



Our photo shows the members of the European Network *Iustitia et Pax* at their recent meeting in Athens. They are seen standing on the Areios Pagos, arguably the birthplace of western European democracy. Here St Paul confronted Greek religion with the message of Christianity (Acts 17:15-33), spelt out on the banner held by the European J&P representatives. Up above, the state of western democracy seems to be symbolised by the crumbling Acropolis, shored up with scaffolding.

what's inside

Editorial.....	2	Freedom from Torture.....	5	The Children of Abraham.....	9
Just Faith Project Update	3	Trafficking – The Next Steps.....	5	Newsbrief	10
UN Climate Summit.....	3	Legacy.....	6	Human Trafficking in the	
Remembrance Day Bidding Prayer.....	3	On Worthier Victims	7	Contemporary World.....	11
Faith in the Face of Empires	4	Andy's Story	8	Diary.....	12
Jerusalem Prayer	4	NATO on Drone Vulnerability	8-9		

So there it is. After months of chicanery, disinformation and flat lies, personal attacks and constitutional jiggery pokery, we have a result in the Referendum. People voted in huge numbers for all sorts of reasons: personal and tribal political loyalties; unjustified fears and an excess of optimism; venal selfishness and vested interest; and often swayed by what they'd gleaned from a shamefully distorted media. But I'm not sure how many actually voted on the constitutional matter at hand, namely the most appropriate level of self government for Scotland. Can you remember the idea of subsidiarity being raised in any discussion?

For me, a major flaw of the campaign was the way in which the Scottish tradition of sovereignty residing with the people was supplanted by an English principle of sovereignty residing in the Crown in Parliament. Thus, Johann Lamont suggested that criticism of the result would deny the 'sovereign will' of the Scottish people. Whereas the fact that the majority, including Ms Lamont and her fellow unionists, by voting in favour of continued union, actually deny that the sovereign will of the Scottish people exists.

Scots continue to be ultimately represented through the parliament of the UK which enshrines this English constitutional understanding, albeit unwritten, of the sovereignty of the Crown in Parliament (even if the Crown only purrs). And no amount of 'Devo Max' can change that. Power devolved is power retained.

This ideology allowed the personal choice inherent in a referendum to be hijacked by the vested interests supporting and sustaining all the main political parties and their representatives. A referendum of the people was reduced to televised ping-pong: the exchange of antagonisms. A fairly abysmal level of political education, coupled with naked self interest, meant that the campaign was, with few exceptions, characterised by endless chatter about anything other than sovereignty. People allowed themselves to be disempowered by a blind, even idolatrous loyalty to political parties, handing over power and responsibility (not to mention trust) to organisations which by definition subordinate principles to pragmatism. Who is right is irrelevant. All that

counts is who can deliver a majority.

Then again, sovereignty sits ill with a politics that these days is little more than an extension of consumerism, with the same techniques of lobbying, marketing and advertising. Power is reduced in the mind of many party politicians (and sadly their electors) to the promotion of vested interests in a context of economic materialism. Public services and the common good are seen as 'products' to be 'marketed' in a society where profitability takes priority over human wellbeing and the common good.

At the outset of the campaign, the UK government rejected a three way option including increased powers which was acceptable to the Scottish government, in favour of a straight Yes/No option. The reason was that the polls and public perception suggested it was very unlikely that many would say Yes to full independence. With ineffable condescension, David 'Flashman' Cameron told us, 'If you're fed up with the effing Tories give them a kick'; presumably because that's how he thinks Scots who aren't Tories speak and act. Regardless, Mr. Cameron then had to nip off and legitimise our involvement in another war in the Middle East.

The moment the situation appeared to be otherwise, however, Westminster went into overdrive. There was a charm offensive that culminated with an outrageous 'Vow' from the three Westminster party leaders, (appearing after many postal votes had been cast; and probably in breach of the Edinburgh Agreement). The political undertaking appeared as a golden calf in what seems to be the new Scottish *Hansard*, previously known as the *Daily Record*. It was in fact a farrago of desperation, apparently coordinated by Gordon Brown, following in the tradition of former political leaders who apparently become repositories of wisdom, but only after they are voted out.

Whenever a politician uses the terms vow or pledge, I suspect an expedient lie or excuse to get out of a tricky situation, in the hope that people will have forgotten when the time comes to redeem the undertaking. Until the 'all you can eat' smorgasbord of The Vow, the No campaign (tied to party and establishment interests), had little or nothing new to offer. Westminster Conservative and Liberal Democrat presence

was marginal. It was therefore left to Labour to become the conservative and unionist party in Scotland, fully signed up to the Westminster principle that Scottish nationalism is bad, but British nationalism is good.

In contrast, one of the major sources of hope for the future was the number of autonomous groups (not tied to any party) exploring possibilities from the practicable to the wildly utopian. A number of these groups reminded me of basic Christian communities. People who had been disempowered and marginalised – politically, economically and socially – began to reclaim their inheritance. This contributed to the massive turnout, and will hopefully continue to reinvigorate community politics: through credit unions, community enterprises and a whole range of activities which frothed to the surface during the campaign. It is crucial that this momentum should be sustained.

In the end, though, I think many people on both sides, lacking any coherent notion of sovereignty, voted in good faith out of a half-baked mixture of self-interest, fears and prejudice and what they picked up from the party politicians. In purely democratic, quantitative terms, the result was probably an accurate reflection of the current level of political maturity among the Scottish electorate. Douglas Young's epitaph *On a North British Devolutionary* remains relevant: 'They libbit [mutilated and castrated] Willie Wallace,/ He gart [made] them bleed./ They dinna libb MacFozzie/ they dinna need.'

Everything is politics, but politics isn't everything. You cannot serve two masters; or, as the Psalmist says: 'Don't put your trust in political leaders. They can't offer true freedom; and when they go, their plans go with them' (Ps 146: 3-4). True freedom lies in our realisation of being created in the image of God, the source of all sovereignty. In that sense we are already free.

This insight replaces the rather superficial notion of independence with the deeper sense of mutual responsibility and interdependence. In the words of the French writer Albert Camus: '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'. This, in the gift of faith, is perhaps the real meaning of the gospel claim, 'My kingdom is not of this world'.

Tim Duffy

Just Faith Project Update

The Just Faith Project is now up and running in the three pilot dioceses. This joint project, involving Justice and Peace, SCIAF and Mission Matters Scotland, aims to tap into existing work in the dioceses. It also aims to offer resources, both human and material, which might be helpful for groups and parishes which are looking to consolidate their existing activities.

