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Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation.

Justice in the World (1971), n6





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editorial

ince the time of the ancient Egyptians, the symbol for Justice has been a balance of the powers in that society. And at the root of every injustice there is an imbalance of power. What cannot be achieved jointly or through cooperation is pushed through by force. It is an imbalance that creates victims, usually amongst those already disempowered by poverty or oppression. So we discover the victims who find life made more difficult because of welfare benefit changes; who are forced from their homes and countries by conflicts in which they have no say; who wait for sleek aircraft to bomb them, with expressions of regret for unavoidable civilian casualties. Unbalanced power is about forcing people to do things or to have things done to them. 'To define force' says the French spiritual writer Simone Weil, 'it is that x that turns anybody who is subjected to it into a thing. Exercised to its limit, it turns a person into a thing in the most literal sense; it makes a corpse out of them.' She then goes on to say something even more striking: 'Only the one who has measured the dominion of force, and knows how not to respect it, is capable of love and justice.

We live in a world where the machinery of power is lubricated by wealth. It is a globalised world in which, whether we like it or not, we are all bought and paid for. The transactions may be sugar coated, the force may seem benign, but we are still the objects of consumer society. The paradox is that we are, willingly, often largely our own oppressors. What we eat, drink, wear, drive and think has been moulded and merchandised to maximise profit and compliance under the illusion of free choice. It is a globalised world which uncannily resembles the criticism of Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*: 'To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers, may at first sight, appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers, but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers.' For 'shopkeepers' these days we would probably substitute international financiers, media moguls and PR men.

The logic of profit and vested interest forces us to buy in to its delusion of self sufficiency. It even has its own credo: I believe in myself. I am economically independent. I know what I want and I believe in my own effort. If you fall by the wayside you can only blame yourself.

It is however a false self, an idol that contradicts the divine origin of our human dignity as well as its social purpose for the common good. Striving in its own interest, it is a self that disregards the needs of others, which is why developed countries are content to carry poverty rates of 15-20% and even higher rates of child poverty; and developing countries are left at the mercy of the market. If my dignity is more important than yours, then force is the order of the day and casualties are inevitable.

The poet Hugh MacDiarmid describes this process as 'the curst conceit o' bein' richt that damns the vast majority of men'. The word 'conceit' seems exactly accurate (compare the Scots phrase 'He has a good conceit of himself') with its connotations of unjustified self importance. This is also complicated by a whole series of attitudes that are noted by social scientists under the term 'confirmation bias'. This is the process by which we readily accept evidence which appears to endorse our existing beliefs; and we either disregard or treat selectively any evidence that seems to contradict those beliefs. Any change that seems to threaten our self interest is likely to be blocked or twisted to fit with our current mindset. It is related to 'comfort zone' thinking, in which we recognise the difficulties and even the distress of our current situation, but are afraid and apprehensive of making any change. We opt for the devil we know.

Yet it is the very process of facing up to the carefully constructed shell of the self with its good conceit, as well as facing the fear of change that constitutes measuring the dominion of force, and learning how *not* to respect it. This is what Simone Weil speaks of as being preliminary to being truly capable of love and justice. It is my experience that those who love us often do so for reasons that are not on our own CV, which can be quite disconcerting. We have to dismantle the shell of self and open ourselves to what was always there: God's unconditional love. And to be loved unconditionally — Lord, that quite literally takes us out of ourselves.

There is a striking image in a poem called *Weighing In* by Seamus Heaney in which the brutality of the crucifixion is seen as revealing a deeper meaning:

Prophesy who struck thee! When soldiers mocked Blindfolded Jesus and he didn't strike back

They were neither shamed nor edified, although Something was made manifest—the power Of power not exercised, of hope inferred

By the powerless forever.

It is a remarkable insight. For me, however what follows is more remarkable: the realisation of our unease with the counsels of perfection.

Still, for Jesus' sake, Do me a favour, would you, just this once? Prophesy, give scandal, cast the stone.

How much human frailty is encompassed in that 'just this once'. How often is the shortcut of force justified as the necessary means to a desirable end?

So is it simply true then that power tends to corrupt, tends only towards abuse? It seems that there is no simplicity. In a reflection on Romans 7:19-20, 'I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do', the great Protestant theologian Paul Tillich draws out the intractable nature of the problem: 'It is our human predicament that a power takes hold of us, that does not come from us but is in us, a power that we hate and at the same time gladly accept. We are fascinated by it; we play with it; we obey it. But we know that it will destroy us if we are not grasped by another power that will resist and control it. We are fascinated by what can destroy us, and in moments even feel a hidden desire to be destroyed by it. This is how Paul [the apostle] saw himself, and how a great many of us see ourselves. People who call themselves Christian - parents, teachers, preachers - tell us that we should be 'good' and obey the will of God. For many of them the will of God is not very different from the will of those socially correct people whose conventions they ask us to accept.'

It is our good fortune then, or rather our grace, that it is not only God's love that is unconditional; but also God's mercy and forgiveness and power. And from that omnipotence comes our own empowering, so memorably expressed in the English of the Book of Common Prayer, of Mary's Magnificat:

For he that is mighty hath magnified me: and holy is his Name. And his mercy is on them that fear him: throughout all generations. He hath shewed strength with his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from their seat: and hath exalted the humble and meek. He hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich he hath sent empty away. (Luke 1:49-53)

Tim Duffy

PACEM IN TERRIS CONFERENCE

The following report comes from Miriam McHardy, Justice and Peace worker for the Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh

Peace is more than the absence of war! This theme, and how we ensure a just and peaceful world was the theme of a conference in Rome 4-6 October, organised by the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. Marking the 50th anniversary of the publication of the encyclical letter, *Pacem in Terris* written by Blessed John XXII, the conference reminded us that peace is only achieved and sustained when based on rights and responsibilities.

Traveling with Philippa Bonella of SCIAF, I had the privilege to represent the National Justice and Peace Commission as we joined the conference for the second and third days, the first day being reserved for rectors and academics working with catholic educational institutions. Along with delegates from many Justice and Peace Commissions and countries, we had the opportunity to listen to many eminent speakers reflect on the influence and impact of *Pacem in Terris* on secular and global institutions over the last 50 years.

