weber [“Nonviolence Is Who? Gene Sharp and Gandhi,” *Peace & Change* Volume 28 Issue 2, 2003 Pages 250-270] offers a third position, that these are not so much different approaches as two different perspectives on the same territory such that, Weber concludes, “Perhaps rather than debating the merits of each approach, they can be seen as indicating alternative paths to the traveller who does not want to use violence” (265).

In this perspective principled nonviolent analysts and activists are as concerned with the peaceful consequences of their processes as they are with their outcomes. They would feel uneasy with processes that did not accord as much respect to their opponents as their followers. In recognition of this, nonviolent actors such as War Resisters International have developed specific principles of nonviolent action. They know that many people will not be able to accept all of the principles all of the time but these principles (most of which are some variant of Gandhi’s principles) do provide a reasonably clear normative framework for guiding nonviolent behaviour. Without such principles it is possible for pragmatic nonviolent movements to engage in a wide variety of opportunistic actions that might do emotional or even physical harm to opponents while changing their economic, social or political behaviour. It is also the case that without such principles, those who are pragmatically

nonviolent will have little incentive to work for inclusive, longer term stable peace with justice after political objectives have been secured. The WRI principles are as follows:

- “ We acknowledge the value of each person. This is fundamental; recognising the dignity and humanity of oneself and others. We refuse to mistreat our opponent as an enemy.
- We recognise that we all have part of the truth; no-one has all of it. No one is all ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. Our campaign information gathering, educations and actions should reflect this.
- Our actions emphasise openness to promote communication and democratic processes. We work for processes that express ‘power with’ not ‘power over’ others. Empowering all involved in a campaign is important. We promote democratic structures (internally and externally) to maximise self determination.
- Our means (behaviours and actions) are consistent with our ends (of affirming life, opposing oppression and seeking justice, valuing every person). Our strategy must be based on this principle; we cannot justify a ‘victory’ obtained through violent or deceitful methods.
- We are willing to undergo suffering rather than inflict it. Refusing to inflict suffering is based on the value of each person and is a strategy that draws attention to our commitment and our cause. We will not violently fight back if attacked. We recognise jail may be a consequence of our actions; filling the jails may be a strategy.
- We commit ourselves for nonviolent action according to the guidelines agreed. If necessary we will attempt to arrange orientation sessions or workshops in nonviolence to better understand and practice this commitment” (Clark, 2009).

These are very different from the pragmatic guidelines for nonviolent activists in particular campaigns. Gene Sharp, for example, documents 198 different kinds of nonviolent action classified into three categories according to their strategic function.

- (i) nonviolent protest or persuasion,
- (ii) non co-operation and
- (iii) nonviolent interventions aimed at disrupting old social relationships and/or forging new autonomous relations. (Sharp, 1973)

None of these tactics rest on any philosophical or principled positions although a lot of Sharp's original work was a detailed analysis of Gandhian philosophy and practice. (Sharp, 1970) They just represent actions that have proven effective in past conflicts. Kurt Schock, who is a very sophisticated advocate for pragmatic nonviolence, focuses on tactics that will generate (a) political leverage; (b) resilience in the face of repression or (c) advice on when to concentrate or disperse movement forces in different campaigns. (Schock, 2005) .These different dimensions or tactics of successful movements could just as easily be interim tactics for the military as they are for non violent resistance movements. Military strategists, for example, will try and exhaust nonviolent options before contemplating violent ones because they know the costs of violence are higher than the costs of non-violence.

Most of the pragmatic nonviolent literature, therefore, is about a re-conceptualisation of power such that citizens might realise and utilise their latent capacities more effectively. This contrasts rather dramatically with the principled nonviolent activists who are interested in radically recasting power as a tool of deeper social empowerment "power with others" rather than "power over others".

