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Compiled and edited by Lyn Dickens and Keryn Scott, February 2010


2009 CPACS Staff, Council and Volunteers

Staff, Council Office-bearers and Project Coordinators

Director
Administrative Assistants
Senior Lecturer & Academic Coordinator
Lecturer & Postgraduate Research Coordinator
President
Vice-President
Secretary
Treasurer
Membership Secretary
Librarian and Assistant
Publications Officers
Seminars Coordinators
Executive Committee Representatives
UNEPS Research Officer
IPRA Conference Assistant
Refugee Language Program Coordinator
West Papua Project Co-conveners
Sri Lanka Human Rights Project Co-conveners
NSW Human Rights in Education Committee
World Citizens Association
Sydney Peace Foundation

CPACS Council

CPACS Administrative Assistants:
Student Representative Member:

Lecturers

Special Advisor: Dr Stella Cornelius
CPACS Objectives

The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies was established in May 1988 as a specialist research, teaching and advocacy centre within the University of Sydney, pursuing its objective of peace with justice by as wide a variety of means as possible.

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.

CPACS promotes the development of an extra-curricular lecture and seminar program in peace and conflict studies for the University and the community at large, the organisation of conferences, and the arrangement of programs for visiting specialists in peace and conflict studies and research. It also liaises and cooperates with other centres and institutions working in the field of peace and conflict studies.

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.

President’s Report

Dr Ken Macnab, President

This being my third ‘official’ Report, I can only echo the encouraging words of Lewis Carroll’s Bellman as he 'landed his crew with care': ‘What I tell you three times is true.’

The year 2009 at CPACS was even more successful and rewarding than ever before. The work, impact and reputation of the Centre all grew significantly. We have an increasing number of requests for office space from an impressive field of postgraduate research students, potential Visiting Scholars and part-time Lecturers, and a Post-Doctoral Fellow. The task of planning and running the biennial International Peace Research Association Conference in July 2010 will add even more pressure. A number of our rooms are already shared by two and three people, and we badly need more rooms and equipment.

The academic program continued to expand, both here and overseas. The full-time academic staff of Director and Associate Professor Jake Lynch, Senior Lecturer Dr Wendy Lambourne and Lecturer Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard have been flat out coping with the undergraduate, postgraduate coursework and research students, assisted by a motley crew of Honorary Associates and part-time Lecturers such as Erik Paul, Frank Hutchinson, Peter Herborn, Garry Trompf, Stuart Rees, and myself. This year, for the first time, the Gordon Rodley and Cheryl Minks Prizes for student achievements in the Master of Peace and Conflict Studies will be awarded. Generous donations have been made (and more will be welcome) to the establishment funds from which the prizes will be paid.

The ‘A-team’ in the office this year was the distinctive combination of Keryn Scott and Lyn Dickens, assisted on occasion by Leah Chan. They are the ‘public face’ of
CPACS as well as the indispensable administrators and facilitators. Many thanks to them. Thanks also to all the volunteers whose work adds greatly to the efficiency, quality and variety of the Centre as a whole. Among these are Librarian Peggy Craddock and assistant Jenny McNaughton, Membership Secretary Kattrin Glöeckler, and the 'usual suspects' who help make all the many CPACS lectures, talks and other events successful. There were too many people and occasions to list here, but the Q and A session with John Pilger, this year's Sydney Peace Prize winner, is worth mentioning. This event, which attracted a keen audience and generated excellent discussion of the role of the media as a critical contributor to public debate, was handled entirely by administrative staff and volunteers. The Centre depends heavily on volunteers, and this year we will be seeking someone to take on the task of identifying and coordinating these volunteers.

Towards the end of April 2009, I went to Tokyo with a group of four members of CPACS and the Sydney Peace Foundation to present a special SPF Gold Peace Medal to Daisaku Ikeda, the Japanese Buddhist philosopher, educator, writer and peace activist. Ikeda, the third President of Soka Gakkai (value-creating society) and founder of Soka Gakkai International (1975), has for fifty years shaped this world-wide, socially engaged lay Buddhist education and peace movement. As part of the proceedings, on 22 April I was presented with an Award of Highest Honor from Soka University (opened 1971), and made a speech pointing out the common values of CPACS, the SPF, Soka University and Soka Women's College.

The University of Sydney is undertaking an extensive 're-branding' exercise, some aspects of which may be painful as the possibilities evoked by the word. In particular, all University material (letterheads, business cards, brochures, posters and the like) will be required to conform to new presentation styles based on the new University logo and design directives. Organisations such as Centres and Foundations (CPACS and the SPF) with their own distinctive symbols will have to make a special case that these are widely recognised identifiers which deserve to be retained, in an agreed relationship with the new University brand.

A novel feature of life at CPACS in 2009 has become the regular Wednesday yoga class, run by polite but demanding yoga teacher, Keryn. It is to be hoped that this will continue to be a regular feature of CPACS life in 2010.

One of our staunchest supporters and mentors, Life Member Stella Cornelius, has recovered well from her illness, as well as turning 90 this year, and has been participating in CPACS events.

In general, recognition and acknowledgement of the quality and distinctive character of CPACS around the University of Sydney and in the wider community continued to increase during 2009. Credit goes to Director Jake Lynch, all the academic and administrative staff, the CPACS Council, the volunteer office holders and assistants, and the students themselves. The Centre continues to be a distinctive blend of scholarship, collegiality, advocacy and dialogue. In particular, the fundamental values of civility, willingness to participate in dialogue, respect for others and the courteous management of the occasional conflict over policy characterise all CPACS proceedings.
The Context of the 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. There are many places around the world where developments have had a serious impact on the lives of large numbers of people. The reports of bodies such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Médecins Sans Frontières and various UN agencies make miserable reading. Comprehensive human rights surveys, such as the Global Peace Index, Transparency International and the World Press Freedom Index, highlight widespread structural injustices. However, in order to provide some depth, and because they are glaring examples of serious problems and issues, I have chosen to concentrate on particular subjects. 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 Terror

Even as it continues to be exposed as a largely artificial, politically inspired, illegally conducted, ineffectual and counter-productive campaign, the ‘war on terror’ continues to maintain its momentum, expand its scope, aggravate underlying grievances, and create new generations of disaffected potential terrorists. Moreover, it provides all sorts of states with excuses to label and treat chosen groups brutally. Governments regularly discriminate against and punish whole groups of people because small numbers do use terrorism as a weapon, thus ignoring the reality of genuine grievances, while generating more systematic violence than their opponents and creating more disaffection. When the Dalai Lama, in a speech in March 2009 marking the 50th anniversary of the Tibetan uprising which led to his exile, said that Chinese rule had ‘thrust Tibetans into such depths of suffering and hardship that they literally experienced hell on earth’, the standard Chinese response was that he was a corrupt feudal relic who headed ‘the Dalai clique’, a ‘terrorist’ organisation fomenting ‘separatist’ disaffection and violence. Similarly, the Chinese branding of exiled Uighur leader Rebiya Kadeer as an ‘ironclad separatist colluding with terrorists and Islamic extremists’ and the ‘instigator’ and mastermind of the Xinjiang riots in July 2009, has warped worldwide responses to aspects of the issue such as Kadeer’s international speaking tours, the showing of documentary films, handling of Uighur refugees and resettlement of Guantanamo detainees.

Although ‘terrorism’ has a multitude of disputed definitions, ranging from the scholarly, through the legal and agency levels to the political and the popular, there is a deplorable willingness by those running the ‘war on terror’ to define it simplistically, create ‘lists’ of ‘suspects’ and ‘states’ who pose a ‘security risk’ and prescribe procedures which have dubious practical value but affect vast numbers of people. Immediately after September 11, 2001, an American ‘No-Fly List’ began to expand the numbers of designated individuals not permitted to board a commercial aircraft for travel in or out of the United States. Simultaneously, a computer-assisted passenger pre-screening system, which has gone through several mutations, produced a ‘Terrorist
Watch List’ to assign colour-coded levels of risk to passengers and prescribe appropriate measures. Despite widespread condemnation of its indiscriminate character and frequent ‘false positive’ responses, the list had grown by early 2009 to over one million names. In May 2009, the Inspector General of the US Justice Department found that 35% of the nominations to the lists were outdated, many people were not removed in a timely manner, and tens of thousands of names were placed on the list without adequate identifiers. According to the American Civil Liberties Union, a September 2009 report by the Inspector General of the Department of Homeland Security found that the process for clearing innocent travellers from the list is a complete mess. In short, the rights and liberties of American citizens and international travellers are curtailed without available remedies, for little demonstrable benefit. No sensible traveller objects to stringent personal security screening, but the simplistic profiling assumptions and methods behind the watch lists make them a distraction rather than a useful tool, as well as a source of systemic injustice.

States and organisations all over the world are similarly listed and classified. The United States currently lists about 45 designated ‘foreign terrorist organisations’, excluding state and government organisations and lone individuals, that threaten US ‘interests’. A number of other states, such as Australia, Canada, the EU and the UK, India and Russia publish similar lists of foreign terrorist organisations, although who is on which list varies a good deal. Many states have unpublished lists of organisations and people. An older US list of ‘state sponsors of terrorism’ currently designates Cuba, Iran, Syria and Sudan, all listed before 2001, while since 2001 North Korea and Libya have been removed. The infamous ‘axis of evil’ was clearly a political ploy rather than a defined list. Following the attempted suicide bombing of a US-bound flight on Christmas Day 2009, however, which the whole ‘security intelligence’ apparatus singularly failed to prevent, yet another ‘list’ activated increased vigilance measures at American airports, regarding passengers from 14 countries classified as ‘security risk states.’ The full list of countries is a curious mix of ‘allies’ and ‘enemies’: Afghanistan, Algeria, Cuba, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Libya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen. Several states have protested. But the ramifications of this latest terrorist scare will spread far and wide. In fact, all these official listings of people, organisations and states affect the policies of many governments and their military, security, justice and transport agencies.

Unfortunately, the ‘war on terror’ has a self-generating momentum difficult to slow or redirect. Barack Obama started his Presidency by signing executive orders to close the Guantanamo detention camp within a year, close ‘as expeditiously as possible’ all secret CIA prisons overseas, ban the use of ‘waterboarding’ and other ‘enhanced interrogation techniques’, curtail military tribunals, give the International Red Cross access to all military detainees and treat them with at least the minimal protections of the Geneva Conventions. Equally important, he proclaimed a new style of American leadership, more consultative, internationally co-operative and morally persuasive. He appeared willing to ‘break the mould’ on issues such as Israel-Palestine relations, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and relations with states such as Russia, China, North Korea and Iran. But the grindstones of vested interests, the military-industrial complex, the American political system, the American and world media and long entrenched American commitments are severely blunting his real achievements. For example, when Obama recently announced a 10% increase in his foreign aid programme to $US50 billion, to enhance American counter-terrorism, it was revealed that large percentages of these funds are tied to the purchase of American military equipment. In
the case of Israel, the largest single recipient of these funds, this is over 75%, while Egypt, Pakistan, the Yemen and others are obliged to spend the majority of their aid on US equipment. Other sources of funding, such as those for Iraq and Afghanistan, involve both direct and indirect expenditure on US arms or to US agencies and contractors. Many (if not most) of these ‘deals’ are justified as part of the ‘war on terror’; most of them lead directly to increased corruption, violence and abuse of human rights.

Despite difficulties closing Guantanamo, repatriating or relocating ‘safe’ detainees, transferring the remainder to the United States and trying some in regular courts, and exposing and curbing illegal practices such as CIA torture, rendition and secret prisons, Obama’s intent and style have made a difference. This was recognised by the Norwegian Nobel Committee when they awarded him the Nobel Peace Prize for 2009. They cited his ‘extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples’, his special efforts in the areas of reducing nuclear weapons and facing the climate challenge, and his belief that ‘those who are to lead the world must do so on the basis of values and attitudes that are shared by the majority of the world's population.’ Basically, the award was a sensible attempt to applaud his intentions, strengthen his resolve, and support him against strong negative forces. Of course, the ‘usual suspects’ around the world derided the award, including Alexander Downer, who called it ‘a farce’. But few of them ever showed much interest in human rights and peace with justice. More significant, however, is the pressure of events on world leaders. During a speech on 7 January 2010, reviewing the failures that permitted Nigeria-born Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab's unsuccessful attempt to bring down a flight over Detroit on Christmas Day, Obama toughened his Administration's language. He stated:

We are at war. We are at war against al-Qaeda, a far-reaching network of violence and hatred that attacked us on 9/11, that killed nearly 3,000 innocent people, and that is plotting to strike us again. And we will do whatever it takes to defeat them.

The rhetoric of the Bush/Blair/Howard axis of disinformation and dog-whistling still permeates world politics.

A brief assessment of the countries most affected by the ‘war on terror’ (other than those actually waging it) reveals the fallacies of the whole project. The invasion of Afghanistan on 7 October 2001, with the objectives of capturing Osama bin Laden, destroying al-Qaeda, removing the Taliban regime, and bringing ‘freedom’ to Afghanistan, has in eight years almost completely failed. The Taliban were quickly defeated militarily, but most Taliban and al-Qaeda leaders fled to the Pakistan border regions, from where they have mounted campaigns severely destabilising both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Despite the expansion of the American, British, NATO and other (including Australian) armed forces committed, effective ‘security’ is tenuous and seasonal. Moreover, military strategy, particularly the reliance on heavy but inaccurate air strikes, unmanned drone strikes and artillery fire against the Taliban, has lead to the number of civilians killed by ‘friendly fire’ (according to media and human rights groups) being equal to, if not higher than, the number civilians killed by the militants. Despite the drawing up of a Constitution, enrolling of voters, conducting of presidential, provincial and parliamentary elections in 2004-2005, the assistance of UN monitors and the creation of a so-called Independent Electoral Commission, the August 2009 presidential elections were a shambles. When more than a million votes for Hamid Karzai were finally ruled fraudulent, giving him less than 50% of the vote, a run-off election was delayed, then reluctantly called, then torpedoed by Karzai’s rival,
Dr Abdullah Abdullah, who would have lost even had the process been honest. Karzai became President with a flawed mandate, resentful of the policy demands made on him by his 'allies', but beholden to a web of family, factional and tribal supporters.

The problems in Afghanistan are enormous and interconnected, and mostly not susceptible to military solutions. In many ways all the organisations involved act at cross purposes. There is little Government allegiance or control outside Kabul and entrenched corruption at all levels of administration. Regionalism and tribalism are rampant, and vast social and economic disparities exist, compounded by the large scale revival of opium growing (banned by the Taliban), and largely non-existent education, health, welfare and public services. The British and Americans pursue different policies on opium growing in different regions, and different military contributors follow different levels and types of involvement. There is a plethora of private, UN, NGO and other foreign aid and service deliverers. There is big money to be made by some, particularly in the security sector. But, according to the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, in September 2009, the absence of effective oversight and control of private security providers (PSPs) employed by the international community undermines the credibility and effectiveness of the Afghan government, the international military and diplomatic presence, and reconstruction organisations.

The Afghan people, particularly the women and children, deserve better than all this. Some policies appear to offer promise, such as reaching out to the 'moderate' Taliban, persisting with flawed but workable local, regional and central administrative and political systems, providing and securing the basic infrastructure and services of civil society, training sufficient Afghan police and military to take over security and assisting Pakistan to solve common problems. The issue of corruption is crucial. It is worth noting, however, that the concept of 'corruption' varies in meaning and relevance around the world, has a relatively short and imperfect history in those states which laud it most and, like terrorism, is best understood as symptomatic of broader issues and countered with methods other than force.

