

THE CENTRE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

CPACS OBJECTIVES

The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies was established in May 1988 as a specialist research and teaching centre within the University of Sydney. It has evolved into a significant international contributor in this field.

The Centre aims to facilitate dialogue between individuals, groups or communities who are concerned with conditions of positive peace, whether in interpersonal relationships, community relations, within organisations and nations, or with reference to international relations.

It promotes interdisciplinary research, teaching, public discussion and publication on the causes of conflict and the conditions which affect conflict resolution and peace. Through the Peace Foundation and the Sydney Peace Prize it celebrates the achievements of outstanding contributors to the processes that build peace, justice, truth and reconciliation.

Projects focus on the concept and realities of justice and the means of attaining conditions which contribute to equitable social relationships and just societies.

THE CONTEXT OF THE 2000 REPORT

Peace with Justice

As a prologue to an account of CPACS activities the Annual Report has always provided a brief sketch of national and international affairs which have a bearing on our objective of peace with justice. This sketch deals with matters such as the current struggles to achieve peace in various areas of the world, the progress of moves for reconciliation with indigenous peoples, the issue of abuse of human rights, and the impact of global economic developments and government policies on the provision of education and welfare and the general conditions of life and work.

The Middle East

The Wye River Agreement of October 1998 between Benjamin Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat promised to set the scene for a significant exchange of Israeli-controlled territory with the Palestinian Authority and enhanced Israeli security. But ill-will and disagreements over boundaries, timetables, settlement construction and joint security delayed any real outcome. The formation in May 1999 of a newly-elected Israeli Government under Ehud Barak and better relationships with a number of neighbouring states appeared to put constructive negotiations back on track by the end of 1999. Moreover, although his majority depended on difficult minor parties, Barak had been elected on promises to withdraw from southern Lebanon and implement a 'land-for-security' deal with the Palestinians.

In late May 2000 Barak boldly initiated the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the 329-square mile Security Zone in southern Lebanon created after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and withdrawal to the buffer zone in 1985. But the start of the handover to the Israeli-created South Lebanon Army sparked a Hezbollah-led push to occupy the zone. The SLA's control collapsed and the Israeli Army ordered a full and rapid withdrawal behind Israel's borders. Although the resulting movements on both sides were messy and confrontational, the outcome was peaceful and beneficial. Barak declared of the whole Lebanese intervention: 'The tragedy has come to an end.' The focus was now squarely on an Israel-Palestine settlement. Unfortunately, the closer that prospect appeared the more the extremists on both sides provoked one another and pressured their leaders into incompatible negotiating positions. This was clear at the White-House sponsored summit at Camp David in July. Despite Clinton's best efforts and the 'luggage diplomacy' of threatened walkouts by both Arafat and Barak, at the end of a fortnight the issue of control of Jerusalem in general and sensitive holy sites in particular proved intractable. But at least some of the most central issues on both sides were on the table; possible solutions were imaginable.

The peace process descended into protracted violence, however, with the protests sparked in late September by the provocative visit to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem by Ariel Sharon, right-wing leader of the Likud Party, to hold a political rally and reassert Israeli rights to the land. Clashes between rioters and Israeli troops escalated into a sustained and aggressive Palestinian intifadeh and Israeli military and civilian retaliation, resulting so far in almost 300 deaths, mostly Palestinian. Televised images of sheer inhumanity, such as the shooting of a 12-year old Palestinian boy as his father tried to shield him and the killing of two Israeli reserve soldiers, have shocked the world, but hardened the combatants. Savage actions and reactions on both sides spiralled beyond proportion and control. The ingredients for such an outcome were abundant: conquest, occupation, humiliation, thwarted aspirations, broken agreements, provocation, retaliation, terrorism, reprisals, escalation, threats and deadlines. The leaders on both sides came under pressure from extremists –

religious fanatics, hard-line settlers, racist terrorists, political opportunists – who prefer violence to peace. Rushed visits by Kofi Annan and President Clinton helped prevent a full-scale war, but failed to create a ‘de-escalation strategy’ leading back to the peace table.

Barak’s political position deteriorated, with both Sharon and a rejuvenated Netanyahu hoping to benefit. But he refused to agree on power-sharing terms with Sharon and the Likud Party, and initiated the process for an Israeli election next year. He may wish to take peace proposals, or even an agreement with the Palestinians, to the polls. The peacemakers on both sides need to assert themselves.

