



Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

ANNUAL REPORT

2005



The University of Sydney

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2005 CPACS Staff, Council and Volunteers

CPACS Staff, Council Office-bearers and Project Coordinators

Director	Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees
President	Dr Ken Macnab
Vice-President	Paul Clark
Secretary	Kath Logan
Treasurer	Reign Haub, Greg Ashton
Membership Secretary	Abe Quadan
Librarian	Peggy Craddock
Publications Officer	Reign Haub, Paul Clark
Seminars Coordinator	Reign Haub, Bernadette Connole
Executive Committee Representatives	Cheryl Minks, Greg Ashton, Lynda-ann Blanchard
Administration Officer	Reign Haub
Lecturer and Academic Coordinator	Dr Wendy Lambourne
Research Officer	Dr Paul White
Sydney Peace Foundation Officer	Marilyn Harris, Wendy Falconer
Conflict Solutions Australia Coordinator	Paul Clark
Refugee Language Program	Lesley Carnus
West Papua Project Coordinator	John Wing
NSW Human Rights in Education Committee	Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard

CPACS Council

Greg Ashton	Lynda-ann Blanchard
Dennis Christley	Paul Clark
Bernadette Connole	Laurie & Peggy Craddock
Andrew Greig	Reign Haub
Kath Logan	Wendy Lambourne
Ken Macnab	Jenny McNaughton
Cheryl Minks	Erik Paul
Abe Quadan	Stuart Rees
John Telford	George Varughese

Lecturers

Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard	Paul Clark
Dr Wendy Lambourne	Jake Lynch
Em. Prof. Stuart Rees	Dr Paul White
Dr Geneviève Souillac	Iris Wielders
Lynette Simons	Brendan Doyle
Freya Higgins-Desboilles	Dr Ken Macnab
Annabel McGoldrick	

Special Advisors

Dr Stella Cornelius

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.

CPACS promotes interdisciplinary research and teaching on the causes of conflict and the conditions that affect conflict resolution and peace. Research projects and other activities focus on conflict resolution with a view to attaining peace with justice.

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.

The Context of the 2005 Annual Report

Dr Ken Macnab – President

Peace with Justice

As a prologue to an account of CPACS activities the Annual Report has always provided a sketch of national and international affairs that have a bearing on our objective of peace with justice. On this occasion, for a variety of reasons, a selective and more reflective commentary has been written.

The Occupation of Iraq

In his second Inaugural Address, in late January 2005, President George Bush ignored all criticism and dissent and delivered a blast of wildly inflated rhetoric about freedom and mission. Freedom was 'a fire in the minds of man', and the American mission was to ensure that 'the untamed fire of freedom' would reach 'the darkest corners of the world'. One White House spokesman called it 'democratic evangelism'; Joe Klein called it 'utopian bellicosity'. Either way, it was clear that little had been learnt from the previous four years in office, or Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan), Operation Iraqi Freedom, the "War on Terror" or the Presidential election campaign. But the cost to America's reputation abroad and democracy at home is worrying more and more people. Operation Eroding Freedom, an American movement 'dedicated to the defense of civil liberties and human rights', has on its web site an ever-growing list of Government violations of the American Constitution, the legal system, and international laws, conventions and agreements. (<http://www.rutherford.org/ErodingFreedom/default.asp>).

The occupation of Iraq appeared to achieve political gains with courageous voter participation in the elections of January 30, 2005, in choosing representatives for the newly-created 275-member Transitional National Assembly. This appeared to be an important step in the transition of turning US Occupation control of Iraq over to the Iraqis themselves. However, sectarian conflict was implicit in the election result, which gave two Shi'ite parties, representing the majority of the population, a clear majority between them. The Kurdish community was also strongly supported, promoting nationalist and separatist ambitions, while the Sunni, who had mostly boycotted the election, were barely represented. This Assembly was charged with forming a Transitional National Government, taking over some domestic powers and drafting a permanent constitution within six months, to come into operation by the end of 2005. All these tasks proved difficult and divisive. A two-month lull in terrorist activity following the elections ended with a wave of attacks targeting Iraqi police and security forces. The new Government was sworn in early in May, amid the extension of Shi'ite-Sunni extremism and violence to the students and staff of Iraq's universities. More than 50

academics have been assassinated, and more threatened, kidnapped or simply driven from their campuses, destroying one of the last havens of tolerance and scholarship.

Despite this, there was American optimism about progress in recruiting and training a new Iraqi army, police and security forces. In a visit to Baghdad, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld proclaimed: 'We don't have an exit strategy. We have a victory strategy.' But even with Iraqi military assistance, the American occupation forces provide little real security. Gangs, militias and insurgents operate widely, American forces patrol, operate check-points and search missions heavily armed and insulated from the Iraqi people, conduct occasional combat assault operations, and retreat to heavily fortified safe zones or military bases. Circumstances and tactics simply prevent them from engaging with the Iraqis in any peaceful or constructive fashion, while their presence and activities generate more enmity and resistance. It is the Iraqis, both those being trained to take over security and ordinary citizens, who bear the brunt of the daily violence. For example, the Emergency Room of Yarmouk Hospital, in western Baghdad, was described in May 2005 by its chief surgeon, Jamil Bayati, as 'the busiest ER in the world' In the previous 12 months it had admitted 10,000 people, more than 1,000 of them with 'war wounds', inflicted by insurgents, the US military or Iraqi security forces.

By mid-2005 Bush's oft-repeated sound-bytes were: 'When the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down' and 'we have made significant progress.' But the reconstruction of the country, which needs to go hand-in-hand with Iraqi-controlled security, has largely failed. Vast amounts of money promised by America and other countries remain unspent, or are diverted to security operations, and much of the actual spending goes to foreign workers recruited from all over the world as truck drivers, mechanics, store men, computer operators, construction workers and the like, as well as armed guards. In mid-2005 the power system produced less electricity than the previous year, oil production and revenue were down, and the water supply was still intermittent. In short, the prerequisites of a stable, independent state were far from achievement: constitutional representative government, sustainable revenue sources, basic material necessities and services, security and law and order. One of the few signs of progress is that many Iraqis now blame their own elected government as well as the Americans.

Unfortunately, Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Jaafari has little control over his team of Ministers, who were largely chosen by the major parties dividing up the spoils of office. Some Ministries, such as the Ministry of the Interior, exacerbate the situation. In October, witnesses implicated it in the abduction and killing of lawyers defending Saddam Hussein and his subordinates in the ongoing trial. That trial itself is being conducted in such a fashion, in such difficult circumstances for all involved, that whatever its outcome it can hardly serve any creditable purpose. Then in November, an American raid on the Ministry of the Interior uncovered secret chambers beneath the building where Iraqi police had been torturing detainees. Former Prime Minister Iyad Allawi said that the Ministry was infected by a 'disease', which, if not cured, 'will become contagious and spread to all ministries and structures of Iraq's government.' He also said that abuse of human rights in Iraq was as bad as ever: 'People are doing the same as [in] Saddam Hussein's time and worse. It is an appropriate comparison.'

The highly contentious new Constitution, cobbled together after delays and threats and compromises, was ratified in mid-October, but served mainly to entrench and exacerbate existing divisions. Nonetheless, elections were successfully held on December 15, 2005 for a 275-member Iraqi National Assembly. Voting was held under a complicated list system and distribution of seats by proportional representation, holding out the prospect of a broader political base, representing all major groups, including the Sunnis. One requirement is that 25% of the seats be held by women. Although the Shi'ites again emerged as the largest group, the practicalities of government require collaboration and compromise. Despite these positive signs, the insurgency continued to disrupt daily life intermittently.

By the end of 2005 President Bush's poll ratings had been sapped by a variety of developments. Public debate on the Iraq War was spurred by the Cindy Sheehan crusade, which began in August to draw attention to the human cost. The Government's response to Hurricane Katrina in early September exposed lack of planning for a known happening,

ineptitude, cronyism, complacency, racial indifference, buck-passing and sheer lack of leadership. Events in Washington revealed more cronyism, high-level leaking of secret information to damage a critic, illegal fund channelling by leading Congressmen to buy votes, and a widespread lobbying scandal involving large amounts of money and numbers of officials and elected representatives. Bush travelled the land giving wide-ranging speeches, made some fairly equivocal admissions that errors had been committed, even mentioned the need for an 'exit strategy' from Iraq, and made a mock show of consulting more widely, but then delivered the Inaugural Address sermon that revealed how little had been learnt.

However, more constructive policies are needed than just training Iraqis as replacements and holding on till they can leave. An extensive public opinion poll just before the December elections showed that, although there were marked variations between ethnic groups and regions, about 60% of Iraqis supported the need for a democracy, but nearly 60% said that the US and its allies had done a bad job of carrying out their responsibilities, while 65% said they opposed the presence of American troops in Iraq. The dilemma in Iraq is plain. The longer America remains in Iraq, the longer will the insurgency last, the more terrorists will be trained and the more their tactics will spread; but withdrawal before proper reconstruction would promote civil war, the splitting of the country and the success of fundamentalist religious leaders. But American foreign policy, despite awareness that it is unpopular in almost every country surveyed, is too ideologically motivated to engage in constructive self-criticism. David Lange, Prime Minister of New Zealand for much of the 1980s, once told a retiring US Ambassador who owned a racehorse called 'Lacka Reason': 'You are the only ambassador in the world to race a horse named after your country's foreign policy.'

The Israel-Palestine Conflict

As is often the case, Israel-Palestine relationships have moments of apparent promise, followed by drawn-out difficulties and disillusion. In February 2005, at Sharm el-Sheikh on the Red Sea, Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon met with Mahmoud Abbas, the newly elected President of the Palestinian Authority. Declaration of a truce between the two sides meant that relations between them were at their warmest level for years. Abbas appeared willing to confront the militant Palestinian groups promoting violence, particularly Hamas, while Israel facilitated this by offering to scale down its assassination strikes on 'extremists' to strictly 'ticking bomb' cases of imminent terrorism. However, both policies had their problems. Sharon was moving ahead with his plans to withdraw Israeli settlers from Gaza and some settlements in the West Bank, and this stirred a lengthy internal political conflict within Israel. While Hamas was increasingly willing to translate its popularity, particularly in Gaza, into votes in municipal elections and a strong political future at Palestinian Authority level, it was difficult to curb the violence of some of its own militants. Extremists on both sides opposed to the agendas of their governments resorted to provocation and retaliation.

Another complication was the expectation that Abbas would use a period of peace to gain from Israel the release of significant numbers of the 9,000 prisoners held in prison. Israel has on occasion released groups of prisoners, usually those on short sentences, despite the known risk that many will reoffend. The case of long-term inmates of maximum security facilities is complicated by arguments about whether they are 'terrorists' or 'soldiers' who should be treated as 'prisoners of war'. Some of these appear willing to change their views. Khaled Mardawi, sentenced to life for the execution of a suspected collaborator in 1992, said in March 2005: ' We can't crush the Israelis and they can't crush us. You can't crush an entire people. We need to give peace a chance.' Whether such sentiments will be tested in practice is difficult to guess. The view of Ariel Sharon, who held the political initiative for most of 2005, was stated in an interview in May: 'Declarations, promises, speeches, even signing agreements are all meaningless. Only acts are meaningful.'