The activities are not just a way of keeping busy but are an integral part of our Christian calling and as part of our growth and formation in faith. The context is the Catholic tradition of social teaching, which

gives us guidelines to help us to align our desire for justice and peace with God's design.

In Argyll and the Isles, Marian Palliser already has a programme extending across the scattered and diverse diocese. In Paisley, John Seenan is looking to consolidate a recent launch event and to make contact with parishes and groups already involved or looking to be involved in areas of social justice, development and mission. And in Dunkeld plans are underway for an event on 29 November at the diocesan centre, in conjunction with the St Ninian Institute, to explore

ways of being available and helpful to existing or proposed activities.

Resources are coming on stream too. Miriam McHardy has been commissioned to prepare a series of material to help groups to reflect. This material will become available soon along with other resources on the Just Faith website. This is not only for the pilot dioceses, but for any individual or group to sample. Keep checking the websites of the three Just Faith agencies to get the link when it becomes available and see if anything appeals.

Tim Duffy



UN Climate Summit

The following briefing on the Summit comes from CAFOD

World leaders at the UN climate summit in New York at the end of September have spoken of the climate change threat in stronger terms than ever before. President Obama acknowledged 'we are the first generation to feel the effect of climate change and the last generation who can do something about it' while China's Vice Premier Zhang Gaoli accepted the need to make his country's economy much more carbon efficient by 2020.

More than 120 leaders attended, responding to the pressure of 500,000 people who marched in capitals around the world in the run up to the summit, including 40,000 in London. Many supporters wrote letters urging Prime Minister David Cameron to attend – and he did. Speaking at the summit the Prime Minister spotlighted the need to support the poorest communities who are worst-hit by climate change, saying it was a threat not just to the environment but also to poverty eradication and to economic prosperity. 'We must provide support to those who need it, particularly the poorest and most vulnerable... It is completely unrealistic to expect developing countries to forgo the high-carbon route to growth that so many western countries enjoyed unless we support them to achieve green growth.'

And speaking at the Labour Party Conference Ed Miliband committed his party to improving the UK's performance on developing low-carbon, green technologies and services, and making it a goal for Britain to be a world leader in green technology by 2025. Acting to protect the environment 'is the most important thing I can do in politics for the future of my kids and their generation' he said.

Pope Francis' Secretary of State Cardinal Parolin addressed the summit. He told the United Nations that a sense of 'shared responsibility to protect our planet and the human family' must influence how nations react to the reality of climate change. The Cardinal also observed that 'warming of the climate system is unequivocal. It is a very serious problem which ... has grave consequences for the most vulnerable sectors of society and, clearly, for future generations.'

He noted that, from the beginning of his pontificate, Pope Francis has emphasised the importance of protecting the environment, 'which all too often, instead of using for the good, we exploit greedily, to one another's detriment' quoting the Pope's March 2013 address to the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See.

'World Leaders still lack the urgency that 500,000 people marching around the world are calling for, but there is no question that the summit was a big step forward' said CAFOD's Head of Advocacy and Communications, Neil Thorns. 'The Prime Minister in New York and Ed Miliband in Manchester sent clear signals that the millions of people who are deeply concerned about the impacts of climate change are being heard. However, what we now need to see are concrete proposals from all parties about how they will develop low-carbon economies and support the development of the poorest sections of society. After years of malaise and pessimism, it's all to play for again. If we continue to act together, we can push for action in the UK and globally in the run up to the Paris talks next year, where a fair and binding global agreement is the goal.'

As UK party leaders shape their election manifestos, it is important that we urge them to make climate change a priority for the sake of us all.

Remembrance Day BIDDING PRAYER

To be used at Mass or in local parish or ecumenical peace services

Let us remember, in a spirit of humility and reconciliation, the centenary of the outbreak of World War I.

Let us remember the millions from many countries who were killed and maimed; and the families that were broken and impoverished in consequence.

Let us remember how many conflicts down to the present day, particularly in the Middle East, originated in the settlements imposed after World War I.

Let us remember the victims of those who still profit from war by turning human work and the earth's resources into the means of destruction.

Let us remember our own little wars, in which we create enemies of those we have failed to learn to love.

Teach us to recognise the distortion that would turn our sense of belonging and solidarity into the idolatry of the state.

Teach us to live in the peace that the world cannot give, the peace of your kingdom.

Teach us to put our hope in your strength and power rather than the false promises of force and violence. Let your love flourish in our hearts.



Faith in the Face of Empires

This report of a recent meeting, by Grace Buckley, raises interesting questions about the lands and peoples of the bible, past and present

Dr Mitri Raheb is a Palestinian Christian, pastor of the Lutheran Evangelical church in Bethlehem, the director of the International Centre of Bethlehem and Dar al-Kalima College, an author, theologian, and a speaker on peace with justice. His visit at the end of August was his first time in Glasgow.

He described his latest book *Faith in the Face of Empire*, as the first one in which he 'danced to the rhythm of his own country' rather than 19th century organ music. He said that he had always known that the Bible was a Middle Eastern book but this knowledge was a theoretical knowledge.

The Bible could only have been written in Palestine, but what was so special about Palestine, he asked. Although the early church viewed Jerusalem as the centre of the earth – and this is reflected in the Holy Sepulchre complex – the reality is that Palestine was and is a land on the periphery, surrounded by regional powers such as Egypt, Mesopotamia (Syria/Iraq) and others, who still influence it today, and it has been almost always under occupation by one power or another – what he describes as 'the empire'.

However theologians tend not to think of Israel as part of an occupied Palestine. They look at the period from Abraham to Jesus, and ignore the last 2000 years. The political historians on the other hand look at the period from the early 19th century to the present day and ignore what went before. But for Palestinians, there is no separation – it is one big block of history.

Dr Raheb quoted Oscar Romero 'Many things are only seen through eyes that have cried. He would slightly change this quote to 'eyes of people that have been occupied'. When we read the Bible through this lens, it is very challenging. He suggests that there are two important questions which arise from this way of looking.

The first is 'God, where are you?' For present day Palestinians, faced with their powerlessness, this is still the question. They do not doubt the existence of God. For Palestinians of the past, this was also true. They could see God where no-one else could see him – they saw him in exile in Babylon with them. No defeat could crush their spirit. For that reason, he suggested, the only possible climax of the New Testament had to be the cross – the crushing followed by the resurrection.