With the theme 'International Organisation and the Universal Common Good: The relevance of the message of *Pacem in Terris* today' on our first day, we heard from representatives of the UN along with experts in human rights law on the influence of *Pacem in Terris* in supporting and promoting Human Rights and the effective working of public authority including the United Nations. This was followed by inputs from academics and political figures including ambassadors to the Holy See, sharing their experiences of regional integration in different parts of the globe. Representatives from the Continental Bishops conferences then gave a response, with both parties reflecting on regional co-operation as a method for realising the Common Good of the human family and working for peace.

Our second day, 'Peace: New Challenges' explored the current causes of injustice and conflict in our world today, leading to a breakdown of peace. With presentations on a range of subjects including inter religious dialogue, the economic crisis, access to resources, and the use of biological sciences we were reminded that common

themes emerge, including the impact of unequal access to resources, and a failure to prioritise the Common Good and the Dignity of the Human Person. Case studies reminded us of how the global church in the local context strives to prioritise these areas as a foundation for the promotion of peace, and that *Pacem in Terris* fifty years on is as relevant today in encouraging us to reflect on the causes of injustice and conflict which face many communities as ever it was.

As at all these events, one of the most significant impressions is the reminder of what it means to be part of the Global Church. Meeting and sharing experiences with brothers and sisters from around the world, often working in contexts significantly riskier than our own, yet all working from the same foundation of striving to work for the Gospel imperative to work for a world of love, justice, peace and reconciliation is empowering.

Finally, we were very lucky to be present at an audience with Pope Francis where he reflected on the relevance of Pacem in Terris today and the challenge to all of us to make the words *Justice* and *Solidarity* a reality! 'Pacem in Terris traces a direct line from the peace that is to be constructed in the heart of mankind to a rethinking of our model of development and action at all levels, in order that our world becomes a world of peace. I wonder if we are ready to accept the invitation' he asked.

One thing that struck myself and others at the audience was that the Pope appeared tired when he first joined us, yet as he spoke, and especially at the end as he expressed his distress at the drowning of immigrants off the island of Lampedusa and our role to work collaboratively to end this shame, his concern and passion for the people and the causes of their suffering was apparent. It reminded me that while we may all feel tired at times in our work for justice and peace, remembering that all issues of injustice have a human person at their heart who is loved and cared for by God, can help to re-energise us, and motivate us to continue in our work for a justice based on the values of the Kingdom of God.

Reducing Emissions, Delivering Climate Justice

Six bloggers, six weeks, one challenge: to change the way they travel

utumn 2013 saw the launch of a new project from our friends at Stop Climate Chaos Scotland. A lively new blogging website — Travelling Tales - will feature regular blogs from a small group of people across Scotland taking on the challenge to switch to a more low carbon form of transport for six weeks. They will share their experiences of this change, highlighting the good and bad aspects of using low carbon transport.

For some time now, it has been clear that much more effort is needed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from the transport sector, which accounts for a quarter of total emissions in Scotland. This will be essential to ensure our country plays its fair part in tackling climate change.

Transport choices affect all of us. We all need to move about, whether it's popping down to the shops, commuting to work, taking children to school or going on holiday. Everyone uses transport in one form or another. The travel choices we make have an impact on the environment, including our individual and collective carbon

footprints.

The *Travelling Tales* website will share some real life stories about transport choices. Our bloggers will tell you what happens as they make these changes, the obstacles and benefits; as well as how they felt at the time and afterwards.

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Follow the blog at **www.travellingtales.org** and on Twitter @**TravelTalesScot**. At the same time, Stop Climate Chaos will run a campaign calling on the Scottish Government to provide people in Scotland with much better low carbon transport options. We will be joining them to call for more funding to be made available for cycling and walking, to make it easier and safer to take the healthy option and get out of the car wherever possible. You can support the campaign by emailing your MSPs – find out more via the J&P website.

Justice and Peace is a member of the Stop Climate Chaos Scotland coalition, and through them we work with a large and diverse range of organisations on climate change issues.

Scottish Climate Justice Fund is doubled

n 9th October the Scottish Government and the Mary Robinson Foundation hosted an international conference on climate justice, where the Scottish Government announced it is doubling the Climate Justice Fund. This fund was set up in summer 2012 to provide people in developing countries affected by climate change with support to adapt to its impacts. The fund now stands at £6m over 3 years.

Have Poppies had their Day?

t is the time for poppies again. They will sprout on innumerable lapels and dress fronts, the approved public symbol of remembrance in Britain and the Commonwealth, initially for the soldiers who died in World War I, but more recently in the UK of armed forces who have died in subsequent conflicts. The tradition of the poppy derives from a poem In Flanders Field by Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae and written in May 1915. The first two verses are an elegy for the dead, which is spoiled by a crass militarism in the final stanza: 'Take up our quarrel with the foe/... If ye break faith with us who die/We shall not sleep'. During World War I smart young women would aggressively approach men in the street, tell them they should be fighting at the front and without more ado give them a white feather as a mark of cowardice. For myself, I tend to be with Bob Dylan's With God on our Side on this: 'The First World War, boys/It came and it went/The reason for fighting/I never did get'.

Some aspects of Poppy Day (or month as it has become) have come to resemble events like Mothers' Day, which are linked to real human feelings, but are actually about making money. If you want to buy into this particular endorsement of the culture of militarism (now expanded to include the Poppy Raffle and Poppy Lottery), that's your choice. But those who object are made to feel churlish for pointing out that the Poppy industry is a way of government avoiding its responsibility of care for those it sent to war. Rather than a sign of remembering, the poppy has become a badge of a tawdry patriotism as well as a money spinner.

The force of symbols changes with time. The centenary might be a good time to recognise that the poppy has had its time. After all, a century earlier, around 1810, this cheery little conclusion to a poem entitled *The Poppy* appeared, written by Jane Taylor (more famous for the lyric to *Twinkle, Twinkle, little star'*):

Although within its scarlet breast No sweet perfume was found, It seemed to think itself the best Of all the flowers round,

From this I may a hint obtain And take great care indeed, Lest I appear as pert and vain As does this gaudy weed.

The orthodoxy of the red poppy, however, does not generally accept any alternative. Hence, the wearing of a white poppy, originating in a campaign by the No More War movement (subsequently merged with the Peace Pledge Union), still provokes suspicion and resentment. Their request for 'No More War' to be embossed on the button of the red poppy was rejected; and the white poppy movement came into being. But I think we have to be careful: personally I am disinclined to enlist the dead in any campaign. I am glad that Catholic churches are largely free of the military paraphernalia of flags and tombstones glorifying those who died (usually of higher rank) in war found in the established churches.