Northern Ireland

The ‘Good Friday Agreement’ of 1988 finally came into operation in November 1999, when Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble reluctantly agreed to the creation of a power-sharing executive with the Sin Fein leader Gerry Adams and others, despite the Irish Republican Army’s non-compliance with the agreed procedures for the decommissioning of its weapons. But after only 72 days in operation, Northern Ireland Secretary Peter Mandelson suspended the exercise in February this year, in the face of continued IRA refusal to hand over weapons or set a timetable. Recriminations, public pressure and fears of complete failure led to talks in May between British Prime Minister Tony Blair, his Irish counterpart Bertie Ahern, David Trimble and Gerry Adams. The IRA issued a surprise statement straight after, making promises of new procedures for inspection of arms and verification of their non-use, leading Mandelson to restart the power-sharing arrangement. Although Trimble’s support from his own party is very shaky, the political process of learning to cooperate with enemies and govern in the interests of both Catholics and Protestants least continues. Issues like education, health, police and job-creating investment are crucial testing grounds. But the process at least survives, and has so far withstood the strain of violence by extremists on both sides.

Chechnya

According to the Kremlin, the year-long war in Chechnya is largely over. After heavy shelling and bombing, Grozny, the capital, and the villages in the countryside, are occupied by Russian troops. People are returning from the refugee camps. But the rebels are far from defeated, still being bombed in Grozny itself and pursued unsuccessfully in the Caucasus to the south. Moreover, the issues that caused the conflict - nationalism, terrorism, separatism, and economic and political rivalry - are far from being even addressed. The protection of civilians from military abuse and the provision of basic services are the immediate priorities, but lack both material support and goodwill. General Kuzmich, military commandant of one village occupied early November, said

‘My main concerns are old people and children, restoring electricity and healthcare.’ But he added: ‘My biggest problem is that there are soldiers who come here and want to make war.’ Neither the Chechen rebels nor the Russian army has much respect for the rights of individuals. International publicity remains one of the few strategies that has any influence.

Kosovo

After the NATO bombing campaign in Yugoslavia in March-May 1999, the ‘victors’ had to descend to putting their proposals into practice on the ground. The NATO-dominated Peacekeeping Force (KFOR) sent into Kosovo had to cope with a devastated land and a massive refugee return programme. Despite tensions among the peacekeepers, they did as good a job as their resources permitted. But they also presided rather ineffectually over considerable internal ethnic reshuffling, promoted by Kosovo Liberation Army violence against Serbs and Gypsies. This achieved its goal of largely clearing Kosovo of Serbs by mid-2000, except for a number of NATO-guarded enclaves, particularly in the north. The reluctant departure from office of President Slobodan Milosevic, after an election rebuff in October, promised much, but it needs to be remembered that his successor, Vojislav Kostunica, comes from much the same political stable. Moreover, another flashpoint is emerging. A new Albanian rebel group, calling itself the Liberation Army for Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac (UCPMB), has commenced operations aimed at the ‘liberation’ of Albanians in the Presevo valley, a part of Serbia in the buffer zone across the northern border. The reaction of new Yugoslav President Kostunica was a swift verbal attack on NATO’s failure to prevent Albanian incursions and the sending of tanks and artillery to the edge of the zone. NATO and the UN Security Council both responded by promising to do the job they always said they were doing: keeping the peace for all.

Fiji

Ever since Sitiveni Rabuka carried out his two military coups in 1987, wrote his self-justificatory memoir *No Other Way* in 1988 and prospered as self-appointed political leader and later leader of the Great Council of Chiefs, Fijian politics has been destabilised by the ambiguous role of the Armed Forces and the potential for the resort to force by dissatisfied Fijian extremists. In May this year, thirteen years to the week after Rabuka overthrew Fiji’s first Indian-led government, George Speight and a dissident faction of the Army stormed Parliament and destroyed Fiji’s second constitutionally elected Indian government. Seizing Prime Minister Mahendra Chaudhry and 42 MPs as hostages, Speight proceeded for several weeks to exploit a stand off with the military and vacillation by the President and Great Council of Chiefs to strut the media stage and project his own personal ambitions and the objectives of his less forthcoming backers. ‘A coup is perfect,’ he told

the press. 'There is no substitute in terms of impact to express your feelings when you don't like something.' His coup certainly had an impact: severe economic dislocation and sanctions, loss of jobs, closure of schools, ethnic discrimination and violence, armed conflict within the military, international condemnation, visits by a variety of ineffectual diplomats, heightened racist and nationalist divisiveness.

