

NJPN North West Justice & Peace E-Bulletin mid September 2022

The e-bulletin for the North West, linked to the National Justice and Peace Network (NJPN), is produced jointly within the dioceses of Lancaster, Liverpool, Salford, Shrewsbury and Wrexham. Please send diary dates to anneoc980@hotmail.com

FOR SUCH A TIME AS THIS

From the latest edition of the Together for the Common Good Newsletter:

There is anxiety about this coming winter. Real hardship is coming. The world order as we've known it is changing. Geopolitically this upheaval is the most serious since 1945. Though the causes go back much further, the signs have been growing for over fifteen years. The financial crash, political turmoil across the West, Covid, the Ukraine war, the energy crisis, the supply chain crisis, they are all linked. We have already seen the breakdown of trust in many of our institutions. Social unrest may follow. In the foolishness of hubris, it was assumed that things could only get better. But it is very likely that they will get worse.

This period can be understood politically as an "interregnum" – an era between eras – where "all manner of morbid things persist" (Gramsci). In spiritual terms, the unravelling is a kind of grey zone in which there is also the seeding of new life. Amidst the crisis, God is at work.

The previous era was characterised by a hyper-liberal philosophy that spawned individualism, manifesting on the left in the cult of self, and on the right in neoliberal economics and globalisation. Despite the gains this culture delivered for some, it offered false hope. It was hostile to the common good and caused catastrophic damage to our communities and the natural world. It was based on a flawed anthropology which is why it is now unravelling.

This form of individualism relegated God to a position subordinate to the self. Even churches were seduced, overly influenced by secular assumptions. In this misguided frame, the symptoms of the unravelling, in both church and society, are seen as problems to be solved in our own strength. This mistake creates deep anxiety. Instead we need to step back and make sense from a God-centred perspective.

As Christians we are told "not to worry" and to "pray". To the secular ear this doesn't sound very proactive. But what St Paul actually says is "pray about everything." This is not passivity. He is talking about surrender to God who is the primary agent. It will involve lament and repentance because we have all colluded. Yet despite our failures God's love is total. We are called to be in relationship with Him in the midst of the unravelling. To work out what He wants of us: our talents and intelligence will be needed. But we are to go in open eyed – there is a cost to following this path. Jesus says "take up your cross and follow me." This is a grey zone, not a comfort zone.

Grey zones precede renewal. Renewal is primarily a spiritual project. When it comes to the civic and political aspects of renewal, this is a time of preparation. Catholic social thought can guide us towards a practical vision of statecraft, a re-ordering of the economy and the rebuilding of shattered places and communities. Sometimes called the theology of the Holy Spirit in practice, it offers not false hope but real hope, rooted in the reality of the imago dei, in natural law and in love and truth.

So, for such a time as this, what kind of leaders are we called to become? Many in the churches, ordained and non-ordained, are afraid and exhausted. Their training, designed in and for the old era, has not prepared them for this moment. But it is often within wilderness times that God calls us closer. He prepares, refines, cuts down his leaders so that all we have left is to trust Him, to become completely dependent on Him. Hard experiences and extreme environments can trigger the growth of a seed.

A deeper trust will create leaders with a non-anxious presence. In an age of anxiety, the recognition that we are not called to be rescuers but companions amidst the unravelling will make us less overwhelmed. Attentive listening to the movements of the Holy Spirit will show us where God is calling us. Building covenantal partnerships with our neighbours will restore trust. Being together in the local, in real, embodied relationships of loving friendship, will create places of refuge where people can encounter the sacred, find love, forgiveness, redemption, warmth and belonging. Above all, what is needed is mutual accompaniment through the storm.

<https://togetherforthecommongood.co.uk/news/for-such-a-time-as-this>

At T4CG we aim to help you navigate these confusing times from a God-centred perspective. We are small but effective, always working in partnership. Our resources, events, our training for churches and schools, and our bespoke sessions for leaders and organisations, are all equipping people to prepare for renewal, to discern their vocation for the common good. Do get in touch to find out how we can help you. <https://togetherforthecommongood.co.uk/>

CREATIVE ACTION NEEDED ON CLIMATE EMERGENCY

Tim Root 13 September 2022

In late August, nearly half of Europe was suffering a drought, forest fires had destroyed an area four-and-a-half times larger than the average over the previous 19 years, and crop yields were set to fall substantially. Most people are facing a cost-of-living crisis arising largely because investors and governments have failed woefully to provide potentially abundant, cheap, clean energy. Campaigners need to highlight that the climate emergency threatens us all, and, therefore, we should aim to win the support of the widest possible cross-section of society.

Learn how to inspire

In June 1963, President Kennedy responded to a recent victory of the civil rights movement, led by Martin Luther King, announcing that he would ask Congress to pass civil rights legislation, saying in a televised address to the US people: "The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them."

This shows us that we should urgently learn from the unifying ambition of the civil rights movement, as demonstrated in King's 1963 "I have a dream" speech, in which he said: "[M]any of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realise that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realise that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom."

Just as King's vision of multi-racial support for civil rights was not limited to the victims of racial discrimination, so we can aim for a movement which includes the many who are not yet climate action advocates alongside existing green activists. King's speech became iconic because it gave hope of a positive future *for all* and drew on historic words expressing democratic and religious values revered by nearly all Americans. His inspiration strengthened the movement, which has achieved a vast increase in elected ethnic minority legislators since 1963 and a substantial fall in the proportion of Black people living in poverty. Climate campaigners must learn from King and rise high above statistics and scientific complexity to connect with far more people than previously, at a visceral level. This entails emphasising, in a similar way to King, the security that climate breakdown shows people from all echelons of society need and the solutions we know can provide it. Campaigns should prominently involve health experts, who command considerable public trust and therefore can make these points very effectively.

Some may consider it unrealistic to aspire to achieve an impact comparable to King's. However, all humanity faces the biggest imaginable threat, which highlights the callous indifference of the powers which dominate our societies. Therefore, this should stimulate the passion and determination enabling our movement to rise to the level which the civil rights movement achieved.

Winning public support

Can Just Stop Oil achieve this? They plan to "occupy Westminster" on an indefinite basis from 1st October. This is based on their dubious contention that "Extinction Rebellion and Insulate Britain have demonstrated that civil disobedience works". They need to bear in mind that governments yield to protesters, particularly relatively unpopular ones, only when they believe they have a lot to lose otherwise. This depends to a large degree on the level of support for the protesters' demands. Just a week after the mid-August heatwave – which triggered wildfires – when a poll asked people to name the three "most important issues facing the country at this time", only 31% named the environment, the category which includes climate. By contrast, 71% named the economy, and 41% health. This figure for the environment was significantly less than the figure in August and November 2021. Moreover, governments consider whether the protesters' action is likely to be sustained, and judge that a generally unpopular action by an organisation which commands rather little public sympathy is unlikely to be sustained at a problematic level for very long. This process is amplified when media coverage of campaigners causing disruption focuses more on the disruption than on the cause campaigners are trying to highlight, as has happened with Extinction Rebellion (XR) and Insulate Britain.