Pragmatic nonviolence is about challenging those in power by withdrawing cooperation and compliance. It is about political competition by nonviolent means. Pragmatic nonviolence is not normally aimed at a fundamental rethinking of state institutions or the nature of the relationships between civil society and the state. Rather it is directed at enabling those who are relatively or absolutely powerless to realise their latent power so that they might (directly or indirectly) make state and political

institutions work in their favour. Where the state institutions are considered fragile or defective pragmatic nonviolence is aimed at making them work more effectively and legitimately. This is not an anarchist/non state option; it is simply a collection of methods for exerting power and influence on the part of the relatively powerless or disenfranchised by nonviolent means. It is simply a nonviolent political choice. The problem is that in most democratic environments this is not all that radical. Most politics are nonviolent and most social and political movements that wish to be politically effective are captured by the Weberian logic of the state rather than a deeper radical logic of personal, interpersonal, social and communitarian nonviolence.

Principled nonviolence on the other hand has a much more radical ontology. It seeks to challenge and change the militarised, dominatory and sovereign nature of contemporary politics so that political institutions are de-centered, decentralised, responsive and truly representative of diverse social and political opinion. Principled nonviolence is always ambivalent about the state because of the iron fist that lies beneath the velvet glove of all political and judicial institutions. They are not happy with re-arranging the deck chairs of the Titanic – substituting one regime for another. They want safer ships!!

The advocates of Principled Nonviolence want minimal state systems with absolutely minimal security establishments. They want deeper notions of popular legitimacy rather than claims based on a monopoly of force. John Burton, for example, (Burton, 1969) argues that the whole point of collaborative problem solving is to challenge adversarialism wherever it occurs – within society, education, the polity, the judiciary and the economy. It would be very challenging for a Burtonian, therefore, to advocate pragmatic nonviolence because this is aimed primarily at the enhancement of adversarial tactics for very specific political purposes.

Principled nonviolence is aimed at something else altogether. It is aimed at building radical cultures of respect, dignity and peacefulness at social, economic and political levels. It wishes to replace cultures of violence with cultures of peace. It is not seduced just by the political.

It is based on giving practical recognition to what I would call the politics of love and compassion. Most principled nonviolence flows from Gandhian philosophy and is based on a daily practice to wage peace. Gandhi was always looking for the “truth” in relationships and believed that if he could discover what generated deeper empathetic compassion this “truth force” would prove more compelling than brute force. He believed in living each day with truth, justice, patience, compassion, courage and loving kindness as his companions. These are the values and concerns that I and most principled peace advocates promote. This is a much more radical commitment than simply looking for effective political tactics to influence those or replace those in power.

Gandhi’s use of the ancient Hindu term Ahimsa, for example, (which means not injuring or harming anyone and being nonviolent in thought, word and deed) actively promotes universal well being for all species. This means a radical commitment to four principles:

- (i) Sarvodaya or the practice of economic, political, and moral justice
- (ii) Swaraj: Self Rule, whereby we assume full responsibility for our own behaviour and for decisions, made with others, on how to organize our communities and resist all forms of domination.
- (iii) Swadeshi: The Genius of the Local. This entails a celebration of the local economy and draws on the genius of local knowledge and skills, the soul of “small is beautiful.”
- (iv) Satyagraha: nonviolent revolution. This radically transforms political or economic systems through nonviolent resistance by transforming foes into friends and intolerance into hospitality. Actively resisting oppression, Satyagrahis recognize that there are wrongs to die for, yet not a single one to kill for.” (see Prakash, 2013 for an elaboration of these principles)

All of these principles for a just and peaceful life are a long way from the short term considerations of the pragmatic activist. They are a clear articulation of a living daily revolution which by definition knows no end. They are values that give a radical edge to personal and political transformation and the good news is that they

have been embodied by many of the leaders and movements that advocate principled nonviolence.

We are beginning to see some of the impacts of these new movements. If the state practises top down exclusive decision making, for example, principled nonviolent movements want bottom up participatory and consensual decision making. If the state doesn’t know how to enlarge consensual decision making processes then the movement wants to focus on how to do it. Principled nonviolent actors spend a lot of time defining what is meant by consensus decision making and how to develop what they call “spokecouncils” (Clark, 2009). This is aimed at generating a different way of making decisions in collaboration with rather than in opposition to those whose values and interests are affected by the decisions. Similarly, these movements seek to embody gender, ethnic and cultural diversity in different ways. Most if not all of them, however, have some common aspirations for a replacement of “brute force” with something more civilised.