Given the leadership vacuum amongst Fiji's political elite, including Sitiveni Rabuka, the Armed Forces under Commodore Frank Bainimarama took power and attempted to control the situation and create an interim government. But Speight's intransigence and flagrant support for violence led finally to the naming of an interim government, the surrender of the hostages and the Parliament compound and the shifting of the contest to the jails and courts. Speight's demands for both full exoneration and political position were refused; the coup was over. But the path to stability is difficult. At the launch of the National Council for Reconciliation and Unity, the army-appointed interim Prime Minister, Laisenia Qarase, appealed for the promotion of forgiveness and tolerance, 'for with these in the hearts of people there will be no place for evil thoughts, hatred and evil plans.' Unfortunately, his 'Indigenous Blueprint', by promising a variety of 'affirmative action' initiatives for indigenous Fijians only, fails to address the basic contradiction between political supremacy for one 'race' and fundamental human rights for all 'citizens'. Of his financial measures, which provide funds for areas such as education, infrastructure (the two largest) and small business expansion, the third largest amount is for military security, ahead of health and agriculture. Moreover, the High Court has ruled that the interim government, which is ruling without any parliament, has no legal foundation, and that the original Constitution, under which the Chaudhry Government was elected, is still in force. The interim government is appealing this ruling and ignoring its implications.

Bougainville

The peace process in Bougainville, put in place following the cease-fire in 1998, has yet to resolve the issues involved. Although the UN observer mission, and the presence of unarmed ceasefire monitoring forces from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu, provide a stabilising influence, tensions are rising. Ongoing talks, chaired by the Head of the UN mission, between the Bougainville delegation led by former rebel Joseph Kabui, now Chairman of the Bougainville People's Congress, and the Papua-New Guinea Government delegation, led by former PM and current Minister for Bougainville Affairs, Michael Somare, are close to collapse. At issue are the amount of autonomy Port Moresby is willing to grant and whether complete independence should be included as an option in the promised referendum on the future political status of the island.

Both sides are clearly aware of the implications of developing situations in East Timor, West Papua, Aceh, the Solomons, and elsewhere.

The Solomons

Ethnic tensions and economic conflict have combined to produce violence and near civil war in the Solomon Islands. Over years there has been an influx of outer islanders, particularly from Malaita, onto the main island, Guadalcanal, and into the capital, Honiara. Resentful locals formed the Isatabu Freedom Movement and resorted to murder, torture, rape and village burning, driving some 20,000 Malaitans either off the island or into the capital. In response, the Malaita Eagle Force, a police-dominated militia with heavy weaponry, was formed, and commenced a two year campaign against Isatabu. Dissatisfaction with the efforts of Prime Minister Bartholomew Ulufa'alu to carry out reform and stop the violence resulted in a coup in June by former Finance Minister Andrew Nori, backed by the Malaita Eagles. Civil war in and around Honiara appeared certain, but the intervention of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Archbishops and the Solomon Islands Christian Association helped prevent a full scale confrontation. Efforts to mediate by Sitiveni Rabuka belied his own lack of respect for constitutional proprieties. Neither side, however, wished for bloody confrontation. The Australian Government had rushed to help evacuate Europeans, and ultimately was to facilitate serious negotiations between the two groups, sponsored by Australia and New Zealand, by transporting the two delegations to neutral grounds in Cairns. The peace deal signed in October required the warring factions to hand in their weapons to international peace monitors from Australia and New Zealand, and gave amnesty to fighters fulfilling this until 15 December. Weapons were starting to be surrendered by early November. But the root causes of the conflict have yet to be addressed.