One of the most significant 'acts' of 2005 was the withdrawal of more than 8,500 Israeli settlers from all the 17 Gaza strip settlements, and between 700 and 1,500 (the numbers vary and are in dispute) from four northern West Bank settlements. In Sharon's view, this limited 'disengagement' would win moral credit and international support, clean up a security nightmare, and put the focus back on 'road map' negotiations. At the same time, he made it plain that Israel will never abandon either the large West Bank settlements scattered through

the occupied areas or the internationally condemned 'apartheid Wall' designed to protect them. Despite the logic of withdrawing from costly fortress colonies on captured land occupied by 1.3 million Palestinians, the settlers felt 'betrayed', particularly as Sharon himself had been the aggressive architect over many years of locating, planning, financing and promoting the whole settlement process. Many of Israel's 240,000 settlers reacted angrily, some violently. Nonetheless, the limited withdrawals were accomplished by the end of the year, though the military and security control over much of Gaza by Israel, albeit by different methods, was clearly retained.

Not surprisingly, the political complications were severe. Within Sharon's conservative Likud Party, many supporters of the vision of a Greater Israel covering the whole historic region of Palestine from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River reacted sharply, denying Sharon political support, despite the wider popularity of his unilateral disengagement plans. Benjamin Netanyahu capitalised on the split by aligning himself with the rejectionist faction. The leadership of the Labor Party was also affected. In November 2005 Sharon seized the initiative, resigned from Likud and formed a new centrist coalition named Kadima (meaning 'Forward' or 'Onward'), to contest fresh elections called for 28 March 2006. Although in January Sharon suffered a massive stroke and was completely incapacitated, leadership of Kadima quietly passed to Sharon's deputy, Ehud Olmert, who promised to follow Sharon's path. Current indications point to electoral success. Should he succeed, Olmert will have the task of dealing with renewed Palestinian Authority leadership, which faced its own elections on 25 January 2006. Indications there are that Hamas has dramatically increased its political power at the expense of Fatah, which is itself divided and losing support to militants. Hamas now has the opportunity and challenge of turning from terrorism to politics, from destruction to construction and leadership, and winning international recognition.

The War on Terrorism

The 'War on Terror' continues to be the lens through which the American Government and its few allies view the world, the litmus test against which they judge their policy, the justification for even their least rational actions and breaches of international standards. This happens despite the fact that as currently conducted, it is largely a failure and often counter-productive. Neither war overseas nor anti-terrorism policies at home prevented Britain from experiencing savage terrorist attacks on 7 July, 2005. At a time when the threat level was at its lowest since September 11, 2001, and the G-8 leaders were assembled in Scotland, more than 55 people died, hundreds were wounded and thousands traumatised when four suicide bombers struck London's transport system at rush hour in the morning. The loss of life, injuries and carnage were horrific; the heroism, public response, and even the political leadership, were impressive. Blame was first levelled at al-Qaeda, until the revelation that four 'ordinary' British citizens (three of them English-born), young Muslims from northern cities, had carried out the attack. Muslim leaders and scholars combined to condemn the attacks as 'utterly criminal, totally reprehensible, and absolutely un-Islamic.' Two weeks later, four more young locals attempted to imitate the first attack, but failed and were arrested. But worsening 'labelling' by the media and ethnic profiling by the authorities, along with fears of a violent public reaction, strained community relations. The situation was exacerbated a few days later when plainclothes security officers, without justification or warning, allegedly following 'shoot-to-kill' guidelines, shot dead a young Brazilian electrician, Charles de Menezes, as he caught a train. The London Metropolitan Police leadership compounded the fatal blunder by attempting a shoddy but unsuccessful cover-up.

Three aspects of the current 'War on Terror' are having a damaging effect on all the countries involved. The first is the rush to sacrifice the human rights and individual liberties of their own citizens to the alleged benefit of national security. Predictably, within weeks of the London attacks, the British Government announced further anti-terrorism laws and regulations. Their purpose was to deport or exclude from the country foreigners 'actively engaged' with extremist websites, bookshops, networks or organizations, or engaging in radical preaching. Further measures banned radical groups, extended pre-trial detention and listed extremist centres and bookshops with which 'engagement' could trigger deportation. Blair said bluntly: 'Let no one be in any doubt. The rules of the game are changing.'

Equally predictably, the Australian Government followed suit and went even further. The anti-terrorism legislation proposed by the Howard Government in October 2005 was said to be necessary because the London bombings had revealed the existence in Australia of 'home-grown terrorists'. Such nonsense was quickly disputed; the existing anti-terror laws had been used (with a number of claimed successes) by Australian police ever since 2001. What was startling about the new spasm of severity was its ill thought out measures, its hasty drafting, its sweeping failure to consider either human rights or civil liberties, its dubious constitutionality, the attempted secrecy of the consultation with the State Premiers, and the undemocratic haste with which it was proposed to push it through Federal Parliament. Its worst features were its provisions for 'control orders' (for 12 months and longer) and different types of 'preventative detention orders' (up to 48 hours or 14 days in some situations), based on secret and untested police and intelligence force assessments. The Australian Federal Police could make some 'initial' order on their own authority. If the Attorney-General was persuaded by a 'request' from them, then an 'issuing authority' (federal judge or magistrate) can be asked to make a 'continued' detention or control order. All the judge is given is a copy of the Attorney-General's consent and the police statement of reason. 'Control orders' would force individuals to wear tracking devices, limit their movements, stop them from using the telephone or internet and stop them going to work. New 'sedition' offences mean individuals can be jailed for up to seven years if they 'promote feelings of ill-will or hostility between different groups' or urge 'disaffection against the Constitution or the Government.' The legislation includes 'notices to produce' any designated material, increased stop and search powers and drastically extends the validity of ASIO search warrants from 28 days to 90 days.

Some compromises were gained by pressure from Howard's own backbench, including review of some aspects in the near future, but the package remains illiberal and dangerous. Moreover, it seriously damages the very values we are supposed to be fighting to preserve. As Richard Acland commented, 'The fact that the heightened threat of terrorism facing us is partly a product of the government's policies turns the whole thing into a dreadful self-enforcing construct.' In the United States, late in 2005 there was heated Congressional debate about the renewal of the controversial Patriot Act and the Detainee Amendment to the Defense Appropriations Bill for 2005 proposed by Senator John McCain, a former Vietnam prisoner of war, to prevent cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment of detainees. Amidst this, it was revealed that President Bush, deliberately ignoring a 1978 law which expressly forbade such acts, had in 2002 issued a secret Executive Order permitting the National Security Agency to eavesdrop without a warrant on phone conversations, e-mail and other electronic communications, even when one of the people spied on was in America. The White House response to widespread criticism was to assert that since the country was at war, the President could use whatever methods he chose, without oversight or accountability. Moreover, it was argued that the President should have powers making both the legislature and judiciary subordinate to his powers as Commander in Chief.

The second dangerous aspect of the 'War on Terror' is the immorality and ineffectiveness of many of the methods of conducting it. In particular, the abuse of human rights involved in the detainment of 'suspects', the 'outsourcing of torture' by their secret 'rendition' between prisons around the globe, and their torture in places like the Guantanamo camps, Abu Ghraib prison, the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior dungeons, and other such places, are unacceptable. These methods seriously damage the moral credibility and leadership of all those involved or complicit. The psychologically-devised methods of 'interrogation', involving sensory deprivation, physical abuse, and religious and cultural degradation, all sanctioned by the legal, military and political leadership of the American Government, are in clear breach of the UN Convention Against Torture, the Geneva Conventions and both national and international law. Moreover, little credible 'intelligence' emerges from these methods, and what does emerge is quite unacceptable as evidence in any genuine legal process. In December 2005 Britain's highest Court of Appeal, the Law Lords, declared that evidence gained through torture was not admissible in British courts. Lord Bingham, writing the lead opinion in a unanimous ruling, put the matter bluntly:

'The issue is one of constitutional principle, whether evidence gained by torturing another human being may be lawfully admitted against a party to proceedings in a British court, irrespective of where, or by whom, or on

whose authority the torture was inflicted. To that question I would give a very clear negative answer.'

Amnesty International made the obvious point: 'The Law Lords' ruling has overturned the tacit belief that torture can be condoned under certain circumstances.' The United States, Australia, and all other countries whose practice is otherwise, should be condemned for their betrayal of fundamental values. As Michael Ignatieff put it in his recent book *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in the Age of Terror* (2005), which attempts to chart 'a middle course' between the pure civil liberty and the purely pragmatic positions: 'I argue that actions that violate foundational commitments to justice and liberty – torture, illegal detention, unlawful assassination – should be beyond the pale.'

In late January 2006 in its Annual Report, Human Rights Watch issued a scathing indictment of American use of torture in the 'War on Terror'. The report listed far more serious violators of human rights, but criticised the US because of its leadership role and its history of championing human rights abroad. 'Any discussion of detainee abuse in 2005 must begin with the United States, not because it is the worst violator but because it is the most influential,' it said. In a direct comment on the Bush Government, the Report confirmed what was already widely evident: 'In the course of 2005, it became indisputable that US mistreatment of detainees reflected not a failure of training, discipline or oversight, but a deliberate policy choice.' This not only diminished the effectiveness of its counter-terrorism measures, and produced a 'global leadership void' in defending human rights, but it also recruited more terrorists. As Human Rights Watch put it: 'These human rights violations generate indignation and outrage that spur terrorist recruitment.' A White House spokesman issued the usual denial and attack on the source of the criticism.

Thirdly, it is clear that the methods of conducting the 'War on Terror' are not only failing, they are largely counter-productive. War, detention, torture, surveillance, tough laws and rhetoric have achieved little real progress. They not only ignore, but also in many ways exacerbate, the underlying issues and grievances that provide a climate of justification and tolerance, if not support, for terrorists. Terrorism is utterly unacceptable; but it needs to be studied in context, as a symptom of real problems, which need to be addressed broadly and humanely. Moreover, genuine international co-operation, and the elimination of the 'us versus them' mentality, is necessary.

The Lucky Country?