The second question for the people of the Bible and for the present day is: if you are under occupation, what is the way to liberation? Dr Raheb suggested that there were five main answers seen in the New Testament:

- follow the law – like the Pharisees of the Bible – (or the Muslim Brotherhood today)
- use the way of force – like the Zealots then, the jihadists now
- join the oppressors and make money out of them – the tax collectors of the New Testament, and the sub-contractors today who work on the Israeli settlements
- try to walk the middle line and keep both sides happy – the way of the religious or political establishments – the Sadducees or the Palestinian President today
- retreat into the desert or the church/mosque and stay out of the corruption of the world

He asked if we were surprised that the answers are the same today in Palestine. He indicated the answer of Jesus was set out in his book but hinted it was linked to the idea of

the Kingdom of God – an idea related to the presence of the Empire – and the idea of the Spirit. Empires like to push their culture and language, yet at Pentecost, each person hears his own language – an example of pluralism and diversity, not a melting pot.

Dr Raheb's final reflection was on the question of whether peace with the empire is possible. The Bible gives different answers. The Book of Revelation says firmly "no way!" but elsewhere, the empire is viewed as a tool in the hand of God. Dr Raheb's own preferred response is that of the vision of Isaiah, of the lamb and the lion lying down side by side. It needs prophetic imagination, he suggested, to see the possible way to peace. Isaiah, he pointed out, requires one condition – that the lion becomes vegetarian! In other words, he said, the empire must stop believing in the military answer and recognise the need to live as equals and share resources.

There followed a question and answer session. In response to the question of how to make the lion realise the need to change, he suggested that occupation continues now because it is too easy for Israel. It gets support from the West with military hardware. He also suggested that seminaries provide 'software support' when they subconsciously link the Biblical Israel with the present day Israel rather than with the whole of Palestine.

He was asked how influential the Christian church in Palestine was. He recalled a challenge on this point from an American rabbi. His answer had been that he was surprised that the rabbi could, faced with his own history, underestimate the impact of a minority! The Christian population is under 2% but a recent study shows it provided one-third of the health services. Also 45% of NGOs working in the West Bank are Christian and many Christians hold important political posts.

His final response, to a question about persecution of Christians, was that political pressures cause fundamentalism to increase. It is that perhaps we have reached a point where there is too much religion and not enough faith and love. We are in danger of misusing God's name.

The West is part of the problem in its approach to life. We need to keep diversity alive because a monocultural society is dangerous. It can become a kind of fascism with religious overtones.

Jerusalem Prayer

Do not hold against us the sins of past generations;
may your mercy come quickly to meet us,
for we are in desperate need.
Help us, God our Saviour,
for the glory of your name;
deliver us and forgive our sins
for your name's sake.

Why should the nations say, "Where is their God?"
Before our eyes, make known among the nations
that you avenge the outpoured blood of your servants.
May the groans of the prisoners come before you;
with your strong arm preserve those condemned to die.

Psalms 79, 8-11

From Palestinian Christian Church leaders in Jerusalem

Freedom from Torture – An Overview

The death of Helen Bamber in August marked the end of a heroic life spent helping the victims of the worst human cruelty. As this article by Jim McGrath shows, however, the work continues.

In the 1980s, a number of volunteer health professionals in the UK (including some of the most senior specialists in the medical profession) formed Amnesty International's Medical Group to focus on the problem of torture – its impact and its prevention. Out of their work developed the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, granted charitable status in 1985 and renamed Freedom from Torture in 2011.

Initially the charity was centred on London, but following the UK Government's dispersal policy, Freedom from Torture began to open centres across the country. Its Scottish centre opened in Glasgow in 2004. The other regional centres are in Manchester, Birmingham and Newcastle. Since its foundation, the charity has received around 50,000 referrals. Most are asylum seekers or refugees who have fled torture and persecution.

Freedom from Torture provides a range of services, including medical consultation and examination, the forensic documentation of injuries through Medico-Legal Reports, and psychological and physical treatment and support. Its Medico-Legal Reports provide detailed evidence of the extent of a torture survivor's injuries and trauma, evidence that is admissible in court.

Freedom from Torture's team of clinical staff apply international standards for documenting torture in these assessments. Another key area is educating the public and decision-makers about torture, its causes and its consequences. The charity also acts as an advocate for torture survivors with the aim of keeping awareness of the issue on the national agenda.

Freedom from Torture employs over 200 staff and volunteers in its five centres, including medical doctors, caseworkers, counsellors, legal advisers, physiotherapists, psychotherapists, psychologists, interpreters, child and family therapists and group workers. The organisation does not receive government funding other than from the Department

of Health (to allow the charity to produce guidelines for assessing torture survivors and to train health professionals). Donations from individuals therefore provide the core income for the charity's work.

Typically, the services provided by Freedom from Torture in Glasgow include:

- holistic assessment, initially over three to five appointments, to help survivors identify their needs and access appropriate support
- a counselling and psychotherapy service for individual survivors aged 18 and over
- a family therapy service, offering on-going psychotherapy to children, young people and adults who identify themselves as a family
- a programme of group therapy for survivors of torture
- a Medico-Legal Report (MLR) writing service; this service offers forensic reports, psychiatric reports and psychological reports
- training for local agencies working with survivors
- supervision for local mental health practitioners working with survivors
- therapeutic massage.

Freedom from Torture's Glasgow Centre accepts referrals to its counselling and psychotherapy services on behalf of survivors of torture and organised violence living in Scotland who are aged 18 or over. It also accepts referrals of children with their families. These referrals will usually be initiated by legal, medical and welfare professionals but due to limited capacity, the Centre cannot offer appointments to every person referred. Priority is given to survivors who have additional unmet complex needs and would have difficulty accessing other appropriate services, and are not successfully engaged elsewhere.

For further details see www.freedomfromtorture.org/about/15/5255

Trafficking – The Next Steps

One of the more remarkable events in Glasgow during the Commonwealth Games was the ecumenically coordinated campaign, with notable support from Justice and Peace people, which organised and staffed the Human Trafficking gift boxes (covered in previous issues of the magazine). Over the course of the Games it was possible to make many people more aware of the extent of the damage which human trafficking causes. Over 17,000 people signed a petition which urged the Scottish government to make sure that the Human Trafficking Bill going through the Parliament will be robust.

At a small but symbolic ceremony at the Parliament in Edinburgh on 30 September the petition was presented by campaigners to Kenny MacAskill the Justice Secretary, along with Jenny Marra and Christina McKelvie, respectively Chair and vice Chair of the cross party group on Human Trafficking in the Scottish Parliament.

