



Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

ANNUAL REPORT

2006



The University of Sydney

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2006 CPACS Staff, Council and Volunteers

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Dr Geneviève Souillac	Iris Wielders
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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 2006 Annual Report

Dr Ken Macnab – President

Peace with Justice

As a prologue to an account of CPACS activities the Annual Report has usually 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 more selective and critical commentary has been written. I would also add that these views are my own, not the authorised views of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, to the extent that such views exist.

The War on Terrorism

'The greatest danger of bombs is in the explosion of stupidity that they provoke.'
Octave Mirabeau, French writer and dramatist (1850-1917)

The 'war on terrorism' has become the new Cold War, the lens through which the American Government and its allies view the world, the justification for widespread armed violence and breaches of international human rights, the framework within which both domestic and foreign policies get shaped, the spectre used to alarm and manipulate the people. But its strategies are divisive, corrupting, destructive and largely self-defeating. It requires critical scrutiny, condemnation and opposition.

The Invention of Conflict

The opening sentence of President Bush's covering letter in the March 2006 version of *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* declares: 'America is at war.' This is the unilaterally declared 'war on terror' announced by President Bush in his speech to a joint session of Congress ten days after the September 11, 2001 attack. Conceived as a 'new type of war' against a 'new type of enemy', called a 'global terror network', doing 'whatever it takes' to win was justified. The issues were 'good' versus 'evil', the 'civilised' versus the 'uncivilised', the defenders of 'freedom' and 'justice' and 'progress' versus 'murderers' who use 'terror' and 'fear' and 'destruction'. The issue was simple: 'Freedom and fear are at war.' The target was plain: 'Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them.' The threat was also plain: 'Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.' This was to be a lengthy campaign, an historical mission. But the 'cause' was just, God was 'not neutral', and victory was 'certain'. This was basically an American mission. There were

passing references to the rest of the world, but none to the United Nations; it was ignored until the situation in Afghanistan (invaded in October 2001) and Iraq (invaded in March 2003) required someone to come in and help pick up the pieces.

Bush's conception of this 'new' American moral, political and military policy was expanded in other speeches, and endlessly reiterated. In his State of the Union Address to Congress on 30 January 2002, having castigated Iran, Iraq and North Korea, he said: 'States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger.' Then in a speech to the Graduation Exercise at West Point Military Academy on 1 June 2002 Bush proposed a new aggressive strategy for the war on terrorism. He argued that 'the Cold War doctrines of deterrence and containment' were no longer adequate: 'If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long. (Applause)'. America must 'confront the worst threats before they emerge. (Applause)'. In short, selective pre-emptive military strikes were announced. Finally, these prescriptions were cobbled together in the document titled *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, released in late September 2002. This proposed a variety of initiatives, including efforts to 'Defuse regional Conflicts', but these have been mainly ignored in favour of military action, 'homeland security', increased surveillance and forceful 'intelligence-gathering.'

Some of the key characteristics of this 'war on terrorism' are worth noting. The first is a distinctive interpretation of history which places America at the centre of a new world view. America was the epitome of the 'single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy, and free enterprise'. Moreover, integral to this view of history is a belief in an American 'mission', a 'crusade' (although the history of that word led to its retraction), a belief labelled a century ago as 'manifest destiny'. Secondly, the American leadership has not the slightest doubt about its ability to arbitrate for the whole world, to identify the 'good' and the 'evil', the 'civilised' and the 'uncivilised', those standing for 'freedom' against 'tyranny'. Thirdly, the definition of 'terrorism' at the heart of this war is deliberately vague, changeable and politically expedient. In order to understand and combat terrorism effectively it has to be defined objectively and impartially - the old idea that 'one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter' helps understand terrorism, but in no way justifies it - and applied even-handedly to all perpetrators. Broadly, terrorism is the intentional use of violence against ordinary people to coerce them collectively for some cause or purpose, whether carried out by individuals, organisations or states. Cases of state terrorism must be identified, condemned and opposed. Finally, although there are frequent statements by the leading protagonists about peaceful methods of pursuing their 'war on terrorism', the only methods given any real support are aggressive and militaristic.

One of the most striking implications of all this is that it largely ignores the lessons of the history of terrorism. For a start, the use of terror is as old as violent conflict itself. In about 500BC, Sun Tzu wrote: 'Kill one, frighten ten thousand.' Some of our current terminology comes from this history, such as zealots (from the fanatical anti-Roman Jewish sect), assassin (from the anti-Crusader Muslim hashish-eaters), and the word fanatic itself (originally religious extremism, from the Latin for temple). In short, deep belief in any end may produce violent means. Moreover, the history of terrorism shows that it is neither wise nor effective to pursue the 'war on terrorism' primarily by military and political offensives. It is in many ways counter-productive, because it reinforces the original prejudices, plays into the hands of the terrorists and creates more opponents.

In addition to carefully calibrated military and judicial responses, it is necessary to address the origins of terrorism, the climate of opinion which fosters extremism, the grievances that generate hatred, the allegations and objectives of the terrorists themselves. It is necessary to cease seeing the world in simplistic opposites - good and evil, civilised and uncivilised, friend and enemy. It is necessary to expose and face the massive hypocrisy behind the

labelling of the 'axis of evil' and 'rogue states' and 'failed regimes' and possessors of 'weapons of mass destruction'. It is necessary to live up to the rhetoric of freedom and individual liberty and respect for human rights and tolerance of differences. It is necessary to bring peaceful methods and goodwill and even-handedness to the resolution of a series of festering conflicts, particularly the Israel-Palestine issue. And it is necessary to proceed collectively, with international agreement and support, rather than unilaterally or with cobbled-together 'coalitions of the willing'. Finally, it is necessary to admit mistakes, learn from them and change direction.

None of these imperatives has been seriously addressed by George Bush's administration. If anything, his propensity to pronounce on serious issues in platitudes and slogans was given free rein in 2006. He told a Republican fund-raiser in late February: 'We shouldn't fear the future, because we intend to shape the future.' On the third anniversary of the Invasion of Iraq in March 2006, Bush asserted: 'The US will not abandon Iraq. We will leave Iraq, but when we do it will be from a position of strength, not weakness.' He also reiterated a familiar rhetorical flourish: 'Americans have never retreated in the face of thugs and assassins and we will not begin now.' In late June, on a surprise visit to Baghdad, Bush assured the new Iraqi Prime Minister, Nouri al-Malaki: 'When America gives a commitment, America will keep its commitment.' The oft-repeated promise to 'stay the course' alternated on occasion with: 'When the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down.' His speech on the fifth anniversary of September 11, 2001, was full of the classic rhetoric - but not much else. For example: 'The war against this enemy is more than a military conflict. It is the decisive ideological struggle of the 21st century, and the calling of our generation.' Even more definitively: 'This struggle has been called a clash of civilizations. In truth, it is a struggle for civilization.' And the mantra for all occasions was trotted out to European leaders at the NATO summit in Latvia in December 2006: 'We must advance freedom, as the great alternative to tyranny and terror.'

Given all this, it is hardly surprising that 'truthiness' was named word of the year for 2005 by the American Dialect Society and for 2006 by the free online dictionary, Merriam-Webster. A satirical term invented by Stephen Colbert during the inaugural episode (October 17, 2005) of his mock news television program, 'The Colbert Report', 'truthiness' meant the quality by which a person claims to know something intuitively, instinctively, or 'from the gut' without regard to evidence, logic, intellectual examination, or actual facts. This is similar to the meaning of 'bellyfeel', a Newspeak term from George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Colbert used his show to criticise the tendency to rely upon 'truthiness' in making decisions (giving George Bush's decision to invade Iraq as one example) and its use as an appeal to emotion and tool of rhetoric in contemporary socio-political discourse. As Colbert parodied it: 'I don't trust books. They're all fact, no heart.'

Tony Blair, in August 2006, unintentionally put his finger on the core contradiction in the current 'war on terrorism' when he asserted: 'We will not win the battle against this global extremism unless we win it at the level of values as much as force, unless we show we are even-handed, fair and just in our application of those values to the world.' He went on to say: 'Unless we revitalise the broader global agenda on poverty, climate change, trade, and in respect of the Middle East, bend every sinew of our will to making peace between Israel and Palestine, we will not win. And this is a battle we must win.' The Bush Government record on none of these issues, nor on the many other pressing international issues of human rights and peace with justice, gives little prospect that they can win hearts and minds or inspire confidence that their 'values' will be universally applied and respected, abroad or even at home.

Far wider contradictions were emphasised by Noam Chomsky, in an expanded version of the Afterword to his new book *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy* (Metropolitan Books, 2006). He wrote:

We began by considering four critical issues that should rank high on the agenda of those concerned with the prospects for a decent future. Two of them are literally matters of survival: nuclear war and environmental disaster. ... The third major crisis is that the government of the global superpower is acting in ways that enhance these threats, and others as well, such as the threat of terrorism by enemies. That conclusion, unfortunately all too credible, brings to prominence a fourth critical issue: the growing democratic deficit, the gap between public will and public policy, a sign of the increasing failure of formal democratic institutions to function as they would in a democratic culture with vitality and substance.

Finally, the current 'war on terrorism', is being deliberately shaped to be the New Cold War, encompassing and dividing the whole world, fought with similar rhetoric and damage to human rights and civil liberties, but possibly even more force and violence, than the previous Cold War. The original Cold War was in many ways an artificial construct, what Mary Kaldor first called an 'imaginary war', based on the need of each side for an opponent and fuelled by mutual perceptions of an historic struggle between good and evil. But nuclear weapons were real enough, as were an array of 'small' but nasty wars around of the world. Although this New Cold War lacks the symmetry of the first, and takes its shape from American perceptions of threat and methods of response, the weapons and the wars are dangerously real and destructive.

Afghanistan

The opening campaign of the 'war on terrorism' was the US-led war against the Taliban regime and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan soon after September 11, 2001. Military success, the drawing up of a constitution, impressive voter registration and election participation with UN assistance, the installation of Hamad Karzai as President, and extensive foreign aid, a range of reconstruction projects, the revival of civil society and much international goodwill, all appeared promising. Success was widely claimed. However, by October 2006, the fifth anniversary of the war, Afghanistan was increasingly unstable. Local warlords had regained power in most regions, opium magnates were becoming influential, and the Taliban was resurgent in many areas adjacent to Pakistan, having clearly recruited, trained and armed new forces. The Taliban now claim to have more than 12,000 men under arms and to be in control of more than 20 districts (including lucrative poppy-growing regions) across the south.

Many reconstruction projects have faltered under corruption and lack of security. Transparency International ranked Afghanistan 117 out of 158 countries on its 2005 index of perceived corruption. Basic services are poor: about 60% of the population have no electricity, and 80% no drinkable water. Transport, communications, public facilities and social services are all still in need of massive improvement. Many, if not most, Afghans are actually worse off now than they were before the U.S. invasion. UN figures place Afghan living standards as the worst in the world, outside of the poorest five countries of sub-Saharan Africa, with life expectancy of less than 45 years (compared with 70 years in neighbouring Iran). The economy is barely functioning, with the country's 24 million people dependent on foreign aid, the opium trade, and remittances from the five million Afghans living abroad. The year 2006 saw the largest harvest of opium poppies in history, representing a full one-third of the Afghan economy, and supplying as much as 92% of the world's illegal heroin. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime, in its authoritative annual survey, reported that 'opium cultivation in Afghanistan is out of control' and that 'Afghan opium is fuelling insurgency in Western Asia, feeding international mafias and causing 100,000 deaths from overdoses every year.'