The opening sentence of *The Lucky Country* (1964) by Donald Horne, who died in September 2005, was meant to be an indictment of a provincial, unimaginative and racist nation: 'Australia is a lucky country, run by second-rate people who share its luck.' When Horne wrote it the Australian Prime Minister was Robert Gordon Menzies, the man who involved Australia in the Vietnam War on spurious grounds, at the behest of the Americans, and had earned the nickname 'Pig Iron Bob' for his role in the sale of scrap iron to Japan on the eve of World War Two. When Horne died the Australian Prime Minister, a great admirer of Menzies, was John Winston Howard, who involved Australia in the Iraq War on spurious grounds, at the behest of the Americans, and whose Government was involved in corrupt dealings with both the Dictator before the war and his successors after his overthrow. But Howard has set new standards of duplicity. He railed against Hussein's 'appalling regime', a regime of 'a particularly horrific kind', and promoted falsehoods as the justification of war, while the Australian Wheat Board, almost certainly with the complicity of several Government Departments, was striking deals with this 'regime' and paying 'special fees', bribes and kick-backs in knowing breach of the UN Oil-for-Food sanctions.

The Australian Wheat Board's involvement in the Oil-for-Food scandal has provided a rich new vein of euphemistic deceit. We now know that it is normal business, with Australian Government support, to make 'facilitation payment' (bribes and kick-backs), offer 'humanitarian gestures' (food as bribes or money siphoning) and 'artificially inflate' the contract price (profiteering, price-gouging or underhand transfers of money, depending on the purpose). It is also acceptable business ethics to lie to United Nations regulators, and hugely reward CEO's with memory deficit disorders. Attorney-General Philip Ruddock staunchly

defended 'modest facilitation fees in appropriate circumstance', further damaging Australia's already tattered reputation as an upholder of international standards and regulations.

During 2005 the Howard Government has treated the Australian parliament, press and people with increasing arrogance and deception. For example, Joe Nagy, former Senior Risk Analyst with Citibank, asserted that the Howard Government had behaved over the Telstra sale 'like a used car salesman out on Parramatta Road'. When John Howard told Parliament early in September, during the Telstra shenanigans, 'I think it is the obligation of senior executives of Telstra to talk up the company's interests, not talk them down', he revealed the essence of his political philosophy. It was all about appearances, spin, signals, smoke and mirrors, deceit and deception. Of course, he is the past master at this. He has 'talked up' the implications of 'children overboard', the threat of 'weapons of mass destruction' in Iraq, the necessity of the 'War on Terror', the benefits of the 'free trade agreement' with America, the glory of 'punching above our weight' in world affairs, the advantages of 'mutual obligations' for the disadvantaged and needy, the importance of 'voluntary student unionism', the value of 'industrial relations reform' and the omnipresent 'threat to national security'. When all this is allied to creating a culture of servility and compliance in the public service, appointing sycophants and yes-men to statutory authorities and attacking opponents personally rather than responding to their arguments, it produces a narrow-minded, mean-spirited, and morally bankrupt set of politicians and policies.

Unfortunately, this also influences sections of the public service, damaging one of the important safeguards of our democratic political system, the provision of open and impartial professional advice and policy implementation. The politicisation and partisanship of the public service, and the culture of defensiveness and deception identified in DIMIA by Mick Palmer in the Cornelia Rau Inquiry, are unfortunate developments. Palmer wrote that there was a 'serious cultural problem within DIMIA's immigration compliance and detention areas', and that this culture was 'overly self-protective and defensive, a culture largely unwilling to challenge organisational norms or to engage in genuine self-criticism or analysis'. The separation and specialisation of different services, the influence of policy and ideology emanating from Ministers and Governments, the lack of critical scrutiny and accountability, the isolation from the real world of people over whom they hold power, and resistance to change, all generate adversarial mentalities and undermine the tradition of service to the community as a whole. The recent performances of Australian Government Departments such as DIMIA, DEWR, DEST, DFAT and Defence, and various intelligence agencies, illustrate all these outcomes. They all provide examples of ideologically driven self-serving compliance and malfeasance.

The Government routinely denies responsibility for the adverse consequences of its policies. When the December riots in Sydney were described by NSW Premier Morris Iemma as revealing 'the ugly face of racism', Howard was quick to assert: 'I do not accept there is underlying racism in this country.' But the media around the world commented adversely on the events. The *Jakarta Post* said that some commentators seem to think that it is a case of 'chickens coming home to roost' and quoted Father Roy J. O'Neill:

How can John Howard blatantly deny any responsibility for the emergence of racial tensions and riots in Sydney. He has provided the type of leadership that leads logically to this type of behaviour. His xenophobic policies on immigration and his racial profiling disguised as 'anti-terrorism' fed the emergence of this ugly aspect of extreme right-wing politics.

But when the Government faces an awkward controversy, the routine diversion is to hold an inquiry. In choosing the chairman, setting the terms of reference carefully, limiting the people who can appear, and refusing to comment on relevant issues while it is running, the matter can be buried. Any adverse findings can be evaded by changing Ministers, so that the new incumbent can deny responsibility. Public servants implicated in the findings get decorated and rewarded with better positions. Calls to 'move on' drown out discussion of the real issues.

The Punitive Obsession

One of the depressing aspects of the contemporary world is the inability to heed the lessons of history and abandon discredited policies. When in the early nineteenth century the study of

the punishment of crime and of prison management acquired the status of a science, called penology, most Western states were in the process of reducing their reliance on capital punishment and developing new systems of incarceration. Penologists and politicians debated and experimented with disciplinary regimes and prison architecture, and finally generally favoured a system of partial or complete solitary confinement. The theory, strongly influenced by religious groups such as the Pennsylvania Quakers, was that 'insulation of the criminal' prevented cross-contamination, prepared the mind for reforming influences, promoted 'penitence' (hence the penitentiary) and led to rehabilitation. For the most part, then or since, few of these objectives were ever achieved. But the belief in the necessity of punitive imprisonment has persisted and spread word wide. Moreover, the belief in capital punishment never disappeared, and its use has fluctuated sharply in different eras and countries, despite widely accepted historical and scientific evidence that it is ineffective as a deterrent, while making criminal justice systems arbitrary, uncertain, capricious and frequently unjust.

In the last thirty years capital punishment has become an international yardstick against which respect for human rights can be measured. The push for its abolition has had considerable success. When Amnesty International convened an International Conference on the Death Penalty in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1977, only 16 countries had abolished capital punishment for all crimes. Today the figure stands at 86, with over 40 countries having abolished death for all crimes since 1990; another 11 countries have abolished the death penalty for all but exceptional crimes (such as wartime offences), and a further 25 countries are abolitionist in practice, having as either policy or established practice not carried out any executions for the past 10 years or more. Only 74 countries and territories retain and use the death penalty, but the number of countries which actually execute prisoners in any one year is much smaller. During 2004, at least 3,797 people were executed in 25 countries, with 97% of all known executions being in China, Iran, Viet Nam and the United States of America. Each year since 1997 the United Nations Commission on Human Rights has passed a resolution calling on countries that have not abolished the death penalty to establish a moratorium on executions, with the number of supporting states steadily increasing.

In America, the only Western democracy to carry out frequent executions, the issue of capital punishment is constantly debated. The consensus against executions in the 1960s and early 1970s as an unconstitutional 'cruel and unusual punishment' has swung towards widely varying application in different states. There are more than 3400 prisoners on 'death row' in US prisons. One of the chilling aspects of the situation is the risk of executing the innocent. Since 1973, evidence that they were innocent has led to the release of 122 prisoners sentenced to death. In 2004 there were 6 such cases, and 3 up to December 2005. Forensic science, particularly DNA sampling, has been crucial. However, the 'law and order' and 'tough on violence' mantras often prevail. As Governor of Texas from 1994 to 2000, President George Bush presided over 152 executions.

As is often the case, specific executions focus debate. In December 2005 Nguyen Tuong Van, a young Australian arrested in transit to Melbourne and convicted of heroin smuggling, was executed in Singapore, despite appeals for clemency from the Australian Government, lawyers, religious leaders and others. His death sentence was mandatory, illustrating the inherent injustice of all mandatory sentencing. Moreover, this execution and other cases in Bali have raised the issue of Australian police co-operation with states still executing people. Attorney General Phillip Ruddock correctly described capital punishment as 'barbaric', ignoring the blatant hypocrisy of his long-held position on Guantanamo inmate David Hicks.

Also in December 2005, Stanley 'Tookie' Williams, executed at San Quentin, California, for murder, became one of the slightly more than a thousand American executed since the USA Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1977. Williams, one of the founders of the notorious 'Crips' street gang in Los Angeles in the early 1970s, was convicted of four murders on less than convincing evidence (he always claimed innocence) in 1981. While on 'death row' he became an anti-violence advocate, renounced gang culture and wrote a series of children's books about the dangers of gang life. California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger rejected his final appeal for clemency, saying he was clearly guilty and had never admitted

guilt or shown remorse. Among other things, the public debate surrounding this and other cases emphasised the clear racial bias against Afro-Americans evident in the statistics.

At the same time, all over the world, imprisonment has become the 'panacea' for all social ailments. In New South Wales, according to recent Department of Corrective Services figures, following an increase of 7% last year, there are now more than 9000 people in gaol. This is about one in 600 adults in the state, a rate that has almost doubled since the mid-1980s. The average prison population has increased by about 400 inmates – equivalent to one extra prison a year – for the last seven years. These increases have been driven by the legislative outcomes of the never-ending 'law and order debate', particularly tougher sentences, restrictive sentencing guidelines, tougher bail application rules and the targeting of repeat offenders. More than half the prisoners are serving sentences longer than two years. NSW prisons also have 'tough' internal regimes. Inmates are allowed fewer hours out of their cells than any other state. But the 'benefits' of all this are highly dubious. NSW has the highest rate of recidivism (re-offending) in Australia. Professor Chris Cunneen, Director of the NSW Institute of Criminology, has made the point: 'You could argue that you're providing community protection by putting people in custody but you are not providing any rehabilitative impact.'

One of the worst aspects of the punitive obsession is the unthinking willingness to impose 'minimum sentences', in many ways a disguised push for the even more extreme 'mandatory sentencing'. Both seriously damage the discretionary role of the courts, an indispensable component of genuine fairness. As NSW Chief Justice Jim Spigelman stated in 1999, 'Unless judges are able to mould the sentence to the circumstances of the individual case then, irrespective of how much legislative forethought has gone into the determination of a particular regime, there will always be the prospect of injustice.' Another unacceptable aspect of the 'law and order' bandwagon is the effect on minorities. The incarceration rate for indigenous Australians is one in 50 in NSW, largely as a result of tougher sentencing and tougher bail law requirements for supervision and accommodation. Professor Cunneen has pointed out: 'The changes in bail laws particularly affect marginalised groups, because they are less likely to be employed or at school.' In short, prisons are becoming 'large-scale warehouses', many inmates being on remand, not yet tried, let alone convicted.

