

DISARMING Pax Christi TIMES

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TERRORISM AND THE POLITICS OF HEGEMONY

Chandra Muzaffar

There has been a massive outpouring of sympathy for the victims of the dastardly, heinous massacre in Paris on 13 November 2015. Once again, with the help of the media, the whole of the human family has come together to grieve with the bereaved in France.

I only wish there was a fraction of that sympathy for the hundreds of thousands of victims of acts of terrorism right across West Asia and North Africa (WANA) in the last few decades. In many instances these innocent men, women and children were also the targets of the terrorist group, the Islamic State (IS), the alleged mastermind behind the Paris carnage, and other equally vicious perpetrators of violence. But IS terrorism in WANA is seldom analysed to its roots in the mainstream global media because it would reveal the ugly truth about the hidden hands that manipulate so much of the murder and mayhem in that region.

To understand the IS's role today, one has to go back to the Anglo-American invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003, the second greatest calamity to befall WANA, after the imposition of the entity called Israel upon the region in 1948. The occupation of Iraq and the ouster of Saddam Hussein was followed by the dismantling of the country's security apparatus which deprived tens of thousands soldiers and police personnel of their livelihood who later became a fertile recruitment base for Al-Qaeda in Iraq. Their anger and resentment peaked when parliamentary elections in December 2005 produced a Shia-led

government (the Shias are the majority community in Iraq) which was perceived by many Sunnis as biased against them. Sunni terrorist activities spearheaded by Al-Qaeda received covert support from individuals and groups in other WANA states such as Saudi Arabia who feared growing Shia, and therefore, Iranian influence in the region. Israel, which since the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran was totally antagonistic towards Iran for whom the liberation of the Palestinian people was a foreign policy priority, was also determined to curb the rise of Iran. Given Israel's position, it was not surprising that the US which a few years earlier had overthrown a Sunni leader was now quietly aiding and abetting Sunni insurgents. It is worth noting that under Saddam there was not a single Al-Qaeda terrorist cell in Iraq.

It was a breakaway group from Al-Qaeda in Iraq motivated by anti-Shia sentiments that moved into Syria in 2011 to reinforce the armed rebellion against President Bashar Al-Assad, a member of a Shia minority sect ruling a Sunni majority population. The group morphed into IS. The IS and other terrorist outfits such as the Jabhat al-Nusra receive overt and covert support from Sunni states and non-state actors within and without WANA. Apart from arms and money, recruitment networks established in a number of countries from Europe to Africa and to Asia have facilitated the flow of foreign fighters from more than 80 countries into Syria in the last 3 or 4 years. In creating and sustaining this flow, it is alleged that

CIA operatives, Mossad infiltrators and M16 agents have played a significant role. They are involved "in overseeing the conduct of terrorist operations on the ground together with Turkish and Qatari special forces, as well as thousands of mercenaries recruited from Muslim countries..."

How does one explain the involvement of so many different groups and states in what are clearly terrorist activities aimed at overthrowing a legitimate government? For many foreign fighters, the visceral hatred for the Shia sect cultivated by Sunni ulama (religious personalities) appears to be a driving force. If anything, Bashar's brutal suppression of dissent in some situations has intensified this hatred. In the case of the Saudi elites, antagonism towards the Shia is intertwined with resentment against what they perceive as Iran's growing political clout in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain and Yemen. 15% of the Saudi population itself living mostly in the country's oil rich province is Shia. Bashar, they know, is Iran's staunchest ally in the region. In order to stem nian

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DISARMING TIMES

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Iranian influence, some Saudi elites depict their opposition to Iran as an attempt to curb Persian penetration of the Arab heartland. While Qatar may share some of these sentiments, it turned against Bashar partly because he refused to acquiesce with the former's proposal to build a gas pipeline from Qatar to Europe via Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria and Turkey which would have impacted adversely upon Russia's supply of gas to Europe. Turkey from the Ottoman period has regarded Syria as vital to its own security and would have been more comfortable with a leader in Damascus who would willingly share power with the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood with which the present Justice and Development (AKP) rulers in Ankara enjoy some affinity. More than Turkey, it is Israel that wants a regime change in Damascus --- a change which would lead to the termination of Damascus's close ties with Iran, on the one hand, and Hezbollah in Lebanon, on the other, the two forces in WANA that remain opposed to Israel's hegemony over the region. At the same time, it hopes that the exit of Bashar would make it easier for Israel to gain complete control over the strategic Golan Heights which it captured in the 1967 Israel-Arab War. Israel's agenda has shaped to an extent the US and Western approach towards Syria and the region. The Obama Administration is determined to get rid of Bashar because it is aware of the role he plays in perpetuating the three way resistance to US and Israeli dominance of WANA expressed through the Iran-Syria-Hezbollah link. What piques Obama even more is that Syria is a strategic ally of Russia which has special naval access to the Mediterranean port of Tartus. In recent months, the Syria-Russia bond has become even stronger.

It is obvious that there is a set of complex factors ranging from the religious to the geopolitical that is responsible for the opposition to Bashar, a significant part of which is related to the politics of hegemony. It is not just in relation to terrorism in Syria that the politics of hegemony is critical. If we exam-

ined the three real reasons behind the invasion of Iraq in 2003 which sired the current pattern of terrorism in WANA they are all connected to hegemony --- the US desire to control Iraqi oil; Iraq's strategic location in WANA; and Israel's desire to eliminate an Arab leader who was not only passionately committed to the Palestinian cause but also uncompromisingly opposed to Israeli hegemony. Indeed, hegemony is at the root of the chaotic mess that prevails in yet another Arab country today. It was because of the West's quest for control over Libyan oil and to thwart Muammar Gaddafi's plan for economic self-reliance and political integration for Africa that NATO chose to liquidate him in 2011. His liquidation has opened the way to intense competition for power among contending terrorist groups. If we go back in history it was the contest for hegemony between the US and the demised Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) over Afghanistan in the nineteen eighties that gave birth to terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda.

Even if we took another in-depth look at the Paris carnage it is undeniable that France has become a target of the IS because of its military interventions in a number of states from Syria, Iraq and Libya in WANA to Chad, Mali and Ivory Coast. It appears that France wants to play a more dominant role in both West Asia and Africa in pursuit of its own hegemonic agenda. This has earned it the ire of a lot of Muslims and Africans.