The invasion of Iraq on 20 March, 2003, after a massive campaign of political deception, is a classic case of unintended consequences. 'Shock and awe' quickly won the war; ignorance and ineptitude quickly lost the peace. The American-led Coalition Provisional Authority destroyed the possible foundations of a civil service and security apparatus when it instigated the de-Baathification of the public service and the professions, dismissed the Iraqi Army and Security Services, and drew up a constitution for elections which institutionalised religious and ethnic divisions but provided no mechanisms for power sharing or political problem-solving. The capture, show trial and botched execution of Saddam Hussein served little purpose. A series of other policies and incidents created resentment and armed resistance, particularly the use of foreign civilian contractors rather than Iraqis in reconstruction and private security, constant over-use of force against Iraqis in check-point and other contact situations, revelation of prisoner abuse in Abu Ghraib and elsewhere, the failure to hold anyone accountable for what were euphemistically called 'escalation of force incidents' (usually the slaughter of civilians) or 'collateral damage' (usually false targeting, despite the claimed 'multiple indications of actionable intelligence'), and so on.
A troop 'surge' of around 30,000 US troops starting late 2007 had an impact on personal security in some areas during 2008, permitting phased withdrawal of troops and equipment in 2009, military concentration in ‘hardened’ bases, and political withdrawal into the ‘Green Zone’ embassy fortress. However, most problems remain unresolved. The situation is still characterised by variable security, poor infrastructure, inadequate public services, religious and ethnic conflict, large internal displacements and refugee communities abroad, untamed private armies and a political structure apparently incapable of solving the major questions of power sharing, resource allocation and national reconstruction. Nonetheless, a degree of normalcy is returning to community life and work as security improves and is increasingly handled by Iraqis. The recent ‘auction’ of oil exploration and development does offer some resources to Nouri al-Maliki’s Government. He has proven to be a resilient leader, and the prospects for a respectable electoral process before his mandate expires in April 2010 are reasonable, despite the ongoing domestic terrorism.

The impact of ‘war on terror’ strategies in other countries, as far apart as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Somalia and Morocco, deserves attention, but space does not permit. However, excellent analysis of these and other issues is readily available through the weekly columns of the Transcend Media Service, where Associate Professor Jake Lynch and others practise ‘Solutions-Oriented Peace Journalism.’ Suffice to generalise that since 2001, the American-led ‘war on terror’ has contributed to, worsened or perpetuated an 'arc of instability' across the Middle East, from India and Pakistan, through Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza to the Yemen and Somalia. Major terrorist attacks occur fairly regularly in Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Iraq, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere. Significantly, many of these states are currently in the top twenty on the Annual Failed State Index for 2009, with Somalia first, Iraq sixth, Afghanistan seventh, Pakistan tenth and the Yemen eighteenth. In addition, the ‘war on terror’ has made a significant contribution to the number and origin of refugees in the world, both internally displaced persons and those fleeing their country. Clearly, internationally-led projects integrating statebuilding and peacebuilding, emphasising functional state governance, state-society relations, human security, human development and (implicitly) human rights, would remove much of the supportive environment of terrorism and produce far more sustainable benefits than the ‘war on terror’.

The Israel-Palestine Conflict

During the Israeli invasion of Gaza in December 2008-January 2009, the Israeli Government, media and public strongly supported the war, showing little concern for the negative coverage elsewhere in the world. This was reflected in the success of Benjamin Netanyahu and right-wing minorities in the February elections, the failure of Kadima Leader Tzipi Livni to form a government, and the swearing in on April 1 of a Netanyahu government. As usual, the Israeli electoral system, based on proportional representation and list-voting for a large number of parties – 33 participated, although 21 failed to reach the electoral threshold – created the need to build a coalition. For the Knesset of 120 members, only two parties gained more than 25 seats, three gained from 11 to 15 seats, and seven held 5 seats or less. The resulting government, the largest in Israeli history with 30 ministers (and several deputy positions), was inevitably both representative of conflicting political platforms and influenced by right-wing and extremist pressures. Thus began yet another version of a familiar pattern: conflicting and changeable policy statements, peace initiatives strangled at
birth by unacceptable pre-conditions, use of excessive retaliatory force in response to Palestinian provocations, collective punishment of large groups of people to pressure small groups of opponents, the building of barriers and walls, failure to curb extremist settler violence against Palestinians and their property, tight control of domestic dissidence and heavy expenditure on public relations abroad.

The role of America in promoting peace negotiations in 2009 appeared hopeful, with the promise of ‘robust diplomacy’ and the appointment of George Mitchell, former Senate majority leader and peace facilitator in Northern Ireland, as special envoy for the Middle East. But firm requests for the halting of settlement expansion and curbing of other clear hindrances to the start of peace talks were soon compromised by obfuscation from Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. In June, partly in response to Barack Obama’s speech in Cairo appealing to the Islamic world, Netanyahu delivered his Bar-Ilan University speech, endorsing for the first time the idea of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. It was quickly qualified by additional ‘clarification’ by Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs, Avigor Lieberman, founder and President of the Yisrael Beiteinu Party, whose main objective is to fulfil ‘the three cardinal principles of Zionism: Aliyah (immigration), settlement, and defense of our homeland.’ In any case, Netanyahu’s offer contained a number of preconditions unacceptable to the Palestinians, such as demilitarisation, no control of their own airspace, full Israeli control of Jerusalem and no right of return.

The need for public relations and propaganda expenditure increased in 2009, with closer scrutiny of what had gone on in Gaza. The publication of accounts of incidents involving soldiers attached to the Givati Brigade during the fighting in Gaza drew accusations of ‘treason’ against ‘the world’s most moral army’. Despite such claims and allegations from numerous human rights bodies, on April 22 the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) issued conclusions from its own investigations, saying that it found no evidence of unlawful behaviour by its forces. However, in May a UN report was published charging Israel with both deliberately firing on UN institutions and targeting civilians, and the UN Human Rights Council set up a comprehensive inquiry under Justice Richard Goldstone ‘to investigate all violations of International Human Rights Law and International Humanitarian Law’ committed during the conflict. Goldstone had an international reputation for integrity and political balance, was a former judge of South Africa’s Constitutional Court, had served as the chief prosecutor of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda for two years, was Jewish and had deep and active family and organisational ties to Israel and Zionism. His three assistant commissioners also had impeccable credentials and high reputations. Nonetheless, the Israeli Government refused to co-operate with the inquiry from the start, even though Hamas said it would co-operate. Furthermore it refused the commissioners and their staff entry to Gaza via Israel, and launched pre-emptive propaganda in preparation for the presentation of the report in September 2009.

The Goldstone Report on the Gaza Conflict is a significant human rights document, which systematically outlines its mandate, methodology, the incidents investigated, the factual and legal findings based on the evidence, and a series of both specific and general recommendations for action. The commission examined the historical context of the conflict, the consequences of the provocations (such as blockades and barriers, rockets and mortars) from both sides, the conduct of both sides during the invasion of Gaza, and the clear breaches of international human rights and humanitarian law on
both sides. In particular, the Report argued that the Israeli military operation was undertaken in furtherance of its existing policies of punishing the entire Gaza population ‘for its resilience and for its apparent support for Hamas’, and that ‘indiscriminate attacks by Israeli armed forces’ had taken place, as well as the deliberate targeting of UNRWA facilities, hospitals, particular streets and groups of homes, the illegal use of weapons such as white phosphorus and flechette missiles, and the use of Palestinian civilians as human shields. Hamas was charged with inflicting ‘terror within Israel’s civilian population’ by rocket and mortar attacks, and causing the ‘erosion of the social, cultural and economic lives’ and ‘high rates of psychological trauma’ in the affected communities, as well as serious human rights violations by security forces under Hamas control, both prior to and during the fighting inside Gaza. The responsible authorities on both sides were charged with starting ‘prompt and independent investigations’ of all allegations, and prosecution of those involved in human rights violations. Failing this within a reasonable time, the international community, which is also heavily criticised for its inaction and lack of impartiality, should act.

Hamas promised compliance; the results need to be closely monitored. The reaction from Israel was predictable and unedifying. Israel’s President, Shimon Peres, called the report ‘a mockery of history’ that ‘fails to distinguish the aggressor and a state exercising the right of self-defense,’ insisting that it ‘legitimizes terrorist activity, the pursuit of murder and death.’ Prime Minister Netanyahu asserted ‘The countries that voted in favour of the report voted against peace and for terror. We will delegitimise the delegitimisation [of Israel],’ and added: ‘War crimes? Israel's only real crime is that it does not enjoy an automatic majority in the UN.’ As is also often the case, responses from pro-Israeli supporters overseas were even more strident. The Hudson Institute’s Professor Anne Bayefsky charged that Goldstone had exploited his Judaism to endanger the State of Israel, asking:

Richard, how does it feel to have used your Jewishness to jeopardize the safety and security of the people of Israel and to find yourself in the company of human rights abusers everywhere?’

Mark Regev, the Australian-born spokesperson for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, spoke to the Australian Jewish News in October 2009, stating that the Goldstone Report was a blatantly biased document ‘born in sin’, which used information that was gathered in a manner of a ‘Stalinist show trial’. Nonetheless, early in 2010, Israel offered token compliance, finally admitting the illegal use of white phosphorous and reprimanding two senior officers.

One of the problems of debating the politics of the Middle East is that critics of Israel are usually attacked in person, rather than having their arguments discussed. The commonest accusation is that critics are simply ‘anti-Semitic’. Jewish critics are labelled ‘self-hating Jews’ or ‘Israel-threatening Jews’ and the like. Netanyahu, for example, referred to Rahm Emanuel and David Axelrod, President Obama’s senior aides, as ‘self-hating Jews’, though, as is usual in classic dog-whistle politics, a spokesman later denied he had done so. When in America a new Jewish group called J Street (the ‘J’ meaning Jewish) began to present alternative views to the Zionist Organisation of America (ZOA) and the powerful American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), which claim to be the voice of the largest Jewish community outside Israel, advocating unflinching support for the government in Jerusalem, they were attacked but not debated. J Street’s motto is ‘pro-Israel, pro-peace’. Israeli Ambassador to the United States, Michael Oren, refused to speak at one of their
conferences, and described them as ‘a unique problem’, an organisation which was ‘fooling around with the lives of 7 million people.’ In the Jerusalem Post, Ben-David derided J Street as Obama's ‘toy Jews’.

The whole process of finding a just and lasting peace in the Middle East requires leadership at many levels, willingness to enter negotiations in good faith and without crippling preconditions, willingness to acknowledge and correct wrongs, and willingness to make sacrifices for the common good. On both sides, most people wish for peace. But there are few real political leaders on either side, extremist religious and ideological minorities on both sides deliberately provoke antagonism, a culture of acceptable violence pervades everyday life, and the history of the conflict, the relative power relationships and the obligations of international human rights law are all ignored. The injustices deepen. The Israeli walls are growing longer and deeper - the latest proposal is for lengthy sections on the Red Sea and Mediterranean ends of the Israel-Egypt border - and are creating both a full-blown system of apartheid and a ghetto state for Israel as well as ghettos for Palestinians. Perhaps someone should simply draw an equitable line on the map from Jordan to the Mediterranean, designate two states, guarantee their sovereignty and security internationally, let people move or stay as citizens as they wish, provide generous relocation funds, and make Jerusalem an independent, internationally mandated and supervised free city with unhindered access.

Dog-whistle Politics and Déjà Vu

The term ‘dog-whistle politics’ originated in Australia during the Federal Election campaign in 1996, to describe John Howard’s winning ways and subsequent Howard Government policies. It was introduced into British Conservative Party politics in 2005 by Lynton Crosby, Federal Director of the Australian Liberal Party during the elections of 1996, 1998 and 2001, and is now understood world wide. Dog-whistling is different from labelling, stereotyping, branding and dehumanising; it is deliberately covert and designed to activate concealed prejudices. The key to dog-whistling is to use coded language to convey an implicit, almost subliminal, message to a select target audience, while maintaining ‘plausible deniability’ against accusations of prejudice or fear-mongering. The Double-Tongued Dictionary (2007) defines dog-whistle politics as ‘a concealed, coded, or unstated idea, usually divisive or politically dangerous, nevertheless understood by the intended voters’.

For eleven years dog-whistle politics became the standard technique of Government leaders, Howard, Downer, Reith, Ruddock, Andrews and others, as they deployed 'wedge politics' - the politics of labelling, stereotyping, demeaning, demonising, dividing and isolating 'them' from 'us'. It characterised their policy statements about 'illegal' immigrants, the 'war on terror', Islamist 'extremists', welfare 'dole bludgers', Aboriginal 'child abusers' and 'no-hopers' and many other 'target' groups. Following the success of Pauline Hanson and the One Nation Party, the Howard Government employed dog-whistling to appeal to voters with racist attitudes while evading criticism from those opposed to prejudice. Their ideological allies in the media spread these coded messages even more explicitly, dismissing complaints (when they bothered) as freedom-stifling 'political correctness'. Their critics were 'the chattering classes', 'the chardonnay set', the 'latte-sipping elite', the 'guilt industry', 'do-gooders' or 'bleeding hearts'. Ignore the message, attack the messenger; 'play the man, not the ball'! All 'sensible' Australians knew that people who were likely to ‘throw their
children overboard’ were ‘not fit’ to enter Australia, as were those (worse still) who didn’t know who the ‘great cricketer’ was out of Walter Lindrum, Don Bradman and Hubert Opperman.

Australian politicians became so adept at ‘dog-whistling’ that in 2007 Josh Fear, an Australia Institute researcher, presented a lengthy paper titled Under the Radar: Dog-Whistle Politics in Australia. As Institute Director Clive Hamilton said at the time, ‘Dog whistling allows politicians to subliminally send multiple and ambiguous messages to voters, whilst denying they are doing so. It is becoming a refined art in Australia.’

Dr Hamilton added that words and phrases commonly used in 'dog whistling' included ‘Australian values’, ‘the thought police’, ‘the black armband view of history’, ‘practical reconciliation’, ‘border protection’ and ‘be alert, but not alarmed’. He didn’t need to point out that all these were John Howard’s favourite phrases. As Josh Fear wrote, the ‘common features of dog-whistle politics’ were ‘deniability; a select target audience; and coded, implicit or subliminal communication.’

He argued that:

Over recent years, dog whistlers have been especially well-placed to exploit community concerns arising from overseas conflict and the threat of terrorism. They have also sought to create and inflame paranoia about minority groups and outsiders, and to taint the politics of immigration and Aboriginal affairs with parochialism and suspicion.

But in his view, ‘dog whistling is a problem because it undermines democracy’, by destroying the ‘clarity and directness’ which were especially important in political communication. Mr Fear also said conservative politicians were more likely to use 'dog whistle' tactics, while those to the left of centre seeking to distort the truth were more likely to resort to ‘spin’.

Déjà vu is the feeling that something has been previously experienced, often that uncomfortable episodes from the past are reoccurring. Unfortunately, they are. Moreover, they are accompanied by tried and trusted labelling and political dog-whistling, in three areas of current national concern: Australia’s part in the occupation of Afghanistan and the so-called ‘war on terror’, the treatment of an increase in refugees arriving in Australian waters by boat, and Australia’s participation in international action on global warming. All these issues have a direct impact on human rights and peace with justice.

For a start, the Rudd Government is justifying Australia’s continued involvement in Afghanistan in increasingly mendacious terms, in the face of a Newspoll published in March 2009 in The Australian, which found 65% of Australians were against Australia increasing its troop numbers beyond the 1,100 already serving there. A growing number opposed involvement altogether. Pointing to the ‘hundred or so Australians who've been killed in terrorist attacks around the world’, Rudd claimed: ‘Those responsible for those terrorist attacks have primarily been trained in Afghanistan and neither America nor Australia have an interest in Afghanistan in the future becoming once again a safe haven for the training of terrorists.’ In April 2009 Rudd made even larger claims: ‘We cannot ignore this cold hard strategic fact - less security in Afghanistan means less security for Australians.’ He went on: ‘Handing Afghanistan back to terrorist control will increase the threat to all Australians.’
John Pilger, in his City of Sydney Peace Prize lecture early in November 2009, drew attention to Rudd’s new Afghanistan rhetoric, saying:

Last July, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd said this, and I quote: ‘It’s important for us all to remember here in Australia that Afghanistan has been a training ground for terrorists worldwide, a training ground also for terrorists in South-East-Asia, reminding us of the reasons that we are in the field of combat and reaffirming our resolve to remain committed to that cause.