Just Stop Oil need to remember XR's unpopularity; a year ago, it was near the bottom of a YouGov ranking of British charities and organisations, with only 19% support, slightly ahead of the English Defence League. A poll last October asked whether Insulate Britain's action "helps or hinders" "the climate change movement". Three-quarters said it hinders, while only 5% said it helps. The *Daily Mirror's* balanced report of a Just Stop Oil action in early August mentioned that policing XR protests had cost more than £50m in the previous two years. It also included a quote that we rely on lorries to deliver goods "to homes, workplaces, schools, hospitals". In a recent interview with George Monbiot, the interviewer pointed out that due to XR actions people had been "unable to get to funerals, ambulances unable to respond to emergency call-outs". Direct action needs to be wisely targeted at activities which directly cause major climate damage, otherwise inconveniencing people – many of whom are undertaking urgent tasks for reasons everyone would regard as important – loses us considerable public support.

The recent article by five scientists suggesting that scientists' involvement in civil disobedience could be particularly effective does not address the effectiveness of the targeting of such action. However, it does state that "the credibility of scientists is influenced by whether they are seen to be acting in line with shared values and promoting the well-being of others and, in the context of climate change, according to whether their actions clearly align with their message". The study they cite showing that civil disobedience increases movements' likelihood of success is an analysis of many campaigns, each against specific fossil fuel projects in a certain place. Therefore, it is highly likely that the civil disobedience was targeted at specific locations linked to the project concerned.

The authors of the excellent book *This is an Uprising* emphasise that civil disobedience can cause a "backlash that can reinforce status quo injustices", and that activists "must carefully cultivate" public sympathy. Research showing that "images depicting protests can attract cynicism as many people do not feel an affinity with protesters" indicates that the media images of Just Stop Oil's occupation will make it harder for us to gain the sympathy we need from potential supporters. We should also bear in mind that those likely to oppose us, people similar to the Ottawa occupiers, could also turn to direct action, thus in many people's minds bringing our cause into disrepute alongside theirs.

We also need to think very carefully about our messaging. To make the urgent progress required, we need a much wider swathe of civil society involved. This is achievable; the proportion of those saying they are "very worried" about climate change is 32% in the USA, 46% in France, 35% in Germany, and 58% in India. In the same interview, George Monbiot said that reaching "25% of the population" enables a movement to get to "a tipping point" at which "things will change very quickly". But however much we may wish it, 25% of the population will not react positively to demands for "system change". Research a few years ago in the five most populous Western European nations found that those who think of themselves as right-wing comfortably outnumber self-described left-wingers in four of these nations, while self-described centrists outnumber left-wingers in each nation. These ratings are unlikely to have changed much since then. Many people would see "system change" either as unrealistic or dangerously destabilising, while for others, its meaning would be unclear and fail to engage them emotionally. As we face the biggest challenge imaginable – for the viability of life on Earth – proposing an additional massive and controversial challenge will damage the confidence of those who might otherwise wish to help us. In addition, calling for "climate justice" turns off a significant proportion of potential supporters, as it unfortunately suggests to many people that we represent only an ideological minority.

Choosing tactics which can succeed

Of course, I share Just Stop Oil's ultimate aim to cease fossil fuel use and acknowledge their commitment. Their choice of action is in large part due to recognising that orthodox campaigns have achieved far too little. A comprehensive review of research on campaigning states that "perceived efficacy has been identified as a critical factor in driving motivations to engage in collective action".

In order to attract the additional supporters we need, it is vital to show them that we have tactics they can believe have a good chance of success. Otherwise, because climate breakdown is so serious, many potential supporters will continue to avert their attention from it due to feelings of despair. It is important to remember that many people distrust governments, so it is hard to get them to believe that taking part in a campaign targeted on government would be worthwhile. Moreover, as governments overall have taken so little effective action on climate change despite dire warnings going back so many years that "time is running out", we should not put all our campaign eggs in the government basket, especially at times when no election is imminent. We need at least a few different tactics with different targets, capable of attracting potential supporters with different outlooks.

Chris Packham has emphasised that campaigners should cease "plying the same old tricks time and time again" but take actions displaying imagination and originality which can "enlarge our community". Some of these should target the relatively weak areas of the institutions which support fossil fuel production to pressure them to impose strong incentives to move rapidly towards renewable energy instead.

Banks play a massive and central role in the world economy. Therefore, a high-profile campaign threatening the reputation, trust and strong branding for which banks strive by naming and shaming those which finance fossil fuels the most could attract huge support. Unlike governments, a bank and its bosses can rapidly suffer a severe financial hit if it is seen to be at risk of losing valuable customers to its competitors. Such concerns are behind the uneven moves away from fossil fuels which some banks have made in response to campaigns' pressure. A European Central Bank leader stated that "the European banking sector still has too many banks with heavy cost structures competing for the same customers", and that this "has resulted in persistently low profits". Therefore, in Europe at least, bank campaigns could exert a strong influence. Such a campaign would be most effective by targeting one selected bank at a time in each country, maximising our pressure and showing its competitors that they would face the same pressure if they failed to improve.

There are several other polluting sectors of the economy which could be weakened by activist pressure. These include manufacturers and retailers of high-emission cars and companies selling goods which are imported by air for purely commercial reasons. There are large numbers of activists who would be keen to name, shame and obstruct such companies. Such actions, targeting high-emissions products used only by affluent people, or products for which there are relatively low-emissions substitutes from other brands, would appear justifiable in many people's eyes.

Campaigns could also strengthen and disseminate positive social norms by highlighting certain types of iniquitous high-carbon consumption by specific famous people. This could include challenging celebrities who fly often for work purposes to endorse the frequent flyer levy. Such actions could get huge publicity, and besides their direct political impact would encourage potential supporters to join us. These ideas are in line with George Monbiot's call that "we have to be endlessly creative". We must unleash our creativity! If you think any of the above ideas are worth pursuing, please tell senior people in any organisation to which you belong. We need to become more effective without delay!
<https://www.chartist.org.uk/creative-action-needed-on-climate-emergency/>

- Tim Root is active in Friends of the Earth London Network.

SWITCHING TO RENEWABLE ENERGY COULD SAVE TRILLIONS - STUDY

Jonah Fisher BBC Environment Correspondent 13 September 2022

Switching from fossil fuels to renewable energy could save the world as much as \$12tn (£10.2tn) by 2050, an Oxford University study says. The report said it was wrong and pessimistic to claim that moving quickly towards cleaner energy sources was expensive. Gas prices have soared on mounting concerns over energy supplies. But the researchers say that going green now makes economic sense because of the falling cost of renewables. "Even if you're a climate denier, you should be on board with what we're advocating," Prof Doyne Farmer from the Institute for New Economic Thinking at the Oxford Martin School told BBC News. "Our central conclusion is that we should go full speed ahead with the green energy transition because it's going to save us money," he said.

The report's findings are based on looking at historic price data for renewables and fossil fuels and then modelling how they're likely to change in the future. The data for fossil fuels goes from 2020 back more than 100 years and shows that after accounting for inflation, and market volatility, the price hasn't changed much. Renewables have only been around for a few decades, so there's less data. But in that time continual improvements in technology have meant the cost of solar and wind power have fallen rapidly, at a rate approaching 10% a year.

The report's expectation that the price of renewables will continue to fall is based on "probabilistic" modelling, using data on how massive investment and economies of scale have made other similar technologies cheaper. "Our latest research shows scaling-up key green technologies will continue to drive their costs down, and the faster we go, the more we will save," says Dr Rupert Way, the report's lead author from the Smith School of Enterprise and the Environment.