The U.S.-backed government of President Hamid Karzai has little credibility within the country. Afghans routinely refer to him as 'the mayor of Kabul,' since his authority doesn't extend much beyond the capital. Even the inclusion of numerous fractious warlords in the political and administrative system has achieved little stability. To the dismay of the Americans, Karzai has proposed recruiting tribal militias as police auxiliaries of some sort, and even some official Taliban representatives in the Government. Shuffling some of the military responsibility onto reluctant NATO forces during 2006 has made little difference. U.S. and allied military casualties are mounting, and a renewed season of violence looms with the coming of spring. Osama bin Laden is still at large. In short, this phase of the 'war on terrorism' has brought little benefit to the Afghani people, and diminishing credit to the US and their allies.

The Iraq War

The conquest and occupation of Iraq, on the patently false premises of the existence of weapons of mass destruction and Saddam Hussein's links with international terrorist organisations, was the second massive military foray in the 'war on terrorism'. The conquest was swift, but the occupation has been grossly miss-managed. Pentagon boasts of 'full-spectrum dominance' and 'shock and awe' have been replaced by 'too little, too late' and 'get tough, then get out'. The US quickly destroyed the secular core of Iraq by disbanding the Ba'ath Party, sacking droves of officials and public servants, and failing to prevent widespread damage to public ministries, museums and service facilities. Disbanding the defeated Iraqi Army destroyed a key potential source of civil control and internal security. Years of efforts to recruit, train and arm new police and military forces, in which over 300,000 Iraqis have participated, have simply provided skilled members for rival factions, armed militias and even insurgent and terrorist groups. No credible, impartial, reliable and trustworthy security forces of any great strength yet exist.

Very little has been achieved by a massive 'reconstruction' budget supplied by the US and the rest of the world. The US Federal Reserve shipped 363 tonnes of cash worth \$US12 billion packed into wooden boxes to Iraq between March 2003 and June 2004 (about a third of the reconstruction budget for 2003), but no paper trail or any other method of accountability existed which could account for its dispensation. It had simply 'disappeared.' Paul Bremer, the decorated head of the Coalition Provisional Authority at the time, told a US House of Representatives committee in early February 2007 that Iraq was in 'chaos' and: 'We had to simplify the contracting rules.' The outcomes were equally 'simple': American companies got paid for all sorts of 'services', foreign contractors and private 'security' outfits got paid, middle-men and other 'facilitators' on all sides got paid, politicians and their retinues got paid, overseas workers doing all sorts of work got paid, but very few infrastructure projects, public services or amenities got constructed and few Iraqi workers got paid. Transport, health services, education, housing, communications and other basic necessities are in many cases worse than before the war. The targeting of University academics and Ministry of Education workers has further eroded secular life. The setting up of Sharia courts in militia-controlled municipalities has reintroduced 'honour killings' and the subjection of women.

Domestic American pressures for apparent success in Iraq resulted in an ill-considered political outcome. One of America's pre-eminent Iraq analysts, Anthony Cordesman of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, has claimed: 'The US prematurely set up a slipshod and divisive constitutional process that left more than 50 unresolved time bombs - including vexed issues such as federation, control of oil and security, the role of religion and the nature of the legal system.' The US devised an electoral system that virtually forced Iraqis into Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish political and religious groupings and parties and promoted the division of Iraq on sectarian and ethnic lines. A senior US intelligence official told Joe Klein in early August 2006: 'We have been pointed towards civil war since the new Iraqi constitution was approved last October and reinforced in the December elections.' Operation Forward

Together, a joint Iraqi-US military push launched in July to pacify Baghdad, ran into fierce resistance from both Sunni and Shi-ite forces. Sunnis don't believe either the Shi-ite dominated Government or the Americans will treat them fairly; the Shi-ite militias and their politician-leaders want a free hand to get on with their agenda of revenge and dominance; the Kurds are creating a de-facto state and biding their time, and ordinary Iraqis die or are maimed in their hundreds on a daily basis.

One American general enunciated a chilling scenario: 'We could partition Baghdad. It's beginning to partition itself.' The same applies to the rest of the country, in a violent process compounded of local and foreign terrorism, anti-American insurgency and sectarian and ethnic slaughter, which no-one appears willing to call a 'civil war'. A three-state outcome is increasingly likely. The growing lack of credibility of the Maliki Government is being paced by the increasing popularity of the radical Shi-ite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr, whose powerful militia, the Mahdi Army, is responsible for much ethnic and sectarian slaughter. Even the capture, year-long public trial and final execution of Saddam Hussein added to the conflict. The judicial proceedings were clearly politically manipulated, Hussein's lawyers were intimidated and some were assassinated, court behaviour was often farcical, the verdict and sentence were pre-determined, the execution was hasty and undignified, and his continued posthumous trial for more serious war crimes is a farce.

Domestic disillusionment with the war in Iraq and President Bush's Government finally had an influence at the polls in the November 2006 mid-term Congressional elections. Loss of control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives to the Democrats was a sharp rebuff to Bush, and a leading architect of the failed Iraqi policies, Secretary for Defence Donald Rumsfeld, paid the price, replaced by former CIA Director (under President Bush senior) Robert Gates. More significant, however, will be Democrat control of the wide array of Congressional standing oversight committees, whose investigative powers are beginning to be deployed to unravel the duplicities and evasions of the previous six years. Bush platitudes about 'more co-operation' and talk about 'the return of the realists' to the foreign policy table didn't last long. December 2006 saw a brief potential reassessment and new approach to Iraq. Jointly chaired by a Bush senior family friend and counsellor, the former Republican Secretary of State James Baker, and former Indiana Congressman Lee Hamilton, the Iraq Study Group's conclusions bluntly denied more than three years of Bush Government spin on Iraq. In the face of the Bush insistence on 'staying the course', the report sees the situation in Iraq as 'grave and deteriorating'; 'violence is increasing in scope and lethality'; '[it] could trigger the collapse of Iraq's Government and a humanitarian catastrophe'; 'neighbouring countries could intervene'; 'al-Qaeda could win a propaganda victory and expand its base of operations'; and, far from being under control, 'The challenges are daunting. There will be difficult days ahead.'

In short, the Report concluded not only that the ability of the US to influence events was diminishing but that the current American strategy was simply unworkable. The Report appeared to offer a plan to withdraw creatively - open diplomacy with Iraqi neighbours like Syria and Iran and ask for their good offices, train more Iraqis more rapidly, set deadlines for the Iraqi Government to meet targets permitting phased American withdrawal - with the least possible ill-consequences. Michael Cordesman was scathing: 'It comes far too close to having the US threaten to take its ball and go home if the Iraqi children do not play the game our way.' Again Bush said he would 'consider all options', but soon reverted to form. With the ever loyal British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, at his side, his 'truthiness' prevailing over both plain facts and commonsense, he pronounced: 'I ... believe we're going to succeed. I believe we'll prevail ... '

Symbolic of the whole US-generated mess in Iraq is the new US embassy being built in Baghdad, on a prime 25-hectare site in the heart of the Green Zone which was a 'gift' from the Iraqi Government. The 21-building complex, including a sports centre, beauty parlour and swimming pool, and six residential blocks each containing more than 600 apartments, will

serve more than 3500 diplomatic and support staff. Dubbed 'George W.'s palace' by the Iraqis, it is being constructed entirely by foreign workers. Despite the plight of ordinary Iraqis, all services for the biggest embassy in the world will be self-contained and operate independently from the ramshackle utilities of Baghdad. Lights, power, flushing toilets, hot and cold running water, all the amenities of a Washington suburb will be laid on. Scheduled for completion in June 2007, this is the only US reconstruction project in Iraq that is on track. Costing more than \$US600 million the fortress is bigger than the Vatican. It dwarfs the edifices of Saddam's wildest dreams; it isn't hard to guess what ordinary Iraqis think of it. And if the five metre-thick perimeter wall doesn't keep the Iraqis at bay, then the built-in surface-to-air missile station should.

In his latest flourish of 'truthiness' Bush announced a 22,000 troop 'surge' in early 2007 (not to be confused with an 'increase') designed once more to gain control of the streets of Baghdad, hand over to Iraqi forces, and commence a 'phased withdrawal' (not to be confused with a 'retreat'). US Army commanders are reluctant, the Iraqi Government is lukewarm, Iraqi willingness to confront the Shi-ite militias and not just Sunni insurgents is doubtful, and genuine long-term Iraqi army and police support is problematic. In short, this Iraqi phase of the 'war on terrorism' will almost certainly continue to bring death to the Iraqi people, disintegration to the Iraqi state, recruits to terrorist groups and great discredit to the US and their allies.

The Israel-Palestine Conflict

The Israel-Palestine conflict, although it has a long history of war and terrorism, entrenched prejudices, extremism and provocation on both sides, has been exacerbated by the policies and strategies of the 'war on terrorism'. The branding of Yasser Arafat as a 'terrorist' after September 11, 2001 was used to justify refusal to negotiate and resort to even harsher treatment of the occupied Palestinians. Labelling opponents as 'terrorists' permitted the use of terrorist violence in response and refusal to address legitimate grievances. When these tactics provoked 'intifada' and suicide bombings, the 'war on terrorism' justified disproportionate retaliation, and the cycle of mutual retaliatory violence became almost perpetual.

The Hamas victory in the Palestinian elections in late January 2006 - they won 76 out of 132 seats in an open, democratic process - posed serious questions for Hamas, Israel and the rest of the world. Already designated a terrorist organisation by Israel, the US and (under pressure) the European Union, Hamas was refused recognition and found both its legitimate sources of revenue and its foreign aid cut off by these same states. A 'scare' campaign about Sharia law, suicide bombings and an 'existential threat' to Israel was launched. All this largely ignored Hamas's political legitimacy, the secular Palestinian constitution, and the need for further compromise for Hamas to work with other politicians and officials and Fatah-based Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas to form a government. It also ignored the history of the conflict, which showed that terrorist leaders and organisations like Menachem Begin and Irgun, and Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, had successfully transformed themselves in propitious circumstances from bombing and violence to politics and negotiation.

The Israeli elections in early April produced the expected win by new Kadima leader Ehud Olmert, but with only 29 of the 120 seats in the Knesset and the need to incorporate several other parties in a coalition government, his election promises of partial 'disengagement' and negotiation over borders were immediately weakened. With Hamas in power, and unwilling yet to formally accept Israel's right to exist, Olmert soon reverted to the 'tough' policy of simply annexing land, drawing up 'permanent' borders and imposing them unilaterally. Neither side, without substantial external pressure, would make the first move. The new Hamas speaker of the Palestinian parliament put it bluntly: 'Why should we recognise Israel,

when Israel won't recognise our existence?' Although Hamas continued to observe a 14-month ceasefire with Israel, terrorism from both sides continued. During Israeli artillery fire into Gaza in June in response to Palestinian rocket attacks, an explosion on a Gaza beach slaughtered several members of a family having a picnic. The Israeli Defence Forces investigated and exonerated themselves, while an American ordnance expert with Human Rights Watch investigating the next day said it was indisputable that the explosive was a recently fired artillery shell. Hamas's military wing abandoned the ceasefire with Israel.