Punishment for Profit

Among the many adverse consequences of 'economic rationalism' is the privatisation/profitisation of the public institutions of imprisonment and detention. Among the most successful 'service providers' in this area is Wackenhut Corrections Corporation, founded in 1984 to run privatised prisons and detention centres. An offshoot of ex-FBI agent George Wackenhut's private investigations and security services empire, it now controls about 50 'facilities' catering for between 30,000-50,000 people in America, Canada, the UK, Puerto Rico, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. Wackenhut recently revealed his business philosophy in *Business Behind Bars*: 'They're really starting to punish people, as they should have all along. ... This year we're going to make US400 million.' The concept of 'prisons-for-profit' has been embraced in Australia, with predictable outcomes. Australasian Correctional Management (ACM), the Wackenhut subsidiary here, runs 'correctional institutions' (there's a lot in a name) in Queensland, New South

Wales and Victoria, and six detention centres for the Department of Immigration. According to Terry Plane in *The Australian*, 'There has been trouble at most of the company's sites: riots, rapes, violence and allegations of prisoner abuse.' Bad as they are in prison management, the profit motive and the culture of violence have an even more deplorable impact on illegal immigrants, asylum seekers and other detainees. They are known as numbers, not people, and regimented, guarded and disciplined like maximum security prisoners. The treatment of Kosovo refugees, particularly of those who wished to remain rather than return, was in clear breach of both international standards and ordinary moral decency. Moreover, as the attempted cover-up of allegations of sexual abuse at Woomera Detention Centre revealed, the penalty clauses for negligence in the contract with ACM encourage the deliberate concealment of abuse. Under the claim of being 'commercial-in-confidence', the true nature of the requirements and responsibilities is concealed from the public. Methods and standards of management are highly questionable. Immigration Minister Philip Ruddock's legalistic denials of the existence of serious problems only reveal the simplistic philosophy of deterrence by punishment.

AGM Research Report

Research Projects

A number of research initiatives have been proposed in the light of the 18 month project -*Support and Evaluation of Aboriginal Night Patrols*. - to continue research in this area. All these projects are in partnership with the Koori Centre.

(i) *Aboriginal Women and Night Patrols* - Seed funding was provided by the Arts Faculty to initiate investigation of Aboriginal women's involvement in night patrols. Participation in services for the 'public good' is affected by numerous personal, local community and regional government constraints. These constraints are complex, yet government policy initiatives - such as supporting the development of night patrols - presume that participation is not only simple, but can always be a platform for policies. The research proposed to examine the contentious issue of volunteer participation in implementing social policies.

(ii) *Working With Elders: Aboriginal Night Patrols in NSW* - in consultation with the Aboriginal Justice Advisory Council this research proposes to act on recommendation number 10 of the *Evaluation Report* (AGD, 2000) regarding a review of, and further research into the role of night patrols in promoting community safety. The 12 month project aims to talk with Aboriginal Elders throughout NSW about their involvement in night patrols with a view to producing resource material. Issues of Aboriginal rights and self-determination will be raised by the work. An outcome of the project will be a 'community handbook' profiling the experiences of Elders in Night Patrol operations, their ideas about alternative dispute resolution practices for their respective

communities and detailing initiatives (such as culture camps) perceived to counteract the unequal involvement of Aboriginal youth in the juvenile justice system in NSW. Funding has been sought from the NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

(iii) *NSW Night Patrols Online* - in consultation with the Aboriginal Justice Advisory Council this action research proposes to act on recommendation number 10 of the *Evaluation Report* (AGD, 2000) regarding a review of, and further research into the role of night patrols in promoting community safety. The project aims to talk with young Aboriginal people in fifteen regional locations of NSW about their involvement in night patrols with a view to producing an interactive website and 'cd rom'. As well as providing education about the role of night patrol operations, this site will also provide access to legislation pertaining to young people and information about youth legal services and associated helplines. Funding has been sought from the NSW Law Foundation.

(iv) *Intellectual Disability: Hidden and Unmet Needs* - leading on from the collaborative research undertaken with Centacare last year, an Australian Research Council (ARC) submission was prepared in close consultation with CPACS research fellow Professor Tony Vinson. The initial investigation found that large gaps have been uncovered between NSW Government policy ideals on the provision of services to people with disabilities and the actual care they receive. The services provided are often 'mismatched' with the particular needs of the individuals they serve. Another pilot study is proposed to test the methodology of the ARC submission, to be jointly undertaken with Centacare and the Ageing and Disability Dept NSW.