Wind and solar are already the cheapest option for new power projects, but questions remain over how best to store power and balance the grid when the changes in the weather leads to fall in renewable output.

Back in 2019 Philip Hammond, then Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote to the prime minister to say that the cost of reaching net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 in the UK would be more than £1tn. <https://www.current-news.co.uk/news/uk-net-zero-transition-to-cost-1-trillion-chancellor-claims> This report says the likely costs have been over-estimated and have deterred investment. It also says predictions by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that the cost of keeping global temperatures rises under 2 degrees would correspond to a loss of GDP by 2050 were too pessimistic. The transition to renewables was, it says, likely to turn out to be a "net economic benefit".
https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg3/downloads/report/IPCC_AR6_WGIII_Full_Report.pdf

The research has been published in the journal *Joule* and is a collaboration between the Institute for New Economic Thinking at the Oxford Martin School, the Oxford Martin Programme on the Post-Carbon Transition, the Smith School of Enterprise & Environment at the University of Oxford, and SoDa Labs at Monash University.

Read the report here: [https://www.cell.com/joule/fulltext/S2542-4351\(22\)00410-X](https://www.cell.com/joule/fulltext/S2542-4351(22)00410-X)
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-62892013>

See also:

Will new government stick to climate targets? <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-62822941>

PM will explore energy market reform to cut bills <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-62832029>

What is climate change? A really simple guide <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-24021772>

LETTER TO THE NEW PM, LIZ TRUSS

Green Christian has joined over 100 organisations and individuals from NGOs to unions, health bodies and faith leaders calling on the new Prime Minister, Liz Truss, to put climate, nature and the cost-of-living at the top of the agenda for the new government. This can be done by:

- Ramping up support for people struggling to pay their bills
- Rapidly invest in making homes warmer
- Investing in renewable energy and ditching gas
- Reversing the decline of wildlife and protect 30% of the land and sea by 2030
- Supporting farmers and coastal communities to transition to climate and nature-friendly farming and fisheries
- Securing a global deal for biodiversity at the UN biodiversity conference
- Supporting communities on the frontline of the climate crisis in the most vulnerable parts of the world

Read the full letter and share: www.theclimatecoalition.org/letter-to-pm-22

LARGE PARTS OF AMAZON MAY NEVER RECOVER, MAJOR STUDY SAYS

Andrew Downie *The Guardian* 5 September 2022: Environmental destruction in parts of the Amazon is so complete that swathes of the rainforest have reached tipping point and might never be able to recover, a major study carried out by scientists and Indigenous organisations has found. “The tipping point is not a future scenario but rather a stage already present in some areas of the region,” the report concludes. “Brazil and Bolivia concentrate 90% of all combined deforestation and degradation. As a result, savannization is already taking place in both countries.” Scientists from the Amazonian Network of Georeferenced Socio-environmental Information (RAISG) worked with the Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin (Coica) to produce the study, *Amazonia Against the Clock*, one of the biggest so far, covering all nine of the nations that contain parts of the Amazon. It found that only two of the nine, tiny Suriname and French Guiana, have at least half their forests still intact.

Amazonian Indigenous organisations representing 511 nations and allies are calling for a global pact for the permanent protection of 80% of the Amazon by 2025. The 80% target is a massive challenge given that only 74% of the original forest remains. Urgent action is needed not only to protect the forest still standing but also to restore degraded land and get back to that 80% level. “It’s difficult but doable,” said Alicia Guzmán, an Ecuadorian scientist who coordinated the report. “It is all dependent on the involvement of the Indigenous communities and people who live in the forest. That and the debt.” Guzmán said giving Indigenous groups stewardship of more land – and crucially, providing state protection for it and removing legal loopholes that allow extractive industries in – was the surest way to guarantee preservation.

Almost half the Amazon has been designated either a protected area or Indigenous territory, and only 14% of all deforestation takes place there. Currently, about 100m hectares of Indigenous land are under dispute or awaiting formal government recognition. “Having Indigenous people in the decision-making process means we count on the knowledge of those who know most about the forest,” said Guzmán. “And they need budgets.” They also need their land to be safeguarded from land-grabbers and extractive industries.

Mining is one of the growing threats, with protected areas and Indigenous land among the areas most coveted by prospectors. Much of the mining is clandestine and illegal but around half in protected areas is done legally, and scientists called on governments to reject or revoke mining permits. Oil is another threat, particularly in Ecuador, the source of 89% of all the crude exported from the region. Oil blocks cover 9.4 % of the Amazon’s surface and 43% of them are in protected areas and Indigenous land. More than half the Ecuadorian Amazon is designated as an oil block, the report said, and the portions in Peru (31%), Bolivia (29%) and Colombia (28%) are also worrying. Of even greater concern is farming. Agriculture is responsible for 84% of deforestation, and the amount of land given over to farming has tripled since 1985, according to the report. Brazil is one of the world’s main food exporters, with soy, beef and grains feeding large parts of the world and bringing in billions of dollars each year.

A key recommendation of the study is more collaboration between regional governments, international financial institutions and the private equity firms that hold much of the debt owed by Amazonian nations. Latin America is the most indebted region in the developing world and writing off that debt in return for preservation commitments would be significant. “They have a unique opportunity before them to forgive existing debt in exchange for commitments to end industrial extraction and promote protections in key priority areas, indigenous territories and protected areas,” the report says. Among the other 13 “solutions” proposed in the report are: a complete suspension of new licensing and financing for mining, oil, cattle ranching, large dams, logging, and other such activities; increased transparency and accountability along supply chains; the restoration of deforested land; new governance models that allow for increased representation and recognition for native peoples. Although the task is enormous, there are reasons for optimism and particularly in Brazil, where the president, Jair Bolsonaro, faces the former incumbent Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in a tense election on 2 October. Lula leads in the polls. During his time in power in the 2000s, deforestation fell by more than 80%. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/sep/05/large-parts-of-amazon-may-never-recover-major-study-says>

See also: World on brink of five ‘disastrous’ climate tipping points, study finds

<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/sep/08/world-on-brink-five-climate-tipping-points-study-finds>

‘SHE HAS BEEN THE ONE AND ONLY STABLE FEMALE IN MY LIFE’

Jeanette Winterson 11 September 2022

Britain does well under an old queen. Our greatest monarchs have been women: Elizabeth I, Victoria, Elizabeth II. Children, trying to recall hazy history, or horrible history, might remember Richard the Lionheart, or Henrys V and VIII, but they all know something about the three queens whose faces are stamped on to the body of the nation. Those long-lived and long-reigning female monarchs each ascended to the throne very young in life and carried time with them. They outlived their subjects, their favourites, their enemies and younger family members. In the cases of Elizabeth I and Victoria, alive at a time when life expectancy was far shorter than it is now, they must have seemed sustained by a magical or divine presence. The first Elizabeth’s quasi-goddess mystique in later life, England’s Gloriana, owed much to her astonishing longevity. She was the Virgin Queen eternally renewed.