This is why it will not be possible to eliminate terrorism unless there is a concerted attempt to overcome hegemony at the global level. Citizens within the hegemonic centres of power in particular will have to stand up and demand that their governments cease overt and covert military operations in other countries. Government leaders should know that they cannot denounce terrorism at the rhetorical level and yet hobnob with terrorist organizations in terms of realpolitik. They should be persuaded through the democratic process to abandon their hegemonic agendas forever.

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WAGING WAR NO MORE

Wes Campbell

Do not resign yourselves to war. We inherit a long history of resistance to war, and are entrusted to that memory, and a hope-filled future. We hear an ecumenical commitment to live without the protection of weapons.

Where there are voices urging us to accept war as normal, we are offered a different and costly vision in the service of peace, involving at least as much skill as those warriors who wield the sword, bayonet and missile.

As people of Christian faith, with people of every spirit, our first act is to confront the power war has over us, confessing the deadening of the human spirit in the massacres of indigenous people of this Land, and the fear of strangers who come in boats.

So we are to diagnose the urge to war as a symptom of a deep rift between ourselves and the Creator of all. That takes us to the 'character of God' and the prophetic vision of peace for all life on the planet!

Commitment

'We commit ourselves to live without the protection of weapons.'

That pledge was made in ecumenical gatherings: Amsterdam 1948 and Nairobi 1975, gatherings of the World Council of Churches.

War had demolished much of Europe, had spread to SE Asia, and launched an unimaginable atomic attack on two Japanese cities by a nation declared to be Christian.

There was reason enough to seek an

end to war, as the newly formed United Nations Association declared.

In Amsterdam and Nairobi, church representatives gathered across former lines of enmity, and declared they would live without the protection of weapons. The bold and uncompromising statement was a building block of the World Council of Churches, a gathering of church representatives who, in a violent world, confessed again the centrality of Jesus Christ for the life of that world.

But I admit that I only recently became aware of the pledge concerning weapons. It appears to have been overshadowed by the Cold War, the nuclear threat, along with the emerging Third World (including the struggle against South African *Apartheid*).

Standing as we do at the end of the 20th Century, and caught up in 21st Century conflicts in the Middle East and many other locations, it is my task to remind you of an uncompromising call to resist war. Admittedly, such a call is challenged by Christian people who think it is too extreme, moralistic or unrealistic. I remind you that the mid twentieth century was not the first church community to insist on war resistance.

RESISTANCE TO WAR

That resistance came from the first decades (centuries) of the Christian community gathered by and in the name of Jesus of Nazareth crucified by the Roman Imperial military forces; a community learning to resist the lure of armed combat.

Jesus was known as the 'pioneer and perfecter of faith' (*Hebrews*), the leader of his community who for about three centuries, brought people by baptism into a non-violent community. This was a community in which the psalmist's call to entrust ourselves to the Lord (and not to trust 'princes') was basic to its formation.

Dramatic change was produced for that early Christian community by the baptism of the Roman Emperor. Now the Christian community was no longer a persecuted minority in the empire. All citizens of the empire were baptised. (Those who remained unbaptised – Jews and pagans – were not

granted the benefits of citizenship.)

The change was this: In its initial relationship to the Empire, the Christian community was a minority community, on the fringes. The question was posed: because all citizens of the Empire were baptised, how were baptised Christian authorities to rule the Empire? **TWO CITIES**

Augustine of Hippo applied himself to this question, and achieved an account to two cities or 'worlds' – one spiritual city overseen by the Pope, the other a civic community (also under God) ruled by the Emperor.

The Emperor (and all civic authorities) ruled a violent society by the power of the sword. This was a fundamental shift in orientation (a paradigm shift). The Christian community's memory was of apostles and martyrs who died at the hand of the Empire, the very same powers responsible for the death of Jesus and his witnesses. Augustine therefore faced the notion of a Christian role for authorities and soldiers as they faced the challenge of violence and war.

Augustine drew on other thinkers such as Seneca in order to develop the parameters of a 'just war', legitimated by certain conditions and limitations. The so-called doctrine of the two cities or realms was not removed by the various (Lutheran /Geneva /English) Reformations. These endorsed the possibility of a Christian armed with the sword, as a peacekeeper. Calvin extended that concept by challenging the Lutheran view that rulers are appointed by God and therefore must be obeyed. Calvin introduced the possibility of rebelling against unjust rulers, tyrants.

During this long period of Christendom and the role of the two realms, were various peaceable figures, such as Francis of Assisi and his order, the Benedictines and other orders. They did not carry a sword, could not participate in warfare, and exercised their responsibilities toward the empire by praying for the monarch. During the Lutheran Reformation various Christian communities sprang up: they were 'Ana/baptists', meaning they broke with the Christendom habit of

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Respecting the independence and sovereignty of other nations and peoples should be a principle that is put into practice rather than preached from a rostrum.

This does not mean that if global hegemony ends, terrorism will disappear altogether. There are many other causes of terrorism which will have to be combated with resolute vigour. Nonetheless, a global movement against global hegemony with the focus upon terrorism is the need of the hour.

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baptizing babies, understanding the act of baptism to be an active confessional act of radical discipleship. A feature of the movement was also a commitment to non-violence. To their shame the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran response was one of rejection; indeed, Luther is well known for his intemperate diatribe against these movements, calling on the Princes to cut them down.

THE AUTONOMOUS STATE

The developments in European society became more complex. From the 18th Century on the civic state began to be separated from the ecclesial community. That is, the Civic arena was caught up in a process of emancipation from the dogma of the church. Simultaneously non-violent movements developed in the Christian community: such as the Congregationalists, Wesleyans, the Society of Friends, various 'Anabaptist' communities, among others. Here in these 'free church' movements new forms of Christian community developed. Here, then was the origin of 'Confessing Churches' which emerge in the latter 19th and early 20th century. The Religious and Christian socialists were an active political force, especially because they recovered 'eschatology' as the expectation of the coming reign of God, expecting that the commitment to hope brought action for a new and changed world.