Conclusions: Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and now Syria are all potent arguments for sustained attention to the reactivation of principled nonviolent movements for social and political change.

The world has become a more peaceful place – not just because effective and legitimate state systems and the rule of law have been expanded (Pinker, 2011) but because there has been a growing normative recognition of the unacceptability of violence as a political or social means of control. This message and this norm has been upheld through the centuries by religious and non religious actors who have been willing to articulate a principled and ethical position affirming life and the unacceptability of direct or indirect violence. It is a normative position that needs to be constantly reiterated but it’s the right one if we are to be the social and political change that we want to realise.

Very little attention has been directed to the attitudinal or behavioural consequences of these values in the assessment of strategic nonviolence and yet it has been carefully nurtured and promoted by principled non violent advocates for centuries. Does it matter whether actors are principled or pragmatic re

nonviolence as long as the strategy and tactics work? I want to argue that it does matter. In fact it matters a lot – especially in areas where violence is considered an acceptable political tool. It matters particularly around issues of mobilisation, persistence, leverage and outcomes. This is because there is a big difference between short term and long term change/transformation and outcomes.

If there is no care, compassion, empathetic consciousness in nonviolent social and political transformation there is always the danger that it might result in a different kind of oppression, e.g, the short lived autocratic rule of the Moslem brotherhood in Egypt. Because of the need for a living, loving revolution to build the peaceable kingdom, principled nonviolence is an imperative not an optional extra!

(There follows a list of references.)

SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES: A WORLD PEACE DAY SERMON

By Professor Richard Jackson, Deputy Director, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (a new APF member) – in the Dunedin Cathedral.



I would like to extend my thanks to Dean Trevor James for asking me to give the sermon this morning. It is really a tremendous honour for me to speak to you in such a wonderful place and on such a special occasion when we gather to re-commit ourselves to the sacred task – and I believe it is a sacred task, one that is deeply rooted in our faith – of building peace in a violent and suffering world.

The International Day of Peace, or World Peace Day, was first established by the United Nations in 1981. The UN declared that “Peace Day should be devoted to commemorating and strengthening the ideals of peace both within and among all nations.” At the same time, the International Day of Peace is also a Day of Ceasefire – a day for making peace in both personal relationships, and the larger conflicts of our time. On Ceasefire Day, the world calls for, and prays for, the guns to fall silent everywhere, at least for one day. This year, the theme of Ceasefire Day is a question: Who Will You Make Peace With?

As a consequence, yesterday, millions of people around the world, including some of us here who spent the day in the Octagon, gathered together to wait in silence, pray, meditate, learn, sing, dance, light a candle and in a myriad of creative ways, commit themselves anew to the task of making peace a reality in the world. And today, together with people of faith around the world, we also gather in this cathedral to pray, to seek inspiration and strength, and to ask for God’s blessing on our individual and collective efforts to follow in Christ’s footsteps as peacemakers.

Before I go any further, let me confess: I am no theologian, and I have never undertaken any formal biblical or religious studies. I do come from a family tradition of clergy. If I had gone into the ministry, as my family once hoped for,

I would have been a fifth generation minister. However, it was not to be. I found another, though not dissimilar, vocation. The point is, I have no particular qualifications to speak to you today. This means that I can only speak from the heart about what I personally believe and how I, as a practising Christian, read the bible, and in particular, how I understand the life and teaching of Jesus Christ.

I must also declare that I am a pacifist. I am a pacifist for three main reasons – because I am scholar, because I am human being, and because I am a Christian.

As a scholar, I have studied war and political violence for more than twenty years now, and I have come to three general conclusions about war. First, every argument advanced by scholars or legal experts or politicians for the necessity and legitimacy of war in general, or indeed for any specific war of the last sixty years at least, upon careful examination, lacks proper foundation in both reason and evidence.