Among the cack handed initiatives to emanate from the government (and an essentially cowed opposition) are the plans to 'commemorate' the

centenary of the First World War. First off, it's really none of the government's business to be doing such things at all; far less something in such obvious bad taste.

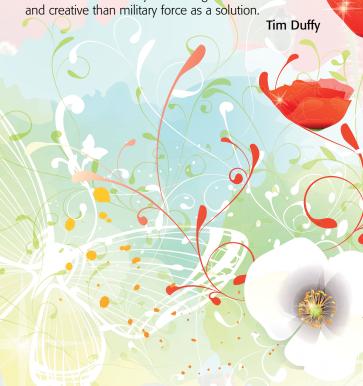
Despite the attempt to avoid the word 'celebration', the underlying idea keeps cropping up. The most simple test is: would this initiative ever have arisen if Britain had lost World War !?

'Our ambition is a truly national commemoration, worthy of this historic centenary', says David Cameron. 'I want a commemoration that captures our national spirit, in every corner of the country, from our schools to our workplaces, to our town halls and local communities. A commemoration that, like the Diamond Jubilee ... says something about who we are as a people.' It will indeed say something about who we are as a people: a bunch of dummies to be diverted from the real problems in the country by the blandishments of a militaristic PR campaign of supposed past glories.

Almost a million British dead, and 1.6 million wounded in a total of 16 million dead in World War I alone; and he wants to compare it to the Diamond Jubilee. I find that obscene. A committee of political and military has-beens will think up ways of commemorating the Somme and Passchendaele. If something is worth remembering it should not be confined to centenaries. Do we simply forget all these horrors as we move on to the next centennial item? It is not the remembering itself that is important. It is what we learn from it that will affect future action that counts.

Professor Tom Devine notes in his *The Scottish Nation:* 'Of the 557,000 Scots who enlisted in all services, 26.4 percent lost their lives. This compares with an average death rate of 11.8 percent for the rest of the British army between 1914 and 1918.' Should we in Scotland, therefore, be looking for slightly more than twice the remembrance?

I suggest that we might ask that the proposed £50 million for World War I Commemoration in the UK at least be matched with funding for non violence education in schools and in the wider society in memory of the 'war to end all wars'; but also to offer society something more worthwhile and creative than military force as a solution.



Churches & Homelessness

Margaret McGowan chair of Motherwell J&P Core Group, reports on a recent Conference

recently attended a meeting arranged by Scottish Churches Housing Action on the theme Churches and Homelessness - a reflection, in Renfield St Stephen's Centre Glasgow.

The first speaker was Lt-Col Ian Barr of the Salvation Army, who spoke about church engagement with offering hospitality to those in need. Hospitality can be defined as 'the quality or disposition of receiving and treating guests and strangers in a warm, friendly, generous way.' In the New Testament, he said, the Greek word translated 'hospitality' literally means 'love of strangers'.

During His public ministry, Jesus and His disciples depended entirely on the hospitality of others as they ministered from town to town. Likewise, the early Christians also depended on and received hospitality from others. In fact, travellers in ancient times depended heavily on the hospitality of strangers as travelling could be dangerous and there were very few inns, and poor Christians could not afford to stay there anyway. This generous provision to strangers also included opening one's home for church services.

The writer of Hebrews reminds us not to forget to 'entertain strangers, for by so doing some people have entertained angels without knowing it' The Parable of the Good Samaritan teaches us that 'neighbour' has nothing to do with geography, citizenship, or race. Wherever and whenever people need us, there we can be neighbours and, like Christ, show mercy. This is the essence of hospitality. Lt Col Barr concluded by saying home should be a real instrument of ministry, not as a showplace for furniture, inscribed over every door should be 'Home and Love'.

This was followed by us forming groups of three and reflecting on various quotations from the Old and the New Testament. The quotations challenged us, for example Ezekiel 22:29, 'the people of the land practice extortion and commit robbery; they oppress the poor and needy and mistreat the foreigner, denying them justice'.

The next speaker was Rev Richard Frazer, Minister of Greyfriars, Tolbooth and Highland Kirk speaking about local experience in Edinburgh's Grassmarket. In the last eight years he has overseen the growth of the Grassmarket Community Project. This project is about supporting people through transitions in their lives and about re-connecting disengaged people and is the ethos that underpins a range of elements from cooking to social integration, work opportunities to social contact, advice to arts. Though founded on work with those traditionally labelled 'homeless', this project has been extended to adults who are facing 'deep social exclusion' and have been marginalised by lack of opportunity, skills and aspiration.

The Grassmarket Community Project offers a mixture of education programs, social enterprise and social integration activities. Currently these are delivered through cookery, gardening, woodwork, art, music and textiles programs. Free meals are served to participants in the project as well as those in need.

He said we are called to live, to share and to rejoice in 'life – life in all its fullness.' (John 10:10). One of the first things he did to extend

the existing Kirkhouse in the Old Town of Edinburgh; asking Gareth Hoskins Architects to design the building as he believed lovely surroundings help people's self worth. He emphasised that in the project there is no 'us and them'. The Greyfriars Recycling of Wood Project (GRoW), which started in 2008, is open 4 days a week and works with about 10 regular volunteers on each day. The volunteer trainees transform unwanted church pews into beautiful, bespoke pieces of furniture and the emphasis is on craftsmanship.

We then swapped our scriptural quotations and reassembled into different groups for further reflection. Grant Campbell, Chief Executive of Glasgow Mission, spoke about 'Spot changing for leopards - a vision for change', taken from Jeremiah 13:23: 'can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?'

The Glasgow City Mission is a day and evening centre. It was purpose built for the needs of the charity just three years ago. Going there is very much the first step for people coming through the doors. A great percentage of people who attend are categorised as homeless, that means they don't have their own accommodation but they might be staying at a B&B, on a friends couch or they might be sleeping rough outside. Also some people turn up who just need connections. They also run a night shelter where homeless people can go between 10pm and 7am to sleep.