Our own Queen had been “old” for 25 years – she was grandmother to a generation, many of whom are bored by royalty, and would call themselves republicans, not monarchists. Yet, to them, too, the Queen was “her maj”, affectionately nicknamed, just like the other Elizabeth – Gloriana, for sure, but also “good queen Bess”. Well-loved, and a fixture in the best sense of the word. The outpouring of sadness and mourning at the death of the Queen crosses age, class, politics, race and gender. Black cabs in their hundreds, neatly lined up on the Mall after the news broke, were a spontaneous and moving tribute, and so will be the thousands of ordinary people, old and young, who will stand all night to pay their respects as her funeral coffin passes. This is sincere, and much more of a touchstone of feeling than the usual words from the usual suspects.

Like the two great queens before her, Elizabeth II transcended her restricted coordinates. There she was, an upper-class woman with a silly accent, who loved horses and dogs, never went to school or had a job, yet found herself representing her country for 70 years.

She was an icon, and it doesn’t matter how much of that was projection. That’s the point and purpose of an icon – it’s a representative symbol, and its symbolic value is far greater and more complex than any intrinsic value. That’s why there is little to be gained from poring over what the Queen was, or wasn’t, in her own right. Was she progressive? Was she racist? Was she a good mother? What were her views on Brexit? Why didn’t she help Diana? We could go on for ever – and people do. But what do we learn? In my view, nothing. Her private self was irrelevant to an understanding of her symbolism.

The continuity that Elizabeth II brought to this country was more than that of a long life spanning so much change; she was the embodiment of our connection with history – history as a lived and living past, a rope slung across time. It is strange that the second Elizabethan age began, almost 400 years after the first, confronting the same problem: national identity.

Both Elizabeths ascended to the throne aged 25, the first in 1553, the second in 1952. Britain after the second world war was going to be a very different Britain from the great power of its imperial past. The Britain of Queen Victoria, the Britain of empire, was breaking apart, no matter how much the engines of state worked to prove otherwise. In any case, after two world wars in such rapid succession, people wanted a brave new world – fairer, more equal, with access to healthcare, to education, to opportunity. The old hierarchies had had their day. We needed a social contract. Ours was a Britain that would have to reimagine itself.

The other Elizabeth, 400 years earlier, became queen of a country ripped apart by religious battles: her father, Henry VIII, had broken with Rome – its power and its faith – and declared himself CEO of an upstart start-up religious institution – the Church of England. Elizabeth’s new-to-history roles as head of church and head of state demanded absolute determination and political astuteness. Civil war was a real fear, as was invasion by hostile powers backed by the church of Rome. It was after the defeat of the Spanish armada that Elizabeth moved from young queen to national icon – her Gloriana moment. Her job was to be the fixed point in turbulence. To persuade England to remedy the national migraine caused by its double vision of a Catholic past and a Protestant present, and to focus on itself as a healthy new nation shaping a robust new identity.

The Church of England and Shakespeare – what could be more British, across the globe? And yet what seems to be the time-honoured fabric of this country’s physical and mental landscapes – our village churches, our prayers and worship, our learning, our letters, our arts, our common language, starts here – phenomena, because that’s what they were, held together in the person of a young woman when women had no status and no power.

Fast-forward four centuries, and another young woman, also called Elizabeth, is facing her destiny across what Shakespeare called “the gap of time”.

Time, though, is only superficially linear. History repeats itself, perhaps because we fail to reimagine ourselves. What is the balance between tradition and innovation? Is custom superstition? Is custom just the way we have always done things because we fear doing things differently? The wrecking ball of revolution, big or small, smashes what we have loved, as well as clearing the way for something new. New doesn't always mean better – as the exhausting disruption and acceleration of our own times makes clear. And yet, nations, and their people, must reimagine themselves.

Our Elizabeth was born in 1926, two years before all women could vote on equal terms with men. Growing up in a house in Piccadilly, overlooking Green Park, she did not expect to be queen, and she was dismayed to become queen so young. That meant leaving behind the ordinary pleasures of a happy marriage, out of the public eye. But, as she had said in a remarkable speech in 1947, when she turned 21: “My whole life, whether it be short or long, will be devoted to your service.”

Did it make a difference, this not wanting to be queen? We are used to witnessing the unedifying scrambles of greasy pole politics, where ambition is the name of the game, and public service is a series of empty words. We are used to entitlement, too, those whose background and privilege cause them to believe in their own right to rule. The British empire whitewashed its landgrabs and brutality, its missionary coercion and robber-baron raids as the “white man’s burden” and “service”. Victoria’s reign saw this notion of service reach cult levels of self-justification. The civil service, the Foreign Service, military service, missionary service, the ubiquity of domestic service, all wrapped up in a word that implied selflessness and self-sacrifice – a word that reached its apogee in the slaughterhouse of the first world war, and never recovered its shine.

Elizabeth II, though, believed in service as a religious and moral imperative. It is duty, yes, but duty with humility. In theory, at least. And this explains why, as a monarch, she has been impatient and dismayed when others in her family do not recognise their duty of service.

That we might serve a higher purpose than ourselves is anathema to a modern society raised on neoliberal anti-values, where money and power are all that matters, and where society either doesn't exist (Thatcher), or is an asset to be stripped. Liz Truss’s first act as prime minister has been to decide that the UK must take on yet more debt to manage the energy crisis – borrow from the future rather than tax the present-day profiteering of fossil fuel companies. What a depressing sight it was to see the Queen, whose first prime minister was Winston Churchill, greeting Truss, the PM no one voted for apart from 80,000 or so ageing Tories.

The volatility forced on Britain since 2016 and Brexit has been contained – somewhat – in the person of the Queen. Surely, if she was still there, we were still there, a permanent presence on the world stage, part James Bond, part Paddington Bear, icons both, and how we fondly imagine ourselves – daring and successful, recognised and loved, eccentric, doing things our own way, world class, but sitting down with a sandwich and a pot of tea. It was testimony to the Queen’s savvy that she made those two short films, one with Bond and one with the bear. Fictional characters both. British inventions, like herself, playing a part that was real. Real live fictions existing simultaneously in 3D and in psychological space. In the national mythology.

The Queen always understood the power of radio – of voice – from when she made broadcasts during the war, but she began to understand the power of the image from the moment she agreed to the BBC televising her coronation in 1953. That alone marked her out as a new monarch for a new age.

Queen Victoria had been a photophile, an early adopter of the camera, enthusiastic about this 19th-century innovation. Early photographs of her date from the 1840s, but were kept private. By the 1860s, with the empire in full swing, she was prepared to issue images of herself to an eager public across the globe. Most of us have a photo image of her in our heads – older, fatter, a round figure in black bombazine, as unsmiling as that other, modern Victoria, Posh Spice. Elizabeth II smiled. That was a new look for monarchs. As royal photography moved from the stagey theatre of Cecil Beaton to the fast informality of Princess Margaret’s husband, Antony Armstrong-Jones, Lord Snowden, snapping overtook the staged portrait, followed by the real-time impact of the moving image, and the Queen realised she would be on show constantly, and judged accordingly. Better to grin and bear it.

The Queen’s home movies, recently released, delighted viewers. There is no doubt that she shared her great-great-grandmother Queen Victoria’s fascination with visual records – and Elizabeth embodied the transition to a visual age, where selfies, Insta, TikTok, non-language, cross-culture communication via images would start to supersede the written word as our primary means of record – ephemeral and not.