The whole 'law and order' agenda is driven by a media willing to 'label' and 'stigmatise' particular groups, and politicians seeking cheap publicity and electoral support. Both support morally bankrupt and largely inefficient policies. The recent reactions to the racially motivated violence in Sydney's beachside suburbs in December 2005 fully illustrate the utterly irrational essence of the punitive obsession. In mid-January the Leader of the NSW Opposition, Peter Debenham, attacking the Government for being 'soft' on one group of participant, stated that the authorities should 'lock up 200 Middle Eastern thugs'. When the Lebanese community justifiably deplored this, he demonstrated his fairness by demanding the arrest of 1000 young gang members (including not just those of Middle Eastern background) involved in 'crime, organised crime and drugs'. Implementation of such policies would require at least two new prisons (or simply worsen the present overcrowding), would victimise and criminalize youth from stereotyped ethnic minorities, create a future larger group of real criminals, create serious injustices and resentment, and do little to solve the problems at the core of the conflict. Of course, Premier Morris Iemma responded by calling Debenham a 'liar', and assuring the public that his Government was definitely not 'soft on ethnic crime'.

The essential problem with the punitive obsession is not only is it ineffectual, expensive and counter-productive, but also lazy rhetoric posing as policy, preventing the serious search for constructive alternatives. It is morally bankrupt and inherently unjust. Moreover, it is in itself a form of violence, which fosters an even broader culture of violence and tolerance of injustice.

Director's Report

Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees AM – Director

2005 was a year of significant achievements. The most recent edition of the newsletter *Peace Writes* records a range of meetings which covered several of the world's most deep seated conflicts. Robert Fisk's public address *The Great War for Civilization: The Conquest of the Middle East* attracted a huge overflow audience. A couple of weeks later the former Iraqi weapons inspector Scott Ritter, who spoke about *Iraq Confidential: The Untold Story of America's Intelligence Conspiracy*, enjoyed another large audience. But the size of the audience and the public's thirst for CPACS seminars is not the only way to gauge the success of our work in 2005. The more low key events, such as Izzat Abdul Hadi's *Developing Civil Society In Palestine* and Wendy Lambourne's *Reconciliation in Rwanda : Applying Gacaca Community Justice to Genocide*, also gave valuable infusions to the intellectual life-blood of the Centre.

Journalists who cover university events frequently comment, 'How come so many very interesting activities in this university occur at CPACS ? There is more going on here than in far better resourced departments even if you added them together.' Let me respond to the journalists' observation. The Centre has a tradition of confronting the question, 'Whose side are you on?' We have never fallen for that comfortable assumption that you should separate the role of the social scientist from the responsibilities of the social activist. Valuable art forms have never stood apart from history. Given the massive injustices around the world, given the serious erosion of civil liberties in Australia, it remains a key role for CPACS membership – and I would argue for every social scientist who takes seriously their role as a university citizen – to ensure that their work contributes to human rights, to peace with justice, and to the search for a common humanity. In a privileged institution we cannot ignore the direct and indirect violence that swirls around us and we have little time to engage in the esoteric. If this sounds like a *cri de coeur*, it is. May the industry and vision which this Centre has displayed over the past ten years grow over the next decade.

The breadth and range of CPACS interests in 2005 can also be conveyed by some of my overseas engagements. These began in Cuenca, Spain in February when I sat for four days with other members of Global Action To Prevent War (GAPW) to deliberate on the creation of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS). The emphasis was on service not force, on a cross section of civilian personnel and skills, on the need to prevent conflict and save lives. Kofi Annan sent his representatives to this twenty member strong meeting which in many ways was provoked by the continuing genocide in Darfur. A valuable report was completed and at this moment is doing the rounds at the UN.

My second overseas visit concerned a conference at Nanjing University to consider how peace studies might become a feature of undergraduate curricula in Chinese universities. Nanjing was the old capital and the site where Japanese forces slaughtered thousands of Chinese citizens in 1938. There is a holocaust museum in Nanjing, so this was an appropriate location to launch this peace studies initiative. I was an invited guest along with Dr Andrew Rigby from Coventry and Johann Galtung of Transcend. Our Chinese colleagues included researchers from across the country, many of them concerned about the invasion of Iraq, several commenting on ways to build rapprochement with Japan, all of them committed to exploring the means of experiencing peace between people. The Nanjing audience showed particular interest in the Sydney Peace Foundation and its value in educating a wide public about the meaning of peace with justice.

One other overseas visit which is pertinent concerns my meetings at the UN in New York with Olara Otunnu, the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict. Olara was the recipient of the 2005 City of Sydney Peace Prize. Our deliberations concerned his ten years of work to end the use of child soldiers and to provide the means of rehabilitation and healing of children returned to their families after years of forced service in rebel armies. In November, Olara's work was the subject of a question and answer session at CPACS chaired by one of our postgraduate students, Liz Ngotho from Kenya. Olara's City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture – *Saving Our Children From The Scourge of War* – was also

the subject of the feature article on the front page of CPACS December 2005 newsletter, *PeaceWrites*.

There continues to be a blurred line between research and advocacy. For example Ken Macnab's paper on the limits of adversarial legitimacy, delivered originally to an Independent Scholars of Australia Association conference, also provides the ethical basis for intervention to protect the vulnerable. Geneviève Souillac's highly significant book, *Human Rights In Crisis* analyses the legacy of the French Revolution but also advocates the need for the current French Republic to resuscitate their commitment to principles of human rights.

Two impressive reports published in 2005 highlight CPACS' research and advocacy. Paul White and Fadilla Masri completed their work on Lebanese youths' experience of racism. Under the compelling title 'Treat us like humans, not animals', their report foreshadowed the riots which occurred in Cronulla in December: all the young people of Lebanese background in the research sample had experienced racist attitudes and events. The report documents in details the adverse effects on community tolerance which flow from the intolerant attitudes of talk back radio hosts and some journalists from tabloid newspapers.

A second substantial CPACS research/advocacy report drew worldwide attention. John Wing & Peter King's *Genocide in Papua?* was launched in the Federal Parliament by Senator Andrew Bartlett, supported by Senators Bob Brown and Natasha Stott Despoja. Indonesian authorities refuted evidence of murder and torture by the Indonesian military against indigenous Papuans. In interviews with the BBC World Service I was asked about the Indonesians' denial and their claim that we had manufactured the evidence. The response made famous by Mandy Rice Davies, 'they would say that wouldn't they?', seemed an appropriate way to underline the substance of the evidence about genocide and to raise in the media interviewers' minds our dismissal of the Indonesian perspectives. As I write this report, forty West Papuans who travelled to Cape York by boat to raise world attention to the killings in their country are being detained on Christmas Island. The Papuans are seeking asylum but the Indonesian Government has demanded their return to Papua. Although we have received invaluable financial support from the Myer Foundation, and our sense of moral responsibility to seek peace with justice for the Papuans is as strong as ever, the future of the West Papua project hangs in the balance.

The supportive culture of the Centre has made possible the continuation of projects such as our intervention in West Papua. A sense of fun and hard work, of informality coupled with serious responsibility generate a unique CPACS chemistry. In this respect Reign Haub as Administrative Officer has been crucial to the efficient running of postgraduate student administration, our demanding seminar programme and publications such as *PeaceWrites*. In the latter part of the year, as Director of the Sydney Peace Foundation, I had the good fortune to appoint Wendy Falconer to run this year's Peace Prize events. In tandem with her assistant Anna Donaldson – a law student from Alabama – Wendy contributed significantly to an atmosphere of humour, flexibility and impressive management. Such an atmosphere and associated relationships guaranteed the success of all the activities linked to the 2005 Sydney Peace Prize.

In addition to the gratitude just expressed, I want to identify colleagues who have served the Centre so well and for a long time. Wendy Lambourne's commitment to students and to the Centre's diverse activities is a selfless characteristic and an invaluable element in the Mackie Building culture. In their different ways Lynda Blanchard and Paul Clark have continued to contribute creatively to CPACS work; Lynda particularly through her role in the NSW Human Rights in Education Committee; and Paul particularly through his membership of the Executive Committee and his industry in email circulation of international commentary on peace with justice issues. Lynda is also to be congratulated on the completion of a distinguished PhD. As in the many years of my association with Peggy Craddock – and with Laurie – selfless professionalism in pursuit of others' interests has continued to characterise Peggy's work as volunteer librarian... sorry, Principal Librarian. I also express my gratitude to Abe Quadan as Membership Secretary, to Kath Logan for being filled with ideas as our postgraduate representative, to Leslie Carnus for the commitment and the laughter she

generates around the Refugee Language Programme, to Tony O'Flynn our always helpful, always optimistic building attendant, and to Su Yeon Anh, our bright and willing ISPC intern. The danger of providing a list of colleagues to thank is that you make unfortunate omissions. I have taken that risk. I want to finish by thanking Ken Macnab as President of CPACS, an invaluable friend, wise counsellor and often a problem solver extraordinaire whether in providing support for the Refugee Language Programme, finding and moving furniture, making media appearances at a moment's notice or consoling me when Portsmouth FC lose yet again.

Another significant achievement in 2005 was the writing of the *CPACS Business Plan 2005-2009* by members of the Executive Committee. This impressive document helped persuade the Pro-Vice-Chancellor for the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Professor June Sinclair, to provide the funding for the appointment of the Centre's first paid Director and Professor/Associate Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies. The success of the postgraduate Peace and Conflict Studies programme also persuaded the Faculty of Arts to convert the contract Level B Lecturer position of Dr Wendy Lambourne into a continuing position and finance it from February 2006. It is perhaps also worth recording that in 2005 I was awarded the Order of Australia for service to international relations. This award is as much a recognition of the significance of CPACS' work for peace with justice as it is a recognition of any one person's efforts.

This will be my last report as Director. The process for the appointment of a Professor/Associate Professor as the new CPACS Director will be well advanced by the time of the Annual General Meeting on 14 February. At that meeting we will be conferring long overdue life membership on Dr. Stella Cornelius, one of the catalysts for CPACS creation, and a constant source of friendship, wisdom and inspiration. I can think of no more fitting way to end my tenure as Director of CPACS than to make this award to the inimitable Stella Cornelius.

Sydney, January 28th 2006.

Peace and Conflict Studies Academic Program

Dr Wendy Lambourne, Lecturer and Coordinator

Staffing

In 2005 I continued as coordinator of the academic program in Peace and Conflict Studies with the management support of Dr Ken Macnab and administrative support of Ms Reign Haub. We are grateful to the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry for the provision of funding to supplement that provided by the Faculty of Arts to employ part-time lecturers to co-ordinate units of study and supervise dissertations: Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, Mr Paul Clark, Mr Jake Lynch, Dr Ken Macnab, Ms Annabel McGoldrick, Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, Dr Geneviève Souillac and Ms Iris Wielders. Congratulations and thanks to all for the standard of teaching and support provided to students in 2005.

We also appreciate the support of the Pro Vice-Chancellor for continuing to fund the Lecturer Level B position which I currently hold on a three-year contract from 2003-2005. In 2006 this position will be converted to a continuing appointment through the Faculty of Arts, reflecting the achievements of the PACS program over the past three years.