The extent to which terrorism is now openly practiced by Israel and its opponents was illustrated during July and August 2006. In response to the kidnapping of an Israeli soldier, the Gaza Strip, home to 1.4 million Palestinians, was subjected to a ferocious land and air onslaught. This destroyed Gaza's central power plant, blacking out hospitals and homes, wrecked three bridges and several roads, captured Gaza airport, and subjected Gaza residents to incessant sonic booms from F-16 warplanes. The demands behind the kidnapping for negotiations over 'prisoners exchange', involving some of the more than 9,000 Palestinians in Israeli jails, was ignored in favour of 'sending a tough message'. Elected Hamas politicians were 'arrested' and locked up. Both sides became even more entrenched.

This pattern was to be repeated on a massive scale in succeeding weeks, following an attack and kidnapping of two more Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah, the Shi-ite fundamentalist group operating out of their bases in southern Lebanon. As the world watched in dismay and protested in vain, and the US supplied munitions and prevented any international action to halt or even limit the carnage, Israel over 34 days blasted roads, bridges, factories, public buildings, residential blocks, airports, oil refineries, an occupied UN observation post and convoys of fleeing civilians, as well as some Hezbollah targets, throughout the whole of Lebanon and its capital, Beirut. Blockades on seaports prevented refugees leaving and aid arriving. Billions of dollars of damage to Lebanese infrastructure was done, and over a thousand Lebanese, mostly civilians, were killed and many more injured. Meanwhile, Hezbollah on a daily basis fired large numbers of crude rockets further and further into northern Israel, aiming at both civilian and military targets, killing 43 Israeli civilians, and a larger number of military personnel. Hundreds of thousands of Israelis were forced to flee beyond range.

At the very end of the conflict, Israel dropped large numbers of US-supplied cluster bombs in southern Lebanon. The UN's Undersecretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan Egeland, told a news briefing: 'What's shocking and, I would say, to me completely immoral, is that 90% of the cluster bomb strikes occurred in the last 72 hours of the conflict, when we knew there would be a resolution.' The cluster bombs used in the war had an unusually high failure rate, possibly because they were old, he said. Usually 10% to 15% of the bomblets fail to explode immediately, but research has estimated that up to 70% of the Israeli bomblets failed to explode. They would constitute a danger, and would cause casualties, in large areas of Southern Lebanon for years to come. Events since then show Egeland was right; civilians are continuing to be killed and injured.

In a report released in mid-September, Amnesty International accused Hezbollah of committing war crimes by deliberately failing to distinguish between civilian and military targets, and of wrongfully seeking to justify its barrage by claiming to be retaliating for Israel's attacks on Lebanese civilians. Amnesty and several other human rights groups also accused Israel of committing war crimes with an air and artillery bombardment which Amnesty says killed 'some 1000' Lebanese civilians. Amnesty's Report stated:

The fact that Israel in its attacks in Lebanon also committed violations of international humanitarian law amounting to war crimes, including indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks, is not an acceptable justification for Hezbollah violating the rules of war, whether as a deterrent or as a means of retaliation or retribution.

It called on the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, to set up an international investigation into the conduct of both sides in the conflict.

By and large the Gaza and Lebanon conflicts benefited no-one. Israel failed to 're-establish deterrence' and military dominance of the region, Lebanon's fragile democracy was imperilled, the international reputation of the US and Israel plunged further, the 'road map' is going nowhere, Hezbollah survived (though its leader admitted they had 'miscalculated') and began to win support with reconstruction funds from Iran and Syria and began to flex its political muscle, and even fairly moderate Hamas politicians have been driven further under the influence of Iran, Syria and other suppliers of funds and support. The 40th anniversary of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land comes up in June 2007. United Nations figures show that two-thirds of Palestinians live below the poverty line and one family in two is 'food insecure'. Last week Prime Minister Olmert authorised the shifting of Israel's 600 kilometre-long separation barrier - denounced as a land-grab by Palestinians and ruled illegal by the International Court of Justice at The Hague - a further 5 kilometres deeper into the West Bank.

The New Cold War

The 'war on terrorism' has similar ramifications in many other conflict zones, from Chechnya to Darfur and the Philippines. In short, the 'war on terrorism' repeats and aggravates the worst features of the old Cold War. These include:

- widespread labelling and demonising, sending of aggressive 'signals' and 'messages', the rhetoric of good and evil, friends and enemies, and so on, and the gross simplifications and deceptions of jargon such as 'axis of evil', 'other rogue states' 'shock and awe', 'collateral damage', and 'stress and duress';
- inflated military budgets, and reduced care for domestic issues - in February 2007 Bush sent to Congress a massive budget proposing a sharp increase in funds for the Iraq war, making the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts to the wealthy permanent, and reduced funding for health-care schemes for the elderly and for the poor;
- political justification of violence, including torture and terrorism, to defend 'core values' and the 'national interest';
- the curbing of freedom of speech and access to information, attacks on critics as traitors, the collusion of governments and the media in inflaming feelings and heightening tension, and promotion of rampant 'politics by propaganda' rather than rational debate, all undermining the foundations of critical democracy, and generating what Canadian sociologist David Lyon called 'cultures of fear, control, suspicion and secrecy';
- curbing of civil liberties and human rights, the passing of 'patriot' acts and anti-terrorism laws, undermining the very civil, legal and moral values supposedly being defended;
- the creation of a widespread 'culture of acceptable violence', which is enormously counter-productive, particularly in terms of the alienation of potential supporters and the creation of more terrorists. Iraq is an appalling example of this phenomenon. This 'culture of violence' includes: reliance on weak intelligence and political manipulation of outcomes to justify military aggression; general ignorance of, and/or deliberate evasion of, Geneva Conventions and other international rules for the conduct of war and treatment of prisoners; lax targeting guidelines and rules of engagement, particularly in relation to the handling of 'suspect' civilians, trigger-happy responses to situations at check-points, crowd events, and weddings; poor leadership in the field, facilitating excesses and atrocities; and the use of ill-trained and poorly supervised 'civilian contractors' in obviously sensitive situations such as the handling of prisoners and their

- 'preparation' for interrogation, promoting systematic cultural and religious degradation;
- finally, conduct of the 'war on terrorism' by means which severely undermine international institutions, most notably the Security Council and inspectorates of United Nations.

Two particular aspects of this list of deleterious consequences of the 'war on terrorism' deserve brief iteration. First, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the current policies are utterly counter-productive. In late April 2006 the US State Department's annual report on global terrorism listed 11,111 attacks that caused 14,602 deaths in 2005, showing a sharp increase on previous State Department reports, which cited 208 terrorist attacks that caused 625 deaths in 2003, and 3168 attacks that caused 1907 deaths and 6704 injuries in 2004. A large part of the increase arose from the use of a more inclusive definition of what constituted a terrorist attack and the inclusion of attacks within Iraq, which in previous years were largely excluded. At least 30 per cent of all terrorist incidents in 2005 occurred in Iraq, as did 55 per cent of related fatalities, involving about 8300 people. In short, the Report made it plain that the number of reported terrorist incidents and deaths has increased exponentially in the years since the US invaded Iraq, largely because of the Iraq war itself. This assessment was reinforced in September 2006 by a classified National Intelligence Estimate titled 'Trends in Global Terrorism: Implications for the United States', incorporating the views of 16 spy services within the Government. It found that the American-led invasion and occupation of Iraq has helped spawn a new generation of Islamic radicalism and that the overall terrorist threat has grown and spread across the globe since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. The pattern of terrorism since 2003 also shows clearly that participation in the occupation of Iraq has increased both the actual and potential amounts of terrorism aimed at these participants.

Secondly, the methods by which the 'war on terrorism' is being waged have severely damaged the moral credibility and international reputations of the leading participants. In particular, routine daily practices in prisons like Abu Ghraib, Bagram and Guantanamo Bay (not to mention secret CIA black sites in Thailand, Europe and elsewhere, and the prisons of complicit allies), widespread 'rendition' of captives around the globe throughout this 'gulag', and routine coercive 'preparation' and 'interrogation' techniques, reveal a blatant disregard for international law and fundamental human rights. Michael Otterman, in *American Torture: from the Cold War to Abu Ghraib and Beyond* (MUP, 2007), reveals the origins, historical development and application of torture techniques by the American military and the CIA since the 1940s, the euphemisms with which these practices are described in the training manuals, and the legal sophistry which shields the perpetrators and their political masters. He concludes that torture, apart from its illegality and immorality, is self-defeating, unnecessary, does not reveal reliable information and corrupts its users.

The arbitrary inhumanity of the 'rendition' process was exposed in mid-2006 by the case of Mr Arar, a Syrian-born Canadian computer engineer, seized by US authorities acting on inaccurate intelligence from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police after he landed in New York on his way home from a holiday in Tunisia. The US flew him in a government aircraft to Jordan, then transported him to Syria, where he was jailed for a year and tortured, and finally released. After a two-and-a-half year inquiry a Canadian Commission cleared both Mr Arar and his wife of all security suspicions, criticised both the Canadian Government and the RCMP, and recommended compensation. Eventually, the Canadian Government apologised abjectly and paid up. The US Government refused to co-operate in the inquiry.

Guantanamo and Hicks

The US prison at Guantanamo Bay has become the single most significant example of the unacceptable core of the 'war on terrorism'. In May 2006 the British Attorney-General, Lord

Peter Goldsmith, branded Guantanamo an 'injustice'. He acknowledged the need to balance the limitation of individual rights and collective security, but added:

There are certain principles on which there can be no compromise. Fair trial is one of those - which is the reason we in the UK were unable to accept that the US military tribunals proposed for those detained at Guantanamo Bay offered sufficient guarantees of a fair trial.

Consequently, Lord Goldsmith had obtained the release and repatriation of the nine British nationals held at the prison. As to the prison itself, Goldsmith was blunt: 'The existence of Guantanamo Bay remains unacceptable. It is time, in my view, that it should close.' He also said. 'The historic tradition of the United States as a beacon of freedom, liberty and of justice deserves the removal of this symbol.' Given this approach, it was hardly surprising that David Hicks applied for British citizenship, successfully, until the British Government overturned the decision. The Howard Government's servile acceptance of both Guantanamo and US military 'justice' has become an ineradicable blot on its record.