Rudd had been standing outside a church on a Sunday morning when he said this. Pilger’s comments were scathing: ‘There is no truth in this statement. It is the equivalent of his predecessor John Howard’s lie that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction.’ But (so far, at least) the Coalition in Opposition fulsomely reiterates the same rhetoric, and Rudd echoes their lines. During a visit to the war zone early in November, Rudd emphasised Australia’s commitment to remain in Afghanistan for ‘the long haul’. It all sounds depressingly familiar and specious.

The policy debate (or lack thereof) on the ‘handling’ of refugees, fleeing mainly from strife-torn Sri Lanka and Afghanistan, is also depressingly familiar. So much so that in a media release at the end of October 2009, the Edmund Rice Centre (ERC) called for a definitive end to the sort of debate that treats asylum seekers as political footballs, tossed around with the sole aim of gaining a team advantage in the game of politics. ERC Director, Phil Glendenning, stated:

This stand-off in Indonesia [over Sri Lankans refusing to leave an Australian Customs vessel for Indonesian refugee camps] demeans Australia in the eyes of the world, and diminishes us as a people. It is ugly politics that under a discourse of 'deterrence' uses vulnerable people to send a message to others who simply are not listening.

Glendenning commented that ‘The whole issue throws up a crisis of moral leadership in Australia’, and put his finger on the reason for feeling this:

The current political debate is wrong because it demonises the vulnerable, it employs the ugly tactics of petty partisan race-politics. This is dog-whistle stuff which summons up the darkest fears that reside within Australians’ hearts historically.

John Pilger, in his Peace Prize lecture, made similar criticisms. He compared Kevin Rudd’s praise, in an essay titled Faith in Politics (October 2006), for both the parable of the Good Samaritan and the UN Convention on Refugees, with his words in October 2009: ‘I make absolutely no apology whatsoever for taking a hard line on illegal immigration to Australia … a tough line on asylum seekers.’ Pilger commented:

Are we not fed up with this kind of hypocrisy? The use of the term ‘illegal immigrants’ is both false and cowardly. The few people struggling to reach our shores are not illegal. International law is clear — they are legal.

He went on to say: ‘Rudd, like Howard, sends the navy against them and runs what is effectively a concentration camp on Christmas Island. How shaming. Imagine a shipload of white people fleeing a catastrophe being treated like this.’ Glendenning and Pilger are strongly supported by Malcolm Fraser, former Liberal Prime Minister, who appealed in November 2009 for a return to the bi-partisanship which in the 1970s led Australia to fulfil its moral and legal obligations and accept large numbers of Vietnamese refugees. Fraser commented:
I think it's unfortunate, I believe both political parties have demeaned Australia by trying to say, you know: ‘We're the toughest, we're the toughest. We'll keep boat people away.’

The third major area of dog-whistling is the current lamentable ‘debate’ about climate change. Some of the rubbish being peddled in the media is only exceeded by that peddled by the politicians. According to opponents, supporters of an Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) are engaged in ‘fear tactics’, painting a ‘doomsday scenario’ which will ‘bleed the taxpayers dry’; the response is that the ‘tentacles of the climate change sceptics’ and ‘deniers’ have strangled ‘sensible’ debate, because, as Rudd put it, ‘They are a minority. They are powerful. And invariably they are driven by vested interests.’ The rhetoric is revealing. The ETS is really little more than a ‘moralising new tax’ (Senator Barnaby Joyce), or a vast conspiracy by ‘the extreme left’ (who, since ‘the collapse of communism’ had ‘embraced environmentalism as their new religion’) grabbing ‘the opportunity to do what they’ve always wanted to do, to sort of de-industrialise the western world’ (Senator Nick Minchin). According to new Opposition Leader, Tony Abbott, the ETS is ‘a great big tax to produce a massive political slush fund to provide enormous handouts to favoured groups that will be administered by a vast bureaucracy.’ Rudd’s response is to attack vague Coalition alternatives for ‘direct action’ as ‘a magic pudding and bucket of red tape’, with ‘bureaucratic red tape strangling the entire economy through the least-effective, most-expensive system which doesn't compensate families, all funded by a magic pudding, ...

Invocation of Norman Lindsay’s famous illustrated children’s book (1918) to deride some cost-free, never-failing magic solution to our problems has a history in Australian politics (look up Paul Keating), and denigration of bureaucrats and red tape is quite fair. But dog-whistling mainly works ‘the dark side’, to quote Dick Cheney. A classic piece of recent dog-whistling was Tony Abbott’s description of the global climate change talks in Copenhagen as ‘some latter-day environmental Munich agreement kind of thing’. ‘Munich’ is code for ‘appeasement’, craven cowardice, failure to stand up to ‘dictators’ like Hitler, an analogy much abused in the lead-up to the attack on Saddam Hussein’s Iraqi regime. When pressed on ABC TV's Lateline about the comparison, Abbott employed the standard evasion: ‘It was a throwaway line in which you would be wrong to invest too much significance.’ Abbott’s technique is consistent. As new Coalition leader, he excused his recent description of climate change as ‘absolute crap’ as ‘a bit of hyperbole’ rather than his ‘considered position’. Given that Abbott’s new Coalition front bench holds a renowned collection of dog-whistlers old and new, the quality of political debate in Australia will inevitably go even further down, taking concern for human rights and peace with justice down with it.
Director’s Report
Associate Professor Jake Lynch, Director

The past year has seen a continuation of CPACS’ growth and spreading influence, within the University and in the broader community, both locally and on a global scale.

The upward trend in our student numbers – attributable partly to our thriving Distance Learning Masters program, which has now produced its first graduates – testifies to this. Student enrolments in Peace and Conflict Studies Units of Study in recent years:

2006 = 229
2007 = 504
2008 = 697
2009 = 735

The Centre’s research performance has also shown strong growth over this period, in terms of both quantity and quality of output. That is dealt with in detail elsewhere in this Annual Report; suffice it to say, the output ‘per capita’ – that is, divided between the number of full-time academic staff – has put us in the lead within the School of Social and Political Sciences in each of the last two years. That’s based on a complex points system, devised so as to mesh with the system applied by the Government to measure and compare the research outputs of universities across Australia.

In this section then, I will go on to consider the highlights of my own commitments and contributions as Director, over and beyond teaching and academic research, to the public sphere. This is no less a part of the Centre’s remit. I still remember the wording of the advertisement when I applied for the post: the incumbent, it said, would be expected to ‘provide leadership on peace and justice issues’. And CPACS’ Constitution obliges the Centre to ‘pursue its objectives by as wide a variety of means as possible’, including ‘the organisation of conferences [and] the advocacy of peace with justice’ for both the University and the community at large and ‘the promotion of widespread participation in its activities’.

I set out below a record of my main activities besides teaching and research during 2009. At the same time, I have been contributing a weekly column to the Transcend Media Service (TMS) website, as well as contributions to publications both here and overseas. Where appropriate, I have quoted sections of particular articles that arose out of or accompany the event in question, along with a link for those who wish to read further.

In all, I contributed to 29 public events over and above academic conferences and presentations in 2009, and some 50 columns to public media.

1. February 14, auction of photographs titled When the World Said No to War, Pine Street Gallery, Chippendale.

Impressive pictures of anti-war demonstrations from around the world from February 2003, in the build-up to the invasion of Iraq were auctioned in aid of the Australian Red Cross (who directed their share of proceeds to Iraq), the International Trade Union Conference in Iraq, and the Sydney Stop the War Coalition. I was the main speaker,
my role being to link the entertainment provided with the auction itself by recalling themes raised by the war and resistance to it.

2. February 20-21 Chiang Mai, Thailand

I attended the sixth annual Burma Media Conference, organised by the Burmese Media Association in collaboration with the Democratic Voice of Burma and sponsored by the US National Endowment for Democracy. Whilst there, I made a presentation on peace journalism and the Burma conflict. I reflected further in a column for TMS titled *Peace with Justice for Burma*:

Many of those who gathered at Chiang Mai consider themselves activists as well as journalists. Their aim is to use their journalism somehow to catalyse and help bring about political change in Burma. A veteran of the struggle, U Win Tin, a 78-year-old journalist and dissident who was released last September after 19 years in prison, had recorded a message that was played to the conference on video. To oppose injustice was the duty of everyone, he said, ‘and especially the duty of all the journalists’. To discharge this duty, they should ‘bring about truth [and] write according to the code of ethics’.

The strategy is based on the in-principle notion that, if the outside world hears more about what is going on inside the country, public opinion will be outraged, consciences will be pricked, pressure on governments brought to bear, and that will somehow translate into pressure on the regime itself. After all, they reason, the generals who run Burma seem very keen to control the flow of information, so there must be something at stake.

Read more at:
http://www.transcend.org/tms/article_detail.php?article_id=897

3. March 2-5, Cleveland, Ohio

I was invited to take part in the inaugural Stakeholder Meeting of the National Peace Academy, at Case Western University, Cleveland, Ohio. I reflected on proceedings, and other relevant issues, in a TMS column titled, *Piercing the Carapace*:

Are we just wasting our time? That’s the challenge, to those of us working in the peacebuilding field, from two of its most respected figures, Simon Fisher and Lada Zimina. Their ‘Open Letter to Peacebuilders’ argues that this should be our moment. Cold war rivalries have receded into distant memory, while hot war as a tool for spreading peace and democracy has been thoroughly discredited, in the eyes of world publics, by the atrocity of Iraq and the quagmire of Afghanistan. We are in a ‘window of opportunity’, they argue, ‘for transformative peacebuilding to come of age, to be taken seriously by governments, social movements and business alike, as major crises continue to resist military solutions and global environmental constraints combine to throw up intractable new conflicts’.

Except, they say, it’s not – being taken seriously, that is. The problem is captured in a well-known paradox: in the two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the number of violent conflicts has steadily fallen, according to the Human Security Report published annually by Simon Fraser University in Canada; but the money spent on armaments over the same period has remorselessly risen, as reflected in statistics compiled by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. We
have more peace, at least in that narrow sense of a diminution of direct violence, but we are not enjoying a peace dividend. Elements of the institutional frameworks within which we operate – those identified by Fisher and Zimina – tend to present an impenetrable carapace to the insights and perspectives of peacebuilding…

Kai Jacobsen, director of the department of peace operations of the Peace Action, Training and Research Institute of Romania, who’s also here in Cleveland, has grown accustomed to adapting his message to many different audiences, from grassroots environmental activists to the Commonwealth secretariat. About 85 percent of the content remains the same, he told me. The trick is to do what he called ‘practical peacemaking’, which entails listening carefully to the concerns being identified by participants as the leading edge of their critique of the system they’re in – how does it make itself manifest in everyday working life?

Read more at:  
http://www.transcend.org/tms/article_detail.php?article_id=921

4. March 7, UN Youth Association of New South Wales

I was keynote speaker at the annual conference of the UN Youth Association of New South Wales, speaking to 150 high school students in Years 9-12. I addressed the conference theme, 'Global Challenges - Global Responsibilities', examining how international co-operation through fora like the UN is essential for tackling issues such as climate change, poverty, and broader questions of responsibility for humanity. The conference took place at the Naamaroo conference centre in Chatswood.

5. March 17 Barker College

I gave two separate presentations to groups of students, discussing aspects of CPACS’ work and introducing the concept of peace journalism, at Barker College, a private school on Sydney’s Upper North Shore.

6. March 20 Jeff Halper

I introduced and chaired a session with Dr Jeff Halper, an Israeli academic and leading member of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, strong advocates of Palestinian rights. The visit was arranged by the Sydney-based Coalition for Justice and Peace in Palestine, with this talk held in the HR Carne Lecture Theatre.

7. March 26 Book launch, Debates in Peace Journalism, by Jake Lynch, in conversation with Peter Manning, Gleebooks

From the review of the event by Violet Rish, published in PeaceWrites:  
Debates in Peace Journalism offers something substantial to both academics and journalists. Lynch’s last book Peace Journalism, co-authored by Annabel McGoldrick in 2005, read like a manual for journalists, though also providing astute comments of consequence for theory. His current book is accessible to both sides of the spectrum, with a strong theoretical component. One chapter examines Peace Journalism training in Indonesia, a program that came under criticism from alternative journalist training programs. The analysis of the opposing camps is informed by theories of modernization and dependency, theories that characterize
major debates in development studies. Thus Lynch successfully marries the corridors of academia to the world of reporting and brings theory to life, an act that is central to the study of peace and conflict and is never an easy feat.

8. March 30 AusAID stakeholders meeting, Canberra

I made a platform presentation to a two-day conference called by AusAID to discuss issues arising out of scholarships provided to students. CPACS has benefited greatly from the participation and input of students on the Masters program who have received AusAID scholarships. I explained to the conference how our Distance Learning Masters program works, and suggested how it might be suitable, in some cases, to overcome a structural difficulty with the scholarship system, namely that studying in Sydney entails taking people away from the important work many are doing back at home. Further discussions are anticipated.

9. April 23, YPI Film Screening

I was a panel speaker at a film showing and discussion organised by the Youth Peace Initiative of the Sydney Peace Foundation, in the Mackie Building. The film was ‘The Rescue’, which showcased the work of Invisible Children from the US, focusing on prospects for peace and children’s rights in the conflict in northern Uganda. The organisation’s own Katie Bradel was also on the panel, together with Fergus Hanson of the Lowy Institute.

10. April 24 Peace Studies Group meeting

I co-chaired and helped to organise the latest meeting of academic researchers in Australia and New Zealand who draw upon peace studies in their work. I’ve worded that elaborately because many are not in departments or centres of Peace and Conflict Studies as such – belonging, instead, to departments of international relations, cultural studies and many others. They were convened originally by colleagues from the University of New England under a scheme funded by the Carrick Institute, and thanks to them we now have a broader range of contacts and greater sense of ‘community’ with which to work. We hosted this instalment of the gathering at CPACS, with about 35 in attendance.

11. May 7 Public meeting: after Israel’s attack on Gaza, how do we work for peace and justice?

I chaired an evening meeting, held in the Holme and Sutherland Room at the University, examining various tactical approaches to working for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine. The panel of speakers included Kerry Nettle, the former Green Senator, on approaching politicians, and Angela Budai, a union activist who is also a member of the NSW Board of Jewish Deputies, on engaging with the self-identifying ‘mainstream Jewish community’. We also heard from Honorary Professor John Docker, explaining the rationale for an academic boycott of Israel’s Higher Education industry. In a column for the Transcend Media Service, I reflected on the failure by the international community to provide effective remedies for the war crimes committed in the attack on Gaza, which began on December 27, 2008:
There is, then, a situation of effective legal impunity. And if no legal discipline can be exerted, to disincentivise the recourse to violence, then the rest of us are faced with the challenge and opportunity to apply social discipline instead.

This does not entail overlooking breaches of international law or abuses of human rights by other countries. It is not ‘applying double standards’. In the words of the writer, Naomi Klein, ‘Boycott is not a dogma; it is a tactic. The reason the strategy should be tried [on Israel] is practical: in a country so small and trade-dependent, it could actually work’. The general responsibility to act is particularised, in this case, by the opportunity to do so effectively. This is why international campaigns for the boycott of Israeli goods and services, and universities, are gaining ground.

Israeli academics are the source of a great deal of significant criticism of, and opposition to, Israel’s policies – including the Tel Aviv University poll – so there is no suggestion that individual contacts should now cease. Discussions about peace journalism have been considerably enhanced by the participation of wise and clever Israeli academics, and that should continue. At an institutional level, however, universities are deeply embedded in the system of occupation and militarism.

I’ve led a call for the University of Sydney to cancel institutional arrangements with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Technion University, in Haifa. Though small in scale, these contacts are symbolic of a commitment to help Israel enjoy normal relations with the outside world, despite its record. For this to cease now would be our contribution, however minor, to raising the social, economic and political cost of militarism as an alternative to dialogue and negotiation. And that would bring a long overdue boost to the cause of peace with justice.