Student Enrolments

Consistent with national and University of Sydney trends, 2005 enrolments in the postgraduate coursework program in Peace and Conflict Studies declined from the previous year's peak of 50, but were still amongst the highest in the Faculty of Arts. The total number of students enrolled in the PACS postgraduate coursework program averaged 30-35 during

the year, with approximately two-thirds local and one-third international students. In addition, in 2005 a number of students chose to complete from one to four PACS units as part of their postgraduate degrees in Development Studies, Media Practice, Studies in Religion, Environmental Science, Sociology, Public Health and International Relations. Cross-institutional and other external enrolments in PACS units were also significant, especially in Summer and Winter School.

Students studying with the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies in 2005 came from a wide variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds including Japanese, Singaporean, Norwegian, British, French, German, Romanian, Greek, Chinese, Korean, Jamaican, Kenyan, Iranian, Portuguese, Lebanese, Colombian, Australian and North American.

A significant number of students upgraded their degrees during the year, from Graduate Certificate to Graduate Diploma, Graduate Diploma to Master of Arts, and Master of Arts to Master of Letters. For the first time in 2005, students were able to enrol in a Master of Letters (Peace and Conflict Studies) degree and four students took advantage of this opportunity: Michael Otterman from the US, Serena Tarling from the UK, Jaime Koh from Singapore and Australian student Kathryn Logan. These four students are completing research treatises of 25-30,000 words in addition to eight coursework units of study. Their research topics cover the American use of torture from 1945-2005, the media and reconciliation in Australia, North Korean refugees and security, and codes of ethics in Australian business.

The research community at CPACS was also enhanced in 2005 by the arrival of our first postgraduate research students. Rowan Savage, an Honours graduate and University Medallist from UTS, won a University of Sydney Postgraduate Award to complete his PhD with CPACS. Rowan's research topic is "The Use of Dehumanising Metaphorical Language in Organised Subjugation and Killing". Elenie Poulos, the National Director of Uniting Justice, joined CPACS as a part-time candidate in the professional doctorate program. Her Doctor of Social Science thesis will be on "When Security is Not Safe: the Violence of the Drive for Security". Silje Gerhardsen from Norway is completing her Master of Arts (Research) degree at CPACS with a thesis on the topic of "The Role of Natural Resources in the Internationalisation of Internal Conflicts: The Case of Sudan".

Units of Study

In 2005, CPACS offered students a diverse range of coursework unit electives in addition to the core compulsory unit PACS 6911 "Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies". The core unit and four electives were offered each semester and three units of study were offered in intensive format in Summer School and Winter School:

Summer School

- PACS 6914 Conflict-Resolving Media
Mr Jake Lynch & Ms Annabel McGoldrick
- PACS 6915 Human Rights, Peace and Justice
Dr Geneviève Souillac

Semester One

- PACS 6901 United Nations and International Conflict Resolution
Ms Iris Wielders & Dr Wendy Lambourne
- PACS 6911 Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies
Dr Wendy Lambourne & Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard
- PACS 6916 Passion, Peace and Poetry
Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees
- PACS 6917 Religion, War and Peace
Dr Wendy Lambourne, Dr Paul White & Dr Geneviève Souillac
- PACS 6918 History and Philosophy of Peace and Conflict
Dr Geneviève Souillac

Winter School

- PACS 6910 Peace Through Tourism
Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard & Ms Freya Higgins-Desbiolles

Semester Two

PACS 6903	Peace and the Environment Mr Paul Clark & Dr Wendy Lambourne
PACS 6906	Faith, Politics and the Clash of Civilisations Dr Geneviève Souillac
PACS 6907	Gender and the Development of Peace Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard
PACS 6908	Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding Dr Wendy Lambourne
PACS 6911	Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies Dr Wendy Lambourne & Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard

Three of these units were taught for the first time in 2005, one was redesigned and taught for the first time in intensive Summer School format, and two others were significantly redesigned by new coordinators. PACS6910 "Peace Through Tourism" was taught for the first time in Winter School 2005 and is discussed later in this report under Educational Outreach. The new unit PACS6917 "Religion, War and Peace" engaged guest lecturers with expertise in the study of the major religions to lead students in an examination of how each religion is used to justify war and violence, and how they can also be used as sources of philosophies and practices of peace and nonviolence. PACS6918 was introduced specifically to add an important theoretical and philosophical component to the PACS program, and offered students the opportunity to explore the history of political and moral philosophy and international relations theory as they relate to the development of peace and conflict studies. Dr Geneviève Souillac and Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard are to be congratulated for their work in developing these new units of study. Geneviève is also to be acknowledged for the successful redesign of PACS6915 which attracted a significant number of cross-listed students to the 2005 Summer School, and Iris Wielders and Paul Clark deserve credit for the major role they each played in redesigning and teaching PACS6901 and PACS6903 respectively in 2005.

Program Changes and Expansion

From 2006, the names of degrees in the PACS postgraduate program will change in line with Faculty recommendations to focus on specialised named degrees rather than generic degrees in Arts. Accordingly, the Master of Arts (Peace and Conflict Studies) will become the Master of Peace and Conflict Studies (MPACS); the Graduate Diploma in Arts (Peace and Conflict Studies) will become Graduate Diploma in Peace and Conflict Studies (GradDipPACS); and the Graduate Certificate in Arts (Peace and Conflict Studies) will become Graduate Certificate in Peace and Conflict Studies (GradCertPACS).

One new postgraduate unit of study was approved in 2005: PACS6921 "Peace of Mind: The Psychology of Peace". This brings to 17 the total number of University-approved PACS postgraduate coursework units, of which 10 will be offered in 2006. It is expected that PACS6921 will be offered for the first time in 2007.

Plans were commenced in 2005 for the introduction of an undergraduate program in Peace and Conflict Studies starting in 2007 with the senior undergraduate unit "History and Politics of War and Peace" to be taught jointly with the Department of History. The introduction of further PACS undergraduate units of study will depend on the appointment of additional full-time lecturers in Peace and Conflict Studies.

Scholarships

Ms Abha Shrestha, the recipient of the 2004 Citigroup Scholarship in Peace and Conflict Studies, successfully completed her MA (PACS) degree with Merit and returned to Nepal in 2005 where she is working in Pokhara on gender issues. Mr Gordian Kuias of the Divine Word University in Papua New Guinea has been offered the 2005 Rio Tinto Scholarship in Peace and Conflict Studies and will commence his studies in first semester 2006. Unfortunately the successful applicant for the 2005 CPACS Scholarship for a student from a

least developed country was unable to take up his scholarship in 2005, but a new offer has been made to a student from Malawi to start in second semester 2006.

These scholarships have been made possible by the generous donations of Sydney Peace Foundation corporate sponsors, Citigroup and Rio Tinto Australia, and CPACS Director, Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, with matching funds provided by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Professor John Hearn. We thank these sponsors for their vision and commitment to promoting higher degree education in peace and conflict studies for students from disadvantaged communities.

Conflict Resolution Skills

The postgraduate program in Peace and Conflict Studies has developed a particular strength in the area of conflict analysis and resolution, and in 2005 a number of opportunities were available to students to learn and practice these skills. The core unit PACS6911 "Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies", which is taught each semester and is compulsory for all students in the PACS program, provides an introduction to theories and skills in conflict analysis and resolution. The elective PACS6908 "Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding" provides students with the opportunity to further develop these skills in conflict analysis and resolution, as well as to learn and practice skills in facilitation, interactive conflict resolution workshop design and implementation.

In second semester 2005 students in PACS6908 developed a scenario for a problem-solving workshop to be conducted between the inhabitants of two towns in rural Colombia. The design and implementation of the workshop is a major part of the assessment for this unit of study. The workshop simulation was held over a weekend and involved students as facilitators and playing the roles of Colombian residents of the two towns. Concerns regarding security and developing trust were two of the primary issues that the students incorporated into the workshop simulation. Much creativity was evident in the workshop design and the Colombian student in the class expressed her appreciation of the experience and her wish that it could be repeated 'for real' in her home country. The students in the class benefited greatly from the additional training in group facilitation skills and techniques provided by Dr Paul Dwyer from the Department of Performance Studies and Lea Norbistrath, a CPACS graduate who is undertaking advanced studies in counselling.

Also in second semester 2005, CPACS students were able to participate in a mediation and communication skills workshop led by experienced community mediator, Abe Quadan, and Conflict Solutions Australia coordinator, Paul Clark. The workshop on 8 October 2005 was attended by 12 students and interested CPACS members. Thanks and appreciation to Paul and Abe for their leadership and coordination of the workshop.

Graduates and Alumni

19 students graduated from the PACS program in 2005:

Master of Arts (PACS) with Merit

Sarah Elliott, Leona Kieran, Ronald Kroon, Andrew Mason, Lea Norbistrath, John Piccotti, Natalee Pozniak, Erin Robertson, Miyo Sakuma, Abha Shrestha and Kate Smith

Master of Arts (PACS)

Anna Doyle, Anastasia Mouhtaris, Kuranda Seyit and Matsutaro Yamasaki

Graduate Diploma in Arts (PACS) with Merit

Rosemary Allsop (completed in 2003) and Bradley Johnson

Graduate Certificate in Arts (PACS) with Merit

Sherryl Reddy and Wendy Vines

Dissertations submitted by MA students in 2005 covered the following topics:

- “Containing Saddam Hussein’s Iraq: An examination of how conflicting goals and self-interest affected policy at the United Nations with an emphasis on France and the United States, 1990-2003” – John Piccotti
- “The Impact of Internal Armed Conflict on Nepalese Women: A Study from a Feminist Perspective” – Abha Shrestha
- “The Politicisation of Humanitarian Action: The Implications for Humanitarian Actors and Populations in Distress” – Sarah Elliott
- “The Impact of Ethnic Nationalism on Compassionate Love in Sri Lanka” – Andrew Mason
- “Reconciliation: and what is in it for Women? A Gendered Perspective on Truth Commissions and Criminal Tribunals during Periods of Transitional Justice” – Lea Norbistrath
- “Militant Islamic Ideology and the ‘Clash of Civilizations’” – Natalee Pozniak
- “The Tibet Question: History, Present, and the Future of Tibet” – Matsutaro Yamasaki
- “Prayer Mats and Cheeseboards: Polarisation in Dutch Society” – Ronald Kroon
- “Writing as a Means of Inner Peace: The Changi Literary Circle” – Miyo Sakuma
- “Burma: Towards Freedom From Fear” – Leona Kieran
- “The Implication of Positive Pacifism for Japan’s International Peacekeeping Operations” – Daisuke Akimoto

The first Master of Letters (PACS) treatise was submitted in December 2005 by Michael Otterman on the topic “Debility, Dependency and Dread: The Development, Deployment and Defense of American Torture, 1945-2005”. Mike is working on publishing his treatise.

News from alumni during 2005 indicates that CPACS graduates are pursuing interesting and rewarding careers. We congratulate them on their achievements, some of which are outlined below. Further details of alumni activities may be found on the CPACS website.