I invite you now to a glimpse back to about the 13th century. A process began then which has profoundly affected the nature of Western society and the church. The Renaissance, followed by the 'Enlightenment' and modernity, brought with it a form of civil order no longer constrained by a theological or spiritual view.

This change was not merely a matter of understanding the world, but it also brought powerful change: in thought, industry, science, technology and the conduct of war. [Karl Marx said it is our task not to understand the world but to change it.]

Note that this period is profoundly shaped by warfare: wars of emancipation (as France, the United States), invasions (as colonisation North America, Australia) and rebellions

against the social order (Russia, Germany), etc. Here figures such as Machiavelli, Napoleon, Francis Drake, Wellington, shape their world.

ON WAR

Carl von Clausewitz wrote *Krieg/ On War* in the mid-19th century. He rejects the tenets of the 'just war' teaching. In his view war is a brutal and serious matter. It belongs to the act of making policy. But it must be clear, once warring parties have been engaged there can be no surrender, nor any curtailing of the conflict.

Von Clausewitz's view of war is therefore expressing the autonomous view of secular reason. War is therefore normative; it can and must be engaged, and will not be concluded until there is complete capitulation.

This is the world of the First World War, and the increasing arc of violence that finds its completion in the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

God and Country

Thus the 19th century saw a development of warfare with the ideology of the state (or Empire) and new industries to support the warring parties. Added to this was also a theology of the state in which God was the warrant for government decisions to go to war. God, king and Country was the slogan which brought Europe to the great slaughter of World War One. Church statements endorsed that warfare, and was allied with the poetic vision of a noble death. It was left to the poets to expose the futility of the death and destruction played out in the trenches. (See Wilfred Owen's poetry)

There is a risk in the emphasis on European experience here. But the connection with the European wars exists, particularly as so many Australians died there. There is also a specific Australian response experienced in Australian church and society (see Frank Engel) in which people turned away from the church.

PROJECT: *beyond Frank Engels, an account of Australian pacifist memory.*

Shifting relationships in countries once designated as 'Christian' or Christendom saw new Christian movements emerging in modernity.

There is a risk in surveys such as these that we focus on Europe. Of course the

connection is there due to the thousands who died there. There is also a specific Australian experience (See Frank Engel, Christians in Conflict and Unity, 1984, Joint Board of Christian Education Australian experience was shaped by attachment to the Empire. The church played a lesser role in Australian community than in Europe. The monuments, cenotaphs, plaques and stain glass windows mark the huge loss of life and the grief for those young men and women who were killed and maimed in the conflict. Now the ideology of a noble war had no place. The question of God is also cause for scepticism. The slogan: the War to End all War must have had a tight hold, but within a few short decades a Second World War had begun.

The question for this paper concerns the drive to warfare and the possibility of a whole life lived out non-violently. Given the dominance of a violent public policy, is it foolish to expect a world in which war is no more? As foolish as the figure of the crucified Christ?

There is always more than can be said. That is a hint that we must learn not so much to speak as to be shaped by God.

I conclude with some brief meditations.

a. The character of God:

God as absent, other, silent, suffering, dead: God is with those who have been slaughtered. This is God who creates space for us. *In the Twentieth Century, various forms of absolutism emerged, including Fascism, Nazism, Stalinism, where millions perished. That development is described symbolically as 'Auschwitz'. It takes us to the 'Jewish Question', allied with the deaths of those who are disabled, homosexual, Trade Unionists and Christian objectors.*

Warfare that deploys bombs of mass destruction prepares for an absolute form of warfare. It also takes us to the atomic/nuclear destruction of Japanese cities, nuclear testing, particularly in regions populated by indigenous peoples, and the political use of nuclear threat (MAD).

This takes us to the human capacity to annihilate other humans, and all other forms of life.

Such violence has led many to blame God – or to declare that there is no God. So this takes us to the character of God. Martin Buber spoke of the ‘eclipse’ of God. Others speak of the silence of God (Elie Wiesel); others again speak of the death of God. It has led theologians (eg. Jürgen Moltmann) to grapple with the experience of suffering – human and God’s: a suffering God who takes up company with those who suffer – shown in Jesus Christ crucified. This is the God who faces the nihil (nothingness) and opens up space for life. This same God exercises the power of resurrection, promising an utterly transformed creation.

In the light of our theme here, God is the God of peace who confronts the powers of death by the reign of God announced in Jesus Christ.

In the terms of our paper, God is a pacifist.

b. The Absolute State: some theological voices:

Pacifism has been seriously criticized by theologians and church leaders alike.

The theological critique of pacifism has been sustained. Several major 20th Century theologians began as pacifists but turned to political/armed action in the light of the rise of absolutist movements. In the scope of this paper it is not possible to name all the active participants, particularly theologians who are currently engaged by this question (eg. Ron Sider). My purpose is to identify several influential voices.

Ron Sider). My purpose is to identify several influential voices.

Reinhold Niebuhr began the 20th Century as a pacifist. Confronted by the emerging powers of tyrants, Niebuhr turned against Christian pacifism (Why the Christian Church is not Pacifist). As a so-called Christian Realist Lutheran, Niebuhr argued that democratic governments must confront and resist the emerging Nazi and Communist powers. Note that the American ethicist Stanley Hauerwas takes up a contrary view and is an implacable opponent of Niebuhr, arguing that the church has a distinctive character, and is essentially pacifist.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer has become a major figure in the discussion of pacifism. During the 1930s he moved to a pacifist position. In the face of Hitler’s rise to power, he became involved in a plot against Hitler. This has made him in various assessments, a saint, a disciple, a bearer of costly radical action. He participated in the Barmen Synod (and was critical of a weak support of Jews; he was involved in early forms of the Council of Churches, and acted as a double agent in a

conspiracy to kill Hitler. His one-liners – regarding dealing with a rabid dog, and pushing a stake into the spokes of a wheel: he acted to encourage other co-conspirators. Bonhoeffer understood that to act in this way would take him into a place dependent entirely on God’s gracious judgment.

Karl Barth, both before and after the Second World War, especially with regard to the atomic bombs argued that the normative position for Christians is pacifism. He only qualification of this would be if in the light of an emergency (Grenzfall) God commanded a Christian response to go to war. How to determine that ‘moment’ was not all that clear.