The Government was asked to ensure that the Bill makes provision to investigate sources of trafficking. And, while respecting the fact that trafficking is ultimately a reserved matter, the Government was urged to ensure that victims of trafficking should be treated with the respect and dignity they deserve; and, where appropriate, given leave to remain in the UK.

Organisers of the campaign thanked the cross party group for their support; and in particular Jenny Marra for the work she has done by initially bringing forward the Private Members Bill.

Unreserved thanks go to Marie Cooke of the Glasgow Archdiocesan Justice and Peace core group, who was instrumental in bringing the 'gift boxes' to Glasgow, as well as coordinating and organising both the people and the resources involved.



Legacy

Marian Pallister is the Justice and Peace Commission representative for the diocese of Argyll and the Isles. Here she reflects on her experience in the Balkans of the enduring legacy of World War I.

In 1993, working as a journalist for a Scottish newspaper, I met a woman called Mediha in Karlovac refugee camp in Croatia. She was 22, and had been violated by dozens of Serbian chetniks in one of their 42 rape camps during the Bosnian war. When she helped a child victim, she was isolated and violated all the more. I wrote at the time: 'She escaped with her life but they have mutilated her soul.'

It is difficult – not being an expert in analysing war – to avoid making links between the scenes that I witnessed and the interviews I carried during that conflict and later in Kosovo with the situation that we see today in the Middle East.

And of course, it seemed evident even in the thick of it – avoiding landmines, being prodded in the chest with a Kalashnikov by an over-zealous border guard, camping out in apartment blocks where the 'balcony' was the shelled side of the building, putting trust in a UN aid worker I knew, only to be told that 'they' were firing on UN Jeeps now – that this violence between neighbours, this devastation of families and neighbourhoods had little to do with the demise of a Communist dictatorship or an independence struggle and all to do with decisions about boundaries made as an outcome of the Great War. Have I got my geography muddled? I don't think so.

I remember only too vividly the strong Muslim women who resented the image presented of them in the international media as hijab-wearing peasants rather than the highly educated feminists they were.

I remember the Muslim couple in their 80s who went back to their shattered farm, she pointing out where the soldiers had trampled through her vegetable patch, he breaking down because he had not been able to protect his wife and his livelihood.

I remember the elderly ladies in another refugee camp who had watched as the throats of their husbands and sons were slashed.

I remember the refuge where in each room, 40 Muslim women and children were stacked like sardines in bunk beds that they could only return to during the day because the building was strafed every night.

I remember above all one of the most heart-stopping episodes of my journalistic career, when my photographer colleague and I were convinced we had come to the end of our particular road. We had been told that many of the women violated in the so-called rape camps (usually school rooms or community centres, or huts deep in the forests) were pregnant. Rape as a weapon of war was beginning to make headlines. These Muslim women did not want babies conceived in such horrific circumstances, fathered by men about whom they knew only one thing – they were the enemy and they were so-called Christians. I don't wish to offend, but one of the worst stories was of the woman gang raped by so many soldiers that the final man in the queue found the state of the woman 'disgusting' and shot her.

We heard that a non-governmental organisation was offering to take the babies that would be born to the violated women. Someone who claimed to be from the International

Red Cross volunteered to take us to this organisation. We arrived at a big tenement building and were ushered into a first-floor flat. It was packed with burly men who we were told were Egyptian. They were holding a meeting. We waited and then were interrogated about our intentions. I said we wanted the world to know what had happened to these women and what was being done to help them.

We thought we had passed the test, but then we were bundled into a mini bus, accompanied by several of the burly men who were all carrying guns. The photographer thought it would be sensible to jump out at the traffic lights. I felt that was when they'd shoot. We stayed put and were taken to a suburban house. We had driven away from the pockmarked buildings in the war zone to this incongruous 'normal' setting. Inside, every room was equipped with everything a newborn baby could want. There were pristine cots, cupboards stacked with baby food and medicines, wardrobes filled with satin gowns and the softest baby blankets. Everything was spanking new, including the uniforms of the nurses and doctors waiting to receive the first babies born in these tragic circumstances.

They said the babies received into the house would be taken to Egypt for adoption. No, they wouldn't be told of their parentage – the Muslim mothers, the savage fathers setting out deliberately to defile the women's heritage. I had my doubts then, and those doubts have increased since as the anger has spilled throughout the Middle East.

After the Great War, the 'victors' drew lines around territory that had little to do with ethnicity or traditional occupancy and all to do with the acquisition of territory. Governments were rewarded or appeased: people were never part of the equation. The treaties signed between 1919 and 1920 – Versailles, Saint Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, Sèvres – messed with the lives of ordinary people of rich cultures and diverse religions from Danzig to Syria, Iraq and Palestine, passing through the populations of Yugoslavia and Greece with a mutilating scythe that compounded existing differences (Gavrilo Princip and his fellow conspirators didn't assassinate Archduke Ferdinand for the hell of it) and led to the festering of even more bitter resentments.

Over the past century, so many souls have been mutilated that there can no surprise at the ferment we are witnessing. What sense is there in trying to stem the blood-letting now perpetrated by 'these people' – that excluding and damning phrase that places our neighbours at arms length – with more bombs and more re-drawing of lines?

Catholic Social Teaching asks us to honour human dignity. What I witnessed in the latter years of the 20th century gave dignity to no one, just as the men who died in the trenches of the First World War were deprived of all dignity – and people who are stripped of their dignity feel disenfranchised at best, revengeful at worst.

Is it too fanciful to think that if we parked the drones and instead reached out to our damaged neighbours, anointing them with oil and paying the innkeeper to look after them, we could start at last to bring this madness to an end?

On Worthier Victims

This item, by Buddy Bell, originated from the US Peace Group, Voices for Creative Nonviolence

If someone is not accustomed to hearing much about death and suffering, it can be very upsetting to suddenly hear that a human being was brutally killed in some foreign location. Another someone who has a larger context in which to place that death, while not less upset, might feel less of a sense of momentary kneejerk urgency regarding that singular piece of news. Put in another way, the increment between 0 and 1 human deaths feels intuitively much greater than that between 1000 and 1001 human deaths.

What the first 'someone' lacks is proportion. This kind of haziness has been exploited, in one generation after another, as a foundation to construct justifications for war. Those who want to justify war don't want us to see, let alone value, the first 1000 human beings.