No, time is not linear. The Tudors would have loved Photoshop and deepfake – it’s what they paid court painters to do, after all. Elizabeth I never aged.

I will miss the Queen. As an adopted person, she has been the one and only stable female in my life. Her portrait (Beaton) hung over our coal fire above the brass flying ducks. When Mrs Winterson was at her most volatile, taking my dad's service (there's that word again) revolver out of the duster and fiddling with the bullets embedded in a tin of Pledge, I looked to the Queen for help. She was better than Jesus because she was alive, as well as possessing special powers.

Our family stood for the national anthem. We listened to the Queen's speech standing up, and I do still, on the radio, on Christmas Day. When I realised there was going to be an announcement about the Queen's death, I changed into black and waited. She deserved that. Not the fetishised mourning that Queen Victoria made into a gruesome fashion, but, yes, those black cabs, those lines of people. Part of us goes with her. We mourn ourselves. My friend, the American writer AM Homes, also adopted, texted me immediately, and said: "We're orphans now."

The Queen was never a maternal figure, either to her own children, it seems, or to the nation, but we were held by her in important ways. I go back to the speech Elizabeth I made in 1601, addressing the palace council chamber, her last speech before her death: "It is not my desire to live or reign longer than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had, and may have, many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never had, nor shall have, any that will love you better."

This is how many millions feel, I think, at the loss of Queen Elizabeth II.

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/sep/11/jeanette-winterson-on-mourning-the-queen>

WHEN WE ASKED THE QUEEN TO TEA WITH PADDINGTON, SOMETHING MAGIC HAPPENED – THE MOST LOVELY GOODBYE

Frank Cottrell-Boyce 11 September 2022

In 1972, Rick Sylvester skied off the edge of Mount Asgard in Canada in one of cinema's most electrifying stunts. It's the bit in *The Spy Who Loved Me* where Bond is chased over the edge of a cliff to his certain death. Except it turns out that Bond takes a parachute with him when he goes skiing just in case – a union jack parachute. In his brilliant book about Bond and the Beatles, *Love and Let Die*, John Higgs quotes the film's writer Christopher Wood: "All over the world, instead of howling and throwing stones at the union jack, they were bursting into spontaneous applause."

When we were working on the opening ceremony of the 2012 Olympic Games, the designer Mark Tildesley came up with the notion of having Bond help the Queen use another union jack parachute to sky dive into the Olympic stadium. Apparently, all you need to do to get people to love our flag is attach it to a national icon and drop them from a great height.

We're going to be seeing a lot of that flag in the next few days. I don't know how I'm going to feel about this. A flag carefully placed in the background of a cabinet minister's Zoom room makes me think of AA Milne's definition of a patriot as "someone who hates everything about the country apart from its flag".

However, by a twist of fortune, I've been involved in the creation of two of the most replayed images of the Queen. She acted in comedy sketches twice in her life. Once with James Bond and once with Michael Bond's creation, Paddington. Both times, I was part of the writing team. I should have been by royal appointment gag writer to HM.

There was no intention for her to appear in the first one. The producer Tracey Seaward went to what she thought would be a routine meeting at the palace to ask what the Queen would be wearing so that our actress could dress like her. It was the Queen's dresser, Angela Kelly, who said: "Oh, she wants to be in it."

She put herself up for that moment. It's a moment that was meant to amuse people for one night only. If she hadn't been in it herself that is all it would have been. But the way director Danny Boyle timed that turn of the head – that great reveal, "my God, it's really her" – means that 10 years on, it's one of her defining moments.

Moments like this happen incrementally. Part of their power is surprise. When we are surprised, our prejudices and opinions evaporate for a moment and we're briefly open hearted. Surprise is the nemesis of cynicism. One of the most common reactions to that moment was "I never felt patriotic before". Maybe. Maybe you felt something like patriotism – some love for the best of this place, but didn't know how to articulate it without condoning the worst. Maybe.

It used to be said that millions of people had dreams in which they had tea with the Queen. Even our dream life is going to have to change. Watching her have tea with Paddington will have to do instead. It's easy to see why that was so powerful. In retrospect, it was valedictory. A woman waving a happy goodbye to her grandchildren and great grandchildren, an image of love and a happy death.

But Paddington is an evacuee, a refugee, one-time prisoner, pretty much every category of need that is mentioned in Matthew 25. Here, he is being welcomed with tea and good manners. This is a strong statement of a set of values that are not uncontested in the corridors of power. To have them exemplified so joyfully at such a moment meant something.

One of the reasons the Queen's death feels so huge is that she was a living connection with that post-war consensus, that attempt to build a better nation and a rules-based world. A vision that is being demolished even as we plan her funeral. Ten years ago, we lived in a world of divided opinion. Now, we live in a world of divided reality.

A conspiracy theory went round that the establishment had employed Paddington's producers Framestore and Heyday (and me and the other writers James Lamont and Jon Foster, plus Ben "Paddington" Wishaw) to create a deep fake queen. No one seemed to question the reality of the bear.

I'm writing on Friday night. It won't be long before the mourning gives way to the furious name-calling that characterises our current political discourse. The sides in these culture wars are like custard. The harder you jump on them the more solid they become. No one changes their mind. I don't know much but I do know that the fury is in someone's interest and it's not ours.

People often quote GK Chesterton's line: "Men did not love Rome because she was great. She was great because they had loved her." But I love these (edited) sentences that precede it: "It is not enough for a man to disapprove of Pimlico; in that case he will merely move to Chelsea. Nor is it enough for a man to approve of Pimlico; for then he will remain Pimlico, which would be awful. The only way out of it seems to be for somebody to love Pimlico... If men loved Pimlico as mothers love children, arbitrarily, because it is theirs, Pimlico might be fairer than Florence."

The most emotional moment in that encounter with Paddington is when the bear says: "Thank you, Ma'am. For everything." People will ask: "What everything?" Well, make your own list. But I'm thankful for the way she used the peculiar power of her archaic role to allow us to glimpse, however fleetingly, that we share something good and that we need to defend that.

• **Frank Cottrell-Boyce** is a screenwriter and novelist

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/sep/11/when-we-asked-queen-to-tea-with-paddington-something-magic-happened-most-lovely-goodbye>

KING CHARLES WARNED HE COULD FACE 'RUSH FOR THE COMMONWEALTH DOOR'

Professor Phillip Murphy, a former director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies has said countries could attempt to become republics following the death of the former monarch. His comments come after the Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda declared that he would be continuing with plans of a referendum on whether to become a republic. Professor Murphy said: "A movement had already started before she died," adding that the movement is being fuelled by "a combination of things like the Black Lives Matter movement, the Windrush scandal and the growing momentum behind the move for reparations for slavery and colonialism".

Read more here: <https://www.gbnews.uk/news/king-charles-iii-warned-commonwealth-nations-could-make-rush-for-the-door-after-queen-elizabeth-ii-death/365637>

The Queen was head of state for as many as 32 countries in her 70-year reign; by the time of her death, just 14 other than the UK remained. And while Barbados' decision to become a republic last year was the first such exit in almost 30 years, the accession of Charles III provides a natural moment for many of his subjects across the Commonwealth to ask if the time is right to install a less remote head of state. On Saturday, Patrick Wintour and Oliver Holmes writing in the *Guardian* stated that in the Caribbean, "a legacy of empire and slavery that was entwined with British royalty for centuries has raised tough questions about the place of a foreign king".