- Miyo Sakuma (MA (PACS) 2004-5) is a full-time lecturer in sociology at Chiba Keizai College in her home country, Japan.
- Andy Mason (MA (PACS) 2004) returned to the UK and then to Sri Lanka where he is now working with Nonviolent Peaceforce.
- Sarah Elliott (MA (PACS) 2004) is working as a field protection officer in southern Sudan with the UN’s Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA).
- Sherryl Reddy (GradCert (PACS) 2004) is working with AUSTCARE in Aceh.
- Erin Robertson (MA (PACS) 2004) spent the past year working in political, press and public affairs with the British Consulate-General in Los Angeles. In August 2005 she was asked to help organise a visit programme for Sally Waples from the British Embassy in Washington, DC, whom she was surprised to discover was also a CPACS graduate! Sally Waples (MA (PACS) 2002) was seconded to the Embassy in Washington DC from the British Home Office to research good practice in policing. Sally joined the Home Office Strategic Policy Team in March 2004 after completing a consultancy project for the University of Kent evaluating policy on unaccompanied asylum-seeking children.
- Dilnaz Boga (MA (PACS) 2003-4) returned to work as a journalist for the *Times of India* publication, *The Mumbai Mirror*, and completed a documentary on human rights violations in Kashmir, which has received wide acclaim and will be shown at a CPACS event when Dilnaz visits Sydney in May 2006.
- Anne Herro (GradCert (PACS) 2003) has recently returned to Australia after completing a Masters degree in Human Rights at Columbia University in New York and working for two years with UNICEF.
- Kevin Chang (MA (PACS) 2002-3) returned from 12 months as an AUSAID Australian Youth Ambassador in Fiji working as a Research Officer with the Ministry of National Reconciliation and Unity. Kevin is now working in Canberra with the Office of Indigenous Policy Coordination whilst completing a Graduate Diploma in International Law from University of Sydney.
- Dagny Fosen (MA (PACS) 2002-3) from Norway is completing an internship with UNHCR in Canberra after having spent six months in Fiji volunteering with the NGO Citizens’ Constitutional Forum.

- Carole Shaw (GradDip (PACS) 2002) has been lecturing in the postgraduate program in International Social Development at UNSW whilst pursuing her PhD on women in post-conflict situations, and developing and delivering human rights training for women in Bougainville and on the Thai-Burmese border, as well as workshops for refugee women in Sydney. Carole has also been busy representing Asia-Pacific women and working with non-government and government organisations in UN lobbying activities relating to CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action and Commission for the Status of Women. Carole presented a guest lecture on women's rights for the 2005 CPACS Sydney Summer School course "Human Rights, Peace and Justice".

Educational Outreach

2005 saw the successful launch of the CPACS Winter School unit "Peace Through Tourism" – the first such unit taught in Australia – developed and coordinated by Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard in collaboration with Ms Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, Lecturer in Tourism from the University of South Australia. The unit was also the first PACS unit to have a WebCT site available for students to facilitate access to course materials. The twelve students who completed the course comprised six Peace and Conflict Studies students (including three from Japan), four students cross-listing from other University of Sydney postgraduate programs, one student cross-listing from University of New England and one tourism professional. Guest lecturers and speakers in the course included Professor Frank Stilwell, Faculty of Economics, University of Sydney; Dr David Beirman, Director of the Israel Tourism Office in Sydney; and Smitha Mallya, International Coordinator, Peace Boat Japan. An article about the new course was published in the *University of Sydney News* (see Appendix).

The course was supported by the International Institute for Peace Through Tourism (Australia) which awarded a prize for the most outstanding essay submitted during the course to MLitt (PACS) student Jaime Koh from Singapore for her essay on "Mount Kumgang: An Ambassador of Peace for the Korean Peninsula?"

Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, who was awarded the 1999 King Hussein Award for her article "Creating a Culture of Peace Through Tourism", was an invited guest educator on the 47th voyage of the Japan-based *Peace Boat* in 2005. *Peace Boat* is an international non-government organisation that focuses on developing innovative ways to encourage international citizenship. To do this it organises educational voyages on a large passenger ship to promote peace, human rights, sustainable and democratic development, and respect for the environment. In each of the voyage destinations various cultural exchanges with local communities are organised in order to foster international friendship and understanding as well as to support local peacebuilding projects. For further details please see the article in *PeaceWrites*, No. 2005-01, July 2005, pp. 2-4.

Conferences, Seminars, Invited Talks and Visits

I started 2005 with presentations on my research on reconciliation and transitional justice in East Timor at a local Australia-East Timor Association meeting in Sydney in February and two international conferences: the 46th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association in Hawaii in March and the ACPACS Conference on "Peace, Justice and Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific Region" in Brisbane in April. MA (PACS) student Yuko Miyazawa also attended the ACPACS conference.

Whilst traversing the globe during June-July 2005, I attended the International Association of Genocide Scholars annual conference in Fort Lauderdale, Florida; spent a week as a visitor with the Centre for Peace Research and Strategic Studies, Katholik University in Leuven, Belgium; conducted field research on transitional justice and reconciliation in Rwanda; and presented a seminar at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Cape Town, South Africa. I also visited the Centre for Conflict Resolution and the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town; the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, DC; the Nairobi Peace Initiative in Kenya; and the Royal Museum for Central Africa,

European Network for Central Africa (EURAC) and the Institute of Development Policy and Management at the University of Antwerp in Belgium.

After returning from my research in Rwanda I presented two public seminars in Sydney that generated three radio interviews and two newsletter articles:

- “Reconciliation in Rwanda: Applying Gacaca Community Justice to Genocide”, CPACS Seminar, University of Sydney, 12 September 2005.
- “Rwanda and Gacaca”, interviews on Sydney radio stations ABC Radio National, 12 September 2005 and SBS Radio, 15 September 2005
- “Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda”, invited talk to Amnesty International local group, Springwood, Blue Mountains, 25 September 2005
- “Rwanda and Gacaca”, interview on Sydney radio station 2SER, 26 September 2005
- “Jury still out on success of Rwanda’s gacaca courts”, *University of Sydney News*, 37:11, 30 September 2005, p. 5
- “Reconciliation in Rwanda: Applying Gacaca Community Justice to Genocide”, *PeaceWrites*, 2005-02, December 2005, pp. 4-5

During September I also participated in a briefing seminar and discussion on the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands hosted by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs in Sydney.

In November I traversed Australia, attending a symposium on transitional justice at the Australian National University, Canberra; presenting a paper based on my Rwanda research at the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific annual conference at the University of New England in Armidale, NSW; and giving an invited plenary speech on “The Role of Justice and Reconciliation in Building Sustainable Communities” at a Teaching and Learning Symposium on “Designing A Sustainable Future” at Box Hill Institute in Melbourne. Back in Sydney in November I was an invited speaker at Politics in the Pub on the topic of the future of Africa 10 years after the end of apartheid.

Along with Dr Geneviève Souillac and Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, I represented CPACS at the Peace and Conflict Studies Roundtable hosted by the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Queensland on 17-18 November 2005.

Research

My research in 2005 continued to focus on transitional justice and reconciliation after mass violence. I employed Sherryl Reddy and Paul Clark as research assistants over the summer to help complete work on my research grants on East Timor and the analysis of results from my field research conducted in 2004. I made several presentations based on this research including a paper “Unfinished Business: Reconciliation and Justice in East Timor: An Evaluation of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation”.

In June-July 2005 I conducted research in the US, Belgium and South Africa and spent one month on field research in Rwanda interviewing genocide survivors, perpetrators and others involved in the gacaca community justice process. This research was made possible by a \$24,000 University of Sydney research and development grant for the project “Multiple Approaches to Justice and Reconciliation: Rwanda and the Gacaca Trials”. My research assistant, Burundian-Australian Aimé Ndayisaba, travelled with me from Australia to assist with interpreting, translating and analysis of results. As indicated elsewhere in this report, I presented three public seminars and a conference paper based on preliminary analysis of my research findings (see *PeaceWrites* and *University of Sydney News* for newsletter articles).

I was awarded a small grant under the Faculty of Arts Seed Funding Scheme for the project “Justice and Reconciliation in Cambodia” for field research to be conducted in 2006. The project aims to evaluate the impact of the tribunal finally being established to try the surviving leaders of the former Khmer Rouge regime that perpetrated mass human rights violations against the Cambodian population in 1975-78.

Other significant research achievements in 2005 included the publication of Dr Geneviève Souillac's book *Human Rights in Crisis: The Sacred and the Secular in Contemporary French Thought* (Lexington Books, Lanham, Maryland, 2005) and its public launch at Gleebooks on 6 October, and the awarding of Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard's PhD on "Dialogues of Difference: Citizenship Negotiated According to Identity in the Contest Between Literate and Oral Traditions" at the University of Sydney on 16 December.

Advocacy / Outreach Report

New South Wales Human Rights Education Committee (NSWHREC)

Chair: Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard

The NSWHREC is grateful for the ongoing support offered by CPACS in the promotion of human rights and civics education. Guest speakers in 2005 included representatives from the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), the Public Interest Advocacy Council (PIAC) and the Department of Education and Training (DET).

The flagship "Citizen of Humanity" project aims to support primary school teachers in NSW in their teaching about human rights and social justice. The Franciscan Friars contribute to the sponsorship of this work. In 2006, new projects include the proposal for collaboration between the CHRE (Centre for Human Rights Education, Curtin University, Western Australia) and CPACS to provide a national (coast to coast) clearing-house for human rights education materials suitable for primary, secondary and tertiary institutions nationwide.

The NSWHREC also aims to work more closely with the Sydney Peace Foundation in promoting specific 'peace' initiatives in schools.

West Papua Project

Dr Ken Macnab

During 2005 the West Papua Project lacked adequate funding, but the momentum and focus was maintained by extensive volunteer work, by John Wing in particular. On Thursday 18 August, a Report prepared for the West Papua Project at CPACS by John Wing with Peter King, titled: *Genocide in West Papua? The Role of the Indonesian State Apparatus and a Current Needs Assessment of the Papuan People*, was released in Canberra. The launch was attended by John Wing, Jim Elmsley and Stuart Rees from the Project, the Reverend Socratez Sofyan Yoman (Head of the West Papuan Baptist Church), and Bob Brown (Greens) and Natasha Stott-Despoja (Democrats) from Federal Parliament. Representatives of the Government were conspicuous by their absence.

Based on a two-year study by CPACS researchers and Papuan church and human rights investigators, the Report details the maltreatment of the indigenous people of this Indonesian province by Government authorities, the military and commercial interests. Personal violence, including rape, torture and 'disappearance', the destruction of villages and displacement of people, the migration and preferential treatment of Javanese to the region, asset stripping through illegal logging and mining, religious discrimination, and deprivation of work and education, are some of the documented findings. Displacement, disease and discrimination are creating a desperate situation for the Papuans. The complicity or participation of the Indonesian security forces in much of this treatment adds to its impact. Failure to implement the promised 'Special Autonomy' package throws into question the role of the Indonesian Government itself.