They come from all over the city just to connect with the workers and to get ongoing support and care. The mission has a twofold purpose moving people on and also about providing a community for when people feel a bit isolated and disconnected. Grant Campbell believes that with God all things are possible and *there is a day coming* when the kingdom of God will come to earth.

After lunch Sally Foster Fulton who hails from South Carolina and is the convener of the Church and Society Council, Church of Scotland spoke on 'from caring to sharing'. The Department for Work and Pensions benefits cap policy is ill-conceived and unworkable and will not tackle the underlying problems which affect the lives of those who are out of work she claimed. The creation of a false divide between those receiving benefits and those who are paying into the system encourages a destructive culture of 'them and us'.

For the sake of the trusting, understanding and just society we all wish to live in, this has to stop. We must campaign for a Living Wage so we have healthy, happy engaged employees. We cannot just deliver food banks. Many big supermarkets now have food bank policies where none existed a year ago. This is normalising them. We will have to plan to let food banks go. We need to deliver good debt advice and advice on how to source cheap food. The challenge for us is how are we going to change?

The day ended with a question and answer session.

During it we were introduced to a hard
hitting report on the pervasive myths about
poverty: The lies we tell ourselves: ending
comfortable myths about poverty,

a pocket guide which can be downloaded at http://tinyurl.com/ah7oj2o

Referendum makes us all Politicians

A consideration of the background to the 2014 Referendum

olitics is about far more than the narrow and self serving job description often given by politicians. Everything is politics, but fortunately politics isn't everything. One thing, however, is certain: Politics is far too important to be left to politicians.

Next year's Referendum is not about the best compromise, but rather about a Yes or No to the fundamental issues of sovereignty and self determination for Scotland in the context of subsidiarity. Subsidiarity is the principle, elaborated in Catholic Social Teaching, that regulates the power relations in our lives. At its simplest, it suggests that the best level of government is the smallest, lowest or least centralised competent authority compatible with proper fulfilment of its functions. Political decisions should be devolved to the lowest local level wherever possible, in preference to a central authority.

It has been said that democracy is the worst of all systems of government — except for all the others. It exists in a number of forms, but mostly turns around the notion of each qualified citizen having one vote. In huge contemporary societies the most normal form of democracy is called representative. As the name suggests, this aggregates individual votes into a collective mandate expressed through a representative. It can represent an efficient alternative to seeking individual views on every matter needing to pass through the legislature.

The earliest instances of democracy in Athens, however, expected every citizen to take part in the government of the *polis* or city. (Indeed, those who did not participate, were described by the Greek word for a selfish interest in personal and private concerns rather than public affairs: *idiotes*, from which we get our word idiot.) This individual form is called direct democracy. It is this form which will apply in the referendum next year. 'Another instrument of political participation is the referendum, whereby a form of direct access to political decisions is practised. The institution of representation in fact does not exclude the possibility of asking citizens directly about the decisions of great importance for social life' (*Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, 413).

In other words, every qualified and registered voter will have the individual opportunity to say whether they wish all government responsibility to reside in Scotland or not. In effect a yes vote would entail the return of all reserved issues to the Scottish Parliament and the dissolution of the Acts of Union which brought into effect the twenty five articles of the Treaty of Union of 1707.

The Referendum question is: 'Should Scotland be an independent country?' Of course no country in the modern world is independent; the best we can hope for is the recognition of our interdependence and political structures which encourage cooperation rather than antagonism. What is certain is that Scotland has long had its own cultural structures, in its legal system, its churches (note the plural); no less than its traditions in medicine and philosophy, science and technology. It also has its own vehicles of language, as well as music and the visual arts.

The reality too is that since Scotland regained its own parliament in 1999 many of the functions of state are in fact managed independently and in a manner different to Westminster policies in eg health, education, transport and the environment. The emphasis in the legislation for the 1998 Scotland Act consisted mainly of reserving the central levers of government such as macroeconomic budgeting, defence and foreign relations, while everything else was devolved by default. This was the reverse of the failed 1979 Referendum which relied on devolving specific powers.

The political complexion of Scotland is largely different

from that of England. One only needs to look at the large differences in the proportions of party members returned. The presence of Scottish MPs has deprived the Conservatives of an outright majority in the current parliament, although the Conservatives ended up in control of the government anyway in coalition with the Liberal Democrats. Otherwise, for 62 of the last 67 years, Scottish MPs as an entity have had no practical influence over the composition of the UK government. It is a cogent reminder of the principle that 'power devolved is power retained'.

One of the most disappointing aspects of the referendum campaign so far has been the attempt to maintain that it is an essentially party political issue to be dominated by politicians. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Referendum is not about the policies of parties that will reappear in their manifestos for the Scottish Election in 2016. It is not about the vested interests or job prospects for politicians. In the Referendum politicians will have one vote each just like every other voter. And the vote is a yes or no response to the question 'Should Scotland be an independent country?'

There is a Bertholt Brecht poem, satirising the need for totalitarian systems to show a huge majority in elections. Since the people failed to return the expected result, the poem says, the government dissolved them and elected another. All too often this is the dismal kind of politics we are offered. A sentimental attraction to 'leaders' and 'loyalty' to an abstract party is little more than an emotional virus by which we allow ourselves to be disempowered; and hand vast amounts of power over to supposedly representative mediocrities who are generally neither qualified, nor capable nor worthy.

But politicians are only housekeepers: nothing more. Their job is to administer government and to legislate for what seems the most efficient way to do that in a humane society. Their grand visions, crowd pleasing rhetoric and ideological flights of fancy are largely irrelevant. These may reinforce their collusion with media attempts to make celebrities of them. But, if ever there was a case of *sub prime*, it is in the inflated reputations of such over rated functionaries. In the matter of the referendum, however, we have every right to tell them to pipe down, because they have no more influence than any other voter.

Politics is at the service of the people not the other way round. Civil society 'has priority over politics because it is in civil society itself that the political community finds its justification' (Compendium, 418). This referendum gives us all a chance, whichever way we decide to vote, to have an individual stake in the future government of our country. Our vote should be the result of our own informed discernment, rooted not in compromise, but in what we think best. In the words of the French philosopher Albert Camus: 'We shall be sure that freedom is not a gift received from a State or a leader, but a possession to be won every day by the effort of each and the union of all'.