Second, the weight of evidence – historical and contemporary – clearly demonstrates that war is incapable of establishing lasting, genuine peace. The primary effect of war throughout history is to create the conditions for further episodes of violent conflict and future wars. This is not to say that war does not sometimes lead to temporary peace. But it is to say with Gandhi

that, “I oppose all violence because the good it does is always temporary but the harm it does is permanent”.

Third, my studies have led me to the conclusion that there are far more effective means of resolving conflict and creating the conditions of lasting peace than using military force and violence – if only we have the vision to see them and the courage to try them. There are, in other words, proven alternatives to war. War is never the sole remaining option, nor the optimal choice, in any given situation.

Apart from my scholarly reasons, I am also a pacifist because I am a human being who has seen war first hand and experienced a small taste of its horror. I was born and raised as the son of a missionary in the southern part of Zambia, not more than 20 miles from the border with what was then Rhodesia. During the Rhodesian war – what is now called the Zimbabwean war of independence – the fighting spilled across into Zambia, and I experienced first-hand the fear of proximity to military battle, and the absolute terror of being manhandled by a soldier off a bus at a military roadblock to be taken to what I believed was my likely execution. At that moment, I experienced the moral abyss of war: in war, there is no law, no rules, no protection, just arbitrary violence.

During this war when I was growing up, I also spoke at length to soldiers who at the age of 19 or 20 were psychologically scarred by what they had seen and done in combat. As many of you will also have experienced, veterans come home from war with deep moral and psychological injuries, which are then often passed on from generation to generation.

In any case, these experiences confirmed to me that war is probably humanity’s greatest evil, and its greatest tragedy. In fact, war is the time and place where the human capacity for sin and evil finds its greatest expression. There has never been a war where hate, fear, malice, cruelty, rape, lack of control, torture and murder have not been present – and where once ordinary and decent human beings have remained unaffected or uncorrupted by these evils. To put it another way, I know of no single person in history who has experienced war firsthand who has ever found it to be uplifting, or enriching, or ennobling, or life-affirming. War,

which is the organized killing of fellow human beings, is utterly destructive and disfiguring to the human body and spirit. There is nothing redeeming or good in war. This is why I reject war in all its forms. This is one reason why I am a pacifist.

Sadly, in our society, the true horrors of war and its inherently craven nature, are too often obscured. In our movies and television shows, our news and our memorials, we more often prefer to hide the awful reality of the human suffering and death that results from war. Instead, we focus on its heroism and nobility, sacrifice and nation-affirming character.

However, perhaps the most important reason – and what I want to focus on today – is that I am a pacifist because I am also a Christian, and I believe that my faith demands a radical commitment to principled nonviolence, anti-militarism and peacemaking. This flows directly from my firm belief that the starting point for any Christian on any ethical issue is the example and teaching of Jesus. So, what does Jesus say about peace, and violence, and war? Among many verses, I’m sure we are all familiar with the following:

- “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God.” (Matt. 5: 9)
- “You have heard that it was said, ‘eye for eye and tooth for tooth’. But I tell you, do not resist an evil person. If someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also... You have heard that it was said, ‘Love your neighbor and hate your enemy’. But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for those that persecute you, that you may be children of your Father in heaven.” (Matt. 5: 38-39, 43-45)
- “But I tell you who hear me: Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who ill-treat you... Do to others as you would have them do to you.” (Luke 6: 25)
- “Put up your sword. All who take the sword die by the sword.” (Matt. 26: 52)

The only way I can read these verses is as an uncompromising opposition to revenge and retribution, violence and war, and as heralding a new ethic of love for enemies, and a radical non-violent response to injustice and oppression. And as I read about the life and teaching of Jesus in the New Testament, I am left with the

following questions:

- Would the Jesus we read about in the Gospels ever, under any circumstances, stick a bayonet into another human being?
- Would he drop a bomb on village full of people?
- Would he shoot someone in the face, or run someone over in a tank?