Media attention to the daily murderous instability in Iraq and Afghanistan has been sorely lacking. Even the consistently repeating deaths and injuries of U.S. soldiers receive only momentary pause. Yet when General Harold Greene was recently killed in a 'green on blue' attack in Afghanistan or when James Foley and Steven Sotloff were beheaded in Iraq, the story moves to the top of the page for days; people talk; the dead have names. It looks like there is an acute crisis on our hands when actually it is a chronic one.

The reasons for renewed energy on the part of the media go beyond the pure attention-grabbing novelty of these killings. There is an internalised perception of self-superiority, to which viewers and readers often respond, and from which reporters and editors are not necessarily immune. Ever-ambitious politicians, especially those who are bought by defense contractors and resource extraction industries, construct the case for starting or widening wars in this context.

The shooting of a general at a training facility is seen as more vile than breaking down the door and shooting into a family home. Beheading one's victims becomes more disgusting than burning them alive with a hellfire missile or with white phosphorous. And for some reason, I haven't heard Dick Cheney on the radio saying that ISIS waterboarding is not torture. If we could somehow put aside the double-standards, what would the picture in Iraq look like?

Two facts would not be in doubt: ISIS is a murderous threat to the people in its immediate vicinity and U.S. military force has often been a murderous threat to people in its immediate vicinity and beyond.

History is not on the side of the U.S. military. The War on Terror – ostensibly meant to destroy Al-Qaeda, a terrorist group with little consolidated territory of its own at the time, zero in Iraq – has brought us to the point where a worse group is controlling and governing a third of Iraq and a third of Syria next to that. The Iraq War never led to building a cohesive state in the shell of the one it completely and rapidly dismantled. Sectarian divisions in the government excluded a large Sunni population, and the U.S.

gave weapons and money to preferred local Shi'a militias. Baghdad became violently segregated. The standard of living declined for many and rose for a few. Oil companies were not hurting very much, and people noticed it.

The Pentagon could not or would not address the problem of Christian extremists embedding themselves with U.S. Army and Blackwater mercenaries. I haven't yet gone into the torture at Abu Ghraib, the poisoning of Fallujah, the massacre in Nisoor Square. All of these factors were generators of unemployment, aimlessness and trauma among young people who were and continue to be vulnerable to manipulation by ambitious warlords.

Whether the U.S. sends ground forces, drones or conventional aircraft to target ISIS fighters, they will end up making the problem worse. Sending planes to bomb high-level leaders will have the effect of encouraging the most extreme behaviour possible among militia fighters. The most extreme and brutal will be the most likely successor to fill a power vacuum. For the most part, the U.S. ought to be authentically extracting itself from the sovereign country of Iraq.

If U.S. citizens working in Iraq need the protection of the U.S. military, that is a sign that these citizens should leave along with the military, or else stay at their own risk. This of course would not be in the short-term interest of U.S. companies, but it would be in the long-term interest of the Iraqi and U.S. populations: ISIS stands to lose significant power once its major unifying antagonist is no longer on the scene.

If there is a helpful role for the U.S. and other countries to play, it has to do with arresting the cycle of revenge. This can be accomplished by: encouraging Iraq's government to form a more equitable power-sharing structure; ending all interference in Iraq's elections; paying for the medical treatment of those maimed by U.S. bombs and munitions; engaging diplomatically with wealthy neighbors

Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey to help Iraqis locally administer a system that will supply Iraqis with basic human needs – clean water, food, shelter, medicine; and providing meaningful help to Iraqi entrepreneurs who can create employment.

If such measures were promised and demonstrated on the frontier of ISIS control, their appeal may be strong enough to encourage potential defectors who might elude the more brutal ideologues in their camps and successfully escape with their lives. (If this is to happen, the defectors would also need to have confidence in a government de-militarisation and re-entry system.) Multiplied enough times, such defections could disable ISIS, as well as other militias.

Those who would call this set of ideas a pipe dream should ask themselves what they would call another campaign of bombing when alternatives haven't yet been attempted. The U.S. and the U.K. can start paying for these humanitarian measures with money they would have spent anyway: on the order of \$110,000 for each Hellfire missile they plan to drop in Iraq.

No War



Andy's Story

Morag Sievwright of Faith in Throughcare has written this article for us to help focus reflection for Prisoner's Week, 17th – 24th November

Faith in Throughcare works in local communities where high numbers of people come back after serving short prison sentences. A short sentence is described as any sentence up to 4 years.

Andy's case illustrates how someone who is homeless and offending has been helped by our interventions to find a period of stability and has had the opportunity to access a fuller range of services in relation to housing, health and meaningful use of time. He was returning to Possilpark, Glasgow, where the prison population rate is three times higher than the national average.

Our volunteers started meeting with Andy in Lowmoss Prison in January to help prepare for his release in May. This meant we were able to have several meetings prior to release and allow time to establish a good relationship. Whilst in prison he had participated in *Constructs*, a course which encourages people to reflect on the effects of their crime on others and the community. This course helped Andy take some responsibility for his own behaviour, telling us he had never considered his offending behaviour in relation to other people. By the time we met him he was ready to make some changes in his life, but not sure how he would go about it.

Andy's substance misuse has been a major problem for him throughout his life, and also the reason behind his offending behaviour. Since going to prison he had managed to come off drugs and has now been drug free for almost three years, and is determined to stay that way. He knew that coming out of prison he would need a bit more

structure in his life and thought he might like to eventually get into some kind of voluntary work. The volunteers believed that he was very motivated and willing to change – given a chance.

Upon release Andy was met by our volunteer at the prison gate. As he was homeless and had nowhere to go, the volunteer went with him to the housing to present as homeless. Andy was offered a place to stay in a hostel, a place he was reluctant to go to as he was afraid that he would be influenced by others he knew were staying there to return to crime and drug use. Our volunteers encouraged him to accept the place at the hostel and we gave him a bus pass so that he would be able to spend his days at our Hub in the north of Glasgow, 'The Place', away from any negative influence and return there in the evening to sleep.

While he was in prison Faith in Throughcare also referred Andy to Cornerstone's *Positive Tracks* programme, which supports people with a learning support need who have served a short term custodial sentence, helping them with accommodation, training and employment. Andy's main area of need at this time was accommodation, his own home rather than a hostel. Cornerstone have a limited number of flats available and their support worker agreed to meet with Andy regularly at The Place, to assess his suitability and keep contact with him until a flat became available. Whilst Cornerstone was able to provide accommodation and limited support, our volunteers helped Andy maintain stability during this transitional period and still help him access various local community-based opportunities.