In the context of Liberation movements in Latin America (in the 1980s) the question was posed when Christians could take up the gun. Jürgen Moltmann’s counter question was ‘When can a Christian refuse to take up the gun?’

c. Prophetic Vision: a great feast of reconciled enemies; reminder of the need to share the world’s resources for all. The accusation against ‘Christian pacifism’ is that it is sectarian, meaning that it passive, and involves a withdrawal from the realities of society.

Far from a withdrawal from society and its violence, non-violent discipleship is called into the world. The horizon by which they live and hope is the Kingdom of God: a future promised by the prophets, where enemies are reconciled, and those who are violated, injured and murdered have their humanity returned to them.

Such a vision is profoundly ecumenical: an active community of radical discipleship committed to non-violence, actively searching for renewed relationships between those who have been strangers and enemies, and are now reconciled in Jesus Christ (Ephesians). Is this simply wishful thinking? After all, since 1945 the United States has exercised the power of empire and we Australians have allied ourselves to it. We are awash with war recollection. The present conflicts in the Middle East are associated with ‘terror’. Isn’t it foolish to expect the world to change? A form of idiotic denial? Violence to curb violence is the only thing that seems to make sense, even if it bleeds from one conflict to another. The violence is generated by access to oil, or water, or food. The powerful will do everything they can to be in control of such necessities.

But as those who have become committed to the prophetic vision, we are given a different

and contradictory story. A counter story. The prophets speak of the vision as a great feast. Enemies sit at the same table. That is the vision of the Christian faith. If it is idiotic to hold to such a transformed world, we are doing what is called for, becoming foolish for the sake of Christ. We are called to sit at the same table as those who fear the enemy.

Is it possible? Let’s be reminded of stories counter to the apparent controlling power:

Gandhi and the expulsion of the British from India; Martin Luther King and the non-violent movement for civil rights in the US; the anti-Vietnam War moratorium movement; the anti nuclear movement – specially recalling the non-violent organisation led to the collapse of the Berlin wall. These are symbolic and high profile stories; we have them wherever people overcome fear and division. d. Radical discipleship: a foolish entrusting ourselves to

a world without weapons. Here the role of the Ecumenical movement is crucial: in 1948 the WCC met in the ruins of Europe to pledge themselves to live without the protection of weapons. As we gather to eat together we are to recall the story of the non-violent God, and a people who are to carry the story.

A reminder that Pax Christi means the ‘Peace of Christ’: a sign of the call of Christ. The normal and given assumption of our everyday society is that war is normal. That is demonstrated by the fact of the into a great slaughter in 1914-1918 (Stanley Hauerwas), and the failed commitment that declared this to be the War to end all War, leading to a century of global warfare. We will rehearse here the way in which the church has been drawn into global conflicts, accepting the violence, and offering theological justification for its participation in and support of warfare.

We will also be reminded of counter voices and challenges: for example in gatherings of the fledgling World Council of Churches - 1948 (Amsterdam) and 1975 (Nairobi) the pledge because of their commitment to Jesus Christ, the refusal to accept the protection of weapons.

In the face of human capacity to annihilate all life on the planet, this pledge stands against such annihilation, declaring instead for a future of peace.

This is an abbreviated version of a paper given by Dr Wes Campbell at the 2015 Pax Christi national Conference

LIVING WITHOUT WEAPONS

Brian Johnstone

The World Council of Churches at the Nairobi Assembly in 1975 pledged to live without resort to arms. The Catholic Church at the Second Vatican Council commended those who make such a commitment (*The Church in the Modern World*, #78). However, to live in this way is very demanding; it requires three things: a deep spirituality, a critical relationship to the state and the prevailing culture, and a way of dealing with “exceptions.” To support this claim I draw on the experience of some Christian communities and individuals who have chosen to renounce weapons.

The Waldensians were founded by Peter Waldo in about 1170. They lived a life of poverty in contrast to the prevailing culture and according to the Gospel. Originally this movement renounced weapons. However, the Waldensians were seen as a challenge to the authority of the Catholic Church and to the secular power of the period and were violently persecuted. In self-defence some took up weapons. The Waldensians however returned to their original commitment and are now engaged in the promotion of peace.

In 2015 Pope Francis in the name of Roman Catholic Church, asked Waldensian Christians for forgiveness for their persecution. The Pope apologised for the Catholic Church’s “un-Christian and even inhumane positions and actions” in regard to the Waldensian community. This statement can be read as a repudiation of the violence exercised by the Catholic Church against such peace communities.

In the thirteenth century St. Francis founded the Franciscans whose way of life was dramatically critical of the culture of the period. Histories of peace movements mention in particular the Franciscan third order. The members were lay women and men who lived “in the world,” but sought to live a life that was more perfectly conformed to the Gospel. They renounced the use of weapons. This was not a tactic to avoid the

violence of the age; it was based on their spirituality. They renounced arms because the use of arms belonged to “this world.” They sought to live as far as possible the life of the Kingdom to come. The tertiaries, as they were called, did not collaborate in the wars of the cities where they lived and thus were a challenge to the secular powers.

The “peace Churches,” that is the Church of the Brethren and the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Mennonites and the Amish also renounced weapons. Their renunciation was based on the Sermon on the Mount and was supported by a spirituality, a way of life. They also maintained a distance from the prevailing culture and the state. However, opposition to the use of weapons was not always maintained. An example is the division in the Quaker community in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century over the acquisition of arms. However, the Quaker community now maintains its refusal to bear arms and challenges government war-making.

Dorothy Day converted to Catholicism in the 1920s. As her autobiography indicates, she cultivated a deep, personal spirituality. In the 1940s Day opposed all wars. This put her at odds with most US Catholic bishops, who held the “just-war” doctrine, and with the U.S. government. She based her objection to wars on the Gospels, but also on her interpretation of the just war doctrine. She argued that the doctrine, correctly understood, rules out modern war. One who thinks within a gospel-based spirituality such as that of Dorothy Day sees the reality of war more clearly than others who lack such a vision. She does not distort the principles of the just war doctrine but reads them without equivocation. The doctrine of just war has been interpreted by some authors as “a theory of statecraft,” but in such a view the interests of political power can skew moral thinking. Dorothy Day’s spirituality and critical attitude to the state enabled her to transcend

such distortions.