The answer is unequivocally, No. As Reinhold Niebuhr put it, "The ethic of Christ is uncompromisingly pacifist." Moreover, it is clear that this is both a personal and a communal ethic; the listeners of Jesus would have interpreted it as applying both to individuals and the people as a community.

Later in the New Testament, the Apostle Paul re-affirms this radical new ethic proclaimed by Jesus. He says, "Do not repay anyone evil for evil... If it is possible, as far as it depends on you, live at peace with everyone. Do not take revenge, my friends... Do not be overcome with evil; but overcome evil with good." (Romans 11: 17-21). Paul also admonishes Christians to "Stand firm then, with the belt of truth buckled around your waist, with the breastplate of righteousness in place, and with your feet fitted with the readiness that comes from the gospel of peace" (Eph. 6: 14-15). And then, he reminds us that as we follow in the footsteps of Jesus, the fruit of the Spirit – "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control" (Gal. 5:22) – will be produced in us. These are all the values which are the direct opposite of war and violence, and they come from Christ's indwelling in our lives.

In the Old Testament, we are told about the Peaceable Kingdom which is foretold and inaugurated by the incarnation of Jesus, who is according to the Prophets, "the Prince of Peace". In God's Kingdom, peace prevails as its primary characteristic, as the following verses clearly state:

- "The wolf will live with the lamb, the leopard will lie down with the goat... they will neither harm nor destroy on all my holy mountain, for the earth will be full of the knowledge of Lord as the waters cover the sea." (Isaiah 11: 6, 9)
- "In that day I will make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field and the birds of the air and the creatures that

move along the ground. Bow and sword and battle I will abolish from the land, so that all may lie down in safety." (Hosea 2: 18)

- "He will judge between many peoples and will settle disputes for strong nations far and wide. They will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore." (Micah 4: 3)
- "I will take away the chariots from Ephraim and the war-horses from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow will be broken. He will proclaim peace to the nations." (Zech. 9: 10)

As before, I find that I can only understand these verses as saying that God's Kingdom, which is both foretold and inaugurated in Christ, is characterized by peace, justice and love for enemies. And that there is no place for war in God's Kingdom: "Bow and sword and battle I will abolish from the land". In fact, there is not even a place for training for war: "nor will they train for war anymore". In God's Kingdom, the instruments of death and killing are transformed into instruments of life and human well-being: "They will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks."

This reading of the Bible, and the ethical position it entails – the position of principled nonviolence, of refusing to participate in any form in war, in working tirelessly to establish God's Kingdom of peace on earth – is in fact the oldest tradition in Christianity, and one which continues today in the historic peace churches, such as the Quakers. For the first few centuries after the life of Jesus, Christians did not join the military, nor did they engage in violent resistance to oppression and persecution. I believe that this is the original Christian tradition. Origen (185-254), one of the great figures of the early church, wrote: "For we longer take sword against a nation, nor do we learn any more to make war, having become sons of peace for the sake of Jesus, who is our leader."

But what about that other Christian tradition – the tradition of Christians serving in the military, of Chaplains attached to the armed forces, of bibles being distributed to soldiers, of military services held in churches, of congregations praying for the success of their nation in war?

This tradition began with the conversion of the Roman ruler, Constantine, in the third century, and his declaration of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, and the subsequent fusion of religious and temporal power in the institutions of the state. In order to justify the use of military force by the now Christian state, and the participation of Christians in the army, theologians of the day were compelled to develop the Doctrine of Just War. This doctrine has guided many Christians, especially the official state churches of many countries, ever since.

Briefly, Just War Doctrine states that a number of conditions need to be satisfied for a war to be considered just, and for Christians to therefore support it and participate in it:

- The war must be for a just cause;
- The war must be declared by a lawful authority;
- It must be fought for a right intention;
- It must be a last resort after peaceful alternatives have been tried;
- It must have a reasonable chance of success;
- The force used must be proportionate;
- Innocent civilians should not be harmed.

Just War theologians argued that if these strict conditions were fulfilled, Christians could fight in the war with a clear conscience. Importantly, the original Just War Doctrine was rooted in the understanding that war was inherently evil; it could never be considered good nor heroic.