As people of faith, the issue of sovereignty is clear: 'The earth is the Lord's and all its fullness' (Ps 24:1). The right of self determination and subsidiarity, however, are tools to help realise the dignity of all and the Common Good. As Pope John Paul said in his first encyclical, *Redemptor Hominis* in 1979: 'The essential sense of the State, as a political community, consists in that the society and people composing it are master and sovereign of their own destiny. This sense remains unrealised if, instead of the exercise of power with the moral participation of the society or people, what we see is the imposition of power by a certain group upon all the other members of the society (17).

If you are voting yes or no in the referendum because...

- You like Alec Salmond [or insert name of politician here]
- You dislike Alec Salmond [or insert name of politician here]
- You have always voted for the policies of Party X, and you're not going to change now
- You consider yourself a radical who votes for change on principle
- · You consider yourself a careful person who tends to vote against change on principle
- · You base your vote on the most likely winner according to opinion polls
- You wish to represent all those expatriate Scots who will not have a vote
- · You consider yourself a Scottish patriot who thinks the English should be sent 'homeward to think again'
- You feel that your duty to vote is more important than being aware of the purpose of the vote
- You wish to express your strongly held views on any or all of the following: the economy, monetary
 policy, defence, Trident, abortion, gay marriage, the EU, border issues or indeed any issue other than
 the question on the ballot paper...

You clearly don't understand what a referendum is. Find out before you go into the Polling Station.

The Power of Honest Apology

Alec Porter draws out a significant strand of diplomatic negotiation

n the 1930s a far-seeing wise man said, 'honest apology is the high road to lasting peace.' It has proved valid on many different levels in families, in industry, within and between nations. In post-war Europe successive chancellors and presidents of West Germany apologised for what their nation had done. Out of the reconciliation that followed, the European Union was formed and with it came hope that war in Europe would never happen again.

In 1957, Kishi - the Prime Minister of Japan - announced he was going on a trade mission to the countries of SE Asia in the hope of revitalising economic relations with them. Senator Kato suggested to Kishi that if before discussing trade solutions with these countries, he would first express the sincere apologies of the Japanese people for the wrongs of the past, her socialist opposition would support the trade mission. Kishi heeded her advice. The Washington Evening Star commented 'Over the past three weeks Mr Kishi has visited no fewer than nine nations that Japan had occupied or threatened with conquest and in each of these lands he has publicly apologised for his country's actions during the war.' This became known as 'Diplomacy of the Humble Heart'.

In 1979, I met a Chinese diplomat who had just taken part in an international conference on world peace. He said that the delegates had agreed that Northern Ireland was one of the most difficult situations in the world. In his recently published book *The Famine Plot*, Tim Pat Coogan, Irish

historian and former editor of *The Irish Press*, the Fianna Fail newspaper in Dublin, wrote that Tony Blair's Famine Apology was an important factor in achieving The Good Friday agreement. Blair said, 'The famine was a defining event in the history of Ireland and Britain. It has left deep scars. That one million people should have died in what was then part of the richest and most powerful nation in the world is something that still causes pain as we reflect on it today. Those who governed in London at the time failed their people.'

Coogan continues, 'Blair's declaration, it should be noted, played an important part in helping to build the trust of the Irish revolutionaries, which ultimately ended the violence in Northern Ireland with the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. Whatever befell his subsequent reputation because of his disastrous involvement in the Iraq War, Tony Blair will always command an honoured place in the history of Anglo-Irish relations. He deserves a large amount of credit for the vastly improved British-Irish relationships'.

Another great step in this healing process was brought about by the Queen's visits to Northern and Southern Ireland. She did not need to apologise because her speeches and her actions showed both great understanding and great regret for the misrule of the past. Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein President said, 'It brings our journey of relationship building within this island and between these islands onto a new plane.'

Book Review

Letters from Apartheid Street: A Christian Peacemaker in Occupied Palestine

n the winter of 2012, Michael McRay was an intern for two months with the Christian Peacemaker Team in Hebron and then travelled to Nablus, Ramallah, Qalqilyah, and other locations in the West Bank. His time in Hebron coincided with the arrival of a particularly brutal battalion of the Golani Brigade and Michael helped put a report together about its abuses that was widely distributed by the United Nations and other international groups

Michael kept an extensive journal about his experiences that became his new book, Letters from Apartheid Street: A Christian Peacemaker in Occupied Palestine. Several of the reflections in the book first appeared on CPTnet. In 'Welcoming the Enemy', he writes of the first time he monitored soldiers with automatic weapons while they swept through Hebron's Old City, detaining men and checking their IDs:

'As they approached the end of the Old City, one of the soldiers in the back turned and quickly pointed the barrel of his weapon into an elderly man's shop. The storeowner sat out in front, his head just beneath the level of the gun's barrel. He simply looked up at the soldiers passing his shop, bowed his head, lifted up his hand, palm upwards, and said, "Ahlan wasahlan (you are most welcome)." His response so caught me off guard I laughed out loud. Here was an Israeli soldier, a member of the military occupying this Palestinian man's land, who walked the streets of Hebron to protect the

Jewish settlers who were illegally taking more and more land from this man and his people. In short, there walked his enemy.'

Michael McRay is donating 20% the profits of Letters from Apartheid Street to Christian Peacemaker Teams. It is available from all good bookshops.



A Peace Picnic

Grace Buckley, vice Chair of the Commission, reports on a recent gathering at Faslane

eople may remember that the SCANA (Scottish Clergy Against Nuclear Weapons) annual Easter peace service and picnic had to be cancelled this year because of bad weather. The organisers therefore decided to reschedule it for 7 September – by a beautiful coincidence the day which Pope Francis had chosen as a day of prayer and fasting for peace in Syria.

The weather forecast again was not looking good but in the event, apart from one short sharp shower at the end, we had lovely, even warm, weather. There was a good representation from the churches and church organisations — Catholic, Church of Scotland, Scottish Episcopalian, Quaker, Justice & Peace (with Bishop Toal joined by representatives from the National Commission and the Commissions of Argyll & the Isles, Glasgow and Motherwell), the Iona Community, the Glasgow Catholic Worker group, Christian Student Movement and many others — who gathered at the car park near the main gate of Faslane.