In June, Andy was part of a group of volunteers and participants who planned and prepared for our two night residential in Ford, Argyll. This was a fantastic experience for Andy and gave him the opportunity to get out of the city to an environment he was completely unfamiliar with. Andy said that this was the first time he had been anywhere as remote and beautiful as this. He felt really relaxed and enjoyed the scenery, the walks and the experience of cooking and eating together. During the planning of the residential Andy had said he would be happy to help with anything except the cooking as this was something he had never done. One of our volunteers encouraged Andy to try something new and on the second day he cooked burgers for lunch for 18 people and was delighted with this contribution. Recently another of our participants had brought some eggs to The Place but was not confident in cooking them, Andy drawing on his experience at the residential, took on the role of chef, making egg sandwiches for everyone. It may seem like something simple but Andy took real confidence from his part in the residential and has continued to try and cook for himself and when possible to get out of the city and into a more peaceful environment as he recognises the benefits of this.

During this time Andy was a regular visitor to The Place. He is always willing to help out with any work needing done both at the The Place and in the surrounding area and to date he has accumulated over 30 volunteering hours at The Place and has just started to volunteer with a local food bank.



The Children of Abraham

Alec Porter reflects on a recent book emphasising the need for the three great faiths – Christianity, Judaism and Islam - to reflect on what unites them

There is plenty of evidence - for those who wish to find it - of God's hand in history, especially in the years since the Second World War, the reconciliation between France and Germany leading to the foundation of the European Union, the bringing down of the Iron Curtain, the peaceful revolution in South Africa, the ending of the conflict in Northern Ireland and the new relationship between the ruling white population in Australia and the Aborigines.

Now the challenge is can God's hand be brought to bear in our present world situation? It is a situation which the Pope has called the Third World War – the conflict within the Islamic nations and the conflict between Israel and Palestine, as well as the divisions in the Ukraine.

A recent book entitled *Abraham - a Bridge so Near* by Basil Hazledine looks at the possibilities for joint relationships. Hazledine is a retired Anglican minister who founded one of the earliest interdenominational partnerships in the North Midlands. 'From this,' he writes, 'it has only been a short step to seek to build bridges between those of different faiths in today's multiracial world.' He believes a committed minority from the three Abrahamic faiths could begin to turn the tide of conflicts in the world as well as the onrush of militant materialism and atheism.

The former Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, describes

it as a 'real achievement' and a 'timely work'. Dr Musharraf Hussain, of the Karimia Institute in Nottingham, writes in his foreword, 'The author of this wonderful treatise beckons the believers of three faiths to rethink their relationships. He makes a powerful argument that the three Abrahamic faiths can work together to build a better world without compromising their creed and their dogma.'

It was an eye-opener to me to learn about Islam, to learn that God also promised Abraham that his descendants through his older son Ishmael would also people the earth and would be carriers of his word to the world. I learned that this promise was fulfilled when Christians lost their way in the Arab world and Mohammed took on his role to restore God to leadership in the Arab lands.

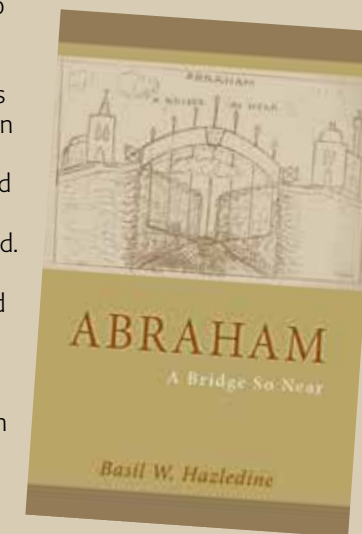
It is widely believed there is a basic antagonism between Christianity and Islam. But far from agreeing with that, Hazledine maintains that Christianity, Islam and Judaism are part of God's plan for the world. It would seem that this was also the Pope's view when he invited the

presidents of Israel and Palestine to join him at the Vatican to pray for peace.

The author suggests we need a new and inclusive interpretation of the statement by Jesus, 'no one comes to the Father except through me.' Hazledine asks, 'Are we making our Christ too small?' The Kingdom of God is open to all believers who surrender to God's will. He is clear we can have friendship and cooperation with other faiths in spite of some deep doctrinal disagreements without compromising our own faiths. Jesus himself seems to be inviting us to give it all more thought when he also says in John 6:44, 'no one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draws him and I will raise him up on the last day.'

'Man's extremity is God's opportunity' and by reading this book we could well understand precisely how we can help God to take His opportunity. It is not an easy read, filled as it is with his research, especially into the Old Testament and the Qur'an but at £5.99 it is a bargain to enlarge our faith and expectancy.

Abraham - a Bridge so Near by Basil Hazledine is available from www.abrahambridge.com



NATO on Drone Vulnerability

A sceptical look at a recent report on drones

A recent study by the NATO Joint Air Power Competence Centre highlights the vulnerability of Remotely Piloted Aircraft Systems (RPAS), also known as unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) or drones, in 'future operating theatres in contested airspace' (essentially meaning use in places where they have no right to be). It finds that although the use of drones 'became critical in the global fight on terrorism', current systems are not yet ready to survive

in non-permissive or hostile air environments. This means that drones have become an economical way of killing those designated as enemies or terrorists (including any collateral damage) so long as those targeted have no serious way of fighting back against them.

The study provides a detailed assessment of current drone components' limitations and addresses operational, technical and legal questions. It outlines a vision of possible future conflict scenarios and

compares these predicted threats with current capabilities. Which will in turn require governments to buy new and upgraded versions of these weapons.

All of this is dressed up in the self righteous language of the militarist and the arms salesman: essentially euphemisms and acronyms covering the realities of killing, maiming and destroying. We have them, we are the good guys; and they protect us against terrorists, adversaries and honest to God bad guys.

In fact the 136-page report devotes just two pages to the legal and moral aspects of drone use and only then in the context of whether adverse public perception might endanger deployment. 'Adverse public perception' comes over as the kind of pinko, wishy washy mindset that is susceptible to the adversary's propaganda (rather than ours).