Read more at:
http://ramallahonline.com/content/3305-why-im-joining-the-academic-boycott-of-israel

12. May 9 Ministry for Peace campaign harbour cruise

I spoke to supporters of the Ministry for Peace campaign here in Australia about issues to do with militarism and the media representation of conflict, aboard their fundraising cruise of Sydney Harbour.

13. May 21-22 RIAP Korean students

In partnership with Sydney University’s Research Institute for Asia-Pacific, I devised and led a special teaching program for a group of senior high school and junior university students from South Korea, sponsored by the country’s own Ministry for Education and the Family. The program introduced them to basic concepts of peace education and peace journalism. Also involved were Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, Dr Wendy Lambourne and CPACS MLitt student Kim Dong-jin. In a week that included numerous other elements, with contributions from other university departments, it was the Peace and Conflict Studies component in general, and my own classes in particular, that stood out in participant evaluations as the most valued element.

I was keynote speaker at this event, organised jointly by CPACS and the Australian Centre for Independent Journalism at the University of Technology, Sydney, where the event was also hosted. Other speakers were the journalist Antony Loewenstein, author of *My Israel Question* and *The Blogging Revolution*, and Peter Cave, Executive Producer of ABC’s *World Today*.

Media formed a battleground in these two conflicts, a theme I developed in a column for the Transcend Media Service and Online Opinion after a rare image reached the outside world, via the UK’s *Channel Four News*, appearing to show Tamil detainees being shot in cold blood by Sri Lankan soldiers:

It illustrates a phenomenon that has ‘redefined, broadened and fragmented’ the media of conflict, creating a ‘capacity for scrutiny and new demands for accountability’. The words are from a fascinating new book by Nik Gowing, senior presenter on BBC World.

There are, Gowing writes, ‘hundreds of millions of electronic eyes and ears… [even] in the most remote and hostile locations’, in the hands of people he calls ‘information doers… [who] shed light when it is often assumed officially there will be darkness’. Two recent episodes serve to illustrate the case, he argues: the violence in Sri Lanka and Israel’s assault on Gaza, which preceded it by a few months. Paradoxically, it was the plenitude of information doers among the Palestinians, and their relative paucity among the Tamils, that accounted, in Gowing’s view, for a disparity in the salience each case was able to attain in international media and political discourses. *Channel Four News* reporter Jonathan Miller made the point, on air, that the defeat of the Tigers had been ‘a war without witnesses’, until ‘a soldier with a mobile phone’ unwittingly supplied the outside world with these new images.


I was a keynote speaker at this international conference, held at the Darlington Centre of the University of Sydney and convened by Dr Ben Goldsmith of the Department of Government and International Relations. I spoke about American militarism since WWII, which the US entered after the attack on Pearl Harbour, an occasion President Roosevelt called the ‘date of infamy’. In my presentation, I argued that this speech was highly influential on statesmanship of the post-war period, as exemplified by the Roman Emperor, Julius Caeser. To prove the point, I played a clip from *Carry on Cleo* in which Caesar, portrayed by the imperishable Kenneth Williams, famously declares: ‘Infamy, infamy, they’ve all got it in for me!’

On the same day, I placed an opinion column in the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

Early this year was a turning point in America’s relations with the rest of the world, and not just because Team Obama took over. What tells us more about the underlying dynamics of global conflict is that the US switched, at some point
following the inauguration, from being a country usually at peace to one usually at war.

The modern era of American war fighting started with what President Franklin Roosevelt called the ‘date of infamy’: Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, which brought GIs into World War II. To this point, 811 months have passed, and the US has now spent 406 of those at war…

What is it about America that keeps it at war and what intensifies the pressures to war? A colossal arms industry needs periodic advertising campaigns, on slogans like ‘shock and awe’, more now because the era of shareholder value means ever greater returns are required, to meet market expectations…

Read more at:  

16. July 10-13 Peace Convergence, Operation Talisman Sabre

Australians never wanted to join in with the invasion of Iraq, and opinion polls throughout 2009 generally confirmed the findings of earlier surveys, that our participation in the war in Afghanistan has now lost majority public support. Despite this, the military seems to press on regardless with preparations for invading other countries alongside the United States, notably in biennial ‘war games’, the military exercise involving thousands of Australian and American troops that takes place in Queensland and is codenamed Operation Talisman Sabre (yes, really). I joined the Peace Convergence protest in Yeppoon with Dr Hannah Middleton and my partner, CPACS part-time lecturer (and soon-to-be doctoral candidate) Annabel McGoldrick. Annabel and I made a short film and posted it on YouTube.

It’s based on the concept of ‘culture-jamming’, since it uses the distinctive presentation techniques, scripting conventions and visual grammar of television news to carry a message quite different from any we generally see in that medium. From my in-vision ‘piece to camera’:

It does seem a bit rich for these protesters to be told by police that if they move across that line they’ll be committing an illegal act and therefore making themselves subject to arrest, when you consider that what’s happening over there is preparations by the Australian Defence Force, alongside the Americans, for the
invasion and occupation of another country. In other words, a premeditated war crime is under active preparation. You might think anyone concerned with law enforcement would be more focused on that illegality than this.

Watch the film at: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5sMsnIewA3o](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5sMsnIewA3o)

**17. July 19-21 Social Cohesion conference on Islamophobia**

I was one of the organisers, along with representatives from three other universities, of a conference planned in association with the Auburn-based Affinity Intercultural Foundation, called to discuss themes of social cohesion and inclusion and concentrating on Islamophobia. The event took place in the New Law Building at the University of Sydney, and went ahead with support from the School of Social and Political Sciences. My keynote presentation at the public event that opened the conference looked at issues of media presentation in which Muslims, Islam and/or Muslim countries are unthinkingly but habitually constructed as a ‘problem’ in mainstream Australian media; a syndrome that provides a context, in turn, for the more openly hateful outpourings of ‘shock jocks’ and their callers on FM radio stations.

**18. August 20 Burma meeting with Dr Cynthia Maung**

I introduced this meeting, held at CPACS in partnership with APHEDA, the international aid charity of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, and the Burma Campaign Australia. Dr Cynthia Maung established and runs the Mae Tao Clinic on the Thai Burma Border that treats hundreds of thousands of civilians affected by the conflict in Burma each year. Because the clinic sends out roaming medical teams that cross the border to tend to those in need, governments – including the Australian government – are reluctant to provide funds from official aid budgets, for fear of upsetting the authorities in Thailand and Burma. This meeting was the sequel to the one we held exactly a year earlier, in which we formulated a submission to a review being conducted by DFAT, which was published in 2009. In it, I argued that the Mae Tao Clinic would be a suitable beneficiary of Australian aid, but the relevant paragraph of the final report merely restates the existing policy:

DFAT added that it did not sanction cross-border assistance because it was not authorised by Burma or Thailand and providing such assistance ‘could potentially compromise Australia’s humanitarian assistance activities within Burma’.

(then download Chapter 8 on Human Rights).

**19. August 31 Sri Lanka’s Human Rights Emergency**

I introduced and chaired this well-attended public meeting at the Footbridge Lecture Theatre, called to launch the Sri Lanka Human Rights Project at CPACS (see separate entry) and organised jointly with the Australian Centre for Independent Journalism, with the support of Amnesty International.

Other speakers included the Centre’s Director, Professor Wendy Bacon, as well as Tamil advocate Sam Pari, paediatrician Dr John Whitehall, who worked with Tamil
children, and Australia’s former Deputy High Commissioner in Colombo, Bruce Haigh.

See my introductory remarks, along with the Channel Four News report, here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5fSuWy6ffGA

20. September 9 Meeting at federal parliament, Canberra, over Sri Lanka’s human rights emergency

I chaired a highly successful meeting at the federal parliament in Canberra to brief ministers, MPs and senior officials. This presaged a familiar attempt to scare Australians with a sensationalised narrative of a ‘flood’ of would-be refugees from the conflict, involving some familiar suspects: the Australian newspaper and prominent Liberal MPs such as Wilson Tuckey and former Attorney-General Philip Ruddock. I contributed a response by way of a column for the New Matilda website:

Base political calculations trump any semblance of evidence-based policy-making. ‘As an island continent, Australia is uniquely positioned’, Ruddock avers, to stem the so-called tide of would-be refugees — conveniently ignoring the fact that the vast majority of asylum claims are lodged by people who have arrived by air.

Following the 9/11 attacks in the US, Ruddock’s boss, former prime minister John Howard, went out of his way to tar asylum seekers with the brush of terrorism — supposedly a threat to the security of those crucial swing voters. And yet ASIO, who ran routine security checks on ‘boat people’, never found a single terrorism suspect.

The Rudd Government stands accused of colluding with the Sri Lankans to keep the Tamils in the camps — anything to prevent them from reaching the airports. Bruce Haigh, the former Deputy High Commissioner in Colombo, says the Deputy Chief of the Navy went with this message, back in June, with Kevin Rudd’s explicit endorsement: ‘His plea amounted to an endorsement of the continued detention of Tamils in appalling conditions’, Haigh notes.

Read more here: http://newmatilda.com/2009/10/15/check-facts-philip

21. September 21 International Day of Peace festivities, Martin Place

I compered the peak five-hour section of this important event at Martin Place, Sydney, organised by the Ministry for Peace Campaign in Australia under its chairperson, Bianca Pace. Celebrations included cultural inputs from a wide range of nations, as well as formal ceremonies involving the Consuls General to Sydney of several countries and the calling and showing of flags from 194 states.

22. September 24 Developing the campaign for a boycott of Israel’s Higher Education industry

I chaired a sometimes fiery evening meeting, held at CPACS with speakers Antony Loewenstein and Honorary Professor John Docker, to discuss further the campaign to join the academic boycott of Israel. The meeting led to proposals, now being actively developed, to involve the National Tertiary Education Union in our efforts to contact university colleagues to rally them to the boycott cause, following a landmark decision
by the UK’s Trade Union Congress to adopt a boycott motion at its annual conference days before.

**23. September 25 Sri Lanka curry night**

I spoke at a fundraising curry night organised by members of the Tamil community in Sydney, about our campaign to raise concerns over the human rights of Tamils in Sri Lanka in Australian media and political circles.

**24. October 8 Afghan rally**

I spoke at a rally outside the Town Hall in Sydney to mark the eighth anniversary of the US-led invasion of Afghanistan. See picture here:


And I commented on the ill-fated attempts by outsiders to impose their own ideas on Afghanistan’s political system, in a column for the Transcend Media Service:

> It goes against the instincts of many Afghans to award all the power to one centre – contrary to the consensual principles of traditional decision-making structures like jirgas and shuras.

Those instincts were manifest in the results of a rare opinion poll among Afghans, conducted by the International Republican Institute in May of this year. Most reports of its findings concentrated on the apparent drop of support for Karzai and its implications for this year’s election, but, buried on the last page of the IRI’s own press release is an interesting snippet: ‘Sixty-eight percent of respondents feel that the government should reconcile with the Taliban, 14 percent do not’.

What’s stopping this from happening is the war being waged by international troops. ‘The Taliban’ is a term applied to a much looser and more diffuse group of people than is commonly inferred, but leading commanders are in no mood for compromise at the moment because they believe they are winning, and with good reason: they recently seized effective control of much of Kandahar, the fall of which to the US-backed Northern Alliance appeared to confirm the rout of the Taliban back in 2001.

For the Taliban’s central leadership, forcing the US-led troops from their country would be a decent definition of victory. The determination of those troops to remain, therefore, is putting off the prospect of negotiations leading to reconciliation, and the basis for an inclusive political process to replace the divisive one represented by the presidential election and (now) run-off.

Read more here:


**25. October 19-31 Middle East trip (training)**

I was privileged to receive two invitations to visit the Middle East, in one case to train journalists in peace journalism, and in the other to train peace advocates in techniques
to promote their message through local and global media. I combined them into one trip that took me to Beirut in Lebanon and Ramallah in the Palestinian Occupied West Bank. This followed my own efforts to compensate for the extraordinarily one-sided approach to the Palestinian question by the Australian government and, in many cases, media, including a column I contributed to the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

Days after the Deputy Prime Minister, Julia Gillard, was greeted in Israel and thanked for having been ‘alone in sticking by us’ during Operation Cast Lead, the attack on the Gaza Strip in December and January, the Jewish state added piracy to its list of recent crimes against international law. The two developments are connected, and not just by coincidence of timing.

Israel sent six military vessels to seize a ship, the Spirit of Humanity, sailing from Cyprus with relief supplies for the people of Gaza, and arrested - no, make that abducted - 21 people on board …

The international jurist Richard Falk, who has served as UN Human Rights Rapporteur for the occupied Palestinian territories, points out that this compounds an existing and ongoing violation of international law. The boat set sail in response to Israel’s blockade of Gaza, which, Falk says, contravenes Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits any form of collective punishment of an occupied people.

A study of the transcripts of Ms Gillard’s speeches and interviews, from her recent trip to Israel and Ramallah, reveals that the word ‘Gaza’ did not once pass her lips.

Read more here:

26. November 10 Sri Lanka meeting in Melbourne

I spoke to this meeting called by activists in Melbourne and attended by supporters, as well as opponents, of the Sri Lankan government.

27. December 1 Rabbi Michael Lerner

I introduced and chaired a public meeting with Rabbi Michael Lerner at the Old Geology Lecture Theatre, talking about ‘Progressive Politics under Obama’.

28. December 4 Model UN conference

I was invited to give the opening address to the Model UN conference held by University of Sydney students, at the main lecture theatre in the Quadrangle.

29. December 12 Sri Lanka tent stall, Glebe Markets

The Sri Lanka Human Rights Project organised a tent and information stall at the Glebe Markets to mark International Human Rights day, with an introductory speech by me. I contributed an article to the UK-based website, Open Democracy, on developments in the Sri Lanka conflict:
The news that the Government of Sri Lanka is to close the internment camps where thousands of Tamils were illegally detained, following the end of the country’s civil war against the Tamil Tiger rebels six months ago, is testimony to the effect of international pressure…

With the demise of the Tigers, the ‘don’t-talk-to-terrorists’ excuse is removed. The record shows that when assertions of self-determination are met with attempts to quell them, by force and/or administrative fiat, they gain in strength, and are apt to find expression in violence. When they are met with negotiation in good faith, they can produce a sustainable improvement in the outlook for all concerned. For hopeful precedents – albeit with different outcomes – look no further than the two ends of Indonesia, Aceh to the west, now enjoying a high degree of autonomous self-government within the state, and East Timor to the east, now embarked on a new chapter as an independent nation state.

The Tamil community in Sri Lanka must be allowed to elect credible leaders who can negotiate meaningfully on political arrangements for a shared future of justice and equality. So they must be allowed to speak and organise freely, with full access to International NGOs and – in the case of alleged Tamil Tigers now being arrested – to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Indictments, for the war crimes documented in the State Department report, can be held over the Colombo government as a means to incentivise cooperation, along with the financial squeeze through the EU and IMF. Unless there is an early move towards recognising and treating with the Tamils’ legitimate right to self-determination, the whole dismal cycle will, sooner or later, start again. That must therefore be the urgent concern of the international community.

Read more here:
http://www.opendemocracy.net/jake-lynch/sri-lanka-what-happens-next
In 2009 the academic program grew to three full-time academic staff: Associate Professor Jake Lynch, Director of CPACS and coordinator of the Masters Distance Learning program; Dr Wendy Lambourne, Senior Lecturer, who continued as Postgraduate Coursework Coordinator and Undergraduate Coordinator; and new full-time Lecturer, Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, who took on the role of Postgraduate Research Coordinator during the year.

Associate Professor Jake Lynch coordinated the ever-popular Conflict-Resolving Media unit with Ms Annabel McGoldrick in Summer School and again intensively in second semester; the new postgraduate unit on the political economy of conflict and peace with Professor Frank Stilwell of the Department of Political Economy in first semester; and the online version of Human Rights, Peace and Justice in second semester. Dr Wendy Lambourne coordinated the United Nations unit and Psychology of Peace in first semester; the new Winter School unit Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding; and in second semester, Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding and the undergraduate unit on the History and Politics of War and Peace. Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard coordinated Nonviolence and Social Change in Summer School; Human Rights, Peace and Justice in first semester; and Gender and the Development of Peace in second semester. Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard also coordinated the core postgraduate unit, Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies, offered in both first and second semesters, with Associate Professor Jake Lynch.