Franz Jägerstätter was a married family man, a farmer in Austria. Franz had a deep personal spirituality and became a member of the Franciscan third order. After the *Anschluss* that joined Austria with Germany in 1938, Franz was called up for military service, but refused to serve. He consulted several priests and even the Bishop of Linz who all advised him to accept military service. Their argument was that Franz’s refusal to serve would make little or no difference to the Nazi war machine.

This is the kind of moral argument that is called consequentialism; it did not sway Franz. What mattered to him was not the difference his decision would make to the Nazi war effort, but the difference it would make to him, his “soul.” Franz’s refusal to collaborate with the German military was based on his reading of the Scriptures, but also on his interpretation of the just war doctrine.

Like Dorothy Day, guided by his deep, personal spirituality, Franz concluded that according to the just war doctrine modern war is immoral. For Franz there was another factor: he not only criticised the Nazi state; he rejected it as evil. The Catholic Church has finally recognised that Franz was right: it has declared him a martyr of conscience.

Bernard Häring was a Catholic priest who was conscripted into the German army and served as a medical orderly. Later as a famous theologian, for many years he accepted the just war doctrine, but in 1986 he wrote: “as I see it, we have to work firmly at this critical time to rid ourselves of the ‘just war’ theory.” The Catholic Church, he argued, ought to make an unequivocal ... “option for non-violent defence.” For Häring, living without weapons became a goal to be pursued by the Catholic Church community. His reading of the Sermon on the Mount has much in common with that of the historical peace Churches.

What of the way of dealing with “exceptions”? Although they

themselves did not believe in the just war doctrine, sometimes the members of a peace community have justified the use of arms, at least on the part of others who believed in that doctrine. The Catholic Church has not absolutely abandoned the just war doctrine; this gives it a way of dealing with emergencies such as ISIS. “We have to stop this kind of genocide,” said the Vatican’s representative, approving the use of military means. Perhaps some peace Churches and communities could accept this as a valid decision on the part of Catho-

lics, even if they themselves could not agree. The value of the non-violent witness of such groups for the entire Christian tradition, including the Catholic Church, is their spirituality with its witness to the transcendent kingdom. This witness invites all Christians to look beyond the criteria of the just war. Thus, while they use those criteria in forming their practical judgments about the legitimate use of force, they do not become merely the agents of a purely human statecraft. They can then see the just war doctrine with their vision unclouded

by merely political allegiance to state power. This was the way in which Dorothy Day and Franz Jägerstätter read that doctrine. Understood in this way the doctrine becomes, not a theory of state policy, but a vehicle of personal discernment.

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ICAN BRIEFING NOTE

Australia’s role at the UN General Assembly’s First Committee in 2015, November 2015

by Tim Wright

Australia has positioned itself as the *de facto* leader of a loose grouping of US-allied nations working to prevent the start of negotiations on a global treaty outlawing nuclear weapons. At this year’s session of the UN General Assembly’s disarmament and international security committee – known as the First Committee – Australia voted against, or abstained from voting on, all significant new proposals to advance nuclear disarmament. It also coordinated joint statements intended to thwart moves towards a ban on nuclear weapons in light of their catastrophic humanitarian impacts.

A leading opponent of a ban

Over the past two years, Australia has been among the most vocal and active opponents of the fast-growing international movement to prohibit the use, production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. The government’s stance flies in the face of public opinion: 84 per cent of Australians want it to get behind efforts to achieve a ban, according to a 2014 poll.

Australia has refused to accept the view expressed by four-fifths of the UN membership that any use of nuclear weapons, no matter what the circumstances, would be unacceptable on humanitarian grounds. Indeed, it has sought to establish a counter-narrative: that humanitarian concerns must be balanced against the (supposed) security benefits derived from nuclear weapons.

Although Australia does not

possess a nuclear arsenal of its own, it claims to be protected by the so-called “nuclear umbrella” of the United States. An Australian foreign ministry policy statement states: “As long as nuclear weapons exist, Australia will continue to rely on US nuclear forces to deter nuclear attack on Australia.”

Most other members of the Australian-led group, which consists of roughly two dozen nations (the number fluctuates), similarly believe in the utility and necessity of nuclear weapons for their own security (without actually possessing them), and thus have resisted all recent moves towards a ban. This is despite being legally bound, under the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), to pursue negotiations “in good faith” for nuclear disarmament. Their support for that treaty is increasingly in doubt.

At this year’s session of the First Committee, Australia outlined the group’s views in a statement on 21 October: “We have to accept that the hard practical work necessary to bring us closer to a world free of nuclear weapons must still be done, including a focus on not just humanitarian but also security considerations. There are no short cuts.”

But the dichotomy between humanitarian and security concerns is false and misleading, as the two are not distinct. Indeed, enhanced *security* is the very objective of the humanitarian-focused movement for nuclear disarmament. The nations involved in it

share a deep concern that, unless we succeed in dismantling the many thousands of nuclear warheads that exist in the world today, they will be used again, and the consequences will be catastrophic for all nations and peoples.

While the Australian-led group conceded in its statement that the prohibition of nuclear weapons would “probably” be necessary in order “to maintain a world without nuclear weapons”, it argued that such a treaty should not be pursued “now” or, indeed, at any point prior to elimination: nuclear weapons must be eliminated *and then* prohibited, not vice versa.

But for other categories of inherently inhumane, indiscriminate weapons, the establishment of a clear global prohibition on their use and possession has been vital to advancing the goal of elimination. History shows that, once a weapon is declared illegal, it quickly loses its political value – making it harder for nations to retain their stockpiles. The great gains in abolishing chemical weapons and anti-personnel mines, for instance, could not have been made without the international conventions prohibiting those classes of weapons.

Australia has often asserted that a prohibition on nuclear weapons would be ineffective, as it could not “guarantee” elimination. But this argument is disingenuous, for no other nuclear disarmament proposal is held to the same standard. Certainly none

of Australia's modest proposals for incremental steps, either alone or in combination, would *guarantee* elimination. This is a point made chiefly with the aim of deflecting attention from Australia's true objection to a ban – namely, that it would put enormous pressure on the government to end its claimed reliance on the doctrine of “extended nuclear deterrence”.