The report identifies three major concerns shaping public perception of drones:

- radicalisation of the target population as a result of drone strikes. The study is non committal, citing evidence on both sides of the argument.
- dissent about the legitimacy of certain types of drone operations; which is airily dismissed in three paragraphs as

a 'non-sequitur'; although who is not following what isn't clear. concern about using private contractors for former military tasks within the remotely piloted system. Never mind the casualties: what if someone sues the operators? As far as the legitimacy question goes, however, drones are seen as just another delivery system.

Perfunctory doesn't begin to cover it. At the simplest level, one would love to ask the authors how they felt about applying that most universal of moral principles, the Golden Rule in its cautionary form: 'Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you'.

In the interests of balance, it should be mentioned that the report covers a range of unmanned aerial

vehicles, from model aeroplanes to little observation helicopters; with tactical suggestions as to how they could be adapted for destructive purposes, although presumably only by terrorists. Just as well my Airfix days are over.

Certainly, the menacing Remotely Piloted Aircraft System pictured at the front of the report is probably beyond the average terrorist budget meantime. It is a product of the US Northrop Grumman Corporation, one of the 'top ten military-friendly employers': annual revenues about \$25 billion, annual profits about \$1.95 billion. Ah, the high cost of keeping the peace!

You can read the study at <http://tinyurl.com/kmj8ea>

Justice and Peace Links: Grace Buckley is our representative with other Justice and Peace Commissions. She recently attended the Annual Justice and Peace Network for England and Wales Conference and the Conference of the National Secretaries of the European Network of Justice and Peace Commissions. She has written interesting and extensive reports which can be read in full on our website. It is good to be reminded that we are part of an international network.

White Poppies for Peace: With the magazine you will find a 'white poppy' flier. The fliers did not arrive in time to go out with the last edition of the magazine, but there is still time to order especially if you order online. We have a limited supply of white poppies in the office and they are available on a first come first served basis.

Welfare reform and poverty: The percentage of households who fall below society's minimum standard of living more than doubled over the last 30 years, despite the size of the economy doubling. This is one of the stark findings from the largest study of poverty and deprivation ever conducted in the UK. Other key data reveals that almost 18 million people cannot afford adequate housing conditions, 12 million people are too poor to engage in common social activities, one in three people cannot afford to heat their homes adequately in the winter and four million children and adults aren't properly fed by today's standards. To find out more click here or visit the website as part of the Poverty and Social Exclusion in the United Kingdom research project. Read more at www.poverty.ac.uk

Christmas Greeting Card 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. The 2014 Christmas Greetings Campaign List from Action by Christians against torture will be published in November on their website www.acatuk.org.uk

The Teddy Bear Foundation provides small grants to schools and organisations who work to improve the lives of children with special needs in Scotland. There are no complicated forms to fill in. Just tell them why you would like the money, what it's for and email your request to

info@theteddybearfoundation.org
No closing date - apply any time.

Take One Action has just launched a brand new web hub at www.takeoneaction.org.uk which aims to connect an array of creative, globally-conscious, social and environmental explorers in Scotland with great film for inspiration - on a wide range of social, global and environmental topics; community-posted events, opportunities, tools, petitions and campaign pledges, networking chat and social change celebration. Please take a moment to check it out and register. If you are an organiser or administrator for any group activity related to social/global/environmental change activated from Scotland, or doing cool stuff under your own steam, please do list your group and/or activities using the above link.

Could you mentor a young person? For disadvantaged young people who start life on the 'back foot' and often face setbacks through absolutely no fault of their own, choices are sometimes more limited. The opportunities offered to them through education may be equal, but access to these opportunities may be barred by distractions and upheavals - physical and emotional - in their home lives and wider communities. MCR Pathways is a Glasgow-based project which is working through schools to match a mentor with a young person who needs additional encouragement - motivation, commitment and reliance - so that they can find their own path, through school, education and on into a successful career. If you are interested in becoming a mentor and would like to find out more - just one hour a week, good listening and encouragement is all you need - please visit the website. Training provided. <http://www.mcrpathways.org/#welcome>

Victory at the UN! This month the UN passed a resolution committing them to investigate a fair and transparent debt workout mechanism and put a stop to vulture funds preying on poor nations. This is a huge step forward as the UN, where each country has an equal say, is much better placed to do this than the International Monetary Fund, where rich nations have a much more powerful voice. Shamefully, the UK was one of only 11 countries to vote against this vital Debt Justice resolution. You can read more about this story over on the Jubilee Scotland website <http://tinyurl.com/m2mfdzu>



The Open Wound: Slavery in the Modern World. One of the biggest problems facing us today is human trafficking and slavery. There are more slaves now than at any time in history. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that there are almost 21 million people in slavery worldwide. Pope Francis has called all this 'an open wound on society'. The Glasgow Justice and Peace group are having a day of reflection on this topic on 29th November. They will be looking at this issue and what can be done to help eradicate it. Everyone is welcome to come to the event. The speakers will be Jenny Marra MSP and Canon Robert Hill. Ogilvie Centre, Rose Street, Glasgow, 11am-3pm. Coffee from 10:30 am, Lunch provided. Details <http://tinyurl.com/lckshj5>

'Catch-22' Campaigners launch legal battle with MOD over recruitment of minors: Child Soldiers International recently launched a claim for a judicial review of the terms of enlistment of minors joining the Army. If successful, the claim would reduce by up to two years the minimum service period of those signing up under the age of 18. www.child-soldiers.org/news_reader.php?id=787

Philippine president urged to stop child sex tourism: President Benigno S Aquino has been petitioned by hundreds of fair trade business leaders across Austria who have signed a letter asking him to stop sex tourism in the Philippines. He is being asked to turn his anti-corruption drive to ending the evil trade of sex slavery of children and young girls, some as young as 13 and 14 years old. The continuing reports of human trafficking of thousands of Filipino children and young girls into a modern form of slavery in sex bars, strip clubs, brothels, beach resorts and cybersex dens are spreading around the world. It is an exploitation that is destroying the lives of these impoverished innocent Filipinos. Too little is being done to stop it as many officials allegedly believe it is okay and don't enforce the law. For more information see <http://tinyurl.com/pvggdg5>

Facebook and Twitter: We have at last caught up with the social media bandwagon, we are now on Facebook and Twitter. Visit our website to like us on Facebook and follow us on Twitter. We promise not to overload you with notifications.



Human Trafficking in the Contemporary World

This short article aims to raise awareness of human trafficking and provide some insights into the nature of the problem, the response of contemporary Catholic Social Teaching as well as providing valuable examples of concerted action by the US Bishops

Slavery is a serious social evil that blights contemporary society; an evil that exists in both developing and developed countries. Pope Francis has publicly and vehemently opposed all forms of slavery, especially human trafficking. Pope Francis famously described human trafficking as an open wound on the body of contemporary society, a scourge upon the body of Christ. In this short article we examine the response of the Catholic Church to slavery, with a particular focus on human trafficking.