This core group of teaching staff was supported by an impressive team of part-time lecturers and honorary associates including Dr Ken Macnab, Adjunct Professor Sev Ozdowski, Dr Erik Paul, Professor Frank Hutchinson, Mr Peter Herborn, Adjunct Professor Garry Trompf, Ms Annabel McGoldrick, Ms Leticia Anderson and Mr Paul Clark. Distance unit coordinators included Professor Johan Galtung, Professor George Kent, Professor Paul D. Scott and Professor Fred Dubee, all of whom teach with Transcend Peace University.

For the first time, Dr Erik Paul offered an intensive Winter School unit drawing on his extensive study of the South East Asian region, and Mr Peter Herborn from the University of Western Sydney joined Professor Frank Hutchinson in teaching the innovative Summer School unit exploring the relationship between peace and the environment. In first semester, Adjunct Professor Sev Ozdowski presented key lectures in the human rights unit, and Mr Paul Clark and Ms Annabel McGoldrick joined Dr Wendy Lambourne in teaching about the psychology of peace. In second semester, Ms Leticia Anderson coordinated the Religion, War and Peace unit supported by Associate Professor Ahmad Shboul of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dr Wendy Lambourne and a number of other guest lecturers including Adjunct Professor Garry Trompf, Dr Ken Macnab and Associate Professor Jake Lynch.
We were again grateful for the guest contributions of a number of lecturers from other departments at the University of Sydney as well as from other universities, including Professor John Langmore from the University of Melbourne in the UN unit; and Dr Andrew McGarrity from the Department of Indian Subcontinental Studies, Dr Paul Fuller from the Department of Studies in Religion, and Ms Peta Jones Pellach from the Shalom Institute in the Religion, War and Peace unit. The Nonviolence and Social Change unit included guest lectures by Leah Lui-Chivizhe of the Koori Centre, Professor Brian Martin from the University of Wollongong, Dr Hannah Middleton of the Sydney Peace Foundation and Jason McLeod from the University of Queensland.

We are delighted to acknowledge the guest lectures and teaching assistance provided by CPACS graduates and PhD candidates including Annie Herro (Nonviolence and Social Change and UN units); David Penkis and Eyal Mayroz (UN unit); James Tonny Dhizaala and Vivianna Rodriguez Carreon (Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding); Lea Vanzella, Paul Duffill, Leah Chan and Keryn Scott (Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding); Cammi Webb (Peace and Conflict in South East Asia); Karen Kennedy (Political Economy of Conflict and Peace); Aletia Dundas (Nonviolence and Social Change) and David Lacey (Peace of Mind: The Psychology of Peace).

Administrative Assistants Keryn Scott and Lyn Dickens continued to provide an invaluable service to the academic program in 2009, always willing to support staff and the ever growing cohort of CPACS students. The occasional assistance of Leah Chan in times of need was also much appreciated.

Undergraduate Program

PACS2002 History and Politics of War and Peace, taught jointly in Semester 2 with the Department of History, had another successful year, with more than 120 students enrolled. CPACS PhD candidate Leticia Anderson took on the demanding role of course tutor, while Dr Wendy Lambourne coordinated the unit with Dr Ken Macnab delivering the bulk of the lectures. Lectures were also presented by Leticia Anderson, Associate Professor Jake Lynch, and Associate Professor Judith Keene from the Department of History. Students who completed the evaluation form for the unit in
2009 described the course as ‘very interesting and different’, ‘very informative and enjoyable’ with ‘inspirational and interesting lecturers’ and including ‘diverse concepts, theories and approaches’. The tutor was described in glowing terms as ‘excellent’, ‘committed’ and ‘very helpful’ by a number of students – well done Leticia!

Postgraduate Coursework Program

Student Enrolments

Student enrolments in units of study in the postgraduate program increased yet again in 2009 to a record total of more than 600. Many of the classes were taught twice because of the high enrolment numbers, and one unit, PACS6901 United Nations and International Conflict Resolution, proved its popularity with a record high enrolment of 78 students necessitating the offering of three seminar class times. Thanks to Dr Ken Macnab, Annie Herro and Lucy Rhydwen-Marett from APHEDA who agreed at short notice to assist with these additional classes.

Postgraduate Peace and Conflict Studies coursework students in 2009 came from many countries, including the USA, Norway, England, Scotland, New Zealand, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Mexico, Martinique, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Taiwan (ROC), South Korea, Japan, Sri Lanka, Kenya and South Africa. The MPACS Distance program added to the geographical spread of the CPACS academic program, with students who live in every state in Australia plus Canada, Sweden, France, Guatemala, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Vietnam, South Africa and the UK.

MPACS students Katie Scott Aiton from Scotland with Estelle Hinds (left), and Johnnel Raneses from the Philippines with Olivia Sabin from Martinique (right) at the first semester student dinner.

Postgraduate Units of Study 2009

Summer School

PACS6903 Peace and the Environment
  Professor Frank Hutchinson & Mr Peter Herborn
PACS6912 Nonviolence and Social Change
  Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard
PACS6914 Conflict-Resolving Media
  Associate Professor Jake Lynch & Ms Annabel McGoldrick
### Semester 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
<th>Instructor(s)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PACS6901</td>
<td>United Nations and International Conflict Resolution</td>
<td>Dr Wendy Lambourne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6904</td>
<td>Dissertation Seminars</td>
<td>Dr Wendy Lambourne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6911</td>
<td>Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies</td>
<td>Associate Professor Jake Lynch &amp; Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6915</td>
<td>Human Rights, Peace and Justice</td>
<td>Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard with Adjunct Professor Sev Ozdowski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6921</td>
<td>Peace of Mind: The Psychology of Peace</td>
<td>Dr Wendy Lambourne &amp; Mr Paul Clark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6922</td>
<td>Peaceful Conflict Transformation (online)</td>
<td>Professor Johan Galtung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6923</td>
<td>Human Right to Food (online)</td>
<td>Professor George Kent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6924</td>
<td>Democritisation of the Developing World (online)</td>
<td>Professor Paul D Scott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOP6019</td>
<td>Political Economy of Conflict and Peace</td>
<td>Professor Frank Stilwell &amp; Associate Professor Jake Lynch</td>
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### Winter School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PACS6926</td>
<td>Peace and Conflict in South-East Asia</td>
<td>Dr Erik Paul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6927</td>
<td>Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding</td>
<td>Dr Wendy Lambourne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Semester 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
<th>Instructor(s)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PACS6904</td>
<td>Dissertation Seminars</td>
<td>Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6907</td>
<td>Gender and the Development of Peace</td>
<td>Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6908</td>
<td>Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding</td>
<td>Dr Wendy Lambourne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6911</td>
<td>Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies (intensive)</td>
<td>Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard &amp; Associate Professor Jake Lynch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6914</td>
<td>Conflict-Resolving Media (intensive)</td>
<td>Associate Professor Jake Lynch &amp; Ms Annabel McGoldrick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6915</td>
<td>Human Rights, Peace and Justice (online)</td>
<td>Associate Professor Jake Lynch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6917</td>
<td>Religion, War and Peace</td>
<td>Ms Leticia Anderson with Associate Professor Ahmad Shboul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6922</td>
<td>Peaceful Conflict Transformation (online)</td>
<td>Professor Johan Galtung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACS6925</td>
<td>Peace and the Global Compact (online)</td>
<td>Professor Fred Dubee with Associate Professor Jake Lynch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
New Units of Study in 2010 and 2011

CPACS obtained approval to offer a new postgraduate unit of study in Summer School 2010: PACS6928 Community Mediation: Theory and Practice, to be taught by accredited mediation trainers and practitioners, Mr Abe Quadan and Dr Spase Karoski. This new unit will focus on the theory and practical application of facilitation, communication and conflict resolution skills in a community mediation context. Through learning about the various models of mediation and engaging in role plays and simulation exercises, students will become skilled as mediators able to manage the stages involved in community mediation. The content of the unit complies with the core training requirement under the Australian National Accreditation Standards for community mediators.

A second new unit of study has also been approved, PACS6929 Information Interventions in Conflict, to be offered for the first time in first semester 2011 and taught jointly by Associate Professor Jake Lynch and Dr Antonio Castillo from Media and Communications. More and more intervening agencies look to work with conflict by ‘pulling the lever of media’. How they do so, and with what aims, rests on theoretical assumptions, albeit often undeclared, about social, economic and political relations, both within conflict-affected countries and globally. This new unit will look at the growing field of information interventions, from journalist training to public service announcements in disaster zones, and will examine conceptual models including modernisation, dependencia, the ‘information society’ and Communication for Social Change. Taught by specialist researchers who are also all experienced practitioners, it will equip students to apply a practical and principled approach for peace with justice to a broad range of conflict work in media domains.

Theory to Practice

As part of the theory-to-practice focus of the postgraduate program, students are given the opportunity to participate in practical conflict resolution and professional mediation skills training workshops. In first semester, Abe Quadan and Kathleen Dan offered a full two-day basic mediation skills training workshop, and in second semester Christina Batchen ran a seven week series of Introduction to Conflict Resolution Skills workshops for students enrolled in PACS6908 Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding. Certificates were awarded to students for successful completion of these workshops.
In 2009, students in PACS6908 designed and facilitated simulations of interactive conflict resolution workshops dealing with the Mindanao conflict in the Philippines, and the other focusing on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as it manifests in the Sydney diaspora. Students organised the logistics for each workshop, researched and played the roles of conflict participants, and facilitated the workshops. The Philippines workshop was designed to build relationships between Muslim, Christian and indigenous participants by focusing on training in disaster preparedness. For the other workshop, students played the roles of Jewish and Palestinian women living in Sydney who were brought together to foster understanding and reconciliation. Students in both classes are to be congratulated on their commitment and creativity in the results and learning they achieved through this demanding class exercise. This unit requires intensive teaching, training and coaching support for students, which was provided by the Coordinator, Dr Wendy Lambourne, with the assistance of Lea Vanzella and Paul Duffill who both also contributed to the course design and assessment, and guest speakers/coaches, Leah Chan and Keryn Scott.

Unit of Study Development: PACS6927 Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding

Transitional justice is a rapidly emerging interdisciplinary field of study focusing on processes dealing with past human rights violations and the transition to a more peaceful and more democratic state. Originally located within international law and human rights discourse, transitional justice has now expanded to incorporate the contributions of a number of other disciplines including criminology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, theology, political science, development studies and peace and conflict studies.

In this new unit of study, students explore the evolution of transitional justice theory and practice, including a critical examination of truth commissions, criminal trials and traditional practices as a means of supporting sustainable peacebuilding. Case studies covered in the course include post-apartheid South Africa, post-genocide Rwanda and Cambodia, the post-violence transitions in Peru and Guatemala, and post-civil war Mozambique, Liberia and Sierra Leone.
Guest lecturers with experience and expertise in various transitional justice contexts presented during the course, including Pheng Pong-Rasy, a Cambodian survivor of the genocide who is now working with the Documentation Center of Cambodia on outreach for the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, and Christoph Sperfeldt from Germany who completed his Masters research on Guatemala and South Africa and worked with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda before commencing his current position with the Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee. During the course, the coordinator, Dr Wendy Lambourne, drew on her field research experience in Rwanda, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Cambodia and East Timor, while James Tonny Dhizaala and Vivianna Rodriguez Carreon spoke about their respective PhD research in Liberia and Peru.

On the final day of the course, students participated in two assessment tasks designed to explore the complexities and apparent contradictions sometimes encountered in the pursuit of transitional justice, and to develop skills in critically assessing the issues involved in designing a transitional justice process in practice. The first exercise was a debate on the implications of the International Criminal Court issuing indictments during armed conflict, with particular reference to Northern Uganda. The second was a simulation in which students were required to play the roles of participants in a UN-convened consultation to design a transitional justice process in a post-conflict context. The issues raised by these exercises included the perceived dilemma of achieving peace versus justice; assessing the value of indigenous approaches to transitional justice versus introduced, Western mechanisms; managing civil society participation and local empowerment; and balancing the interests and needs of victims with those of perpetrators, governments and the international community.

Student evaluations revealed that all 20 enrolled students who completed the course in Winter School 2009 either agreed or strongly agreed that they were satisfied with the quality of the unit of study, that the teaching helped them to learn effectively and that they were motivated to engage with the learning activities in the course. PACS6927 will be taught again in intensive format in September 2010.
Coursework Dissertations and Treatises

Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard took over coordination of the dissertation and treatise seminars in second semester, and introduced guest presentations from Adjunct Professor Sev Ozdowski and Honorary Associate Dr Erik Paul on research methods in social sciences, and MPACS graduate and PhD candidate Lyn Dickens, who shared her MPACS dissertation research experience. Dr Ken Macnab, Dr Wendy Lambourne and Associate Professor Jake Lynch also contributed to the lunchtime sessions and, along with Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, supervised the majority of students completing MPACS dissertations and MLitt treatises. Additional dissertation and treatise supervision and examination support was provided by Professor Frank Hutchinson, Associate Professor Stuart Rees, Adjunct Professor Garry Trompf, Dr Sandra Phelps, Dr Hannah Middleton, and Dr Leonid Petrov from Korean Studies.

The following nineteen students completed MPACS dissertations and three students completed MLitt treatises in 2009:

**MPACS dissertations completed in 2009**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Name</th>
<th>Title of Dissertation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashley Alderton</td>
<td>Media at War: The Rwandan Genocide and Implications for Future Conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisansala Aryachandra</td>
<td>Terrorlist Formula: An alternative for listing terrorists and measuring terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda Beasley</td>
<td>The Indictment of Omar Hussan Ahmad al Bashir by the International Criminal Court: Understanding Why African and Arab Leaders Support Bashir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juliet Bennett</td>
<td>An Ethical Dilemma: Childhood Conversion to Christian Fundamentalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca Chhan</td>
<td>Creativity in Peacebuilding: The Value of Art to Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie Cook</td>
<td>Forget Me Not: A study in why maternal health is being left behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casey Cross</td>
<td>Exacerbating Divisions: Peacebuilding, the UN and East Timor: An Ecofeminist Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassie Dawes</td>
<td>Understanding the ‘other’ through film: representations of ethnicity in Second World War Hollywood feature films</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine Dix</td>
<td>Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: How can youth and the media work together to support the normative goal of peace?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethany Geeves</td>
<td>Fighting Words: The Importance of Language Policy for Conflict and Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zara Gosson</td>
<td>Happiness in the Pursuit of Peace: Re-evaluating the role and significance of happiness in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy King</td>
<td>Hard Yakka: A Historical Comparative Study of Aboriginal Working Women in the New South Wales Public Sector Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ragna Kristiansen</td>
<td>Taking a Glimpse at the UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Has the Resolution contributed to improving the situation of the women in Timor-Leste?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophie Morgan</td>
<td>Female Genital Cutting: An Issue of Peace with Justice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MLitt Treatises completed in 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Hardy</td>
<td>Statebuilding for Peace: The (Human) Security-Development Nexus in Fragile States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Dong-jin</td>
<td>Peacebuilding in the Korean Peninsula: The Role of the Ecumenical Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey Njuguna Kiarie</td>
<td>An Analysis of the Underlying Causes of the 2007 Post-Election Conflict in Kenya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graduations

Congratulations to the following 35 students who graduated with degrees in Peace and Conflict Studies in 2009, including the first MPACS by Distance graduate:

Master of Letters (Peace and Conflict Studies):
Shannon Harvey, Geoffrey Njuguna, Mihai Sora

Master of Peace and Conflict Studies:
Nisansala Aryachandra, Juliet (Melissa) Bennett, Kath Caller, Rebecca Chhan, Casey Cross, Emily Eaton, Jurgen Gallistl, Benjamin Geese, Bethany Geeves, Zara Gosson, Marita Gudmundsen, Feven Haddish, Diana Kartika, Nancy King, Sophie Morgan, Andrea Ottina, Elena Padua, Kelly Pratt, Sabrin Rahman, Gobie Rajalingam, Maria Rickert, Violet Rish, Mervyn Sequeira, Tim Siegenbeek van Heukelom, Marianne Skaiaa, Lyn Tuckett, Saman Ziaei
Graduate Certificate in Peace and Conflict Studies:
Cindy Alkadamani, Luke Boenisch, Sakellaris Hourdas, Nathan Nathan, Kerrilyn Petersen

Student and Alumni Achievements

Our postgraduate coursework students and graduates were active in publishing, social justice activism, winning prizes and expanding their professional experience and careers in 2009. Some of their achievements are highlighted below. Further information can be found on the CPACS website and graduates can join the CPACS Alumni Facebook group.