Reputedly even 'worse' than Guantanamo is Bagram, a cavernous former machine shop on a US air base 65 kilometres north of Kabul, where 'enemy combatants', some incarcerated by February 2006 for more than three years, have no access to lawyers, and no right even to hear the allegations against them. The US military's chief spokesman in Afghanistan at the time, Colonel James Yonts, refused to discuss prison conditions, other than to say repeatedly that his command was 'committed to treating detainees humanely ... in accordance with the principles of the Geneva Conventions'. Even if that was true - no international human rights organisation has ever had access - it wouldn't mean much. President Reagan signed the 1984 UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment in 1988, but when it was finally ratified by Congress under President Clinton six years later, it incorporated 19 'reservations', 'understandings' and 'declarations' created by the US Department of Justice. They dealt with key components such as the definition of torture, treatment and punishment, the level of culpable intent, the scope and duration of the treatment, and the sending of suspects to other states. They 'legalised' the current psychologically-devised torture practices based on the three Ds - 'debility, dependency and dread' - and, as intended, severely limited America's commitment to the Convention. Since 2001 this position has been further eroded by Bush Government legal officers and department administrators, not to mention secret directives and activities.

In Australia, David Hicks is a key symbol and victim of the 'war on terrorism'. In August 2006, the American Government circulated the draft of the new Enemy Combatant Military Commissions Act under which to try selected inmates of Guantanamo Bay, to replace the unconstitutional version struck down by the US Supreme Court decision in the Hamdan case. Howard, Downer and Ruddock went into another round of incantations and mummery. As Richard Ackland commented:

Like the three witches from Macbeth, Messrs Howard, Downer and Ruddock have been issuing prophetic and repetitive chants designed to lull and confound us. It goes like this: These are serious charges against David Hicks, citizen of Australia and Guantanamo Bay. David Hicks is to have a fair trial. We have always said we want David Hicks to be brought to trial speedily.

The tireless trio are quite willing to accept obvious contradictions and injustices. Hicks can't be tried in Australia, because he committed no offence against any existing law, and they oppose retrospective laws; but they are willing to let him be tried under retrospective American law by military tribunal at Guantanamo Bay. One of the proposed charges, 'material support for terrorism', was not a criminal offence until the US Military Commissions Act of 2006 made it one. Moreover, the revised 'trial' process permits both hearsay evidence and evidence obtained by coercion, as well as preventing appeal to any proper judicial authority. Howard claims Hicks has been 'charged' ahead of his bravely set 'deadline', but charges have only been 'drafted', and do not become official until the head of the tribunal certifies them. When this will happen is not quite clear. Howard has recently admitted that he possesses the

'power' to bring Hicks home if he so wished, but stated that he had no such intention. Of course, should opinion polls indicate a few votes to be gained ahead of a tight election, Howard's usual elevation of political expediency over principle or morality will prevail.

The role of the current Attorney-General, Philip Ruddock, deserves particular condemnation. According to its official web site 'The mission of the Attorney-General's Department is achieving a just and secure society.' Further, the Australian Government Attorney-General's Department provides legal and policy information on:

- domestic human rights matters
- anti-discrimination legislation, and
- implementation of international human rights obligations.

The Department might provide advice; its Minister certainly doesn't support these objectives in practice. Ruddock's pronouncements are economical with truth and impoverished when it comes to morality and international human rights. To his credit, the Labor leader, Kevin Rudd, said: 'I have never been a defender of Mr Hicks; I have been a consistent defender of Mr Hicks's legal rights and his human rights, and this US military commission is itself a travesty of justice.'

In conclusion, and at the risk of being repetitive: all those whose purpose is to promote human rights and peace with justice need to be fully aware of the all-pervasive consequences of the 'war on terrorism'. It is a powerful political invention which is being used to manipulate and distort public policy and debate, and to warp international relations. Despite being destructive, corrupting, divisive and counter-productive, it is largely self-fulfilling. Violence begets violence; terrorism begets terrorism. Its character and consequences need to be exposed and opposed.

Director's Report

Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees AM – Director

The beginning of the year 2006 saw abortive attempts to appoint my successor and the launching in *Gleebooks* of Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick's invaluable new book, *Peace Journalism*. There must have been a crystal ball quality to that book launch. The year ended with the significant appointment of Jake Lynch, an Associate Professor in Peace and Conflict Studies and as the Centre's new Director effective January 2007. In between those developments five trends continued to give character to CPACS' activities: (i) the continuation of high standard teaching and research; (ii) the sustaining of advocacy projects and the seminar programme; (iii) awards for peace with justice; (iv) action research achievements; and (v) new staff appointments. Following brief commentary on these five trends I'll take the liberty of reflecting on CPACS future.

(i) Teaching

As Coordinator of post graduate teaching Wendy Lambourne maintained an inimitable commitment to students' welfare, intellectual progress and personal development. In the second semester Wendy took a well earned sabbatical to pursue her own valuable work on issues of reconciliation in Rwanda and elsewhere. In a crowded second semester Lynda Blanchard took responsibility for teaching the core class and did so with her usual flair. Genevieve Souillac began her two post graduate classes but owing to tragic personal circumstances had to travel to London and was replaced by CPACS' versatile and selfless elder statesman, Ken Macnab. Ken's personal qualities as a citizen and as a colleague – making commitments without counting the cost, doggedly pursuing goals which he regards as likely to produce collective benefit – have been an abiding feature of my friendship with him.

These qualities also highlight values which CPACS should always pursue. Elsewhere in this report we identify the postgraduate dissertations which were completed in 2006. The diversity of topics and the standards reached by students reflect not only the international significance of peace and conflict studies but also the workload involved in marking such work. Ken and I finished the year weary yet rewarded after marking a swag of dissertations.

(ii) Seminars and Advocacy

CPACS' seminar programme addressed the significant spiritual, political and educational challenges inherent in any attempts to attain peace with justice. This AGM Report's separate list of speakers and topics perhaps only hints at the pursuit of our joint education and advocacy goals. In cliché terms, 'You can't have one without the other.' Students' presentations of their own research provided a feast of topics plus the opportunities to confront such joint goals. My thanks to our student colleagues Leona Kieran and Stephanie Chiu who organised this invaluable program.

International speakers who drew capacity audiences included Zaki Chehab, a distinguished Palestinian journalist with *Al Hayyat* and *The Times* of London. Zaki spoke in late February about 'Iraq Ablaze' and the absurdity of US claims that Iraqi inhabitants of their own cities could be dubbed 'insurgents'. In May in a crowded Seymour Centre, the courageous Cindy Sheehan, mother of a young soldier killed in Iraq, spoke of her motives in opposing President Bush's disastrous Iraq war and the personal costs involved in taking such a stand. This brave woman was joined on stage by Dr. Salaam Ismael a leader of *Doctors for Iraq Society*. In an echo of Cindy Sheehan's pleas, the American author Anthony Arnove spoke in October of 'The Logic of Withdrawal from Iraq.' Anthony identified the similarities between the Vietnam carnage and the pointless casualties in Baghdad and beyond.

Perhaps the saddest and most compelling seminar of the year occurred on September 20th when Clemens Revnery and Willem Zongannau spoke of 'The Future of West Papua'. As young campaigners for justice for their people, in 1969 Clemens and Willem had been on their way to the UN in New York to protest the fraudulent nature of that year's Act of Free Choice which enabled Indonesia to annex resource rich West Papua. Australian officials took Clemens and Willem from the plane, dumped them on Manus Island and together with the USA and the UN colluded with Indonesia's illegal invasion and acquisition. This event is one of the most shameful events in the annals of the UN, a sadness compounded for us when five days after his optimistic presentation about his country's future, Willem dropped dead. In his last few days in Sydney he and Clemens had been given characteristic hospitality and support by indefatigable supporters of West Papua Dr. Anne Noonan and Jo Collins.

(iii) Awards for Peace with Justice

CPACS' long time counsellor and inspiration, Dr. Stella Cornelius, has often emphasized the value of recognizing people who work for peace but who may be relatively unknown outside their own circles and country. We are now following Stella's ideas and this year rewarded two of Australia's great campaigners for disarmament, Hannah Middleton and Denis Doherty. Stella presented Hannah and Denis with an original oil painting of the dropping of the first atomic bomb, albeit a work of art which also displayed messages about non violence, from which the world may learn. At the same ceremony, held in our Posters for Peace gallery, students and staff from Cabramatta High School witnessed the official hanging of their paintings of peace, their gifts in response to the 2005 Peace Prize recipient, Olara Otunnu's visit to Cabramatta in November 2005.

(iv) Action Research and Publications

2006 saw the publication of the Sage Company's book of edited chapters called *Peace Studies for the Chinese Century*. The book's range of articles, which depict the interest and opportunity to promote peace studies within China, includes my analysis of the creation and development of our Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies. Chinese students and staff have shown considerable interest in our experiences of building and sustaining such a Centre in an old university in a large city.

CPACS continues to be a committed partner with the New York based international project known as *Global Action to Prevent War* (GAPW). Following a week of my participation in deliberations at the University of British Columbia in June, a GAPW priority continues to be the creation of a permanent *United Nations Emergency Peace Service* (UNEPS), in which the emphasis would be on service not force, on conflict prevention rather than peace keeping. To this end an ex-CPACS, ex-Columbia University graduate Annie Herro's very productive research resulted in a significant article in the on-line magazine *New Matilda* which focussed on the application of UNEPS to the ongoing crises of governance in East Timor and in the Solomon Islands. A subsequent ABC Radio *Perspective* programme, in which Annie was the narrator, discussed the relevance of UNEPS as a means of preventing further genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan. Earlier in the year my own ten days in the Occupied Territories and in Israel gave me the data and the motivation to produce an (April 26th) article for *New Matilda* headed 'Anti Semitism and Palestinian Liberation'. The achievement of justice for the Palestinians remains perhaps the world's biggest political and moral challenge. The use of the charge of anti-Semitism to stifle even modest questions about the Israeli Government's non adherence to UN Resolutions persists as the huge obstacle to our hearing the truths – not any one 'truth' – about the Israel/Palestinian conflict.

A continued injustice, distinguished by the Australian Government's cruelty and cowardice, concerns the five year incarceration of David Hicks in Guantanamo Bay without being charged, without being brought to trial, in flagrant violation of international law. CPACS, through the efforts of post graduate student Cecil Sarin, created a website which provides information about the Hicks imprisonment, much of it in solitary confinement, and pleads for a semblance of justice in his case. In similar vein the 2006 recipient of the Sydney Peace Prize, Amnesty International's Secretary General Irene Khan wrote an *Open Letter to the Prime Minister* entitled *Bring David Hicks Home*. This letter was published on 26th October in major Australian newspapers. As elaborated elsewhere, Mick Otterman, former student and current Visiting Scholar at CPACS, had his book *American Torture* published by MUP in early 2007.