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/sep/10/king-charles-ascension-ignites-debate-over-role-across-commonwealth-death-queen-elizabeth-ii>

Earlier this year, controversial Caribbean tours by the Earl and Countess of Wessex and the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge – now the Prince and Princess of Wales – led to renewed calls for reparations to reflect the lasting legacy of slavery in the region. All of this has crystallised in the weekend's moves towards a referendum in Antigua and Barbuda. The Caribbean is the focus of the most energised republican movements. Grace Carrington, a research fellow at the UCL Institute of the Americas, said that "whereas older generations in the Caribbean express some fondness for the Queen, that isn't the case with Charles, and so the dynamics are very different now". "People who I speak to who are pro-monarchy, it's always in the context of her as an individual, as a motherly or grandmotherly figure," said Carrington, who is currently in Saint Vincent. "Whereas on WhatsApp chats since her death, there was a real frustration here that the conversation has not been an opportunity to talk about the legacy of colonialism."

Change under way: Antigua and Barbuda, Jamaica, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Gaston Browne said on Saturday that his plan for a referendum in Antigua and Barbuda was “not an act of hostility ... but it is the final step to complete that circle of independence, to ensure that we are truly a sovereign nation”. It’s been in the post for a while: when the Wessexes visited in April, Browne set out his hope to become a republic and asked the couple to use their influence to achieve “reparatory justice”. But while Browne’s pledge is a milestone, it is by no means a done deal: any change would require a two-thirds majority in a referendum, and a 2018 vote to replace the privy council with the Caribbean court of justice as the final court of appeal fell well short of that threshold, not even reaching a simple majority.

The removal of the monarchy appears more straightforward in Jamaica, where a simple majority would be enough – a threshold which polls have indicated would probably be met. A referendum could be framed as a choice between becoming a republic and endorsing Charles as king to more strongly motivate “yes” voters. While the prime minister, Andrew Holness, in his statement of condolence on Thursday made no reference to any plans, he said last year: “There is no question that Jamaica has to become a republic.” And in March he told William and Kate that “we are moving on” and that Jamaica intended to be “an independent, developed, prosperous country”.

In Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, where protesters called for slave trade reparations during the Wessexes’ visit, the prime minister, Ralph Gonsalves, proposed a referendum in July but said it could only go ahead with bipartisan support. “People are looking to Saint Vincent as one of the places that could do it,” said Carrington. “Interestingly, it is the countries on these royal tours that have seen conversations – whereas previously there might have been apathy, the fact of discussions about whether they were invited, who’s paying for it, and how anachronistic it can look, has made it relevant.” But, again, the requirement for a two-thirds majority in any referendum is a significant barrier.

Change possible: The Bahamas, Belize, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia

Other Caribbean countries have active republican movements and the support of senior politicians but have not seen movement recently. Again, the threshold for change is a crucial question: the Bahamas, Saint Kitts and Nevis and Saint Lucia all require a simple majority, while Grenada requires a two-thirds vote.

Belize is the only country in the Caribbean where Charles could be removed by a parliamentary vote alone, which makes it “one of the most interesting ones to watch”, Carrington said. Local political dynamics are also a factor.

In the Bahamas, the prime minister, Phillip “Brave” Davis, has cited next year’s 50th anniversary of independence as a natural moment to consider replacing the monarchy.

Meanwhile in Grenada, Arley Gill, chairman of the National Reparations Committee, told i in June that ordinary people “have no reservations” about becoming a republic. But he added: “Sometimes with a referendum like this ... if the opposition sees an opportunity to throw a cheap blow then you may very well find the government will be hesitant to go forward.” Carrington agreed. “The need for a referendum is a real impediment. Almost always in the region, they get centred around the political personalities rather than the issue – and the leader who called the referendum loses the next election. So it’s not always a smart political decision.”

No change for now: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu

Countries where the legacy of the slave trade is less salient in contemporary politics have shown significantly less appetite for change. Leaders in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Tuvalu have all reiterated their support for the monarchy in recent days.

Republicanism is popular in Australia, Canada and New Zealand in principle, but well down the political agenda – at least for now. In Australia, the prime minister, Anthony Albanese, a staunch republican, created the role of assistant minister for the republic earlier this year – but now says that “now is not the time” to consider a referendum. Cait Kelly’s piece here explores divided feelings among young Australians:

<https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2022/sep/12/were-supposed-to-be-egalitarians-young-australians-divided-on-rule-by-monarchy>

In New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern has said she expects the country to become a republic in her lifetime but that it is not “something New Zealanders feel particularly strongly about”. And she said that she expected the country’s relationship to the royal family to “deepen” during Charles’s reign.

In Canada, majorities tend to favour an appointed head of state. But the prime minister, Justin Trudeau, suggested last year that the question is not a priority, and there are significant constitutional impediments: any change would require a unanimous decision by every provincial legislature as well as the national parliamentary bodies. Trudeau’s remarks after the news of the Queen’s death did not suggest that would change soon. “In a complicated world, her steady grace and resolve brought comfort and strength to us all,” he said. “

FAMILIES WILL BE GETTING POORER THIS WINTER EVEN WITH A BIG ENERGY BILLS SUPPORT PACKAGE

6 September 2022: Households “will be getting poorer” over the coming months even with further financial support to freeze Britons’ energy bills, economists have warned. Economists and experts told ministers at the Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy select committee that sharp energy price rises mean the UK will struggle to avoid a recession, irrespective of action from a new Government.

Torsten Bell, chief executive of the Resolution Foundation thinktank, said even a sizeable rescue package would not fully protect people. He said: “Even with the big policy announcement this week, households will be getting poorer. They don’t have lots of non-essential spending and luxuries they can cut to pay their energy bills and that context is really worrying. Thousands of people will have their energy cut off this winter.” Bell stressed that the situation will be particularly tough for people on pre-payment meters, as they may not be able to build arrears. Other customers are likely to build up “very large arrears” which could damage their credit ratings and have a long-term impact to their financial wellbeing.

It comes as the Bank of England has warned that inflation is set to soar to more than 13% this year and average annual energy bills had been expected to jump by 80% in October from £1,971 to £3,549 without further action.

Clare Moriarty, the chief executive of Citizens Advice, said the cost of living crisis was already here for people. She said: “We estimate that at least one in five people won’t be able to pay energy bills in October if nothing is done. We hear the messages about support packages, but right here on the ground we are already seeing very large numbers of people who simply cannot keep lights on and food on the table.”

And Tom Waters, senior research economist at the Institute for Fiscal Studies thinktank, said it would be hard for the UK to avoid a recession. He said: “When you are seeing inflation hit 10%, and even higher, but earnings are not keeping up with it, you would expect that to feed through to consumer spending whatever measures. It’s difficult to see how you could avoid a pretty severe hit to the economy.” <https://www.independent.co.uk/business/households-will-get-poorer-even-if-energy-bills-frozen-economists-warn-mps-b2160821.html>

HOW A LIBERAL NORDIC NATION CHANGED COURSE

Nimo Omer, *The Guardian* 15 September 2022: Last night, a nail-biting election in Sweden that went down to the last postal votes finally reached its conclusion: the Social Democrat prime minister, Magdalena Andersson, conceded defeat to a conservative bloc including the far-right Sweden Democrats (SD). Jimmie Akesson, the SD’s leader, said it was time to “make Sweden good again”.