- MLitt student Paul Duffill from New Zealand was awarded the 2008 Isaac Roet Prize, an international essay competition run by the Faculty of Economics and Business at the University of Amsterdam and Economists for Peace and Security, for his essay entitled ‘A Meta-Intervention for the Israel-Palestine Conflict Incorporating Economic and Social Justice Issues’. Paul’s article in the October issue of PeaceWrites (2009/2, p. 15) provides further details. In December, Paul was invited to present his work at a conference hosted by the Erasmus University of Rotterdam in The Hague. He is working as facilitation coordinator for a dance-as-trauma-healing project for refugee children in the West Bank, Palestine, through to February 2010, after which he will take up an internship with CPACS.


- Melissa McCullough, who completed her MPACS degree in 2009, has been working as the convener of the Darfur Australia Network in Sydney. She is excited to have been offered a position as an Australian Youth Ambassador for Development based in Siem Reap, Cambodia starting in April 2010.

- MPACS student Catherine Dix, from the UK, published an article ‘Steeped in stereotypes’ on Online Opinion: Australia’s e-journal of social and political science in November, commenting on the issue of asylum seekers.
• Gobie Rajalingam (MPACS 2008) became Co-Convener of the CPACS Sri Lanka Human Rights Project (see his article in Peace Writes, 2009/2, October 2009, p. 8).

• Tim Siegenbeek van Heukelom from the Netherlands (MPACS 2008) received a Faculty of Economics and Business international scholarship to commence his PhD with the Centre for International Security Studies, University of Sydney, on the topic ‘Food security: the implications of large scale foreign agricultural projects in the developing world’.


Mike Otterman (MLitt (PACS) 2006), who returned to live in the US after spending two years as a Visiting Scholar with CPACS, completed his second book Erasing Iraq: The Human Costs of Carnage, co-authored with Richard Hil and Paul Wilson, due for publication by Pluto Press in March 2010.

Originally from Germany, Lea Vanzella (nee Norbisrath, MA (PACS) 2005), is now living in Sydney as a consultant trainer, facilitator and conflict resolution practitioner, and has joined Stephanie Chiu (MLitt (PACS) student), Munther Emad (MA (PACS) 2004) and Stewart Mills (MA (PACS) 2003) working in restorative justice with the NSW Department of Justice and Attorney General Forum Sentencing program.

Kevin Chang (MA (PACS) 2003) commenced a new job as a Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation Specialist with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) based in Nepal, after working at UNDP’s Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery Headquarters in Geneva.

Four MPACS graduates are pursuing their PhD with CPACS, all of them with postgraduate research scholarships: Annie Herro (MPACS 2006), Eyal Mayroz (MPACS 2006), Bonaventure Mkandawire (MPACS 2007) and Lyn Dickens (MPACS 2008).
Postgraduate Research

Congratulations to David Lacey who submitted his Master of Arts (Research) thesis on ‘The Role of Humiliation in Collective Political Violence’ in August 2009. An article based on his thesis research entitled ‘The Role of Humiliation in the Palestinian/Israeli Conflict in Gaza’ has been accepted for publication in the online journal *Psychology and Society* in a special issue on ‘The Social Psychology of International Conflict Resolution’. Also, congratulations to Dr Rowan Savage who submitted his PhD thesis and graduated in October. Rowan commenced in 2005 as the Centre’s first PhD candidate, subsequently transferred to Sociology, but continued with Dr Wendy Lambourne as his Associate Supervisor. Rowan has published several journal articles based on his PhD research on the role of dehumanisation in enabling genocide.

CPACS welcomed three new research students in 2009: Lyn Dickens who received a University Postgraduate Award to commence her PhD in second semester; and Andrea Ottina from Italy and Sanjay Ramesh from Fiji who are both completing MA (Research) theses. We also congratulate Rachael Hart whose upgrade from an MPhil to PhD was approved at the beginning of 2009, and Annie Herro who was awarded an Australian Postgraduate Award as she converts to full-time PhD status in 2010.

The October 2009 issue of *PeaceWrites* featured an overview of 16 of the Centre’s 20 postgraduate research students. These included Master of Arts (Research) students Karen Kennedy, David Lacey, Andrea Ottina (Italy) and Sanjay Ramesh (Fiji), and doctoral candidates Leticia Anderson, Neven Bondokji (Jordan), Lyn Dickens, James Tonny Dhizaala (Uganda), Vivianna Rodriguez-Carreon (Peru), Rachael Hart, Annie Herro, Sean Johnson, Eyal Mayroz, Bonaventure Mkandawire (Malawi), David Penklis and Cammi Webb.

MA (Research) student Daniel Jang took leave of absence in second semester to focus on a new job with the Christian NGO, Compassion, while part-time DSocSci candidates focussed on their full-time work in 2009: Nimalan Karthikeyan with the Regional Assistance Mission in the Solomon Islands; Elenie Poulos with Uniting Justice; and Zoe Bedford completed coursework while working with APHEDA.

Regular research student seminars were held throughout the year, and featured student-led discussions and guest speakers on topics including theory and methodology; conducting field research; presenting at conferences; publishing journal articles; and completing the thesis! The year culminated in a full-day mini-conference where students presented and discussed their research with peers and supervisors. Thanks to
Annie Herro, Thushara Dibley (Indonesian Studies/CPACS) and Cammi Webb in particular for their commitment to supporting Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard in organising the research student sessions and the end-of-year mini conference.

In the last year, CPACS research students were extremely active in conducting fieldwork, presenting papers at local and international conferences, and publishing their research:

- Annie Herro and David Penklis, along with Dr Wendy Lambourne, published ‘Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement in Africa: The Potential Contribution of a UN Emergency Peace Service’ in *African Security Review*, 18:1, 2009. Annie Herro also conducted field research about attitudes towards UNEPS in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia during 2009; co-organised a regional roundtable in Jakarta, Indonesia, in June on peacekeeping and civilian protection; and published regular opinion pieces in *New Matilda*, and an article in *Online Opinion* about ASEAN and human rights which was reprinted in *PeaceWrites* (2009/2, October 2009, pp. 6-7).


PhD candidates Leticia Anderson (left); Vivianna Rodriguez Carreon (centre); and Rachael Hart with James Tonny Dhizaala (right).
• Leticia Anderson presented papers at two significant conferences in the United Kingdom. The first paper, entitled ‘Australian anti-terrorism legislation and its impact upon Australian community relations,’ was presented at Diasporas, migration and identities: crossing boundaries, new directions, a conference jointly organised by the Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism and the AHRC Diasporas, Migration and Identities Programme at the University of Surrey, Guildford. The second paper, ‘Scapegoat or innocent victim: Australian anti-terrorism legislation and its targets’, was presented at Fearful Symmetries: Religion, Co-existence and the Secular, the annual conference of the Colloquium on Religion and Violence, at St Mary’s University College in London.

• Vivianna Rodriguez Carreon presented a paper entitled ‘How do women who experience extreme violence during conflict become agents of peace after conflict?’ and chaired a session at the Human Development and Capability Approach international conference in Lima, Peru in September; and was an invited speaker about her PhD research at MLC High School in Sydney in November. Vivianna also participated in a postgraduate research student panel at a Sydney University Research Community for Latin America seminar in October, and commenced her field research in Peru.

• Karen Kennedy published an article in PeaceWrites about the challenges and misconceptions relating to the topic of her MA research on anarchism, peace and the politics of nonviolent revolution (‘A threat to national security – researching anarchism’ in PeaceWrites, 2009/02, October 2009, p. 14).

• Cammi Webb conducted field research interviews in Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and Australia further exploring West Papuan identity and attitudes towards peacebuilding.

• Eyal Mayroz was invited to attend the 2009 annual meeting of the Genocide Prevention Advisory Network in Caux, Switzerland in June. The network is an unofficial group of leading genocide scholars supported by the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Eyal’s doctoral thesis is concerned with US foreign policy and genocide prevention.

• Neven Bondokji conducted field research in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon reviewing literature in Arabic on Hamas, Islam and politics, and the formation of identity among ‘political Islamist’ movements. She visited a number of specialised centres in Palestinian studies in Amman and Beirut, and searched archival issues of the Hamas-aligned magazine, Muslim Palestine.

• Thushara Dibley presented preliminary results of her research findings at the Indonesia Council Open Conference at the University of Sydney in July 2009, completed her fieldwork in Aceh and East Timor, and submitted an article scheduled for publication in Research in Indonesian and Malay Affairs in early 2010.

• Sanjay Ramesh organised a workshop on 30 October 2009 at the University of Southern Queensland campus in Sydney on options for democracy in Fiji.
We congratulate all of our students on their research progress and academic achievements. As mentioned in the section on staff, many postgraduate students are also assisting with teaching at CPACS. For more information about research students and their topics, please see the CPACS website or our newsletter, Peace Writes.

CPACS students Sarah Spieth, Kitty Reddington and Mona Mogadam with the sculptures they created for the garden outside CPACS. The stone contains a quote from Gandhi which reads:

‘In a gentle way, you can shake the world’.
Research
Associate Professor Jake Lynch, Dr Wendy Lambourne, Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard and colleagues

Peace Journalism Research and Media Activism
Associate Professor Jake Lynch, Director

Peace journalism continues to grow and expand as a globally recognised field of academic research endeavour, with more researchers from more countries contributing their insights. Most if not all adduce my book, Peace Journalism (co-authored with Annabel McGoldrick and published in 2005) as a prime iterative text.

In the highlight of my research year, the Australian Research Council decided to fund its first ever peace journalism research, a Linkage Project in which Annabel and I will investigate the prospects for ‘A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict’, in partnership with the International Federation of Journalists and Act for Peace.

The total project budget is nearly half a million dollars, and the plans will see us travel to five countries to conduct in-depth research on the differential psychological responses to war journalism and peace journalism respectively, building on our technique of offering ‘two versions’ of the same story in the form of television news. Data from those countries, along with a further 15, will yield material for comparative content analysis, drawing heavily on the peace journalism model.

The aim is to produce a set of criteria for determining the quality of conflict coverage, suitable for implementation by standards agencies around the world, sufficiently general to allow meaningful comparisons whilst at the same time flexible enough to pick up specific distinctions in different contexts.

I made two major presentations to academic audiences in 2009, explaining and expanding on the Global Standard theme.

May 22 Media@Sydney Lecture
Part of the seminar series organised by the University of Sydney’s own Media and Communications Department:

What the unconnected masses in poor countries have in common with the scattered internet newspaper readers of the rich world is that neither group can be aggregated into a market; that is to say, there are not enough of them, with enough money, in one place, for advertisers to pay for media to reach them…

If journalism, in this context, is a good thing, but one that cannot be sustained or delivered satisfactorily by markets, there is both a need and a justification for non-market mechanisms to be applied…

If public money is to be made available to support beneficial journalistic enterprise, as a supplement to commercial funding, who will discriminate between worthy and unworthy recipients, and on what basis? It is in this context that a global standard for reporting conflict is conceived, on the basis of peace journalism.
July 16-17 News in the 21st Century Conference, University of Melbourne
A conference sponsored by the International Communications Association:
There is a case for preferring peace journalism, both as a contribution to fairness and accuracy and as a means to minimise psychological harm to consumers. It can therefore be proposed as the basis for a global standard in news about conflict, as an aspirational target for editors and reporters and a form of consumer protection, to be adopted and implemented at an organisational level.

Publications
I published three book chapters in 2009:

- ‘International Law and Israel’s Assault on Gaza’ in Luc Reychler, Julieanne Funk Deckard and Kevin HR Villanueva (eds), Building Sustainable Futures: Enacting Peace and Development, University of Deusto Press, Bilbao.

My main writing job in 2009 was to complete the drafting and proofing processes for my new book, Reporting Conflict: New Directions in Peace Journalism, co-authored with Johan Galtung. Galtung is the chief theoretical contributor to Peace and Conflict Studies, and the originator of the peace journalism concept, so to collaborate with him is a significant honour and privilege. At the time of writing this, the first copies of the finished book have just arrived. Its official launch date is March 1, and we will be having a launch event at the conference, in July, of the International Peace Research Association, which CPACS is hosting and where Galtung will be a keynote speaker. The book is one of two launch volumes for a major new Peace and Conflict Studies series by the University of Queensland Press, the other being the new book by John Paul Lederach.

Media Activism
There are many ways to typologise media activism, one being the simple division of:

- Campaigning through the media
- And campaigning on the media.

I’ve done plenty of both over the past year. I mention it here because, in keeping with the principles on which CPACS is based, research, teaching and activism should all be mutually reinforcing. In the first of these two categories, campaigning THROUGH media, in addition to the columns mentioned in my Director’s Report, I gave over 30 media interviews in 2009, on topics including the conflicts in the Middle East and Sri Lanka, the war in Afghanistan, Australia’s military build-up and the hysteria accompanying the arrival of refugees by boat. They included two appearances on SBS News, a contribution to the PM programme on ABC Radio National and an extended slot on Al Jazeera English. The highlight was an hour-long show with music choices on ABC Classic FM’s Mornings with Margaret Throsby, to talk about peace journalism itself. You can download the audio from the bottom of the peace journalism page on the CPACS website:
As far as campaigning ON the media is concerned, I am in the middle of a drawn-out dispute with the ABC over their extraordinarily supine coverage of the Defence White Paper and the decision, by the Rudd government, to spend colossal (and ever-increasing) sums of money on weapons from the United States.

In the complaint, I said:

- The most recent opinion poll shows a majority of Australians now want defence spending to be frozen or reduced, not raised any further.
- Two out of the three most recent opinion polls – by the ANU, before that the Sydney Morning Herald and the Lowy Institute – have shown a majority of Australians now want to see our troops called home from Afghanistan.
- An opinion poll commissioned two years ago by the US Studies Centre at the University of Sydney raised the question of whether we want to keep the US military alliance, or pursue an ‘independent foreign policy’ instead. Nearly half – 48% – favoured the latter option.

These are reasonable points of view, shared by large numbers of ABC’s audience. However, I cannot recall any of them being offered on any ABC news or current affairs program I have seen or heard in recent years.

You will not, as things stand, be able to produce balanced coverage by sticking to your usual sources – you will have to adopt a strategy of reaching out to new sources, if you are to fulfill your obligations as set out in the ABC Editorial Policies. I would welcome any indication you can give me that such a strategy is now under consideration.

More details are given in columns for the Transcend Media Service, here:

http://www.transcend.org/tms/article_detail.php?article_id=1498

And here:


I am now preparing to take the complaint to the next stage, the Independent Complaints Review Panel, having received timely assistance, with additional research, from Claire Smyth, who recently completed her MPACS degree.

**Transitional Justice, Reconciliation and Peacebuilding**

Dr Wendy Lambourne

I started 2009 with six weeks’ field research in Cambodia investigating Cambodian attitudes towards the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), popularly known as the Khmer Rouge Tribunal (KRT), funded through a Faculty of Arts Research Grant. My research involved interviewing survivors of the genocide and their descendants, as well as former Khmer Rouge and representatives of non-
government organisations involved in supporting the work of the KRT. I travelled to various regions throughout the country, conducting interviews and observing information and outreach sessions about the KRT, and attended the first day of Duch’s trial in Phnom Penh in February. In July I was able to bring to Sydney, Pheng Pong-Rasy of the Documentation Center of Cambodia to assist in the next stage of my research with the Cambodian diaspora in Sydney, thanks to funding provided by the School of Social and Political Sciences. A summary of my Cambodian research and an article by Pheng Pong-Rasy can be found in the October 2009 issue of PeaceWrites: ‘The Khmer Rouge Tribunal and Justice for Cambodians’ (pp. 1-3) and ‘Peace, Justice and Reconciliation for Cambodian immigrants in Sydney’ (pp. 3-4).