(v) Staffing

The coherence and efficiency of CPACS work depends in large part on the imagination and professionalism of our Administrative Officer. Until early in the year Reign Haub was the colleague who handled the myriad of student, staff and general public enquiries and requests. She did so with characteristic tenacity and sardonic humour. On Reign's departure for new adventures in London, three post graduate students – April, Jolene and Bianca – filled the gap and did so very effectively. They were rewarded with a traditional lunch time visit to the fish markets. Later in the year, following what seemed like an avalanche of applications for the position, we appointed Coral Hauenstein as the new Administrative Officer. In addition to her significant years of work with *Amnesty International*, Coral has recently finished a Master of Arts degree in Islamic Studies at the University of New England. Coral's arrival also sees a re-ordering of administrative responsibilities: in addition to her role as editor of the quarterly newsletter *PeaceWrites*, Coral will assume responsibility for CPACS Membership. For the past few years, as long as I can remember, Abe Quadan has carried out these Membership Secretary tasks albeit as a volunteer and parallel with his other jobs. I express my sincere

thanks to Abe for the never-with-a-fuss, never-with-a-rush way in which he has carried out this important role. Other colleagues who merit mention in these comments about staffing include all colleagues on the CPACS Council, though I want to make special reference to Peggy Craddock and Paul Clark. Peggy, our 'Principal Librarian' is about to be rewarded with another shift to a larger library facility, this time the space known as the Oval Office soon to be named the *Peggy Craddock Resource Centre*. Paul, who is now working full time as a child care practitioner with the NSW Department of Community Services, has given sterling service to numerous features of CPACS work including the deliberations of the day to day management committee the 'kitchen cabinet'; and 2006 was also significant in seeing the successful completion of his Masters' Thesis.

Reflections on the Future

During 2006 the university opened an enquiry into the place and role of the social sciences within and across Faculties. On behalf of the Centre I wrote a submission which stressed three points about our record and our attitude to social science teaching and research:

- (i) The interdisciplinary nature of peace studies makes it imperative to be cosmopolitan in our interests and contacts.
- (ii) Although research and teaching have to be conducted to the highest possible standards, we cannot pretend neutrality. Our ideological stance – for example against all forms of direct and indirect violence, against the notion that universities are places of business and students merely commodities – has to be exposed and tested.
- (iii) We have to have the courage of our convictions, hence the need to take social and political action in relation to peace with justice issues. I feel certain that the Centre's new leadership will embrace those values and that CPACS will continue to be not only a first port of call for individuals and groups who seek our support but also a powerful means of advocacy, in print, on radio and television and on the streets.

Next year will be the 10th anniversary of the *Sydney Peace Foundation*. Given the interdependence of this Centre and the Foundation, each will be a catalyst for the other. 2008 will mark the official 20th anniversary of the creation of this Centre and already there are murmurings about the organization of a significant international conference to mark the completion of those twenty years. I have used the word 'official' about the Centre's birth because the vision of a place to study peace in an atmosphere of quiet stimulation, of fun and enjoyable forms of encouragement had existed in my electric typewriter long before we acquired the inimitable ground floor of the Mackie Building. The late Gordon Rodley was one of my comrades in those days. Gordon would be happy if I finished my final report as Director with a couple of visions derived from poetry, both from that inimitable observer William Shakespeare. For example, in Act Two, Scene One of *Henry V*, the King observes,

*In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
.....
Disguise fair nature with hard favoured rage.*

In Act Four of the *Merchant of Venice*, Portia questions people's obsession with punishment. She stresses that the compassion for forgiveness benefits everyone.

*The quality of mercy is not strained,
it droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
upon the place beneath: it is twice bless'd.
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes.*

Peace and Conflict Studies Academic Program

Dr Ken Macnab, Acting Coordinator Semester 2

Dr Wendy Lambourne, Lecturer and Coordinator

Staffing

At the start of 2006, in recognition of the achievements of the Peace and Conflict Studies programme over the past three years, Dr Wendy Lambourne's position was converted to a continuing academic appointment in the Faculty of Arts. For the first half of 2006 Dr Lambourne continued to be Coordinator of the academic program in Peace and Conflict Studies, with the administrative support of Ms Reign Haub and others. In second semester Dr Lambourne went overseas on well merited special studies leave to focus on her research and writing. I stood in as Acting Coordinator until Wendy's return in February 2007.

Peace and Conflict Studies continued to be financially supported by the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry and the Faculty of Arts to employ part-time lecturers to co-ordinate units of study and supervise dissertations: Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, Mr Jake Lynch, Dr Ken Macnab, Ms Annabel McGoldrick, Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, and Dr Geneviève Souillac. Other attached scholars, including Dr Hazel Lang and Emeritus Professor Garry Trompf, also contributed. Congratulations and thanks to all for the standard of teaching, supervision and support provided to students in 2006.

Unfortunately, Dr Souillac was called overseas half-way through second semester by a family crisis, and was not able to return. I became co-ordinator of her two units and completed the planned programme with Dr Souillac's assistance by post and email and impressive response from the students. In 2007 Dr Souillac will take up a visiting fellowship with the Hiroshima Peace Institute followed by a full-time academic appointment as Associate Professor in International Relations at the ICU (International Christian University) in Japan. We congratulate Dr Souillac on her success with this appointment and will miss her contribution.

Further financial support from the Pro Vice-Chancellor of our College (since replaced by the University Provost) has resulted in strengthening the staffing of the Peace and Conflict Studies programme with the appointment of Associate Professor Jake Lynch, on a three-year contract from 2007-2009. Associate Professor Lynch is already well known in CPACS as co-coordinator with Annabel McGoldrick of the highly successful Summer School unit on Conflict-Resolving Media and their jointly authored book, *Peace Journalism* (Hawthorn Press, 2005), which was launched in Australia in February 2006.

The pool of expertise available to PACS students will be further enhanced with the appointment of Dr Erik Paul (who is also a member of the Council and Executive Committee of CPACS) as an Honorary Senior Lecturer. Dr Paul worked in Sociology at Macquarie University for 25 years, lecturing on development, geopolitics and Southeast Asia. His most recent publication is titled *Little America: Australia, the 51st State* (Pluto Press, 2006)

Units of Study

In 2006, CPACS continued to offer 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 three electives were offered each semester, as well as two Summer School units and one Winter School unit.

Summer School

PACS 6914 Conflict-Resolving Media
 Jake Lynch & Annabel McGoldrick

PACS 6915 Human Rights, Peace and Justice
Dr Geneviève Souillac

Semester 1

PACS6904/6905 & PACS6919/6920 Dissertation and Treatise Seminars

Dr Wendy Lambourne & Dr Ken Macnab

PACS 6911 Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies
Dr Wendy Lambourne & Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard

PACS 6902 Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation
Dr Wendy Lambourne & Dr Paul Dwyer

PACS 6909 Cultures of Violence
Dr Ken Macnab

PACS 6901 United Nations and International Conflict Resolution
Dr Wendy Lambourne

Winter School

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

Semester 2

PACS6904/6905 & PACS6919/6920 Dissertation and Treatise Seminars

Dr Wendy Lambourne & Dr Ken Macnab

PACS 6911 Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies
Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard

PACS 6918 History and Philosophy of Peace and Conflict
Dr Geneviève Souillac & Dr Ken Macnab

PACS 6907 Gender and the Development of Peace
Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard

PACS 6917 Religion, War and Peace
Dr Geneviève Souillac & Dr Ken Macnab

A successful collaboration between Dr Lambourne and Dr Paul Dwyer of the Department of Performance Studies enabled a fruitful cross-disciplinary input to the unit PACS6902 Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation. Guest lecturers with appropriate research specialisation and practical experience were a highly valued feature of a number of PACS units in 2006. In PACS6901 The United Nations and International Conflict Resolution, for example, guest lecturers included former UNSCOM Senior Weapons Inspector in Iraq, Rod Barton; former UNTAET Deputy Force Commander in East Timor, Major General Michael Smith; former Public Affairs Adviser with UNMIK in Kosovo, Whit Mason; and former United Nations Association of Australia president and UN reform advocate, Dr Keith Suter.

Student Enrolments and Achievements

During 2006, enrolments in the postgraduate coursework programme in Peace and Conflict Studies increased significantly from the previous year's decline, and remained amongst the highest in the Faculty of Arts. The 11 coursework units offered had a combined total of 196 enrolments, the largest being Conflict-Resolving Media with 29, with most of the others having 18 students or more. Contributing to these numbers were students on exchange programs and those taking one or more PACS units as part of their postgraduate degrees in Development Studies, Policy Studies, Media Practice, Strategic Public Relations, Cross-cultural Communication, Liberal Studies, Studies in Religion and Gender Studies. Cross-institutional and other external enrolments in PACS units were also significant, especially in Summer and Winter School. Enrolments in the Dissertation (which equates to 2 units in the Masters) and Treatise (which equates to 4 units in the Master of Letters) also increased over 2005.

As in previous years, over a third of these enrolments were by international students, coming from a wide variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, in various parts of Africa, Asia, Europe, North and South America, the Middle East, Australasia and the Pacific.

A significant source of enrolment was from students upgrading their degrees during the year, from Graduate Certificate to Graduate Diploma, Graduate Diploma to Master of Peace and Conflict Studies, and Master of Peace and Conflict Studies to Master of Letters.

It is worth emphasising that among our students, the Faculty of Arts and the University in general, the Peace and Conflict Studies programme has a high reputation as a cohesive and challenging scholarly discipline, taught by qualified and experienced academics in a Centre which also provides a significant extra-curricular environment and the opportunity to develop a distinctive group identity.

In 2006, students contributed articles to *PeaceWrites* and participated in a variety of other CPACS and SPF projects and activities as volunteers and part-time employees. This included invaluable office and administrative assistance provided by April Culley, Jolene Cramer and Bianca Birdsall during the period between Reign Haub's departure and Coral Hauenstein's commencement as the Centre's Administrative Officer. Also significant was the contribution of CPACS Council student representatives, Stephanie Chiu and Leona Kieran, who organised a public seminar series in second semester that showcased the peacebuilding work of our students and graduates.

Fourteen PACS students, a student from the Department of Psychology and two friends of CPACS participated in a Mediation and Communication Skills full-day training practice workshop facilitated by Abe Quadan and Paul Clark in May 2006. Such workshops, organised by the Centre's affiliate, Conflict Solutions Australia, provide a valuable extra-curricular opportunity for our students to enhance their practical conflict resolution and peacebuilding skills.

Also in 2006, Dr Lynda Blanchard initiated a peace education and cultural exchange proposal for a partnership arrangement with Soka University, Japan which aims to: (i) increase opportunities for international students to learn about the PACS program and; (ii) formalise the prospect of postgraduate research exchange agreements between the two universities.

The option of researching and writing Dissertations and Treatises on topics of great import and current relevance is a distinctive feature of the PACS programme, is embraced by the vast majority of our students, and produces impressive scholarly outcomes.