SCANA gave a good recycling example by using the leaflets printed for the cancelled March event for the service. We had a brief rehearsal of the music for the service, led by Peter McDonald, the Leader of the Iona Community (and supported by an enthusiastic robin nearby!). Then there was a welcome to all attending, and individual greetings from the various churches and groups present, before the participants set off to walk down to the main gate, following behind a plain wooden cross.

At the main gate, the service began with a hymn and scripture reading and continued with a very affecting and affective symbolic seeking of mercy and forgiveness. The cross was taken to the four points of the compass in turn while the congregation turned towards each direction and sang the Kyrie/Lord, Have Mercy in different languages and prayed for the peoples of that area of the

Three of the church leaders present spoke in turn after the prayers. The Moderator, Rev Sally Foster-Fulton spoke of her difficulty in thinking what to say, when everything had surely already been said on the subject – she quoted from various spiritual writers and leaders such as Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, Mother Theresa and the Dalai Lama. She challenged the idea of spending billions on what she described as a status symbol at

a time when there was so much need in the world, and she finished with the story of the 100th monkey (a symbol of the tipping point leading to a change in mindset) and invited those present to pray for such a change.

Bishop Toal had also wondered what to say on this occasion, and found himself thinking of the comparison to be made between chemical weapons and nuclear weapons. As Syria has shown, if people have weapons, there is a strong risk that they will use them. He referred to Pope Francis' call for a vigil of prayer for peace in Syria. The Peace Witness brought us today to stand in communion with so many around the world who were praying for peace this day. He reflected that this year is the 1450th anniversary of the coming of St. Columba to Iona. Columba's journey had been in penitence for the conflict in which he had been involved in Ireland, but the results had been the spread of the Gospel of peace throughout Scotland and beyond, and later, through the work of one of his successors, Adamnan, the development of the Law of the Innocents which sought to protect non-combatants. This is a tradition we should seek to carry on.

The final speaker was Peter McDonald who spoke of the compelling vision of justice and peace which had led to the presence of so many at Faslane for this service of witness. He raised the challenging question: whose interests does Trident serve? Is it not those of a global elite, – the interests of power, privilege and 'knowing your place' - rather than the interests of democracy. Violence and war disempower people. They do not protect them. The final 'speech' came from Jesus through the words of St. John's Gospel (chapter 14) on the giving of his peace.

During each speech, the cross was placed on the ground and the children present drew the outline of it in coloured chalks, and decorated around it. At the end of

the four sections, we were presented with four outlined crosses at the compass points at the main entrance - a silent witness to our presence.

The final part of the service was the symbolic sharing of bread among those present as the hymn "As your family, Lord, we are here" was sung. Then there was time for chatting and sharing of food before the rain drove us to shelter or to our cars to head back home.

Pax Christi and Youth Recruitment

ax Christi UK plans to bring forward an initiative marking the centenary in a more relevant way. During World War I, the atmosphere of chauvinism and a need for recruits meant that ages were not always thoroughly checked. As a result large numbers of boys passed themselves off as being of age and subsequently fought and were killed in battle. It is thought that perhaps a quarter of a million boys under 18 may have enlisted illegally. We know that 15 year olds were killed: http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/boy_soldiers.htm

The UK is the only country in Europe and the only country among the permanent members of the UN Security Council to recruit 16 year olds into its armed forces. A Pax Christi Petition will call on the UK Government to stop its policy of allowing 15 year olds to apply and 16 and 17 year olds to be recruited into the Armed Forces. Further information will be available from the Pax Christi website towards the end of this year.



John Dear SJ Visit

ohn Dear is something of a one man peace movement. In the non violent tradition of Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Thomas Merton; the successor to Fr Dan Berrigan as a peace activist and Jesuit; arrested and imprisoned more often than you and I have had hot dinners; an indefatigable writer and commentator and figurehead of the peace movement; and banned from preaching, voting and going into schools across the USA... he turns out to be a pleasant, gently humorous but passionate proponent of non violence who nevertheless embodies a recent American Catholic tradition of principled resistance to aspects of the state.

His recent visit to a number of locations across Scotland gave lots of people the opportunity to hear the devastating simplicity of his message delivered in a style that challenged 'no for the likes o me' with 'Why not?' His own life story seems to have been nudging him in the direction he was to take. A hitch hiking holiday to Israel in 1982 during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was a spiritual experience, with jets flying over the Mount of the Beatitudes as he read Matthew's text, and the call to a lifetime as a peace activist in the society of the Jesuits. Here, he tried to follow the Ignatian advice of his mentor Fr. Berrigan: fit your life into Jesus' story. It is a version of Paul's injunction in Romans: 'Do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that by testing you may discern what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect' (12:2).

His revulsion at violence led him to the non violent approach of Gandhi as it had led his American peace workers before him. His engagement with Gandhi runs very deep; he has edited a very useful anthology based on a reading of the 93 volumes of Gandhi's collected works. In two particular areas it has been fundamental. Before we can be non violent peacemakers, we must be non violent with ourselves. As John puts it: 'The key to changing the world and pursuing justice and disarmament, is to let the God of peace disarm our hearts, make us instruments of peace, and lead us together on the road to peace.'

He spoke in various places of the need to put non violence into action, culminating in a Plowshares activity of entering a US airbase with Phil Berrigan and hammering the nose cone of a fighter plane as a symbolic action which led to arrest and a nine month jail term (and which could have been twenty years). He speaks with no self aggrandisement of these and the various other arrests and imprisonments, often deflecting the story to others. He has

also found himself visiting many of the world's hotspots of violence, from El Salvador where he lived in refugee camps and became friends with the Jesuits murdered by the



army, to Afghanistan where social projects try to undo the uncivilisation brought by conflict.

The means of sustaining this non violent action and campaigning are deeply rooted in spiritual discipline. He did not outline a normative spiritual practice, so much as urging us to develop our own. But the gospel roots must be there; and for John, the Beatitudes are central. These precepts, which could be seen as the centre of the gospel were read twice daily by Gandhi and may underlie his comment: 'I like your Christ, I do not like your Christians. Your Christians are so unlike your Christ! Rather than a pious injunction to resignation, the Sermon on the Mount, contains the subversive heart of non violence and a means of spiritual resistance which remains too often unexplored or distorted from motives ranging from laziness to fear. There is not room here, but if you can go to http:// ncronline.org/blogs/road-peace/beatitudes-peace you will find John's take on the Beatitudes, but also the way they are misinterpreted by the culture of war. To quote Gandhi again: 'You Christians look after a document containing enough dynamite to blow all civilisation to pieces, turn the world upside down and bring peace to a battle-torn planet. But you treat it as though it is nothing more than a piece of literature.'