The purpose of the Report is to expose the situation and draw it to the attention of the Australian and Indonesian Governments and the international community, including the United Nations. As Professor Stuart Rees, Director of CPACS, said in the statement accompanying the release of the Report: 'We now have a responsibility to say that enough is

enough and that the human rights abuses documented in this report should be brought to the world's attention.' The Report achieved extensive media coverage, in Australia and overseas.

In late September, John Wing, Jim Elmsley and I met with Christine Edwards, CEO of the Meyer Foundation, who are in the process of restructuring their philanthropic priorities and funding methods. They provided a small interim grant to help with the expenses of the Report. It is hoped that more substantial support will be forthcoming to sustain this important Project in the future. The whole issue has been highlighted by the arrival of 43 asylum seekers (6 children and 37 men and women) by boat from West Papua in mid-January 2006. Many of them are West Papuan leaders who have experienced abuse and persecution for years. Their leader, Herman Wainggai, who has been jailed twice for political activism, told the press: 'It's the same as East Timor.' Despite the farcical ritual of flying them to Christmas Island for 'processing' by Immigration officials, and the sensitivities of the Indonesian authorities, Australia's obligations under the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees is clear. All those involved in this emerging conflict need to follow correct, conciliatory and constructive procedures aimed at creating non-violent outcomes.

Refugee Language Program Lesley Carnus – Coordinator

The Refugee Language Program (RLP), which was re-located to the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies in 2005, has completed its second successful year. The Refugee Language Program Annual Report submitted to the University Senate, was well received and congratulations were offered to staff for their hard work and commitment.

Through the Vice-Chancellor, the Coordinator's position has been re-funded in 2006 for 2 days a week. The role of the Coordinator has been to recruit the teachers, liaise with the agencies referring the refugees to the RLP, interview and assess students and place them in the appropriate classes, and to coordinate the volunteer staff. Further duties and responsibilities include publicity and public relations, event organizing, booking of classrooms and producing all documentation, relevant literature and forms for the program. Currently there are 7 teachers working for the RLP, a voluntary administrative assistant and over 30 other volunteers and home tutors who are actively involved in varying capacities.

Refugees and asylum seekers are a particularly difficult group of people to teach and the teachers working on the program have developed expertise in working with traumatised and psychologically damaged adults. Most of our students live in poverty and suffer from social, familial and geographic isolation. All the teachers in the RLP have shown compassion, flexibility and the cultural sensitivity necessary to working with such a diverse and disadvantaged group of people. The volunteer teachers are the crucial service providers of the program.

The Refugee Language Program does not duplicate services already offered to refugees and asylum seekers. A key function of the program is to improve the language skills of professionals who intend to apply for further studies when their refugee status is recognised. In 2006 the program will run 2 academic writing classes on a Wednesday and 2 general English classes on a Saturday.

There have been some notable successes in 2005. A number of our students have gained permanent residency and 3 medical professionals have passed their Occupational English Test (OET). A psychologist from Iraq has just gained permanent residency and has enrolled to study for a doctorate of clinical psychology at Sydney University in 2006. The RLP also presented a successful submission to the City of Sydney and won a community grant of \$4,000.

In 2006 we also hope to expand our home tutoring service, improve and extend our reach to refugees as well as offer training to RLP and NGO volunteers. We also would like to

gain further support and funding from business and local communities to enable the program to meet its goals.

Library Report

Peggy Craddock – Librarian

The library has outgrown its current location and the awaited transfer to larger facilities is very necessary. The Teaching Resource Boxes are integral to the collection with additional boxes being prepared as new courses are added to the CPACS teaching programme. Student dissertations held in the library are always in demand. Relevant new items are added to current boxes as they become available. Donations of additional materials are always needed and funding to buy reference materials specific to courses being taught is also a priority. However, in 2005 the CPACS library did receive a number of book donations in addition to the very generous donation of a 'new' computer from Mr Graham Roberts of Baulkham Hills.

Items are classified and catalogued according to the Dewey system and shelved with cross-referencing where appropriate, with shelves clearly labelled. However, the addition of a library automation programme which would enable items to be located using 'author', 'title' or 'subject' as key words continues to be on the agenda for improvements to the library in 2006.

Membership Report

Abe Quadan – Membership Secretary

CPACS has continued to attract new members in the past 12 months. Unfortunately this increase in new members has been matched with the loss of members in similar proportions. This loss could be attributed to members moving houses and not forwarding new contact details and consequently not receiving their renewal reminders. We have noticed a marked increase in returned mail due to change of address.

The current system of membership has been in operation since the early days of CPACS. A review of the current system is planned to take place the first half of 2006. It is expected that a draft Action Plan will be developed and prepared for presentation to the newly elected Council in its second meeting for this year. A major feature of the Action Plan is expected to be a proposal for review of the current system of attracting members and maintaining memberships in addition to a review of the membership package. A questionnaire will be developed by the Membership Secretary to seek the views of our past and current members that will be considered in the draft Action Plan.

On behalf of members of the Council, as in past years, I would like to give our sincere thanks to all those who helped encourage new members to join CPACS over the past year, and a warm welcome to our new members. We will continue to encourage membership and participation by the students from the University of Sydney as well as other institutions. This could be achieved through dissemination of CPACS pamphlets and literature in all the functions and seminars hosted by CPACS and the Sydney Peace Foundation.

I would like to thank Reign Haub, members of the CPACS Council, and the many volunteers who generously donate their time and energy in manning stalls during the various events and seminars to attract new members. Thanks also to those who have assisted with mail outs during 2005. The views and experiences of the CPACS Membership are valued and to this end I would like to encourage all members to contribute to *PeaceWrites*.

Publications

Reign Haub – Administrative Officer and Publications Editor

PeaceWrites 2005 was produced in May and December and is still a sought after and impressive record of the work of CPACS Council, members, volunteers and students. The December issue was expanded to a huge 16 pages, with an impressive number of student contributions and photographs.

In 2006 we will be looking at making further improvements to *PeaceWrites*, such as including staff and student profiles as well as having a regular columnist. *PeaceWrites* is available in hard copy from CPACS or can be downloaded from the CPACS website.

CPACS has produced some fantastic additions to the already impressive Occasional Paper Series in 2005.

- No. 05/4 Dr Alison Broinowski, ***Adolescent or Geriatric? The Future of the United Nations***, 2005

- No. 05/3 Olara A. Otunnu, ***Saving Our Children From the Scourge of War: 2005 City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture***, 2005

- No. 05/2 Robert Fisk, ***Robert Fisk Speaks on 'The Great War For Civilisation'***. 2005
 Transcription of public lecture given by Robert Fisk on October 5, 2005 at The University of Sydney.

- No. 05/1 Iris Wielders, ***The Roles of Australian and Aotearoa/NewZealand development NGOs in conflict prevention***, 2005

We are also now producing all of our publications in-house with the assistance of our new photocopier and the efforts of Volunteers who assist with copying, folding and binding. Special thanks goes to our intern Su Yeon Anh for her efforts in assisting with the production of CPACS Occasional Papers.

Seminars and Events

Reign Haub – Administrative Officer and Seminars Coordinator

In 2005 CPACS has hosted some very large public lectures, which have generated a huge amount of interest in the media and general public.

In October CPACS was privileged to host Robert Fisk in the Stephen Roberts lecture theatre. The interest was so great that the 300 seat lecture theatre was overflowing, and last minute efforts had to be made to accommodate the 700 or so people that turned up. An audio broadcast was organised in the lobby of the lecture theatre, and an eleventh hour attempt was made to establish a video link to an alternative venue in the Education building in response to an influx of last-minute RSVPs. In spite of technical difficulties, the audience were appreciative of the efforts to make the lecture accessible to as many people as possible. The audience had interesting and intelligent questions and a standing ovation for Robert Fisk at the conclusion of his talk.

In November, 2005 City of Sydney Peace Prize recipient, Olara Otunnu spoke at an exclusive seminar for CPACS members, student and special guests in the Mackie building. The topic of the 2005 Peace Prize lecture was 'Saving our Children from the Scourge of War', and the discussion of the intimate gathering at the CPACS seminar followed the same theme. Olara Otunnu's compassion and conviction were evident in his softly spoken demeanour, and the

audience enthusiastically embraced his thoughts and views on the very serious issues of genocide and the abuse of children.

Again in November, CPACS was very fortunate to host another sell-out public lecture with former UN Weapons Inspector, Scott Ritter. In spite of the large size of the Eastern Avenue auditorium, it seemed that Scott Ritter's vehemence and passion when speaking on his newly released book, 'Iraq Confidential: The untold story of America's intelligence conspiracy', would lift the roof off. Many of the 500-strong audience lingered for a book signing after the event and applauded his frank and honest rendering of his experiences in US Intelligence.

There were in total fourteen seminars and events held at or hosted by CPACS during 2005. All were successful, interesting and well attended. However it must be mentioned that CPACS seminars (in particular the large public lectures) would not be as successful without the efforts of volunteers. Thank you to all of the seminars volunteers!

Following is a complete list of CPACS Seminar and Events held in 2005:

JANUARY 27, 2005
NEWS FROM THE HOLY LAND: THE
THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REPORTING
CONFLICT

Screening of peace journalism video presented by 'Conflict-Resolving Media' lecturers Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick followed by discussion.

MARCH 22, 2005
PEACEMAKER AWARD

CPACS presents a 'Peacemaker Award' to a team of 400 UN Volunteers who assisted with the electoral process and elections in Afghanistan from May – October 2004. Jennie Watson, Acting Head of UN Office in Sydney accepted the award on behalf of the team.

MARCH 24, 2005
MARY SIMONS
IMAGINE HOUT BAY

A lunchtime seminar by Mary Simons, Senior Lecturer in Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, on the Imagine initiative inspired by a project of the same name in Chicago that is bringing residents together to work as a community in order to realise their dreams.

MAY 13, 2005
IZZAT ABDUL-HADI
DEVELOPING CIVIL SOCIETY IN
PALESTINE

Director of the Bisan Centre for Research and Development in the Palestinian Territories. A lunchtime seminar in association with AUSTCARE.

MAY 19, 2005
DR ALISON BROINOWSKI
ADOLESCENT OR GERIATRIC? THE
FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Free evening lecture presented by the Sydney Peace Foundation in association with The Australian Institute of International Affairs.

JUNE 8, 2005
DR URI DAVIS
LIFTING THE VEIL ON ISRAELI APARTHEID

Free lecture by visiting academic and human rights activist presented by CPACS.

JUNE 23, 2005
SREBRENICA 10 YEARS AFTER:
LESSONS FROM THE PAST AND HOPE
FOR THE FUTURE

A full day seminar hosted by CPACS and featuring Dr Paul White presenting a paper on the 'Breakup of the former Yugoslavia'.

AUGUST 3, 2005
DR PHYLLIS BENNIS
THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF IRAQ:
WITHDRAWAL OR QUAGMIRE?