Australia's voting record

Four important new resolutions relating to the humanitarian initiative for nuclear disarmament were introduced at this year's First Committee session. One, sponsored by Austria, contained the so-called Humanitarian Pledge – a major political commitment “to fill the legal gap for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons”. It attracted the support of 128 nations, with Australia among the 29 nations to vote no. A similar resolution, on the “humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons”, also led by Austria, stressed “that it is in the interest of the very survival of humanity that nuclear weapons are never used again, under any circumstances”. But this, too, was a step too far for Australia and most other members of its group. Their objection, specifically, was to the words “under any circumstances”, which prompted Sweden to ask: “When would it be in the interest of humanity that nuclear weapons are used? Under what circumstances?”

A third resolution, led by South Africa, declared nuclear weapons to be “inherently immoral” – a sentiment expressed a few weeks earlier in the General Assembly Hall by Pope Francis on his historic US tour. It underscored the “ethical responsibility” of all nations to prohibit and eliminate nuclear weapons. But Australia, again, balked: it could not accept the fundamental wrongness of using and possessing nuclear weapons.

In a defensively worded state-

ment on behalf of 27 nations, Australia complained that the Austrian and South African humanitarian resolutions sought “to marginalize and delegitimize certain policy perspectives and positions”. This, indeed, was their intention. Foremost, the resolutions challenged the dangerous, misguided theory of “nuclear deterrence” and questioned the so-called “step-by-step” approach to nuclear disarmament, which has failed to achieve any real results for close to two decades.

The Australian-led group also bemoaned the lack of “unity” in recent humanitarian disarmament debates – seemingly oblivious to their own role in creating and exacerbating divisions. They heaped blame on those seeking to highlight the inhumane nature of nuclear weapons, rather than on those continuing defiantly to wield these heinous weapons.

But perhaps the most controversial of all the humanitarian-focused resolutions was one introduced by Mexico to set up a subsidiary body of the General Assembly – an “open-ended working group”, as it is known – with a mandate “to negotiate with a view to reaching agreement on concrete and effective legal measures to achieve nuclear disarmament, in particular new legal provisions and norms ...”.

The Australian-led group, fearing that this new body would become a forum for starting work on a treaty banning nuclear weapons, strenuously resisted the inclusion of the word “negotiate” in the mandate. Speaking on behalf of 19 nations, Australia proposed a series of major edits designed to weaken the draft resolution – some of which Mexico grudgingly accepted. Most notably, the working group, rather than *negotiating* new legal measures, will now only “substantively address” them.

But even this significant compromise was not enough to secure

Australia's endorsement: it abstained from voting on the resolution, citing “unresolved and substantive differences with the mandate and rules of procedure”. The Australian-led group had failed in its attempts to remove a reference to the creation of “norms”; to limit the involvement of civil society; and to compel the working group to operate strictly on the basis of consensus – a well-proven recipe for deadlock.

These nations, together with many of the nuclear-armed nations, had chosen to back a much weaker, competing proposal led by Iran to establish a separate open-ended working group on nuclear disarmament. It was to meet in New York over the next two to three years and discuss pathways forward, with everything done by consensus. Australia and others saw this as a safe option – and a good opportunity to put the brakes on the movement for a ban. But, much to their dismay, Iran withdrew its resolution in the final hour, and it never went to a vote. Thus, the Mexican-sponsored resolution for an open-ended working group was the only one to be adopted by the First Committee – with the resounding support of 135 nations. The body will meet in Geneva in 2016 for up to three weeks and report back to the General Assembly. It is widely viewed as an ideal forum for starting discussions on the various elements to be included in a treaty banning nuclear weapons. While the body will not *negotiate* this treaty, it will engage in vital preparatory work to make it a reality in the near future. The events at this year's First Committee session should be seen as a significant victory for those nations genuinely committed to nuclear disarmament – and a defeat for those, including Australia, seeking to obstruct it.

Tim Wright is project officer of ICAN Australia

**Pax Christi Victoria
in
the Melbourne People's
Climate Change March**



TOURISM: WHO BENEFITS?

Caesar D'Mello

Tourism for most Australians in a developing country is generally about airlines, hotels, relaxation, and enjoyable activities, with little thought for the local people in whose midst this experience takes place. Yes, as churches we rightly focus on justice, peace and human concerns but tourism and how it impacts developing countries is missing in church and public discourse when it should not be.

We hardly consider the real short- and long-term effects on developing societies of a mammoth sector in which we participate that is listed as one of the four largest industries on earth, besides oil, arms and pharmaceuticals. The potential for harm of the billion “tourism arrivals” each year globally should worry us, but we are satisfied with supposedly intuitive, feel good yet superficial notions promoted by tourism interests and governments that it is a benign, harmless enterprise that is good for the local people, and fosters mutual understanding. However, they gloss over the significant social, economic and environmental damage inflicted by such tourism.

A million Australians per year head for Thailand alone, with another million for Bali, and many others towards destinations in Asia, the Pacific, Africa and Latin America. The perspectives and considerations of well-off travellers, embarking on a holiday with a sense of entitlement to relax and unwind, are not a matter of great import to the people of the developing world who face life concerns that are further exacerbated by traditional tourism. Should we not be troubled with the ethical issues that arise? What should be the Christian perspective?

Already from the seventies it was beginning to be realised by churches and groups in developing countries that free enterprise, unregulated tourism itself is a factor in the impoverishment of their communities. Tourism is an industry that markets what it has not produced. Its manufacture is

linked with societies and cultures that have evolved over millennia. Landscapes, forests, beaches, coasts, grasslands, hills and mountains are not just standalone marvels but the homes and backyards of local people. Tourism is not a holiday for them as it alters the entire social, cultural and economic fabric of their society when essential resources such as land, water, energy, food, state revenue and others are diverted to serve the interests of tourists, while biodiversity is sacrificed.