It was no landslide victory, the right-wing coalition only won a majority of three out of 349 seats. And centre-right parties have said that the SD will not be given ministerial power. But the fact remains that a radical party which emerged from violent neo-Nazi groups in the 1980s is now the second-biggest grouping in Sweden’s parliament, and the largest on the right, with more than 20% of the vote.

The SD have sought to move away from their ethno-nationalist past, instead portraying themselves as any other nationalist conservative party. They even changed their logo from a flaming torch with the Swedish flag emblazoned on it to a yellow and blue flower, because what indicates deradicalisation like a nice flower? But given the party’s history, and hard-line stance on immigration and crime, their success has already caused real alarm.

For today’s newsletter, I spoke to journalist and University of Glasgow sociology lecturer Dominic Hinde, a Sweden expert who has been travelling around the country since June, and David Crouch, who has been covering the election for the Guardian, about how Sweden got here.

Before their success forced the resignation of Magdalena Andersson last night, the Sweden Democrats had been operating in the background of their country’s politics for more than three decades. But they have only entered the mainstream since 2018, when they won 17.6% of the vote – up from around 13% in 2014. With a few high-profile expulsions of neo-Nazi members alongside a wider rebranding effort, the party appears to have successfully persuaded many voters of its acceptability. It is not yet clear how the Sweden Democrats will work with the centre-right Moderates, Christian Democrats and Liberals who form the rest of the bloc. The Moderates may well lead a minority administration. Nonetheless, the size of the SD vote leaves them in a strong position to get concessions from the rest.

The result shouldn’t be too surprising, said Crouch. “We’ve seen anti-immigrant far-right parties getting significant votes in Scandinavian countries,” he said. However, the neo-Nazi origins of the Sweden Democrats have made this result even more shocking to outsiders. How has a country that once favoured internationalism and a more open border policy welcomed hostile anti-immigration rhetoric?

The political context

There has been an “ongoing political crisis” in Sweden, said Hinde. The Social Democrats have governed in coalition, and over the last parliamentary term, they and their partners have been unable to pass any significant policies.

The Sweden Democrats, alongside other right-wing parties, have capitalised on this stalemate to paint an image of the government as being a “left-wing coalition of chaos”, Hinde said. Over several years, the Sweden Democrats have successfully focused on anti-immigration and tough-on-crime policies. And that appears to have dragged mainstream parties to the right.

In a speech in July, the leader of the centre-right Moderates Party, Ulf Kristersson, congratulated the Sweden Democrats for their foresight in opposing large-scale immigration. The Social Democrat prime minister, Magdalena Andersson, said that she doesn’t want Sweden to have “Somalitowns” or other ethnic clusters in Swedish cities.

Less than a decade ago, the Sweden Democrats were political pariahs, and overtly praising them – much less entering into a coalition with them – would have been unheard of. As recently as 2015, the former prime minister and then-leader of the Moderate party, Fredrik Reinfeldt, referred to the Sweden Democrats leaders as “racists” and “stiffly xenophobic”. But since their significant vote gains in the 2018 election, the centre-right has seen that cooperation with the Sweden Democrats can get them back into power.

A country in decline?

So how did Sweden get here? While the country has long enjoyed an image as a prosperous society with a high standard of living, a strong social safety net, and a tradition of progressive values, many Swedish voters are frustrated and dissatisfied with the way the country is governed.

To those people, the perception of their country no longer matches the reality: “There’s been a massive decline in the quality of public services, Swedish healthcare is a shadow of what it used to be, and the education system is really suffering,” Hinde said. All of this has fed a narrative that the Sweden Democrats have been pushing of a country in decline.

This sense of decline was heightened after the refugee crisis in 2015, when Sweden accepted a record high of more than 150,000 asylum seekers. That’s almost 1.5% of its overall population. As in other European countries, an initial welcome gave way to suspicion. In April, outgoing prime minister Andersson said she regretted that the government had allowed “parallel societies” to develop.

A particularly intense sticking point has been this link between immigration and crime. Immigrants and refugees have been blamed for the increase in gun violence in the country’s suburbs by just about everyone. A high-profile shooting only a few weeks ago in a playground left a mother and child injured. Most of these shootings are related to gang activity, and while most of the victims are gang members, random people are sometimes caught in the crossfire. The Sweden Democrats have offered a simple cause of this unease and a solution: raise the drawbridge.

These kinds of solutions may not be as straightforward as they seem: Crouch spoke to an academic criminologist earlier in this week about the link between immigration and violent crime, “and he said the numbers are so small that it’s very hard to draw any firm conclusions”. But the narrative from both the centre-left Social Democrats and the central-right Moderate party has fundamentally been the same as the Sweden Democrats: immigration is a problem.

The international view

With the Sweden Democrats gaining such influence, this election has already affected Sweden’s international image. The Moderates are doing damage control, Hinde said, “staging a big press operation to reassure allies in the international press that they’re the sensible guys in charge”.

Sweden has a much larger cultural and political footprint than its size might be expected to dictate, and one of the reasons it’s maintained its place on the global stage is because of its progressive reputation.

So, even though the Sweden Democrats are in a three-seat majority government, and have no ministerial power, they have managed to potentially put Sweden on a wildly different trajectory. “Sweden always registers very highly in these country indexes about best national brands, it’s got very good diplomatic reputations and a good human rights record,” Hinde said. “And this is integral to Swedish politics and how Swedes see themselves.”

Read David Crouch’s report from Gothenburg 14 September 2022

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/14/swedish-pm-concedes-election-defeat-to-bloc-led-by-far-right-sweden-democrats>

CARNALL PEACE AWARD 2022

On September 21st, United Nations International Peace Day, the recipient of the Carnall Peace Award for 2022 will be Professor Paul Rogers, Emeritus Professor of Peace Studies and International Relations at Bradford University and a regular commentator on global security issues in both the national and international media. He will present his lecture *"Global Peace and Security After Ukraine"* at 6.30pm at the Augustine Church Edinburgh.

The lecture will be followed (7:15–8pm) by a panel discussion and Q&A, moderated by Professor Christine Bell, co-director of the Global Justice Academy at Edinburgh University, in which Paul Rogers will be joined by Yurii Sheliashenko, executive secretary of the Ukrainian Pacifist Movement and Board member of World Beyond War (on zoom from Kyiv) and Vijay Prashad, Director of Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research, Editor of Leftworld Books and a fellow at Renmin University of China (on zoom from Chile).

The discussion will focus on the geopolitical implications of the crisis in Ukraine.

"In a world where war in Europe creates hunger in Africa, where a pandemic can circle the globe in days and reverberate for years, where emissions anywhere mean rising sea levels everywhere, the threat to our collective prosperity from a breakdown in global cooperation cannot be overstated. ... The root cause of what we face today is the war. And it is the war that must end." (Kristalina Georgieva, International Monetary Fund Managing Director, April 2022)

You can take part either online, or in-person. This is a free event but please register you are coming on Eventbrite: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/carnall-peace-award-lecture-global-peace-security-after-ukraine-tickets-414013323997>

Organised by Peace & Justice (Scotland) which has worked since 1980 to create a culture of peace through nonviolence, human rights, conflict resolution and ecological sustainability. Our projects include Peacebuilding for Schools, leading the Opposing War Memorial project and the Peace Cranes series of exhibitions and events. We are active in the Scrap Trident Coalition, the Scottish Peace Network and, with Medact and Scottish CND, in the Don't Bank on the Bomb Scotland Network Scotland.