However, in my view, Just War Doctrine is wrong on a number of grounds. First, as most ethicists and political philosophers now accept, it is incoherent and inconsistent as a guide for moral behavior in war. This is because among its many inconsistencies which I cannot go into here, it separates means and ends, it separates intentions and actions, and it creates two separate moral spheres – war where killing is permissible, and peace where it is not.

More seriously, Just War Doctrine elevates the political community – the nation-state – above the rights and morality of individual human beings, and makes killing other human beings in the name of the state a duty. This creates the absurd, and I would argue anti-Christian, situation where fellow Christians may be compelled to kill each other in the name of

different nation-states who are at war. At the very least, it involves children of God killing other children of God in the name of political institutions – which, I might add, were not created by God, but most often created by war, dispossession, and the forceful incorporation of peoples into a new unit.

Importantly, I would argue that no war in the last one hundred years at least can confidently be said to have adhered properly to Just War precepts, for the simple reason that there is no war I know of where all other nonviolent options have been properly tried first. What I mean by this is simply that vast resources are poured into preparing for war, training for war, and making war. No similar level of resources – financial or human – have been devoted to training for, preparing for, or attempting peaceful methods of conflict resolution. Compare military budgets with diplomatic budgets. Compare how many people are trained to fight in the military with how many people are trained in nonviolence and conflict resolution. Compare how many scientists are working on weapons development with how many are working on peaceful solutions. We cannot say that war is the last resort until we have put at least as much effort into finding nonviolent solutions as we have into preparing for, and making, war.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly for us here today, I believe that Just War Doctrine is wrong is because it clearly contradicts the life and teaching of Jesus, and the values of his Peaceful Kingdom. The violence, the harm, the injury, the hatred, the brutality of war contradicts everything about the life and teaching of Jesus Christ.

In the end, my Christian pacifism is renewed each time I pray the Lord's Prayer, particularly the line "Thy kingdom come, they will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Each time I pray this, I ask myself this:

- Is it God's will that more than 100 million human beings have been murdered in wars in the past century?
- Is it God's will that hundreds of millions of people are driven from their homes, forced to flee and live in appalling conditions because of war?
- Is it God's will that tens of thousands of women and girls are raped and sexually

violated in war every year?

- And is it God's will that men and women study and train and discipline themselves to kill and maim their fellow human beings in combat?
- Is it God's will that scientists and strategists work tirelessly, year after year, to devise ever more destructive ways to kill, and maim and destroy other human beings?
- Is it God's will that people spend their days working in factories to make cluster munitions and other horrible weapons that will spread around the world and be used to tear apart the bodies of their fellow human beings?
- Is it God's will that uncountable trillions of dollars have been spent, and continue to be spent, on maintaining military forces while millions of children are under-fed, families are un-housed, entire generations of young people are un-educated, and millions lack in basic medication?
- Is it God's will that veterans come back from war with physical and emotional wounds which diminish and distort their lives, and poison their relationships, for decades after?
- Is it God's will that we as a society seem to revel in war and killing as entertainment, turn it into video games for our children, and mythologise soldiers and warriors – who are the professionals of killing in our society – as heroic?

The question I ask myself is this: how can I pray the Lord's prayer in all sincerity, week after week, year after year – thy will be done on earth – if I then support war which is clearly against God's will? I cannot pray for God's will to be done on earth and then work against God's will by supporting war. If I do, then my prayer is not sincere and I am a hypocrite.

Peace is at the core of God's kingdom. Jesus, the Prince of Peace, came down from heaven to give us his peace. His peace has both an individual dimension and a collective dimension. At the level of the individual, he offers through his redemptive grace the chance to make peace with God and peace with ourselves. At the collective level, his life, death and resurrection inaugurates and brings into existence a new Kingdom of peace, love, and justice.