Human trafficking is a pernicious and widely prevalent form of contemporary slavery: figures indicate that between 2 to 2.5 million men, women and children are the victims of human trafficking. Human trafficking occurs when a person is forcibly relocated and is exploited by others for profit (migrants and displaced persons are two of the most vulnerable groups). Trafficking occurs across international boundaries, but also within nations.

The United Nations convention against transnational organised crime (2000) was augmented by three protocols in 2003, one of which aimed to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children. The United Nations provides a useful list of three essential elements that are constituent of human trafficking: the act, the means and the purpose. The act involves the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons. The means involves some form of threat or coercion or deception. The purpose is for sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery or the removal of organs (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2014). The UNODC calls for: the prevention of human trafficking; for the protection of the victims and for the prosecution of the perpetrators.

We can search the Old and New Testaments for pronouncements condemning forms of slavery, but

our search would be in vain. Bible writers accepted the existence of slavery as a part of society. The Bible spells out the rights that should be experienced by all slaves: Moses enacts laws against their exploitation. Jesus teaches using parables that condemn bad slaves and praise good slaves. Paul epitomises the biblical attitude of acceptance to slaves: in Christ there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, slave and free, male or female (Galatians 3:28). We must turn our attention, then, to Catholic Social Teaching, and, in particular, to contemporary Catholic Social Teaching, for explicit condemnation of slavery.

The contemporary Church interprets the seventh commandment as prohibiting the enslavement of human beings (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 2414) and recent popes have been strong and vociferous in their opposition to contemporary slavery - Pope Francis follows the example of the Second Vatican Council, John Paul II and Benedict XVI. *Gaudium et Spes* (1965) described slavery as insulting human dignity, those who enslave others for profit ultimately poison human society. John Paul II stated that trading in human persons was a shocking offence against human dignity and a grave violation of fundamental human rights.

Pope Benedict XVI condemned slavery and highlighted the vulnerability of women in Migration a sign of the times (2006): women are often lured into migrating to support their families and endure poorly paid employment and poor working conditions. He challenges the existence of social and economic inequalities that allow the exploitation of women to thrive. The Leaders of the church call for support for those who are the victims of human trafficking and they call for an end to this form of slavery.

The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops provides good

examples of national and local initiatives opposed to human trafficking. The Committee on migration of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops published *On Human Trafficking* in 2007. This short document aims to raise awareness of the tragic consequences of human trafficking and focuses very carefully on the victims of trafficking and the causes and solutions to human trafficking (strongly resonating with the prevention, protection and prosecution agenda of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime).

The US bishops condemn the forcible exploitation of human persons but also the supply and demand of the cycle of consumerism and profit that feeds trafficking - forcing people to work for low wages to ensure high profits for the exploiters. One of the strengths of this document is the exposure of the scale of the problem in the United States itself.

The US bishops point out that 17,500 human beings are trafficked into the United States each year. More recently the Bishops of Florida have identified and condemned the labour and sex trafficking that exists in Florida: in agriculture, tourism and the sex trade associated with the eight military bases. The invisible nature of this form of slavery means that many tourists are unaware that some of the people working in the service industries in tourist areas are the victims of human trafficking. The Bishops urge the Catholic community to become increasingly aware of the extent of the local problem in Florida and join together in action.

This item was provided by Professor Stephen McKinney, Leader of the Creativity, Culture and Faith (Research and Teaching Group) at the School of Education in the University of Glasgow. Written in collaboration with Robert J. Hill and our own Honor Hania.

NOVEMBER

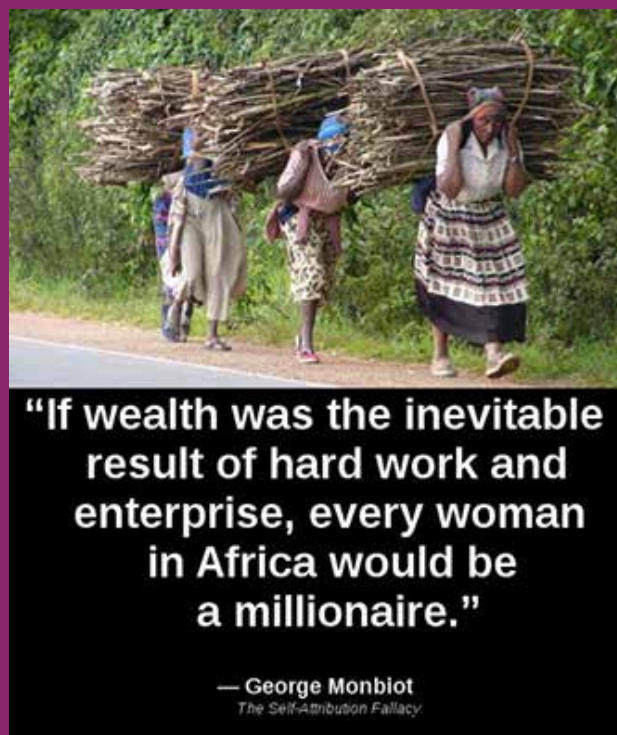
- 2 Living Wage Week
- 5 World Community Day
- 6 International Day for Preventing the Exploitation of the Environment in War and Armed Conflict
- 16 International Day for Tolerance
- 16 Prisons Week
- 16 International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church
- 20 Universal Children's Day
- 25 International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women
- 29 The Open Wound: Slavery in the Modern World – Glasgow
- 29 STUC St Andrew's Day Anti-Racism March and Rally
- 29 UN International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People
- 29 Buy Nothing Day
- 30 Scrap Trident Demonstration - Faslane
- 30 Dungavel Solidarity Gathering

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 Christmas Day - Rejoice!
- 28 Holy Innocents

JANUARY 2015

- 3 First loans by the Grameen Bank (1977)
- 4 Feast of the Epiphany – Justice and Peace Sunday
- 10 1946: First UN General Assembly opens with 51 nations represented



JANUARY 2015 CONTINUED

- 17 20th anniversary service for Scottish Churches Housing Action
- 18 Homeless Sunday
- 27 UN International Day of Commemoration for Victims of the Holocaust
- 30 1948: Mahatma Gandhi assassinated

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

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