(v) *Dialogue with the Gwich'in of Canada* - Chief Grace Blake is a Canadian cultural personality: the only female leader on the Gwich'in Tribal Council, which in 1991 was responsible for signing the first land claim agreement in the region between the Canadian Government and the indigenous Gwich'in people. Her work to raise the profile of Gwich'in history and culture, both in Canada and abroad, is promoted through the work of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute of which she is Chair of the Board of Directors. The visit of Chief Grace Blake to Sydney University would create the opportunity for discussions about collaborative research projects resulting in ongoing linkages between CPACS and GSCI. Both research centres are concerned with issues of social justice and human rights and a collaborative research project examining comparative approaches to attaining social justice for remote and regional indigenous communities is being developed. Funding has been secured for a speaking tour in 2001.

(vi) *UN Conflict-Resolution Training* - this project entails the delivery of workshops on the following topics: collaborative negotiation skills, advanced negotiation skills and mediation skills for staff members in managerial and supervisory roles. These workshops will be organised for teams and will be tailored to meet the specific needs and concerns of the team. CPACS has been approached to contribute to the design and delivery of these workshops and to be part of the

consultancy group of the project. CPACS will also provide research support so that the project is kept current with the latest developments in the field of conflict resolution. Senior Advisors: Prof Stuart Rees and Dr Stella Cornelius

Trainer: Patricia Garcia. The proposed project partnership (120 hrs of training sessions over 18 months) is with WD Scott International Development Consultants Pty Ltd.

A research database is in the process of being developed for the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies to provide information about funding sources for projects related to our research interests.

This is will include:

- University initiatives and seed funding opportunities
- Scholarships for research students
- NSW and Australian Government schemes
- International agencies and research centres (collaborative) grants
- Philanthropic foundations

Lastly, congratulations to research assistants Kerry O'Donohue and Michael Jarque whose impressive research findings were published as part of the CPACS occasional papers series (see publications list attached).

CPACS Library

The centre library now contains 876 accessioned and catalogued items, together with a variety of journals and periodicals pertaining to the centres' central concerns. Many of these journals have been provided by Stella Cornelius, and at the beginning of February, the people involved with the teaching program, Ken and I will need to decide which of these subscriptions will be picked up by the centre. A periodical Register has been drawn up, listing journals and periodicals in alphabetical order by title. The name of the donor is shown, and the date of issues received. The materials have been placed in boxes and filed where possible, with books on the subject. A major donation has been received from Professor Charles Kerr, who donated his collection of papers etc. of the Ranger Uranium environmental Inquiry, on which he was a Commissioner. Stella Cornelius has also provided materials on conflict resolution, and some materials have been given by individual committee members. \$200 from CPACS funds is currently being spent on new materials as the required books become available. Reading lists have been prepared for the 2000 teaching program and lists will be prepared for the 2001 programs. A comprehensive list of recommended resources has been compiled for possible purchase if funds become available. From this, we were able to compile an order to be purchased for the Social Work/Social policy faculty library funds which will be part of the Fisher collection, and available to all students.

Special thanks are due to Tony O'Flynn, the Attendant from the Margaret Telfer Building who located and delivered shelving to house the collection. A donation of metal shelf label markers from Mrs. Terry Bruce and the purchase of metal bookends are important additions to the physical presentation of materials. Students using the library are able to locate materials quickly.

Membership

CPACS membership numbers increased from 119 to 136 in 2000, thanks to a 70% renewal rate and the addition of 42 new members. Congratulations to all those who helped encourage new members to join CPACS over the past year, and welcome to our new members. Although our overall numbers have not increased by as much as we had hoped, it is great to see so many new names and faces.

During the year we started an email list for notifying members of upcoming events and meetings, and the membership database is being converted from Filemaker Pro to Access in order to improve the usefulness and efficiency of the database. Four new categories of membership have been added: Joint/Family (for two or more members at the same address), Life, Concession Life, and Honorary Life membership. A further new category of Organisational membership will be introduced in 2001.

Thanks to Antonia Stephenson for assistance in my new role as Membership Secretary, to Stephen Reid for technical support, and Loret Bartos for help with the CPACS Council Minutes.