As Christians, I believe we are called equally to both kinds of peace. We are called to make peace with our God, and make peace in the world with our fellow human beings. Too often, we have focused on the one – inner peace – and neglected the other – Kingdom peace on earth. This is because too often, we have been afraid to follow the radical example of Jesus; we have been too afraid to speak out against the dominant values of our friends, our families, our society; perhaps we have been too afraid of losing respect and influence from the powerful in this world.

So, sisters and brothers, children of God, what should we do? Both of my parents are ministers and they taught me that a sermon always ought to end with some practical suggestions for how we might respond. I believe we follow a practical faith of real relevance to the world; without actions, our faith is meaningless. Individually, I take from this reading of Jesus the challenge to continue educating myself – to learn more about the biblical basis of Christian pacifism; to learn more about the true nature of war, and the practicalities and potentialities of peace.

I am also challenged to ensure that I am at peace with God and my neighbor – that peace and peacefulness characterizes all my relationships with others, and with the earth that sustains me.

Lastly, I am challenged about my commitment to making peace in the world, to being a blessed peacemaker and working for Christ's kingdom of peace on earth here and now. In this respect, I try to look for ways of contributing to peace organisations and peace groups, to actions and forms of activism that promote peace and oppose war and militarism. There are peace organisations in our own church, such as the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, as well as many others in our city, our nation and the wider world.

And what about collectively? How should we respond as a community of faith to Jesus's life and teaching? I believe that as a church, the Anglican Church, particularly as the main Christian church which has a long tradition and close historical relationship with the New Zealand state, I wonder if we need to ask some potentially difficult and painful questions.

- Do we compromise our faith in the name of maintaining political favour by

officially supporting war and militarism – by providing religious sanction to the nation’s military, to its wars and interventions, to its patriotic myths?

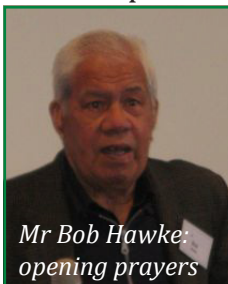
- How can we honour those who serve in the armed services while also following Jesus’ call to radical pacifism and the Kingdom imperative to end war and the preparation for war?
- Do we deny our Lord when we fail as an institution to speak out against all forms of war and militarism, and when we fail to denounce the violence and destruction of some of our nation’s policies?
- Is it time for the Anglican Church in this nation, and for St Paul’s Cathedral in our city, to make a radical commitment to being peacemakers, and to take a more consistent, principled and open stand against war and all forms of militarism – to speak out against military spending,

for example, particularly while so many children live in poverty in this country?

- In a practical sense, is it time to devote significant financial and human resources to the study and practice of nonviolence – to educating and training Christian peacemakers who can offer peaceful alternatives to military forces and violent intervention?

My hope and my prayer is that all of us here today, and St Paul’s Cathedral and the entire community of faith in Dunedin, will grow in God’s peace, will try harder to follow in the footsteps of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, and will be blessed peacemakers; and that our homes, our churches and our city will bring about God’s peace on earth as it is in heaven. This will be an extremely difficult task. It will require dedicated and tireless struggle. Fortunately, Jesus promises help; he gives us his peace as a source of strength: “Peace I leave with you; my

Some Faces from the Study Day



*Mr Bob Hawke:
opening prayers*



*Dr Kennedy
Graham: “Future
direction of NZ
foreign policy.”*



*Dr Katarina
Standish:
“Human Security
as Transcending
National
Security”.*



*Colonel Martin Dransfield
and Major Josh Wineera:
“Experiences of Peacekeeping”*



*The Revd Dr
Anthony Dancer:
“The Theological
Case for Peace.”*



IN MEMORIAM

Sheila Chilvers who died in September this year was deeply interested in peacemaking not only in her own community but internationally. She helped in setting up the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Otago University, giving strong financial and moral support, and was present at the launch of the Centre by the Prime Minister in 2008.

Sheila was spoken of at her funeral as a “very gently-spoken woman with a steel core and fiercely independent”. She and her doctor husband came from England; they lived in Wairoa for many years where she brought up her family and served the church and community faithfully.

Chris Barfoot

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP NEW ZEALAND BRANCH

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