Dissertations submitted for the Master of Peace and Conflict Studies in 2006 included:

- Non violence in a Culture of Violence: The Case of Iraq - Aletia Dundas
- Birth of a New Nation or Delusions from the Past: Challenges to Achieving Egalitarian participation in Peacebuilding in Southern Sudan - Elizabeth Mueni Ngotho
- Islam and the US Media: *USA Today* and *The New York Times* Before and After the London Bombings - Stephanie Elliott
- Reconciliation in Timor-Leste: The Place of the Individual in the Timorese Reconciliation Process - Xavier Hennekine
- Saving the World: The active self in a self-less society - Amanda Armstrong
- Atrocity? What-ever. The Emotional Manipulation of the Mass Cruelty of Western Communities - Paul Clark
- Norway - A Good International Citizen? - Anja Agnethe Reiler

- The Grameen Bank: A Critical Analysis of Women's Empowerment - Jolene M. Cramer
- The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism in Zimbabwe and the Problem of International Intervention - April Culley
- Fox News and their Invasion of Iraq - Jason Oborski
- The Price of Peace: How a culture of consumerism erodes a culture of peace - Catherine Mary Jensen
- 'God-Speak': The Language of the Church and its Influence, especially in the Midst of Conflict, with reference to the Case of Bishop Belo in the East Timor Conflict of 1975-1999 - Robyn Richardson
- Colourbond: The media's role in race relations in a regional Australian community - Tracey Carpenter
- Palestinian Refugees in Beddawi Camp: Exploring Palestinianess - Fadia Sassine
- Humanitarian Interventions in Theory and Practice: The United States and the Crisis in Darfur - Eyal Mayroz
- From Bomb-Making to Policy-Making: The Transformation of Palestinian Terrorism to Politics, 1937-2006 - Daniel Jacobson

Treatises submitted for the Master of Letters (Peace and Conflict Studies) included:

- Telling the Story: Did reportage of the Australian reconciliation process do it justice? - Serena Tarling
- Codes of Ethics in Australian Business: Success or Failure? - Kathryn Logan
- Anatomy of a Riot Redfern 14-16 February 2004 - Jane Chesher
- Human Insecurities or Liabilities? The Changing Security Paradigm and the Case of the North Korean Refugees - Jaime Koh
- How youth perceive 'Peace' and how their perceptions influence peacebuilding in Bougainville - Yuko Miyazawa

An expanded text and selection of documents based on Mike Otterman's 30,000-word Master of Letters Treatise on American Torture, 1945-2005, submitted in December 2005, was published in February 2007 by Melbourne University Press, in conjunction with Pluto Press (London and Ann Arbor, Michigan), titled *American Torture*. This is a significant achievement. Mike continues to be a Visiting Scholar at CPACS and will spend much of 2007 promoting the book in Australia, Europe and America, with the assistance of Amnesty International.

Our first Master of Arts (Research) thesis was also submitted in 2006:

Play With Fire and You'll Get Burned: How Scarce Natural Resources may Internationalise Internal Wars: The Case of Sudan - Silje Gerhardsen

Other research students who commenced their degrees in 2006 included Daniel Bolotin and Nimalan Karthikeyan (DSocSci), Tom Nicholls (MPhil), and Daniel Jang and David Lacey (Master of Arts).

Our first six Master of Letters students graduated in 2006: Jane Chesher, Jaime Koh, Kathryn Logan, Yuko Miyazawa, Mike Otterman and Serena Tarling.

Eleven students graduated with a Master of Arts (Peace and Conflict Studies) in 2006: Daisuke Akimato, Amanda Armstrong, Paul Clark, Aletia Dundas, Stephanie Elliott, Xavier Hennekine, Catherine Jensen, Anastasia Mouhtaris, Elizabeth Ngotho, Anja Reiler and Octavian Sarbatoare.

One student, Julie Smith, graduated with a Graduate Diploma in Arts (Peace and Conflict Studies) in 2006.

Alumni News and Achievements

Dr Wendy Lambourne, Academic Coordinator

The following alumni updates illustrate some of the diverse range of career opportunities pursued by graduates of the CPACS postgraduate programme:

Kevin Chang (MA (PACS) 2002-3) continued working on reconciliation at the Office of Indigenous Policy Coordination in Canberra, before serving on UNHCR's emergency humanitarian mission in earthquake affected Kashmir, Pakistan. Kevin also completed a Graduate Diploma in International Law and a book chapter on Fiji's justice and reconciliation process to be published by East-West Center (Hawaii) and Cambridge Scholars Publishing in 2007.

As well as teaching in the PACS postgraduate program and continuing his counselling practice, Paul Clark (MA (PACS) 2006) has taken up a new position in child protection with the NSW Department of Community Services in Sydney.

After completing her Masters degree, Aletia Dundas (MA (PACS) 2006) was appointed Programme Assistant Disarmament and Peace in the Quaker United Nations Office in Geneva, Switzerland.

Sarah Elliott (MA (PACS) 2004) continued her work as a United Nations Protection Officer with a placement in East Timor in 2006. At the beginning of 2007 she takes up a new full-time position as Protection and UN Liaison Officer with Austcare based in Sydney.

Dagny Margrete Fosen (MA (PACS) 2002-3) worked at UNHCR in Canberra before serving on an emergency mission for UNHCR in earthquake affected Mansehra in Pakistan between March-May 2006. In the second half of 2006 Dagny commenced a new appointment as a Norwegian Junior Professional Officer working with UNICEF in Zambia.

Xavier Hennekinne (MA (PACS) 2006) continued working in human resource management with Austcare in Sydney in 2006. In early 2007 he will move to Manila to take up a new position with Community and Family Services International, an international humanitarian organisation based in the Philippines.

Mike Otterman (MLitt (PACS) 2006) was appointed as a Visiting Scholar with CPACS to work on turning his Master of Letters treatise 'Debility, Dependency and Dread: The Development, Deployment and Defence of American Torture, 1945-2005', into a book. The manuscript was accepted for publication by Melbourne University Press as *American Torture: From the Cold War to Abu Ghraib and Beyond*, 2007.

Mireille Widmer (MA (PACS) 2002) is Acting Project Manager, Human Security and Small Arms at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva, Switzerland. In 2006 Mireille was co-author of two papers published by CHD entitled 'Transitioning to Peace: Guns in Civilian Hands' and 'Civilians, Guns and Peace-Building: Approaches, Norms and Possibilities'.

Students who completed one or more cross-listed units in the PACS postgraduate program are also pursuing interesting careers relating to their study and extra-curricular experiences with the Centre. These include Erika Kano-Hosoyama (PACS6903 Peace and the Environment 2005) who secured a position in community liaison with the large Australian-based international consulting group, Orica, and Luke Fletcher (PACS6902 Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation and PACS6909 Cultures of Violence 2004) who was appointed

National Coordinator for Jubilee Australia, a non-government organisation working to support Third World debt relief. Luke's article 'Turning Interahamwe: Individual and Community Choices in the Rwandan Genocide' based on his Honours research (co-supervised between CPACS and the Department of History) will be published in the Journal of Genocide Research in 2007.

Publications, Presentations and Research

Dr Wendy Lambourne, Academic Coordinator

In 2006, CPACS graduates, staff and honorary associates conducted significant research, published books and articles, presented at local and international conferences, participated in roundtables and consultations, and contributed to media coverage of topical events affecting the human rights and peaceful conditions of people throughout the world.

Publications

As mentioned elsewhere in this report, CPACS lecturers Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick launched their book *Peace Journalism* in Sydney. Their other publications include: What's so great about Peace Journalism? an empirical content analysis of coverage in the UK press of the 'Iran nuclear crisis', *Global Media Journal* (Mediterranean Edition), May 2006; a short course in Peace Journalism, Conflict and Communication Online, accepted and reviewed and due for publication April 2007; Peace Journalism in the Philippines, 40-minute educational video; Peace Journalism chapter in the Routledge *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, due for publication shortly; a review of Language Wars, by Jeff Lewis, for the journal, *Social Semiotics*; a book authored jointly with Johan Galtung and Annabel McGoldrick, translated into Spanish - *Reporteando Conflictos*, published by M & S Editores, Mexico (271 pp)

MLitt graduate Michael Otterman completed editing his book, *American Torture*, for publication with Melbourne University Press.

Stuart Rees published a chapter 'Towards Peace with Justice: Developing a Peace Centre in Australia' in Alan Hunter (ed.), *Peace Studies in the Chinese Century: International Perspectives* (Ashgate Publishing, 2006).

Wendy Lambourne's book chapter on 'International Law and Peacebuilding' was published in Ustinia Dologopol & Judith Gardam (eds), *The Challenge of Conflict: International Law Responds* (Martinus Nijhoff, 2006). Wendy also completed her chapter on 'Justice After Genocide: The Rwandan Experiment with Gacaca Community Justice' for publication in the edited proceedings of a conference on 'Social Justice and Human Rights in the Era of Globalisation'.

Hazel Lang completed her chapter 'Freedom from Fear: Conflict, Displacement and Human Security in Burma' for a new book edited by Anthony Burke and Matthew McDonald, *Critical Security in the Asia-Pacific* (Manchester University Press, 2007). She also published an article for the Australian literary journal *Overland* (183, Winter 2006) on 'The Courage of Aung San Suu Kyi'.

Conferences and Roundtables

In February, Stuart Rees and Wendy Lambourne participated in a Roundtable organised by the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Conflict Resolution Network in Sydney with Bruce Jones and Elisabeth Cousens from New York on the topic of United Nations reform.

In June, Wendy Lambourne travelled to Calgary, Canada to present a paper on 'Justice and Reconciliation as Paths to Peacebuilding: Lessons from Rwanda and East Timor' for the

International Peace Research Association biennial conference. As Co-convenor of the IPRA Reconciliation Commission, she organised two panels of speakers for the conference. In August, Wendy presented a paper at the conference 'Social Justice and Human Rights in the Era of Globalisation: Between Rhetoric and Reality' in Leuven, Belgium.

In September, Hazel Lang made a presentation at the UNHCR Annual Consultations with NGOs in Geneva (usually referred to as UNHCR Pre-ExCom) as part of a roundtable session on 'Challenges of return: rights and sustainable solutions'. Prior to Pre-ExCom, she participated in a conference at Oxford University on 'The Politics, Human Rights and Security Implications of Protracted Refugee Situations', sponsored by the United Nations University and the Alchemy Foundation. She also attended two major conferences on Burma/Myanmar - 'Communities of Interpretation' and the 2006 Myanmar/Burma Update - held in Singapore in July 2006.

Two members of CPACS gave papers to the New South Wales Military Health Symposium at 'HMAS Waterhen', Waverton, Sydney, on 11 November 2006. Professor Peter King spoke on: 'West Papua – A Geopolitical Assessment' and Dr Ken Macnab spoke on: 'The History of Terrorism'.

Research

Hazel Lang was appointed Honorary Associate with the University of Sydney based at CPACS to pursue her work as Senior Research Fellow on the Griffith University-Austcare ARC Linkage Project 'A Place to Call Home' on solutions to protracted refugee and IDP situations in Asia (looking at Burma, Sri Lanka and Nepal).

Wendy Lambourne was successful in obtaining a grant from the Faculty of Arts Research Seed Funding Scheme in 2006 for research on 'Justice, Reconciliation and Peacebuilding After Mass Violence in Sierra Leone'. Over a three-week period in November-December 2006 Wendy conducted field research in Sierra Leone where she interviewed ex-combatants, victims, officials, representatives of non-government organisations and members of civil society in the capital and three regional centres. As part of her research project on transitional justice, reconciliation and peacebuilding, Wendy also spent a week in January 2007 in Mozambique where she held discussions with academics and non-government organisation representatives in the capital, Maputo.

In November 2006, Wendy travelled to Berlin and Poland to visit Holocaust memorials and museums, death camps and concentration camps, as part of a new collaborative research project on conflict prevention, memorialisation and reconciliation.