We must allow ourselves to be led down this road of non violence: 'We have to go deep within ourselves and see how our life fits into Jesus' story, even to the cross'. Frankly, if most of us look, we live on the surface of normal worldliness. And just as you don't walk out on a platform and play a concerto without practising your scales, we need to develop the baby steps before we go hammering on the nose cones of military war planes. All non violent campaigners have stressed the need for training before undertaking action. My hope is that a part of the legacy of John Dear's visit will be to make available at least basic non violence training for those who wish to go deeper and live out the commitment as peacemaker more fully. And, of course, bring him back to Scotland.

Poverty & Homelessness Action Week 2014

Standing with people in crisis - give, act, pray

'Remove poverty and justice, and the Holy Bible becomes a Bible full of holes' said Jim Wallis.

Throughout the scriptures, we see that God is always on the side of people who are poor, oppressed, homeless or marginalised. In this time of economic crisis, people experiencing poverty and homelessness are being hit harder than anybody else by the recession and spending cuts. Churches are called to show God's bias by standing alongside these people.

Church Action on Poverty, Housing Justice and Scottish Churches Housing Action respond to that call through practical action and campaigns. They invite you to give, act and pray with them during Poverty & Homelessness Action Week 25 Jan – 2 Feb 2014.

Use free worship resources in your church on Homelessness Sunday (26 January) or Poverty Action Sunday (2 February) Follow their online prayer calendar through the week, with videos, stories, prayers and ideas for action. Find out more, and download free resources, at www.actionweek.org.uk

Newsbrief . . . Newsbrief

Will Aid 2013: Making a difference together for 25 years. This November, Will Aid will again offer the opportunity for people to make a quality basic Will with a local participating solicitor in return for a donation to good causes. The suggested donation is £90 for a single basic Will. The money raised is shared between the participating charities (Action Aid, Age UK, British Red Cross, Christian Aid, NSPCC, Save the Children, Sightsavers, SCIAF and Trocaire) and provides vital funds to help people to build their communities and improve their future in the UK and around the world.

White Poppies for Peace: You can the buy the Poppies online via the Peace Pledge Union www.ppu.org.uk where you can also find out more about the work of the PPU. We have a small stock of white poppies in the office, which will be available on a first come first served basis.

Christmas Greetings Campaign: Cards and messages of support can bring hope to those suffering torture, imprisonment or persecution because of their faith or their work as human Rights defenders. Visit the Action by Christians Against Torture website **www.acatuk.org.uk** for details or contact them on 01179 71037.

Tackling Trade in Misery: MSP Jenny Marra has lodged a consultation on a proposal for new anti-human trafficking legislation which aims to be the 'gold standard' in combatting the evil. The consultation document can be found at: http://tinyurl.com/ljap5b9 The closing date for consultation is 6 December

Hive.co.uk - An alternative to Amazon for books, e-books, stationery, DVDs and music. If you like shopping on-line but don't want to see the small shops disappear hive.co.uk could be the answer. Register on-line to support your local shop, or maybe one like Housemans, and every time you make a purchase a small share will go to the independent shop as well. Over 360 shops are part of the Hive network. Deliveries can be sent to your home or you can choose to collect from your local hive network shop for free and call in to see what else they have. Ethical Consumer magazine have checked out the owners, the Eastbourne based Little Group and have confirmed that they have no overseas subsidiaries and, unlike Amazon, pay all their tax in the UK.

Tourism Concern: Now in its second edition, the Ethical Travel Guide is much more than an innovative and stimulating guide to some of the most unique and exciting holiday experiences around. The Guide is key tool in Tourism Concern's fight to ensure that local people always benefit from tourism. Thousands of grass roots, low impact, high sustainability initiatives all over the world struggle to tell tourists they exist. Very few of these inspirational initiatives have the resources or skills to market themselves in an industry dominated by multinational companies. Like its predecessor, the 2nd edition of the Ethical Travel Guide is a challenge to this dominance, seeking to redress the balance in order to make tourism more fair. It can be ordered online or over the phone by calling +44 (0)20 7666 3095 and is priced at £10. www.tourismconcern.org.uk

Christians Against Poverty has published shocking new findings from debt counsellors which showed that 78% of people taking out a payday loan did so to afford food. One in five people weren't even asked if they had a job. Their Chief Executive Matt Barlow said: "This evidence shows that people taking out payday loans are not, typically, doing cosy house repairs as most payday lenders would have us believe. People who take out this expensive sort of credit are hungry, worried about keeping warm and becoming homeless. You can read the full report at https://capuk.org/downloads/press/paydaylendingPDF.pdf

Survival International director attacks Commonwealth record on tribal rights: In a speech to representatives of the Commonwealth on 26 September, Stephen Corry, Director of Survival International, argues that countries such as the United Kingdom, Botswana and India are not concerned about the rights of tribal peoples and that the Commonwealth's legacy of 'dispossession and destruction' for millions of tribal people is 'constantly downplayed in the historical record.'

www.survivalinternational.org (source Ekklessia)

'To buy or not to Buy' It's time to lock up your wallets

and purses and cut up your credit cards. Saturday November 30th is Buy Nothing Day. It's a day where you challenge yourself, your family and friends to switch off from shopping and tune into life. The rules are simple, for 24 hours you will detox from shopping and anyone can take part provided they spend a day without spending! Everything we buy has an impact on the environment, Buy Nothing Day highlights the environmental and ethical consequences of consumerism.