Depending on the “lazy income” from tourism creates an unrealistic sense of security that undermines traditional occupations such as farming, fishing, trades, arts and handicrafts, reducing people to labouring in the tourism industry when fortunate to secure a job. Artisans compromise their art to deliver cheap souvenirs. People’s movements are sometimes limited in their own lands. Social costs include abuse of women, children and men for sex tourism, trafficking and child labour. The much-touted employment from tourism is low status, low paying, seasonal, and insecure with poor working conditions. We need sound structural solutions beyond the line of “half a loaf is better than none”!

Moreover, as Pope Francis’ encyclical *Laudato Si’* and other contributions call us to account on anthropogenic climate change and global warming, it should be stressed that tourism is an important source of carbon emissions with its massive use of fossil fuel-based energy, among others, for aviation, cruise shipping, hotels, utilities, maintenance and expansion of airports and the construction of new ones as tourism numbers explode.

Mass commercial tourism as a “poster boy” for globalisation and neo-liberal free market economics is increasingly being questioned. One of the free market pioneers, Milton Friedman, wrote: “There is one and only one social responsibility of business — to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits.”

Tourism and government entities argue that a tourism fashioned in this light will lead to poverty alleviation. Free market-based profit maximisation, however, has been a recipe for exploitation of people and natural resources, and unequal income distribution.

Mainstream tourism grounded in the neo-liberal doctrine of market primacy is unable to ensure social justice for all. With the right outlook and will, a transformed tourism is possible that creates greater economic benefits for the local communities, enhances their quality of living, builds local capacity through collaborative decision making, is fair and environmentally sustainable, and enables visitors to interact with local people to understand their real situation and context. One form of such tourism is community-based tourism. It is owned, managed and assessed by the community, ensuring a positive exchange between community members and tourists, helping them to responsibly enjoy local habitats and wildlife, and celebrate traditional cultures, rituals and wisdom. It is a kind of tourism that well reflects Christian values of sharing, of fairness, of eschewing materialism. But it is generally cast aside as unprofitable within the monolith of mass commercial tourism, and left to poorly resourced communities.

A theological perspective on tourism

One way of understanding the ubiquitous phenomenon of mass tourism is through a critical analysis of its objectifying nature. There is much objectification in the economic and industrial world today. Mainstream tourism is another contemporary form of objectification. Created in God’s image, all human beings are the subjects of creation. Relegating human beings to objects for enjoyment by commodifying them is a travesty of human dignity. But the template of modern tourism is crafted around the creed and criterion of personal gratification. Tourism is conceptualised and driven on the basis of the myths, demands,

and the financial power of the tourist who must be satisfied.

Sex tourism is objectification when the other, including children, is consigned to the status of an object of pleasure for one in a superior economic position. Local people come to be regarded as instruments and means of service and entertainment, while earning a pittance with little work guarantee or satisfaction but much alienation, and being not perceived and treated as human beings with self-respect and autonomy. Advertising depicts and markets people and whole nations with simplistic labels and slogans, with little reference to their culture, history and values. Nature too becomes an object rather than God's creative act. To satisfy the tourists' gaze, it is peddled as scenery

and "must-see" destinations. Tourism would be a force for good if humility, equality, sensitivity and respectfulness for the host culture were its signal features. But with myths, fantasy, and shallow notions of "bliss" and "a taste of paradise" involving the sun, sand, sea, sex, and "unspoilt" nature stoking its escapism, it has evolved as a movement of the relatively few rich to the lands of the predominantly poor for the purpose of self-indulgence.

The reach and dominance of mainstream tourism among billions in the developing world make it a significant sign of our times. It is an industry that will still grow (tourism arrivals are predicted to exceed 1.6 billion by 2020!). A tourism that carries such a destructive and unjust imprint on

people and nature requires serious theological investigation. We are impelled to seek a basis for our evaluation of tourism not offered by those who mainly profit from it, but from the victims of contemporary tourism development. The human cost of this industry is borne by the vulnerable, including women, children, Indigenous peoples, those dispossessed of their land, and the marginalised with whom our churches strive to stand in partnership and solidarity in *koinonia*

Caesar D'Mello is a development consultant and former national director of the Christian World Service (now Act for Peace), National Council of Churches in Australia. Reproduced with permission from "The Melbourne Anglican."

Book Review

DECONSTRUCTING TOURISM: WHO BENEFITS?

A Theological Reading from the Global South

Reviewed by Jacob Kavunkal SVD

Deconstructing Tourism: Who Benefits? A Theological Reading from the Global South

Edited by Caesar D'Mello, Wati Longchar & Philip Mathew (Kway Jen Dist. Taiwan: Programme for Theology and Cultures in Asia; Serampore Senate Centre for Extension and Pastoral Theological Research, India, 2014.)

From the second half of the 20th century international tourism has become a very lucrative industry that has left no part of the world unaffected either positively or negatively. The damaging impact of it has become a major challenge for the global south more than others. And yet it did not attract any serious theological reflection until recently, except for the annual Pontifical Messages for the Tourism Day. It is this theological lacuna that prompted Caesar D'Mello, Wati Longchar and Philip Mathew to come out with this collection of essays on globalised tourism. In addition to the explanatory introduction by Caesar the book has fif-

teen chapters by different authors, giving a substantial analysis of the various aspects of international tourism acquainting the reader of the economic, political, social and ecological damage that an unmonitored tourism industry has brought about especially for the disadvantaged poor of the global south.

The nations of the global south with their fresh independence from the colonial powers and encouraged by the UN Decades of Development were searching ways to usher in development, progress, betterment, emancipation, poverty eradication and growth. Charmed by the high priests of economic policy making who advocated indiscriminate tourism as the tailor-made tool for achieving development, these nations adopted tourism as a panacea for their woes without realising how tourism, though appearing innocent, and having become a major feature of their economies, was so much anchored in the philosophy of the profit-motivated free market, but with little concern for people's welfare.

The writers reflect on the ill-effects of this high-visibility tourism with its significant negative footprint, pointing out the need for a justice-based approach to a responsible and sustainable as well as universally acceptable tourism.