In June I was a plenary speaker at the Oxford Transitional Justice Research conference ‘Taking Stock of Transitional Justice’ at Oxford University along with leading scholars in this rapidly evolving interdisciplinary field of study. My paper ‘Outreach, Inreach and Local Ownership of Transitional Justice: Cambodian Participation in the Khmer Rouge Tribunal’ reviewed evolving approaches to ‘outreach’ which aims to provide local populations with accurate information and engagement with the transitional justice process. My paper also discussed the related concept of ‘inreach’, a term which I have coined to describe the process of obtaining ideas, opinions and feedback from local populations about their expectations and responses to the transitional justice process. I argue that outreach and inreach which encourage local ownership and civil society participation are important aspects of transitional justice and contribute to reconciliation and peacebuilding. My paper has been accepted for publication as a chapter in an edited volume arising from the conference. I will also present a version of the same paper at the International Studies Association 51st Annual Convention in New Orleans in February 2010.

On 29 October I presented my research to University colleagues and students in the new CPACS research seminar series. In my presentation on ‘(Re-)constructing Transitional Justice’, I talked about the evolution of transitional justice theory and practice, and specifically engaged with the questions of justice ‘by whom?’ and ‘for whom?’ with reference to my field research conducted in Rwanda, Cambodia, East Timor and Sierra Leone over the previous ten years. I ended by proposing a model of transformative justice that sees ‘justice’ and ‘reconciliation’ as cultural constructs which need to be re-imagined within a framework of local ownership, agency and

Dr Wendy Lambourne conducting research in Cambodia.
empowerment in order to promote sustainable peacebuilding. A most stimulating question and discussion session followed my presentation.

In December I ventured overseas again, to present a paper at the University of Cape Town conference ‘Beyond Reconciliation’, an international conference reflecting on reconciliation and restorative justice processes across the globe on the occasion of the United Nations’ International Year of Reconciliation. My paper ‘Reconciliation as Cultural Artefact: An exploration of the assumptions, meanings and language of reconciliation across cultural boundaries’ explored the challenges of understanding how reconciliation is conceived in different languages and cultural contexts, and questioned the impact of the dominant Western Christian discourse and paradigm of reconciliation. Whilst in Cape Town I also visited colleagues at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation and Centre for Conflict Resolution (University of Cape Town) to discuss potential collaborative research and involvement with the upcoming IPRA Conference which CPACS is hosting in July 2010. I am co-convener of the Reconciliation and Transitional Justice Commission, along with Dr Briony Jones of Manchester University, and a member of the IPRA Conference organising committee at CPACS.


Other publications in the pipeline include ‘Transitional Justice After Mass Violence: Reconciling Retributive and Restorative Justice’ in the refereed proceedings of the Julius Stone Centenary Conference held at the University of Sydney in July 2007; an entry on the East Timorese Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation for the Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice to be published by Cambridge University Press; and ‘Unfinished Business: The Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor’ an invited chapter for the edited volume Development of Institutions of Human Rights to be published by Palgrave Macmillan. I am also continuing work on my monograph manuscript ‘Healing the Gap Between Self and Other: Transformative Justice, Reconciliation and Peacebuilding After Mass Violence’ under consideration for publication by University of Queensland Press.

My thanks to PhD candidate, James Tonny Dhizaala, for his ever-willing research assistance, from trips to the library to photocopying and discussions about the dilemmas of transitional justice, and to Annie Herro for the many stimulating conversations which greatly enriched my research journey in 2009.
Peace Tourism: Critical Approaches
Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, Lecturer and Postgraduate Research Coordinator

This research project on Peace Tourism has been awarded support by the *Humanitarian Competition for Global Visioning* initiated by the TODA Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research (Hawaii). The award includes funding to bring colleagues together for both the IPRA and TODA conferences, which will be held at the University of Sydney in July 2010. The project is motivated by current rhetoric about social tourism, pro-poor tourism and peace through tourism propounded by the industry which is, arguably, a public relations strategy. Such a strategy pays undue reverence to the market imperatives for tourism rather than teasing out the social imperatives, such as social justice and ecological sustainability. The inequitable conditions, in which the interests of business and markets are allowed to override the survival of peoples and the integrity of the environment and in which contemporary tourism now ‘flourishes’, are a global concern. We must begin to consider tourism in the context of human rights and social justice. This research aims to:

i. Convene an international working group of scholars and practitioners to be chaired by Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard (CPACS, University of Sydney) and Dr Freya Higgins-Desbiolles (Business School, University of South Australia) and including university colleagues – Associate Professor Regina Scheyvens (New Zealand); Dr Marind Novella (England); Dr Senja Causevic (Scotland); Ms. Stephanie Chok (Australia); Professor Omar Moufakkir (Holland); Ms. Yoko Urbain (Japan) and Ipshita Dewan (Bangladesh). However, equally important to this research team is the participation of tourism analysts such as Mr Rami Kassis (Alternative Tourism Group, Palestine); Ms. Rosemary Viswanath (Equations, Bangalore India) and Mr Ranjan Solomon (Geneva); Mr. Imtiaz Muqbil (Travel Impact Newswire, Thailand); Ms. Tricia Barnett (Tourism Concern, the United Kingdom); Mr Tom Trevorrow (Aboriginal Elder, Camp Coorong, Australia).


**Cross-Discipline, Cross-Institution Research Collaborations**

Timor Leste is one of the sites for exploring notions of peace tourism. Australia’s near neighbour is the world’s newest nation and one of the world’s poorest. A decade after independence it has the vulnerable position of a ‘post-conflict fragile state’. Nearly half of the population is 17 years or younger and the government has chosen tourism as one of two major ‘development’ priorities. The proposed project seeks to investigate a model of tourism which addresses human security issues such as youth under-employment and under-education. This model will be community-led and developed through cross-institutional engagements with the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry (MTTI), Secretary of State for Youth and Sport (SSSYS), youth leaders and local businesses in Dili. The overarching goal is to address conflict caused by youth under-education and unemployment in Timor Leste through the development of tourism policy. The project goals are twofold: (i) to build the capacity of relevant
ministries of Timor Leste in addressing youth security issues and (ii) to create a critical model of peace tourism.

I undertook two research trips to Timor Leste this year to further this project: the first, as an invited participant in the international ‘Women and Peace’ conference in February 2009; and the second, as an invited participant in the nation’s ‘10 Year Celebrations’ in August 2009. Tireless research assistance has been provided by CPACS PhD candidate Rachael Hart. Together with my colleague Dr Freya Higgins-Desbiolles from the Business School at the University of South Australia and the Research Institute for the Asia-Pacific, this ‘pilot’ research will first seek AusAID funding as well as form the basis of a larger ARC grant application.

Further regional research collaborations have also been initiated in a partnership with TRANSCEND Peace and Development Network. From 4-10 May CPACS was invited to attend an international conference with the theme ‘Twenty-first Century Peace Building: Opportunities and Challenges’ in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. We are grateful to Professor Simon Tormey, Head of the School of Social and Political Sciences, who approved funding for attendance. At this forum CPACS was invited to initiate/coordinate a regional network of peace studies scholars and practitioners to form the Oceania/Pacific arm of TRANSCEND, an idea seized by CPACS student Tim Bryar who is interested in pursuing PhD research ‘analysing, documenting and supporting grassroots nonviolent struggles in the region and developing a peaceful conflict transformation type NGO in the Pacific – similar to the TRANSCEND idea with the pillars of advocacy, education and training (grassroots), research and media/dissemination’. It is envisaged that this network will be launched at the next annual TRANSCEND conference to be hosted by CPACS from 3-5 July 2010.

Lastly, as part of a successful Japan-Australia Foundation grant, I travelled to Tokyo in early April 2009, just in time to see the cherry trees in full bloom. The grant was awarded for joint curriculum and research development and includes collaboration with Soka University’s Peace Research Institute (SUPRI). The initial stage involved CPACS hosting Professor Sekita (Soka University) as a visiting scholar in February 2008, at which time he undertook cross-cultural research into the development of anti-bullying programmes in primary and secondary school curricula. The second stage involved SUPRI sponsoring my travel to Tokyo to undertake discussions with
Professor Sekita and Professor Tamai (Director SUPRI) on prospective further collaborative projects, and to deliver a peace education lecture titled ‘Saying Sorry: Peace, Justice and Indigenous Australia.’ Whilst in Japan, I took the opportunity to visit colleagues from Peace Boat’s Global University in downtown Takadanobaba and several other universities with which CPACS has a developing relationship, such as meeting with Professor Mike Nix at Chuo University’s Law School and Professor Dexter da Silva at Keisen (Peace) University.

**UN Emergency Peace Service: Research and Advocacy**

Annie Herro and Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees

With support from Caritas Australia and Global Action to Prevent War (GAPW), Annie Herro and Stuart Rees have made further advances on the UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) research and advocacy project.

A goal of the project is to host roundtables at which supporters and potential supporters of UNEPS can discuss how the proposal should be defined, promoted and institutionalised. In June 2009, Annie and Stuart co-organised a regional roundtable with GAPW and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a prominent Indonesian think-tank, on peacekeeping and civilian protection. The event was held in Jakarta and brought together over 45 academics, NGOs and UN representatives, senior bureaucrats and military officers from Southeast Asia. Participants explored technical, political and cultural resources and obstacles to enhancing regional and UN peacekeeping and the protection of civilians in conflict. They produced a follow-up report which captures diverse perspectives on the proposal and suggests ways for researchers and advocates to increase support for UNEPS and to argue its legitimacy.

The mood of the workshop was a combination of hope for change and a sobering awareness of the normative and political limitations of Southeast Asia when it comes to peacekeeping reforms such as proposals to create a UNEPS. Mely Cabarello-Anthony, Associate Professor and Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore, reflected that ‘we have gone beyond the ASEAN Way,’ lending optimism to possibilities that the region might take more concerted efforts with other global partners to enhance initiatives like UNEPS. On the other hand, Ong Keng Yong, Ambassador-at-Large, Singapore, and former Secretary-General of ASEAN, suggested that we must proceed toward a peacekeeping reform proposal using the ASEAN Way – not to be ‘in your face.’ But he wondered aloud: ‘how many people will die before changes in civilian protection actually happen?’

Another goal of this project is to interview decision-makers (or ‘leaders’) with a stake in public and international policy who come from different professional, religious, cultural and political backgrounds in the Asia-Pacific region. The purpose of these interviews is to capture different perspectives on the resources required and the obstacles faced by the UNEPS proposal and to build alliances with individuals and organisations across the region to increase support for UNEPS and thereby contribute to the advocacy goal of the project. Stuart and Annie continued these interviews with MPs, bureaucrats and NGOs in Canberra, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta and Singapore.

The task of showcasing the findings of the research to different audiences is also central to our work. The findings of these interviews have been presented to various audiences and in different publications including newmatilda.com, ABC Radio
National, Masters students from the University of Sydney, NSW high school students through the Youth Peace Initiative, the Franciscan Social Justice Council and in the academic journal the *African Security Review*.

**UNEPS Research Staff**  
Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, UNEPS Project Director

For the past couple of years Annie Herro has been the key researcher and navigator in the UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) project. Annie is about to assume various teaching responsibilities during Dr Wendy Lambourne's sabbatical and in consequence will step down from her commitments to UNEPS. If you can imagine UNEPS as a sailing ship and Annie's work as a voyage, then about half of the trip has been completed, without hitting any rocks and in spite of the difficulty of getting politicians and bureaucrats in several countries to think in international terms. Annie's skills in writing and analysis (navigation) are invaluable, her gentle yet strong and humorous ways of engaging with other members of the crew have ensured high morale and never the prospect of mutiny. I wish Annie success with her teaching yet hope she will eventually return to the UNEPS helm and perhaps be addressed as Dr. Herro. Without her we'll probably be all at sea.
Peace Research Networking and Collaboration

Peace Studies Day
Dr Wendy Lambourne and Lyn Dickens

On 24 April 2009, CPACS hosted an all-day workshop focusing on the dissemination of ideas and experiences regarding teaching and research in peace studies. 32 scholars from nine Australian universities and one American university gathered in Sydney to take part in the event. Collaborative partnerships were developed, friendships rekindled and new connections made. Absent colleagues from another four universities were acknowledged, including Professor Kevin Clements who moved back to New Zealand at the start of 2009 to head up the country’s new National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Otago University. Involvement in the workshop was not restricted to those in peace and conflict studies, and many participants hailed from a variety of disciplines and programs including international relations, cultural studies, public health and development studies. All scholars, however, had a specific interest in how teaching and research impacted on the development of peace and nonviolence.

A significant achievement for the day was the agreement to formally establish a Peace Studies Network for scholars associated with higher education institutions in Australia. A draft Constitution was discussed and Dr James Page, from Southern Cross University, agreed to follow up the establishment of the association.

Another major focus of the event was planning for the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) Biennial Conference to be hosted by CPACS at the University of Sydney in July 2010. It was agreed that the conference should showcase and develop the links between academics, practitioners, activists and the local community. Participants emphasised the need to involve youth, women and indigenous peoples, and proposed ideas for cultural events and activities.

IPRA Conference
Associate Professor Jake Lynch

Preparations are well underway for the biennial conference of the International Peace Research Association, which we are hosting from July 6-10, 2010 at the University of Sydney. The theme is Communicating Peace.

We are winning the arguments against violence and in favour of positive action to address root causes of conflict, including climate change. So why do preparations for war continue in their not-so-merry way and why are we still waiting for decisive leadership on measures to reduce global warming? How can we tackle the unresponsiveness of institutional frameworks? How can we communicate peace to make a difference?

Plenary speakers include:

- Professor Johan Galtung, one of the most original thinkers in Peace Research;
- Irene Khan, immediate past Secretary General of Amnesty International and winner of the Sydney Peace Prize;
- Professor Larry Wittner, historian of the world nuclear disarmament movement;
- Carolyn Arguillas, founder of Mindanews in the Philippines;
- Professor David Kinley, Professor of Human Rights Law at the University of Sydney;
- Professor George Kent, author, *Freedom from Want: The Human Right to Adequate Food* and Professor of Political Science at the University of Hawai’i;
- Shan Ali, co-founder, Grameen Foundation Australia.

We are also inviting 2008 Sydney Peace Prize laureate Patrick Dodson to open the conference, and planning to honour Australian conflict resolution founder, John Burton. Youth voices will be encouraged and creative approaches to peacebuilding through the arts will feature in the conference.

Much of the important work at the IPRA conference takes place in Commissions and Working Groups, concentrating on specialist areas including Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding; Peace Journalism; Peace Education; Peace Tourism; Reconciliation and Transitional Justice and many more. Scholars from around the world will submit proposals to present their research in these Commissions.

The organisation of the IPRA conference is being led by CPACS Director, Associate Professor Jake Lynch, with the invaluable support of Conference Assistant Estelle Hinds and an organising committee consisting of staff, students and volunteers from the CPACS Council.

The IPRA Conference has its own website, which will be linked from the CPACS website in 2010: [www.iprasydney2010.org](http://www.iprasydney2010.org).
Special Projects

Refugee Language Program  
Lesley Carnus, Coordinator

Teaching Program  
The Refugee Language Program (RLP) has continued to engage with a diverse group of refugees in its capacity as a provider of skilled teachers of English and Creative Writing. The demand for classes is constant and the program regularly enrols new students who are referred to us by refugee advocates and organisations, educational institutes and community agencies. This year, the Refugee Language Program has extended its range of services to refugees and asylum seekers by adding a basic computer skills class to the timetable.

We continue to run three classes on-campus of three hours each, one on Wednesday evening and two on Saturday morning as well as a small home tutoring service. On Wednesday evening we teach Academic Writing, and on Saturdays Creative Writing and Intermediate English. Our Saturday classes are followed by a combined conversation and lunch session with volunteers.