The developed countries - only 20% of the world population are consuming over 80% of the earth's natural resources, causing a disproportionate level of environmental damage, and an unfair distribution of wealth. More details at

www.buynothingday.co.uk

More Than Gold 2014 is the ecumenical project which helped the UK churches to engage with the 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympic games. Glasgow hosts the next Commonwealth Games from 23rd July to 3rd August 2014 and 'More than Gold' are now embarking on a tour of Scotland to encourage Christians and churches, working together, to serve their communities and the larger Commonwealth Games family. Find out more at http://morethangold2014.org.uk/

SCVO has published the first in a series of papers which lay out the third sector's vision and ambitions for a Scotland of the future in the run-up to next year's referendum. The report aims to bring together thinking and ideas from across the third sector to encourage more discussion about the future of welfare in Scotland. Read the report

http://tinyurl.com/o23zr3b

Prisoners Week 17 - 24 November: Time to Change? is the theme of this year's Prisoners Week Prisoners Week is an opportunity to reflect on change that leads to better care for all affected by crime and imprisonment. What changes might be needed to support citizens returning from prison? Change is welcomed by some, others are more cautious. It's tempting to think that everyone else needs to change.

www.prisonersweekscotland.org.uk

Arms Treaty exceeds 100 signatures! During a high level event at the United Nations on the 25 September, there was a surge of Presidents, Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers, and other world leaders that pledged their countries' support with official signatures. The 107 signatures mean that more than half of the entire world has come on board to the agreement that will save lives, stop human rights abuses, and prevent future crises like the conflict in Syria. To add to the excitement of the day, Secretary of State John Kerry signed on behalf of the United States, officially making the largest arms exporter part of the global treaty! The continued wave of momentum on the Arms Trade Treaty shows the days of the unchecked weapons trade are numbered. The Control Arms coalition will be there until the job is finished, continuing to keep the pressure on governments to sign and ratify the Arms Trade Treaty and hold governments to account.

Give Rudolph his Due

Dr Ruth Grayson is an economist and the founder and co-ordinator of CASC- Aid, a charity which promotes 50/50 charitable giving at Christmas. The charity offers a range of materials which can be found on its website. The great benefit is that it takes a simple idea, namely the recovery of the true meaning of Christmas centred in Christ rather than extravagant consumerism. Here is her take on the biblical advice that 'the Lord loves a cheerful giver' (2Cor9:7).

s the thought of Christmas causing you stress already? Well, stop for a moment and think about one of the best known symbols of the season. He appears on Christmas cards, decorations and ornaments and has a bright red nose. Yes, he's Rudolph, the Red Nosed Reindeer, and CASC-aid is taking a fresh look at him this year. And no, we haven't taken leave of our senses...

Along with Christmas, Red Nose Day is perhaps the most prominent day for giving to others in the UK calendar. But the focus of giving is different. It's not about frantic shopping sprees and personal present exchanges. It's about raising money for charities at home and abroad. Above all, it's about having fun doing it. And

unlike Christmas, it doesn't incur massive spending, increases in personal debt and other social problems. When did anyone you know get into debt through giving to charity?

Because that's what Christmas giving should primarily be about. The Magi (Mt 2:11) were presenting gifts to God incarnate, not to each other. Last Christmas, we spent a conservative estimate of £22bn on our festivities. It took its toll on many people, and some are paying for it still. By contrast, Red Nose Day is not a known cause of personal debt, far less marital breakdowns or even worse - all of which are commonly associated with modern British Christmases. Can we change the emphasis of our Christmas giving to spend less on ourselves, and get the 'Red Nose' spirit into increasing our charitable giving at Christmas? The results could be life-changing for all of us!

There are certain similarities between Rudolph and the Christmas story that might help:

- First, Rudolph was an outcast, rejected by his peers.

 Does this sound familiar?
- Second, it was his very unusual and much-derided appearance that Santa used to lighten the darkness

of a foggy Christmas Eve. Any parallels here?

 And finally, it was Rudolph who brought joy to millions of people who might not otherwise have had anything that Christmas...

And all because of that Red Nose!

Read more at

www.casc-aid.org.uk

And have a happy, stress-free Christmas!

Setting the Message Free: an Angelic Resource for Christmas

From ALTERnativity on the theme: Just God Simply Christmas. ALTERnativity is a group of people who shared a discontent with the way Christmas is celebrated. They have sought ways to get back to an emphasis of the true meaning of the feast.

whimsical dame flittering about scattering magic dust: a beatific child with large wings and a ponderous expression: a robust man of mystery: our images of angels are many and various and come to the fore on Christmas cards, wrapping paper and in seasonal films. But, how does all this relate to the repeated messages to stop being afraid and to change you life and future by having an unplanned baby or travelling another way?

Setting the Message Free is a new resource using angels as the hook to explore the Christmas message in new and accessible ways. Designed to be used in a pick and mix way by church, youth group or women's group leaders, and produced on CD, this includes a series of workshops, poems, hymns, prayers, songs reflections,



pictures, stories and even an actual angel. Who are today's angels? What are the messages that need proclaimed to a broken weary world today? What is their particular significance around Christmas? Setting the Message Free aims to give a fresh look at the Christmas story and provide tools to encourage space to think, conversations to start and the message of the incarnation to have a little angel dust.

Packaged in a Fair Trade hand made box from Thailand, Setting the Message Free will be available for £10.00 from early October from www.alternativity.org.uk



OCTOBER

20-27 One World Week24 United Nations Day

30 We Want to See Double - SCCS event - Edinburgh

NOVEMBER

1 Archbishop Romero Lecture, Edinburgh

1 Glasgow CND Social Event

5 World Community Day

6 International Day for Preventing the Exploitation of the Environment in War and Armed Conflict

10 1995 - Nine Nigerian environmentalists and human rights activist hanged

13 Death of Karen Silkwood 1975

16 International Day for Tolerance

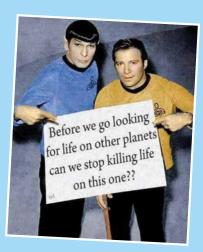
17-24 Prisoners Week

20 Universal Children's Day

24 Dungavel solidarity gathering. 1 pm

25 International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women

29 UN International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People



NOVEMBER CONT.

30 Buy Nothing Day

30 STUC Anti-Racist Rally, Glasgow

DECEMBER

1 World AIDS Day

2 International Day for the Abolition of Slavery

9 International Anti-Corruption Day

10 Human Rights Day

18 International Migrants Day

20 International Human Solidarity Day

25 Birth of Christ. JOY AND PEACE

Full details and links on the events page of our website www.justiceandpeacescotland.org.uk/EventsDiary.aspx

Photographs on the front cover:

 Protest against Home Office 'Go Home' posters at Border Agency HQ in Brand Street, Glasgow

- Bishop Toal and Justice and Peace members at Faslane Picnic
- The Quilt woven to protest at Drones

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SUSTION DE AC

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