In addition to field research, Wendy's special studies leave included a period of intense research and writing as a Visiting Scholar based at the Centre for Peace Research and Strategic Studies, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium for three months from August to October 2006. Whilst in Leuven she presented a conference paper (described above); a Faculty seminar on 'Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding After Mass Violence' (subsequently submitted for publication in the *International Journal of Transitional Justice*); and an invited lecture to Masters students on 'My Research Journey: Reflecting on Process'. Wendy also spent three weeks in January 2007 as a Visiting Researcher with the International Centre for Transitional Justice in Cape Town, South Africa.

During her special studies leave, Wendy met with researchers and practitioners with the United Nations, United States Institute of Peace and International Centre for Transitional Justice in Washington, DC and New York; International Crisis Group and International Centre for Transitional Justice in Brussels; Universiteit Antwerpen; European Centre for Conflict Prevention, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and Coalition for the International Criminal Court in The Hague; Quaker United Nations Office and Centre

for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva; Berghof Centre for Constructive Conflict Management in Berlin; and International Centre for Transitional Justice, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Centre for Conflict Resolution and Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Cape Town, South Africa. In Geneva and Freetown (Sierra Leone) Wendy participated in civil society meetings organised to provide input to the work of the UN Peacebuilding Commission.

Advocacy / Outreach Report

New South Wales Human Rights Education Committee (NSWHREC)

Chair: Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard

The NSWHREC meets every six weeks in CPACS' Posters for Peace Gallery. Invited guest speakers in 2006 included Professor Sev Ozdowski (Human Rights Commissioner 2000-2005); Ms Robin Banks (Director, Public Interest Advocacy Centre); Justice Marcus Einfeld (Former President, National Committee on Human Rights Education); and Professor Murray Print (Civics Education, University of Sydney).

The flagship 'Citizen of Humanity' project aims to support school teachers in NSW in their teaching about human rights and peace education. Although NSWHREC has worked with the NSW Department of Education and Training to introduce the *first* human rights education unit of study into primary schools, promoting and monitoring the state-wide use of this unit of study is ongoing. In 2006, a National Centre for Human Rights Education has been established at RMIT (Vic) to help states disseminate human rights education materials.

In 2007, a collaborative project between Curtin University's CHRE (Centre for Human Rights Education) on the west coast and CPACS on the east coast, aims to prepare an ARC proposal concerned with 'Promoting Human Rights and Peace Education in the Asia-Pacific Region'.

International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT), Australia

Committee Member: Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard

Significant activities this year included the 3rd Australian Conference 'Tourism – Agent for Peace?', 15th July 2006 at the Avillion Hotel Sydney, to coincide with the PACS6910 Peace Through Tourism winter school programme.

As reported in the IIPT Newsletter, 'Dr Lynda Blanchard, coordinator of the University of Sydney's graduate 'Peace Through Tourism' Winter School programme chaired an interactive session with a panel of students from this year's course. Dr Larry Dwyer, Qantas Professor of Travel and Tourism Economics, School of Economics University of NSW, chaired the last session 'Where to from Here?'

Other conference speakers included industry leaders and managers along with academics and included IIPT's Founder and President, US-based Louis D'Amore; Australian Federation Travel Association CEO, Mike Hatton; Jacquie Preketes, Touchdown Tours; Richard Cunningham, World Expeditions; Matt McDonell, Wagga Wagga City Council and Trevor Lake, Discover Asia; plus academics: Mia Nahm, Kenvale College of Tourism and Hospitality Management; Dr Deborah Edwards, UTS Sydney; Garth Lean, PhD candidate UWS; Ian Kelly, University of South Australia.

CPACS kindly supports the Australian Committee of IIPT, once again by providing a monthly meeting space in the Posters for Peace Gallery.

Sydney Peace Foundation

Director: Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees

The Executive committee's early meetings focussed on organizing the important Foundation Lecture by High Court Justice Michael Kirby on the topic, 'Interpreting Freedom: the uses by final courts of interpretations of human rights law.' The Footbridge Theatre was filled for the event, which was chaired with flair by David Hirsch.

Hard on the heels of Justice Kirby's Lecture the Foundation was a co-sponsor – along with the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies and MAPW (Medical Association for the Prevention of War) – of the *Voices for Peace* seminar in the Seymour Centre. This significant full house occasion featured Cindy Sheehan, and Dr Salam Ismael. Cindy Sheehan is the mother whose son was killed while serving in the US army in Iraq. She became a key US campaigner against that war. Dr Ismael had spent three years on the frontlines of the Iraq conflict.

From mid year onwards, four members of the Executive and three outside colleagues sifted the numerous nominations for the 2007 Peace Prize. It is timely to recall that the inaugural recipient of the Sydney Peace Prize (1998), Professor Muhammad Yunus, founder of the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, was awarded the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize.

For the latter half of the year, the work to maximize the impact of our choice of Irene Khan, Secretary General of Amnesty International as 2006 Peace Prize recipient owed a lot to my colleagues Lynda Blanchard, Jamie Koh and this year's Events Manager Cassandra Graham. That threesome was always imaginative, industrious and great fun to work with. Their professionalism guaranteed the success of the November Peace Prize events.

Publicity over the Foundation's choice of Irene Khan as the 2006 Peace Prize recipient was a key to public interest in November. In terms of newsprint, this publicity began with a substantial article in June in the *Sydney Morning Herald* by James Button and in October a biographical feature article in the *Good Week End* colour magazine by Stephanie Bunbury. Of great importance in efforts to promote ideals of peace with justice was Irene Khan's *Open Letter To The Prime Minister* with the sub heading 'Bring David Hicks Home'. This open letter, published in all major newspapers, was generously funded by *Amnesty International*.

Coordination of publicity depended on our close cooperation with Australian staff from Amnesty International and with the Media Office at the University of Sydney. Since the inception of the Peace Prize in 1998, Andrew Potter and staff from the University have been selfless in their support of our work. So too has been the office of the University's 'Yeoman Bedell'. During a crowded four days in Sydney, they provided a transport service of great courtesy and efficiency for Irene Khan, her family and colleagues.

The week of October 31st onwards began for Irene Khan with a meeting with Indigenous women, arranged by the NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs. That Tuesday afternoon exchange, attended by 30 participants was followed by an ABC *Lateline* interview with Irene on the conduct of the Iraq war, the imprisonment of David Hicks and Islamic religious leaders' attitudes to women's dress. The following evening, Irene's City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture to a packed York Theatre in the Seymour Centre covered issues such as violence against women as a major peace issue, a need to acknowledge people's identities irrespective of religious affiliation or appearance and the discouraging effects of powerful governments' indifference to international law and to human rights. Irene was preceded on stage by the *Gondwana Voices*, also known as the Sydney Childrens' Choir. On Thursday November 2nd the Governor of New South Wales, Professor Marie Bashir, awarded the 2006 Sydney Peace Prize to Irene Khan. This year's ceremony, held in the Great Hall of Sydney University was chaired with characteristic charm by Mary Kostakidis of SBS Television.

The last formal event of peace prize week occurred at Cabramatta High School. This inimitable school's welcome to Irene Khan and to members of the Foundation owes a great deal to the imaginative and supportive leadership of Beth Godwin the School Principal. In the school gymnasium a skilfully crafted programme called 'Make Noise for Peace', included a performance of peace songs, a display of art works depicting interpretations of peace, readings of peace poetry and a chance to ask Amnesty's Secretary General a range of questions. This first half of the morning – this concert programme – culminated in forty children in national costumes from many parts of the world but all attending Cabramatta High escorting Irene Khan to the School's peace garden, a parade made in front of 1,500 school children from twelve different High Schools. The release of white doves from the garden marked the finale of Irene Khan's visit to Cabramatta.

The year ended with the Sydney City Council – our major partner for the past five years – agreeing to continue to support the Foundation for another three years @ \$50,000 per annum. The imprimatur of this great city is invaluable. We are grateful for the City's financial support and for the enthusiastic interest of the Lord Mayor Clover Moore and her Councillor colleagues. In addition to our partnership with the City, we have also benefited from the in kind support of the Observatory Hotel and Qantas.

The Foundation's achievements depend in large part on the creative teamwork of the Executive Committee. In this respect I owe special thanks to Alan Cameron for his committed leadership and very significant facilitative skills.

The 10th year of our activities provides a great opportunity to create occasions to advocate those crucial ingredients of peace – human rights, non violence and all the dimensions of social justice. Although the experience of peace remains elusive for millions, its essence can be captured in different art forms - music and dance, painting and poetry - hence my ending this report with one line extracts from hopeful and tender poems written by Cabramatta students and published in their 2006 *Peace Day* collection.

Peace is the sound of gunfire ceasing. Sophie Phan

Peace is the only thing that will make the world live longer. Romeo Ilunga

Peace looks like a soaring rainbow that falls into your hands. Monica Phan

Peace is found in friends of all colours. Lisa Ngo

Peace is a train that takes people to a joyful land. Vatvey Seng

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 third successful year. The Refugee Language Program Annual Report, submitted to the Vice Chancellor and 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 2007 for 2 days a week. The role of the Coordinator has been to recruit the teachers and other volunteers, liaise with the referring agencies, interview and assess students and place them in the appropriate classes, and to coordinate 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 5 teachers working for the RLP, and over 30 other volunteers and home tutors who are actively involved in varying capacities.

Refugees and asylum seekers are a particularly sensitive group of people to teach and the teachers working on the program have developed expertise in working with these traumatised adults. Most of our students live in poverty and are isolated socially as well as geographically; usually without support from family or friends. All the teachers in the RLP have shown compassion, flexibility and the cultural awareness necessary to working with such a diverse and disadvantaged group of people. The volunteer teachers are the crucial service providers of the program.

The Co-ordinator of the University's Refugee Support Group, Linda Feinberg, gives strong support to the Refugee Language Program in raising funds, providing mentors and volunteers and responding to requests sent to the group by Ms Carnus, the co-ordinator. The group has a membership of over 150 from every faculty of the university. The RLP also received a generous donation from a fundraiser organized by 'Friends of the Refugee Language Program' to use towards the running of the program. We also successfully gained a community grant from the City of Sydney Council for a second year.

There have been some notable successes in 2006. Dr Elsadig Mohammed, one of the first RLP refugees, who arrived in Australia from the Sudan, understanding only basic English, has just gained an internship at Westmead Hospital. For 3 years he has studied assiduously and has passed the language skills and clinical conversion examinations. A short article about Elsadig, was published in *UniNews* on Thursday 10th November 2006.

On November 25th, 15 students, from the Bankstown Intensive English Centre, visited the Saturday classes. These students are young adult refugees, who will start Year 12 in 2007. The RLP hopes to integrate some of these students into our classes, and work with them towards improving their academic reading and writing skills for their HSC examinations.

A creative writing class was introduced in the Saturday program; the teachers are planning to publish the work produced on the net or in book form.

In 2007 we also hope to expand our home tutoring service and our doctor mentoring program, to improve and extend our reach to refugees. We also would like to gain further support and funding from business and local communities to enable the program to meet its goals.