About the Carnall Peace Award

Geoffrey Carnall was known as an exceptional scholar when he was studying English Literature in 1945 at Magdalen College, Oxford, and was also already active in politics and peace activism. He had registered as a conscientious objector in 1944 and consequently served in the Friends Service Unit in India from 1948–50. There he came under the Quaker influence of Horace Alexander and explored Alexander's Gandhian non-violence as India and Pakistan struggled on the brink of war. After India he returned to academia, first in Belfast and then in 1960 Edinburgh, where he met his wife Elisabeth Seale Carnall, founder of the Quaker Women's Group and long-standing supporter of Campaign Against the Arms Trade.

Geoffrey was deeply involved in the peace movement, including direct action and a court case (which he won) on the legitimacy of leafleting people as they left the famous Edinburgh military tattoo. He and Elisabeth were renowned for their gentle and generous Quaker hospitality, and together they set up a small resource centre that has since grown into Peace and Justice Scotland. The centre was a base for the conversations and friendship that Geoffrey and Elisabeth enjoyed so much as they nurtured the project carefully until their deaths in 2015.

The legacy they left to the enterprise includes an annual award which this year we are honoured to make to Professor Paul Rogers, who will deliver the annual lecture in their name.

In 2021 we awarded the Carnall Peace Award to Yemeni human rights organisation Mwatana <https://mwatana.org/en/> and held an online event featuring art and music by Shatha Altowai, Yemeni visual artist and Saber Bamatraf, Yemeni pianist and composer as well as talks by Mwatana's chair person Radhya Al-mutawakel. Watch the event again here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HhCwQeV0r10>
<https://peaceandjustice.org.uk/carnall-peace-award/>

PAX CHRISTI SEEKS CHIEF EXECUTIVE

Pax Christi England and Wales are looking to appoint a creative and energetic peacemaker to be responsible for developing, co-ordinating and implementing the work of our membership organisation.

If you would be interested in applying for this post, please download the job description and the application form on the link below. Completed application forms should be sent with a covering letter to chair@paxchristi.org.uk
Closing Date: 30 September 2022. If you would like more information, please contact admin@paxchristi.org.uk
Download the job description and application form here: <https://paxchristi.org.uk/ceo-vacancy/>

OCTOBER

1 Christian CND Conference and AGM in Liverpool and on zoom C3 Church, Kempston Street, Liverpool L3 8HE 10.30 am – 3.30 pm Join us for speakers, workshops and a chance to share together. Register for free ticket <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/christian-cnd-agm-2022-tickets-402279888977>

Also available to take part in through Zoom.

<https://us06web.zoom.us/meeting/register/tZYrce6rqTggHNIsfnRIEu4UYxNclr3hhjdz>

2 International Day of Nonviolence <https://paxchristi.org.uk/wp/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Prayer-Vow-October-2022.pdf>

4 St Francis Feast Day – Celebrate end of season of Creation

7 World Day of Prayer preparation day Manchester More details: <https://www.wwdp.org.uk/preparation-days/>

Theme for March 2023 'I Have Heard About Your Faith' Eph 1:15-19 Service prepared by the women of Taiwan

7-8 Green Christian Conference Friday 7.30 Zoom event. Saturday In-person day at Priory Rooms Birmingham.

Book at <https://greenchristian.org.uk/conference2022/>

8 CND annual conference and AGM To join Email: conference@cnduk.org <https://cnduk.org>

13 World Day of Prayer preparation day Liverpool (see details for Manchester 7 October above)

14 CAFOD QUIZ see September 16

15 World Day of Prayer preparation day Preston (see details for Manchester 7 October above)

15 LIVING IN THE LIGHT OF CHRIST'S PEACE: Exploring the Gospel Non-Violence' Pax Christi Day in Liverpool

Organised by Merseyside Pax Christi. Please bring food for a shared lunch; tea/coffee are provided Suggested

offering £10 or £5 unwaged. Venue : Irenaeus Centre, 32 Great Georges Rd L22 1RD (nearest station : Waterloo on

Merseyrail) For information and booking contact Jan Harper 07591 082195 janharper1@yahoo.co.uk

16 NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT NOT NUCLEAR WAR! CND public conference for discussion and debate (see 8 Oct)

16-23 Week of Prayer for World Peace <https://weekofprayerforworldpeace.co.uk/> Annual Gathering will again this year only be on line. This is to allow as many as possible to participate. Sunday, 16 October at 3:30pm. Zoom link is:

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/82952967543?pwd=bmJWSzA3U1d3ZzVocDlzbkQ5K3dTZz09>

Meeting ID: 829 5296 7543 Passcode: 549956

17–23 Challenge Poverty Week England and Wales - an opportunity to highlight the incredible work being done by community groups around the country, and to show what can and must be done differently. It's an opportunity for voices that are often ignored to be heard loud and clear. It's a chance to focus attention on the need to tackle poverty – and to show the immense difference we could make to our society if we do.

<https://challengepoverty.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Challenge-Poverty-Week-England-Wales-2022-toolkit.pdf>

18 The fourth in the Lincoln Lecture Series *Just Church?* How does Catholic Social Teaching fit into the mission of the Church of England? What is the Anglican legacy for the common good and how might it become a church for England? Speaker Malcolm Brown, Director of Mission and Public Affairs for the Church of England, and Visiting Professor in Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Winchester. He is author of *Anglican Social Theology: Renewing the Vision Today*. See details for 27 September.

NOVEMBER

8 'The Impacts of Climate change on Migration' talk by Paul Tacon CWDF Forum meeting. Paul works in the Migration Team based at the Geneva head-quarters of the International Labour Organisation. He will talk on zoom. This meeting will be in conjunction with the University of Chester Department of Social and Political Science, and will be held on the university campus at 7pm. Details of the venue will be confirmed later. Contact Ann McCarthy mccarthyj@talktalk.net

7 -18 COP27 in Sharm al-Sheikh, Egypt

9 Finish of Walk 2COP27

18 CAFOD QUIZ (see September 16)

● **Read the Autumn issue of MouthPeace the quarterly online newsletter for Shrewsbury, Liverpool and Lancaster dioceses** <https://www.justice-and-peace.org.uk/cms/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Mouthpeace-Autumn-2022.pdf>

● **Read NJPN's weekly column** online on Independent Catholic News www.indcatholicnews.com or find articles be uploaded onto our website at www.justice-and-peace.org.uk

● Many items taken from the daily e-bulletin Independent Catholic News www.indcatholicnews.com an invaluable free resources for up-to-date J&P news, events and in-depth articles.

● **Sign up** for regular news and information from NJPN including a **new fortnightly e-bulletin with a comprehensive round-up of current events, campaigns, e-petitions and resources** (plus copies of this newsletter & back issues for NJPN North West) at www.justice-and-peace.org.uk or contact ebulletin@justice-and-peace.org

or admin@justice-and-peace.org.uk 020 7901 4864

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