Apart from the ill-effects on the peoples of the global south resulting from the cultural invasion of insensitive western and other affluent tourists this all-out pleasure seeking tourism has contributed to global warming and climate change due to the overconsumption of energy sources and the over exploitation of the travel facilities, and the star-hotels, not to speak of the psychological impact on the unsuspecting simple people specially by the sex-tourists. The book, published by the joint support of the World Council of Churches, the Christian Conference of Asia and the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences, aims to promote an ecumenical discourse against the market-driven

tourism with the sole purpose of profit-oriented competition. The churches committed to the service of the poor and to the just distribution of resources and power are invited to direct their attention on global tourism within the framework of theology and mission. Gathering the fruits of several conferences and meetings from 1970s to 2014 this volume is not only an excellent theological tool to inform the uninitiated to see theologically the catastrophic impact of global

tourism on the poor of the global south but also is an excellent example of ecumenical collaboration. The editors are to be congratulated for bringing out this timely publication that can serve anyone involved not only in Christian ministry but in human promotion as well as environmental integrity. If scrupulously followed upon, the book is well-placed to promote an alternative model of tourism with a human face bearing justice, compassion and integrity of

creation.

The book is available at AUD 20.00 (plus postage) from: Rev Wati Longchar, Serampore University, India: at wlongchar@gmail.com Caesar D'Mello, Ecumenical Consultant, Australia: caesarmdml@gmail.com, Act for Peace, 4/306 Lt. Collins St., Melbourne, 3000 Or download at WCC's globethics.net: register (for free); then click 'Library'

THE JIHAD OF JESUS

Book Review by Harry Kerr

The Jihad of Jesus, by Dave Andrews

Wipf & Stock, Oregon, USA 2015

Dave Andrews was an Australian Baptist missionary who worked in Delhi India. He founded Sahara, a well-respected Indian drug rehab centre, and Sharan, a world-famous community ministry helping the poorest of the poor in the slums of New Delhi. On his return to Australia he became a community worker with marginalised people in Brisbane. In the days and months following 9/11 he spent time in mosques in Brisbane listening to the worshippers and praying with them. "I needed to look for Muslim counterparts who I could work with to rebuild some of the bridges that were being blown up, not only by the terrorists, but by the reports of these events that terrified everyone including me." Andrews then began organising meetings involving people from many faith traditions – Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Jews, Hindus and those with no religious affiliation. The aim was to "get together, to listen to one another and to learn from one another".

In *The Jihad of Jesus*, Andrews attempts to look deep into the heart of both Christianity and Islam, in pursuit of what he calls: *The Sacred Nonviolent Struggle for Justice*.

He begins by comparing the warlike

record of both faiths, beginning with his own. The Christian story is one of conquests, massacres, and brutality in the name of faith. He describes the Inquisition, the crusades, the colonial conquests of the Americas, witch hunts and anti-Semitism culminating in the Nazi holocaust. He reminds us of the activities of American evangelicals in Central America helping brutal government and guerrilla groups.

His picture of Islam is very similar: a story of imperial domination, forced conversions, ethnic cleansing and terrorism to atrocities of Islamic State. Put side by side, it is the same grim story which keeps self perpetuating and feeding off itself.

Andrews goes on to examine in depth the roots of violence in individuals, nations and faith communities and "gets inside" both soldiers and terrorists of all persuasions and their political and civil supporters. He then moves to the heart of the book: *Reframing Jihad as a Method of Non-violent Struggle*. He shows how peace is at the heart of Islam and of the Muslim understanding of God. This understanding is an invitation to all humanity to live peacefully under the grace of God, not a narrow sectarian allegiance. God offers many different paths to different communities. *Jihad* is the path to peace. Where it is used in terms of war it is subject to very

strict rules of engagement, very similar to the so called Christian "Just War" principles.

Andrew then comes to the Jihad of Jesus. He describes in some detail how Jesus (*Isa*) is revered by Muslim teachers as "the Supreme Example" of the Jihad for peace. He outlines in detail how Jesus *was a compassionate activist who embodied the original model of nonviolent struggle for inspirational personal growth and transformational social change*. Jesus was working to build "the reign of God," a just non-violent world in which all could live in peace not dissimilar on outcome to the Islamic *Jihad*. The book concludes with four examples, two each of Muslims and Christians who live the *Jihad*.

The book is both a realistic assessment of religious violence and its roots in faith and life and of the visions and a peaceful and just humanity which are rooted in both faiths. I would have liked some analysis of the teaching of Mohammed himself rather than only quotes from the Quran to put alongside the teachings of Jesus. Nevertheless this is a book worth serious study and is a valuable tool for both communities in creating understanding and dialogue.

It is available from Readings bookshops and from www.bookdepository.co.uk

NOTICE BOARD

NEW SOUTH WALES

Pax Christi Meetings

We normally meet on the First Monday of each month at 6.00pm for shared meal that members bring and the meeting follows at 6.30 pm.

**Contact: Claude Mostowik
(02) 9550 3845 or 0411 450 953**

The venue: MSC Justice and Peace Centre, 21 Swanson Street,

Erskineville. 2 minutes walk from Erskineville Station

QUEENSLAND

Pax Christi Meetings

Pax Christi Queensland

Branch meets monthly.

Contact:

Pancras Jordan OP

0415 461 620

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mclcl@holy.spirit.com.au

VICTORIA

Agapes and Public Forums

Pax Christi National Council Meets on Skype no less

than bimonthly for issues of national import

Contact:

02 9550 3845

0411 450 953

February Agape

A Visit to the

ISLAMIC MUSEUM OF AUSTRALIA

15A Anderson Rd, Thornbury

Saturday 20 February 2016

10 a.m.

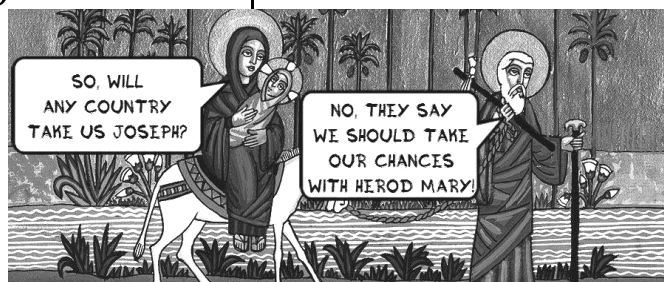
A Guided Tour finishing with lunch at the café

Entry \$12, Concession \$10

A Joyful Christmas and a Peaceful and Non-Violent 2016 to all

He came to his own, and his own people did not accept him.

But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God. John 1



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