This report would like to acknowledge the support give to the program by the Vice Chancellor, the University Senate and staff at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, in particular, Dr Ken Macnab. Most of all, we would like to congratulate the volunteers, whose hard work and dedication to human rights and social justice, have provided a service that strongly supports the University's Strategic Direction's Statement:

(<http://www.usyd.edu.au/about/publication/strategic/2006/index.shtml>) 'the core purpose of the University of Sydney is our fundamental moral commitment to intellectual discovery and development, responsible social commentary and the promotion of cultural and economic well being'.

Library Report

Peggy Craddock – Librarian

The CPACS resource centre further outgrew its current location in 2006 and the need to transfer to larger facilities became even more necessary. During 2006 it was decided to relocate the collection to Rooms 101/2, better known as the 'Oval Office'. Towards the end of the year funds became available to provide a better and larger set of bookshelves and to set the new room up as a student work space as well as room for small group business. Currently a work requisition is 'progressing' within Facilities Management to prepare the room for the transfer.

The Teaching Resource Boxes are integral to this collection with additional boxes being prepared as new courses are added to the CPACS teaching programme. 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. Student dissertations formerly held in the library are always in demand. To facilitate and control their use they have been relocated, and are now accessed through the Academic Co-ordinator.

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 the future.

Membership Report

Abe Quadan – Membership Secretary

We started the year with 273 names listed on the CPACS database. By the end of the year we have 323 names in our database, an increase of 50 new members. I, on behalf of CPACS' Council and members welcome our new members to CPACS.

Communication with and the participation of our members in the work and activities of CPACS were discussed at length with a number of Council members early last year. The discussions and consultation resulted in the Council's approval of a number of proposals. The following are some of the improvements adopted by the Council in 2006.

1. Communication Strategy with our Members:

- All inquiries are to be attended to within a month of the receipt of the inquiry.
- All renewals are to be posted one month prior to the due date.
- All CPACS activities are to be communicated with our members within a reasonable time by way of emails, hard copy and/or via CPACS website.
- All letters generated by the membership secretary to members, current and new members, are to be advised to visit CPACS website for info re activities/seminars/functions. The purpose of this is to reduce the costs of mailing hard copies.

2. Strategies for Attracting New Members:

- An invitation to join CPACS and membership application is to be included in all our email lists such as Peacegroup.

- Hand out membership applications in all CPACS sponsored seminars and functions/activities.
- Consider a CPACS stall staffed by volunteers on O-Week.
- Invite current members to encourage their friends, family, social networks to join CPACS.
- Include a link to CPACS/membership website in all CPACS emails.

3. New Appreciation Certificates:

- An appreciation/thank you certificates are to be issued to members/persons who make donations of \$50 or over.

4. Membership Annual Renewal:

- Annual renewals to be changed from the current mass renewals in December to the annual anniversary of the date the member joined CPACS.

5. Membership Fees:

- It is proposed that Standard membership fees be increased from \$30 plus GST to \$40 plus GST.
- Concession and Student fees to remain the same.
- Increase the Family membership from \$50 plus GST to \$65 plus GST.
- Increase Life Membership fees from \$300 plus GST to \$365 plus GST.

CPACS membership fees remained the same for the past 10 years and due to ever increasing costs of maintaining basic services. We believe that this increase will allow us to continue to provide current services and introduce other services to meet the needs of our members. As stated above the purpose of the new proposals is to improve communication with our members and allow our members to be actively involved in CPACS work and activities.

In 2005 we adopted a new method in informing our members of their membership expiry date. We now print the expiry date on the address label on all our mail to members. Members are advised that when they receive mail from CPACS that they check the membership expiry date on the address label to ensure that their membership is current.

I would like to urge our members to notify us when they change addresses and/or telephone numbers. Many of our letters to members are returned due to members no longer reside at the address that we have in our database.

This will be my last membership report as I will not nominate for the position at this year's AGM. I would like to thank and congratulate all our community of members for your ongoing support of CPACS activities and work. My thanks also go to our committed and loyal volunteers who help us in the many activities and in particular the mailing of letters, seminar notices and *PeaceWrites* to our members.

Publications

Coral Hauenstein – Administrative Officer and Publications Editor

Only one copy of *PeaceWrites* was produced in 2006. The June issue, an impressive 16 pages, included coverage of three important events for the Centre. On 23 May, in conjunction with Stop the War Coalition and the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, the Centre presented the 'Voices for Peace National Tour' featuring Cindy Sheehan and Dr Salam Ismael. Rod Barton, introduced his new book, *The Weapons Detective: The Inside Story of Australia's Top Weapons Inspector*, to a large audience at the Footbridge Theatre in June. In

November, Scott Ritter, the United States intelligent office, discussed his book *Iraq Confidential: The Untold Story of American's Intelligence Conspiracy*.

An addition to the CPACS Occasional Paper Series, No. 06/1 is the transcript of the 2006 City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture presented by Irene Khan, Secretary General of Amnesty International. Titled 'Tough Choices in Tough World: peace, security and human rights', this lecture has proven to be a very popular addition to the series.

Seminars and Events

Coral Hauenstein – Administrative Officer and Seminar Coordinator

Following is a complete list of CPACS seminars and events held in 2006. They covered a wide variety of topics and attracted a wide audience. All these events were held with the support of CPACS volunteers to whom many thanks are due.

18 January 2006

Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick Book Launch *Peace Journalism*

Written by the presenters of the University Summer School unit on 'Conflict Resolving Media', this publication stresses the significance of the connection between the ways a problem is diagnosed and what can be presented as an appropriate remedy.

23 February 2006

Zaki Chehab *Iraq Ablaze*

Zaki Chehab is one of the Arab world's leading journalists. He is political editor of the London-based Al Hayat and of the Arabic TV channel LBC. He is the first journalist to have broadcast interviews with the Iraqi resistance.

10 May 2006

A documentary by Dilnaz Boga

'Invisible Kashmir: The Other Side of Jannat (paradise)' This is a reflection of the turmoil that is within and around children in Kashmir. Some express it eloquently; others are unable to utter a word. This documentary peeks into their lives and brings to the fore the reality beyond mainstream media reports.

22 May 2006

The Hon Justice Michael Kirby, A.C., C.M.G.

'Interpreting Freedom: The Use by Final Courts of International Human Rights Law'
Australian High Court Judge Michael Kirby is a leading international lawyer and defender of human rights. He has frequently addressed the capacity of our institutions to uphold fundamental human rights. In this public lecture, he explained how, in Australia and in other democracies, final courts are now looking to international human rights law in order to strengthen protection of basic civil rights.

16 February 2006

Senator Kerry Nettle, Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, and co-author of the report *Genocide in West Papua?*, John Wing

'West Papua Refugees and Australia'

On 16 January, 43 asylum seekers from West Papua arrived in Australia fleeing persecution by the Indonesian military. This public forum and discussion focussed on how to support the West Papuans.

10 April 2006

Dr Bernard Otterman

Holocaust survivor and author of *The Golem of Auschwitz*, Bernard Otterman, engaged in a discussion of his background and read from his new short story collection entitled *Black Grass: Holocaust Stories* (Jewish Heritage Press)

24 May 2006

Dr Keith Suter

'Can the United Nations be Reformed?'

The UN is now an 'old' organization, but since its creation in 1945 it has not had any major overhaul. Why has it been so difficult to reform the UN? What are the current proposals? What are the chances of a major reform in the near future?

29 May 2006

Kamal Fadel

'The Role of the UN in Decolonisation: A Comparison between Western Sahara and East Timor'

There are many striking similarities and parallels between the issues of Western Sahara and East Timor. Both were abandoned by the colonial powers and occupied by their neighbours in 1975. Both were included in the UN list of non-self-governing territories waiting for the right to self-determination. But while the UN succeeded in organising a referendum of self-determination in East Timor in 1999, it has so far failed to do the same in Western Sahara despite spending over US\$600 million and 15 years of efforts.

6 June 2006

Rod Barton

The Weapons Detective

Rod Barton first became involved in investigating Iraq's use of chemical weapons in 1983. Following the first Gulf War, the United Nations invited Barton to participate in the first inspection of Iraq. In 1994, he joined UNSCOM in NY as a principal investigator and was later invited by Dr Hans Blix to be an adviser to him and his organization, UNMOVIC, in the lead-up to the 2003 Iraq war.

5 September 2006

Anthony Arnove

Iraq: The Logic of Withdrawal

In set out a compelling case for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Iraq, Anthony Arnove explores the real reasons behind the invasion and provides a constructive vision for the antiwar movement.

20 September 2006

Willem Zonggonau and Clemens Runawery

Willem and Clemens witnessed the sham referendum of 1969 to determine West Papua's future – the so-called 'Act of Free Choice'. They were arrested by the Australian officials on their way to the United Nations to report on what they witnessed. Their discussion will include their past experiences and the plight of West Papua today.

2 November 2006

Irene Khan, Secretary General, Amnesty International

Exclusive seminar with the City of Sydney Peace Prize recipient for 2006 held at CPACS for students, members and invited guests.

Peace Research Practice - Leona Kieran

Second semester 2006 lunchtime seminar series, featuring the research and professional practice of the centre's students, graduates and associates.

7 August 2006, Yuko Miyazawa

Youth in Bougainville: Their Situation, Involvement in Peace building and Images of Peace

It is nearing a decade since the end of the Bougainville ten-year civil war in 1998. What has become of the young generation who grew up during the conflict? What involvement, if any, does Bougainville youth have in peace building? How are their experiences and 'images of peace' shaping the future of their country?

21 August 2006, Jaime Koh

Human Insecurities Or Liabilities? The North Korean refugees and the Changing Security Paradigms

The North Korean refugees are one of the most visible manifestations of human insecurity and are not officially recognised? Why has the concept of human security, said to be the foundation of international refugee work, not been applied to the case of the North Koreans and to what extent has regional geopolitics played a part in the neglect of humanitarian concerns for these refugees?

4 September 2006, Fadia Sassine

Preserving their Identity – Palestinianness: Palestinian refugees in the Baddawi camp

Since 1948, Palestinian refugees have been living in Lebanese refugee camps, denied the right to work, own property, and most importantly, the right to return to their cherished homeland. How do three generations of Palestinian refugees maintain a strong sense of identity despite abject poverty and adverse living conditions?

How do they defy the odds and break the walls of their prisons? These and many other questions were discussed by Fadia Sassine who spent three months of research in Baddawi camp.

18 September 2006, Stephanie Chiu

Giving Afghan Women a Voice: Parwana Media Network

Parwana (Butterfly) Media Network is an informal network of women-managed, independent, community radio stations in Afghanistan. The radio stations strive to give Afghan women a voice in a society where they experience extreme discrimination and poverty. In 2003, Stephanie Chiu worked in Afghanistan helping to establish Parwana Media Network.

9 October 2006, Rasiah Nimalan Karthikeyan
Negotiating Peace in Sri Lanka

Peace negotiations have previously failed in Sri Lanka. The cease fire agreement signed between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in February 2002 was inadequate and the implementation ineffective, but Nimalan argued that it could still serve as a stepping stone for the next phase.