A seminar by the representative of the United for Peace and Justice Anti-war Coalition in the U.S.A., fellow of the Institute of Policy Studies, U.S.A. and Transnational Institute of Amsterdam.

SEPTEMBER 8, 2005

UNDP HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2005
DISCUSSION SESSION
**INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AT A
CROSSROADS: AID, TRADE AND
SECURITY IN AN UNEQUAL WORLD**
CPACS in association with the United
Nations Society hosted a presentation
and discussion with Mr Arunabha
Ghosh, Policy Specialist with the
United Nations Development
Programme's Human Development
Report Office, and co-author of the
HDR 2005.

SEPTEMBER 12, 2005

**DR WENDY LAMBOURNE
RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA: APPLYING
GACACA COMMUNITY JUSTICE TO
GENOCIDE**

After spending a month conducting
research in Rwanda, Dr Lambourne
reported on the progress of community
justice mechanisms taking place in the
aftermath of genocide.

OCTOBER 5, 2005

**ROBERT FISK
THE GREAT WAR FOR CIVILISATION:
THE CONQUEST OF THE MIDDLE EAST**

Award winning foreign correspondent
Robert Fisk speaks on the occupation
of Iraq and his newly released book.

OCTOBER 6, 2005

**DR GENEVIÈVE SOUILLAC
HUMAN RIGHTS IN CRISIS. THE SACRED
AND THE SECULAR IN CONTEMPORARY
FRENCH THOUGHT**

Dr Souillac's book launch was hosted
by Gleebooks and SOPHI.

NOVEMBER 10, 2005

OLARA OTUNNU

Exclusive seminar with Sydney Peace
Prize recipient for 2005 held at CPACS
for students, members and invited guests.

NOVEMBER 28, 2005

**SCOTT RITTER
IRAQ CONFIDENTIAL: THE UNTOLD
STORY OF AMERICA'S INTELLIGENCE
CONSPIRACY**

Lecture presented by CPACS in
association with Gleebooks by former
UN Weapons Inspector on the
explosive revelations of his new book

Conflict Solutions Australia

Paul Clark – Coordinator

In 2005 Conflict Solutions Australia (CSA) has been in a gestation phase due to resource constraints. It is anticipated that this situation will begin to change from February 2006 as more time will be devoted to marketing and development then. A modest web site has been operational all year although this has not generated business enquiries and will need to be upgraded in conjunction with the upgrading of the CPACS web presence as a whole.

On October 8th of this year, CSA organised and presented a one-day workshop in "Mediation and Communication Skills", presented by Abe Quadan and supported by Paul Clark. Twelve students attended and participant evaluation at the conclusion of the workshop was positive and encouraging. Similar practical training workshops are planned for the first and second semesters of 2006 as an adjunct to CPACS University course units and also for the wider public. Enquiries to enrol in these programmes are already coming in. CSA has been fully incorporated in the CPACS Business Plan, which will guide its future development.

The PeaceFriends Online Community

Paul Clark – Moderator

The PeaceFriends online community (formerly "CPACSmembers") is an e-mail group with nearly 200 members across the globe. The group is loosely affiliated with CPACS with many members common to both, although it is not under CPACS' ownership or direction and receives no financial or other resources from CPACS or the University. It is administered voluntarily and free to all who wish to join.

As the group itself states, its purpose is: "for sharing ideas and information with friends who are concerned to promote peace, justice and the non-violent resolution or transformation of conflict." We share our own thoughts on current and historical events and submit written pieces particularly from highly regarded journalists and writers from both mainstream and alternative media channels as well as more substantial scholarly pieces. All information shared is of topical and historical interest and is delivered with a sense of humour. In addition to this the PeaceFriends Online Community circulates information on the many events hosted by CPACS, and other relevant events held both locally and internationally. Members in a typical month would receive 150-220 email notices (which is about 5-7 per day). These can be delivered to members mailboxes or held on a webmail location for browsing and searching. Much of this material is used by students and others for research and is forwarded throughout the world.

This is not just a one-way mailing list. Peacefriends provides a lively interactive forum for discussion on a diverse range of issues, current concerns and conflicts.

The group has been operating since April 13th 2003. PeaceFriends had an important milestone on January 16th 2006 – the group sent its 5000th message which was a poem about how it feels to be a Palestinian!

If you would like to join, or find out more, please contact Paul at paulclark@gmx.ch

Appendix 1: Visitors and Appearances in 2005

Reign Haub – Administrative Officer

CPACS Visitors in 2005

The Centre has been fortunate to welcome many esteemed local and international scholars over the years. This tradition continued in 2005, and the following list is a short sample of visitors to CPACS.

In January 2005, Oxford-based independent legal and historical researcher, Victor Lal, spent a few weeks as a Visiting Fellow with CPACS. On 10 January Victor presented an informal lunchtime seminar and led a discussion with CPACS members and students on “Mahatma Gandhi and Indigenous Australia” drawing on his research on non-violence, leadership and social change.

On the afternoon of 10 January 2005, CPACS hosted the visit of Soo Yeon Lee and Hwa Suk Kim of the National Human Rights Commission of Korea. Dr Ki-Sung Kwak, Lecturer in Media and Korean Studies, University of Sydney, joined CPACS representatives Mr Paul Clark, Ms Lynette Simons, Ms Christina Batchen and Dr Geneviève Souillac in discussions with the Korean visitors about human rights and alternative dispute resolution.

On 16 September, Caitlin Brady, a USAID technical advisor on recovery planning based in Nairobi, Kenya, visited CPACS and led an informal discussion with interested students and graduates about her recent experiences working in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan and the potential for successful implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

After hearing Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees speak at a public event, postgraduate students in the Law Faculty at the University of Sydney organised an informal meeting and discussion with CPACS postgraduate students in the Posters for Peace Gallery on 20 September to address the topic of “the meaning of justice”. The discussion was illuminating and thought provoking for all involved, and the students planned to follow this up with further events and networking in 2006.

Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees – Director

Following is a record of papers and other presentations in relation to responsibilities as Director of the Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies, 2005.

Jan 30th Canberra Library, address launch of anthologies ‘Tell Me The Truth About War.’

Feb 2nd to 6th Cuenca, Spain, meetings of steering committee of Global Action to Prevent War (GAPW) and of UN delegation on Emergency Peace Service.

Feb. 24th. Address to NSW Principal Teachers’ Conference: ‘A Poetry & Politics for Peace.’

March 2nd to 5th, present paper at Nanjing University Peace Studies conference: A Peace Prize as a Catalyst for Peace.”

March 7th: Sydney Seminar: ‘Community development to build peace’ with Ethel Falu Sigimanu, Permanent Secretary of National Unity, Reconciliation & Peace, The Solomon Islands.

March 18th, Braidwood, Two Fires Conference to celebrate life of Judith Wright. Address: ‘Arts & activism: Can poets change the world?’

March 20th, Palm Sunday: address Parramatta Rally: ‘Peace and Justice for the Iraqi People: Australian troops out now, no more pre-emptive wars’.

March 23rd to 24th Melbourne, Global Action to Prevent War conference. Address: 'The Creation of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS)'

April 13th Hong Kong, to City University, 'Legitimation, Evaluation, Affirmation: Due Process in Peace Negotiations'

May 26th Australian Chief Executive Officers, The American Club, Sydney: address: 'Peace in the 21st century: personal, national and international implications.'

June 11th, On Line Opinion: publication of article 'Investigating the Department of Immigration' followed by Am & FM radio interviews on subject.

June 21st meetings at UN in New York with Olara Otunnu, 'Ending wars against children' and with John Rumbiak, 'Autonomy for West Papua: the prospects.'

June 29th Toda Institute, Newport, Soka Univ., California, with Majid Tehranian, 'Tribalism and fundamentalisms: obstacles to peace.'

July 22nd Creative Arts Centre Bathurst, Refugee Collective, keynote address, 'The mental illness of detainees, the truth about peace.'

July 29th Address to Politics in the Pub – with Alison Broinowski 'Can the United Nations survive without the United States?'

August 4th Mori Gallery Sydney, keynote address to commemorate 60th anniversary of dropping of first atomic bomb 'Learning from Hiroshima: Cowardice or Courage.'

August 15th production and compering of 'Music and Poetry for Peace, York Theatre, Seymour Centre.'

August 18th, launch in the Federal Parliament, Canberra of the CPACS (West Papua Project) research report, 'Genocide in Papua?'

August 21st, Jervis Bay Kiosk, Huskisson NSW, Jazz and Poetry symposium, address 'Poetry for Peace.'

August 26th Politics in the Pub, chair Larissa Behrendt, 'The Reconciliation Impasse: Hearing new Aboriginal Voices.'

August 29th The Sydney Mint, chair Global Social Forum, antidote to Opera House meeting of one hundred of world's richest chief executives.

September 6th, Town Hall Adelaide, World Vision Symposium, keynote address, 'Make poverty history.'

October 6th, Gleebooks, launch of Genevieve Souillac's 'Human Rights in Crisis'

October 13th, National Library, Canberra, Combined Scholars' conference paper: 'Vilification Nation: The Hanan Ashrawi Affair.'

October 14th Dept. Foreign Affairs, Sydney, roundtable discussion with Madame Louise Frechette, Deputy Sec. General UN, 'UN crises and opportunities'

October 19th, Macquarie University, address to postgraduate international relations students, 'Non Violence in International Affairs.'

October 26th, Univ. of Southern Cross, Coffs Harbour, Iraq War Symposium, address: 'Counting the Human Costs of War in Iraq' and subsequent ABC radio interviews

Nov. 9th 10th and 11th Chair 2005 Peace Prize events including Olara Otunnu's appearance before 900 school children at Cabramatta High School on 11th Nov.

Nov. 25th Symposium in honour of Prof. Garry Trompf, Univ. of Sydney, address: 'Passion for Peace: Exercising Power Creatively.'

Nov. 27th to Dec. 2nd coordinate protests against the Singapore Government's proposed hanging of the young Vietnamese Australian, Van Tuong Nguyen

Nov. 29th CPACS Christmas Party and presentations following Honorary Associate appointments to Drs. Lynda Blanchard, Genevieve Souillac and Bai Yan.

Dr Ken Macnab – President

Ken Macnab has conducted numerous radio interviews and made appearances at functions in an academic function and representing CPACS in his capacity as President. Following is a brief listing of the more notable of these appearances.

Friday 6 May, Politics in the Pub, speaking on 'The 'War on Terror'ism'.

Tuesday 7 June, filmed interview by Lorna Knowles, 'Today Tonight', Channel 7, on 'Racism in Australia'. Segment aired later in June.

Saturday 5 June, speech at World Refugee Day event, Education Common Room, organised by Refugee Language Programme.

Thursday 23 October, Paper on 'The Limits of Adversarial Legitimacy' delivered to Independent Scholars of Australia conference, national Library, Canberra.