This year our students have come from many countries including the Sudan, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, the Camerooon, Colombia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Burma, Egypt, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, East Turkistan, Peru, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Fiji, Indonesia, China, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Syria, Malaysia, Nepal, Turkey and Ethiopia.

Many of our students have endured life-altering experiences with the result that they may have problems coping with post-secondary education. Our classes cater to students of disparate levels, abilities, and educational and psychological backgrounds. RLP volunteers have developed a unique sensitivity to the needs of these adults and are compassionate and respectful in the manner they relate to the students. This warmth is much appreciated by the students and the referring organisations. Miggs Bodie, of the Red Cross Employment Service, sent the Coordinator this email in June 2009:

I saw Khaled Sarder yesterday and he said he was very happy with the class. I worry about how isolated some people are and what is happening at CPACS makes a big difference.

Successes  
In April 2009, the Creative Writing teacher, Anna Maria Dell’osa and the Coordinator, Lesley Carnus, presented a paper at the conference Creative Communities: Sustainable Solutions to Social Inclusion, at Griffith University. Their presentation was well received and valuable contacts were made.

Articles about the RLP have been included in the May and October editions of PeaceWrites, published by CPACS. A poem written in class by one of our students, Aaron, was featured on the front cover of the May issue.

The RLP has a web page on the CPACS site with information about the program and forms for volunteers and potential students to use:
The computer class, taught by tutors primarily from the University student body, was well attended and appreciated.

Several of our staff have achieved success in their careers; and some of our refugees have recently gained permanent residency. A former student, who is studying for his PhD at UNSW, has returned as a volunteer with our program and to join our Academic Writing class. Another former student, being tutored in academic writing skills by an RLP volunteer, has just been accepted to register as a practising psychologist working with refugees.

Another volunteer tutors a young Sudanese male enrolled in Social Work at Macquarie University and her work has helped to improve his grades.

**Future Initiatives**

The Refugee Language Program would like to initiate some changes in 2010. We hope to expand our mentoring and tutoring program, as there is strong evidence that literacy support is vital in the refugee community. Some of our students are fluent English speakers but have a literacy lag, which will make it very difficult for them to undertake further tertiary studies.

The Creative Writing teachers, Anna Dell’osa and the Coordinator plan to write an article for the PEN newsletter on teaching creative writing to refugees.

The Creative Writing teachers have started to compile student stories and poems with a view to publishing another small anthology in 2010.

A Creative Writing teacher and the Coordinator propose to lead a seminar for students in the Education Faculty, on the setting up of the RLP, as well as a session on teaching creative writing to refugees. The Coordinator has contacted the head of TESOL regarding this proposal.

The Federal Government’s recent initiative to increase the number of university places allocated to disadvantaged students is an admirable and timely goal for Australian universities. Our program, which aims to improve the language and communication skills of refugees, is one small step towards promoting this initiative on campus.

The RLP annual report to the Vice-Chancellor and the Senate was sent on 15 December. We have requested that the University fund the program again for 2010.

**World Citizens Association**

Chris Hamer

We have no major public events to report this year, but we have been making proposals for an international conference about the idea of a Community of Democratic Nations and there are tentative moves afoot to see if we can establish a Centre for International Law and Global Governance at the University of New South Wales. The agonisingly slow process of getting 190 sovereign states to do anything effective about climate change illustrates once again the need for a global parliament.
On the international scene, the campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) continues to gather steam, and has been endorsed by the European Parliament, the Latin-American Parliament, the African Parliament, and former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Support for global governance seems particularly strong in Latin America. A meeting of WATUN, the World Alliance for Transforming the United Nations, was held in Mexico recently, convened by Francisco Plancarte.

Our charitable fundraising campaign for flood victims in Bangladesh is making slow progress. We have printed off an appeal brochure, and we are now finalising an application for ‘deductible gift recipient’ status from DFAT. The campaign is aimed to help flood victims in Bangladesh, whose homes and entire livelihoods have been swept away by the giant rivers. We have contributed over $3000 so far towards a project overseen by our vice-president, Wali Islam. A primary school has been set up at Char Khabulia, a reclamation area in the north of the country, with 200 students and five teachers, who are paid a somewhat niggardly $40 per month. Tiny scholarships are given out to help the children get an education.

**New South Wales Human Rights Education Committee (NSWHREC)**
Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard, Chair

In collaboration with the NSWHREC and the Sydney Peace Foundation’s Youth Peace Initiative, the Mahboba’s Schools Promise Afghan Banquet was held on 20 November 2009. Citizen of Humanity Certificates were issued in a ceremony to mark the contribution of schools – students and staff – and volunteers in their efforts to support peace and human rights in Afghanistan. Certificates were given to Alfaisal College; Asquith Girls School; Cherrybrook Technology High School; Malek Fahd Islamic School; Muirfield High School; Northmead High School; Arkana College; Macarthur Girls High School; Waverly College and volunteers Teresa White, Nawid Cina, Mohammad Sadeq and Bridget Fitzpatrick.
The West Papua Project
Dr Jim Elmslie, Co-convener

In 2009 the West Papua Project (WPP) continued its primary mission of research into the conflict in West Papua between the Indonesian state and the indigenous Melanesian population. The West Papua Desk component of the WPP, organised by Jim Elmslie, continued to provide briefings and information for academics, the media and other interested parties. The additional role that had evolved for the WPP over time – that of human rights advocate and as intellectual meeting ground – gained strength and bore fruit in the form of helping initiate preliminary, low key discussions between West Papuan nationalists associated with the Project and Indonesian and Papuan players aiming at resolving or mitigating the conflict in Papua.

The Geneva based Center for Humanitarian Dialogue (formerly the Henri Dunant Center) first contacted WPP in 2008 as part of their investigations into the conflict in West Papua. Subsequent discussions with HDC personnel and actively involved Indonesian experts included briefings and the provision of contacts. It would be inappropriate to elaborate on these initiatives other than to say that they have the WPP’s full support.

The situation on the ground in West Papua continued to deteriorate in 2009 as more Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) troops and Indonesian police were sent to the province after a series of armed attacks around the Freeport mine from July. These ambushes left at least three, including one Australian, dead and more than a dozen injured. The attacks continued for the rest of the year, even after seven Papuans were charged and many more arrested. The attackers have never been identified but are well armed and trained, leading many observers to blame the TNI. In response to the attacks TNI numbers have swelled around the mine site.

The year ended with the murder of West Papua’s most famous freedom fighter, Kelly Kwalik. He was shot dead by police in an early morning raid on December 16. Kwalik had been in contact with the police in their investigations of the Freeport killings and had been cleared by them of involvement. His killing appears to be a political act to provide a scapegoat, allowing the real killers to escape justice. Kwalik’s murder caused huge anguish and grief for an already deeply traumatised Papuan people. The murder of such a significant Papuan individual, who had been committed to nonviolent struggle in recent years, reflects the attitude of the Indonesian state, and particularly its armed forces and police. This will complicate talks between the Papuans and the Government of Indonesia and further cast Indonesia as a state unable to control its security forces or enforce its own laws in the eyes of the international community.

The pressure is mounting on Indonesia to engage in serious talks with the Papuans as the brutality of West Papua’s occupation becomes more widely known. As West Papua increasingly starts to resemble occupied East Timor, Indonesia’s reputation as a democratising country becomes more and more tentative. Keen to present a modern and progressive face to the world, Indonesia’s behaviour in West Papua is now clearly anachronistic. The West Papua Project will continue to engage with this conflict, a role that is more important than ever as the crucial ingredient of international pressure becomes more obviously needed.
Sri Lanka Human Rights Project
Brami Jegan, Co-convener

The 25 year old civil war in Sri Lanka between Sri Lankan Armed Forces and the secessionist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) came to a brutal end in May 2009. The LTTE, who at one stage ran a de-facto administration in one third of Sri Lanka’s territory, had taken up an armed struggle for a Tamil homeland following their subjugation by the country’s Sinhalese majority since independence and state-sponsored violence and oppression in response to the Tamils’ attempts to raise their demand for self-determination by peaceful means.

The human cost of victory for the Sri Lankan government in the closing five months was an estimated 20,000 Tamil civilian deaths, with many more injured, and 300,000 civilian Tamils displaced. A later report by the US State Department documented reports of war crimes allegations by both sides, with no fewer than 157 separate incidents where accounts of bombing or shelling of civilians, by the Sri Lankan military, had reached the outside world.

The end of the war created new human rights violations as the 300,000 displaced Tamil civilians were forcibly interned in military-run camps with heavily restricted access to the ICRC, aid organisations and the media. Allegations of rape, torture, extra-judicial killings and disappearances were rife. A separate 11,000 Tamils alleged to be supporters or part of the defeated LTTE were locked up in separate camps as Prisoners of War. There were no independent observers to monitor the treatment of these POWs as per the Geneva Conventions, and there were reported mass executions. Decades of war had also created an overall culture of violence and fear in Sri Lanka and widespread disappearances and extra-judicial killings, particularly of government-critical journalists, were taking place with apparent impunity.

It was in the context of this human rights emergency in Sri Lanka and the failure of the Australian Government to take a principled stand on these violations, that the ‘Sri Lanka Human Rights Project’ was formed in July 2009, by Associate Professor Jake Lynch and Visiting Scholar Brami Jegan.

A political commentator and a former Australian diplomat to South Africa, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and Deputy High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, Bruce Haigh, was made patron of the project. In September 2009, CPACS alumnus Gobie Rajalingam joined the project as co-convener. About 10 other volunteers including professionals and university students have joined the project, contributing time, ideas, passion and creativity, with much activity planned for 2010.

In August and November 2009, the Sri Lanka Human Rights project jointly hosted forums in Sydney and Melbourne, to raise public awareness of the ongoing human rights emergency in Sri Lanka. To bring these perspectives to decision-makers in Canberra, a forum was held at Parliament House in September, attended by over 40 Members of Parliament, advisers and aid workers. Senior backbenchers from all parties, as well as a government minister, Laurie Ferguson MP, were in attendance.
After sustained international pressure, the Government of Sri Lanka announced in November that it would let the Tamil civilians out of the internment camps. But there was no indication from the government that the civil and political rights of the Tamils in Sri Lanka would improve. Further, there were reports the camp inmates were not free to return to their homes, but only to areas dictated by the Government of Sri Lanka.

To highlight the dangers of the ongoing human rights violations in Sri Lanka and to mark the 61st anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a new campaign was launched at Glebe Markets on 12 December 2009.

The ‘Now Set Them Free’ campaign will set the agenda for 2010. Whilst overt armed conflict has ended, civil society in Sri Lanka is heavily polarised on ethnic lines and faces heavy media repression, abductions and a culture of violence. Hence the project will continue to advocate peace with justice for Sri Lanka, looking to engage with, and bring appropriate scholarly insights to bear on, the continuing human rights situation and the need for civil and political rights for all Sri Lanka’s citizens.
Sydney Peace Foundation
Dr Hannah Middleton

Sydney Peace Prize
The award of the 2009 Sydney Peace Prize to John Pilger marked the climax of the Foundation’s year. At a gala ceremony in the University of Sydney’s MacLaurin Hall, Her Excellency the Governor of New South Wales, Professor Marie Bashir, presented the award of a cheque for $50,000 and a trophy created by the acclaimed craftsman in glass Brian Hirst. Sydney’s Lord Mayor Councillor Clover Moore MP spoke with great passion about John Pilger’s lifetime of contribution to humanity and to social justice.

In his interview with the evening’s compère, radio personality Angela Catterns, a visibly moved John Pilger described the award as the pinnacle of his career. He referred to his parents’ student days and their experiences in the MacLaurin Hall when it was part of the University library, and he described his first ventures as a young journalist in Italy and then in London. But as a Bondi boy on this night of nights, he was coming home!

City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture
In the Concert Hall of the Sydney Opera House on Thursday 5 November John Pilger gave the 2009 City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture, *Breaking the Australian Silence*. The montage of his films which preceded his address included coverage of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and an appraisal of the reasons for the Khmer Rouge genocide in Cambodia as well as analyses of the plight of Aboriginal communities and the Palestinian people.

*Breaking the Australian Silence* was a tour de force. John ranged over Australian foreign policy’s tendency to ape US strategies, discussed the unjust treatment of Aboriginal Australians, asylum seekers and refugees and addressed Australia’s silence about the continuing cruelty towards the Palestinian people and the barbaric slaughter of civilians in Iraq and Afghanistan. John ended on a positive note when he identified Australia’s achievements in building a multicultural society in which diverse talents and cultures contributed to a largely nonviolent and civil society.

Sydney Peace Prize winner John Pilger accepts his award from the Governor of NSW, Professor Marie Bashir AC, CVO
John was thanked by Councillor Marcelle Hoff representing the City of Sydney. Marcelle introduced the Aboriginal baritone Kucha Edwards who – accompanied by Bruce Haymes – sang his own composition ‘Stand Strong’ and finished with a wonderful performance of the Sam Cooke 1960’s civil rights anthem ‘A Change Is Gonna Come’

**Cabramatta High School**

John Pilger’s reference to the energy and creativity of multiculturalism was borne out by the 1,500 high school students at Cabramatta High School on Friday 6 November. An honour guard of students in national costumes from around the world greeted the Governor of New South Wales, John Pilger and other guests.

Following speeches, John answered student questions including: ‘Which individuals have influenced and impressed you the most?’ He replied: ‘Those who are not famous, individuals who make commitments to others’ wellbeing without ever counting the cost to themselves.’ The celebrations ended when Mary Kostakidis, John Pilger and a dozen students released 100 doves of peace.

**Other activities**

The Sydney Peace Foundation has been involved in a range of other activities through 2009. Our monthly email Bulletin was sent out regularly to our growing subscriber list.

In March the Sydney Peace Foundation held the Sydney launch of the important new film *Soldiers of Peace* at the University’s Footbridge Theatre. Funded by Steve Killelea, a major SPF benefactor, the film has received wide critical and public praise. Towards the end of April 2009, a group of four members of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies and the Sydney Peace Foundation went to Tokyo to present a special SPF Gold Peace Medal to Daisaku Ikeda, the Japanese Buddhist philosopher, educator, writer and peace activist. The Australian group consisted of Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees and his wife Ragnhild, Dr Ken Macnab and Ms Maree Whybourne.

Dr Ikeda, President of Soka Gakkai, was presented with the Peace Foundation Medal at a ceremony at the Soka University. Of those given the Foundation’s Special Award, Daisaku Ikeda is only the third, being preceded by Nelson Mandela (2000) and the Dalai Lama (2002). Professor Rees and President Ikeda made speeches emphasising common values, particularly through education, international dialogue and poetry.

**Youth Peace Initiative**

In 2009 the Foundation was able to develop a significantly broader and more rigorous youth engagement strategy with the growth and progress of the Youth Peace Initiative (YPI). We are fortunate to have Trent Newman as the visionary leader of the YPI, a project which has become a crucial feature of the Foundation’s identity.

Beginning with only four pilot schools in 2008, YPI now has strong relationships with ten schools spread over north, east, south, south-west and west Sydney, and has direct contact with teachers and student groups in a further ten schools, some of which extend beyond Sydney to the Hunter region in the north and the ACT in the south.

YPI serves two main functions. It is a loose network of public and private secondary school students engaged in peace and social justice work, coming together for peer
education and idea-sharing. This network is sustained via regular video conferences and face-to-face forums, and ongoing contact is maintained via the YPI website and online social networking pages.

In addition, YPI offers a source of support and guidance for students wishing to expand and/or deepen their peacebuilding projects. This is achieved through individual school visits and direct contact with specific student social justice groups by the YPI Project Officer.

In keeping with the original goals laid out for the Youth Peace Initiative, YPI has also served a third function throughout 2009, which was to recognise and promote particularly outstanding peace work by students. From August to October, the first ‘Young Peacemaker Awards’ were presented by Foundation Director, Professor Stuart Rees, at Merrylands High School, Cabramatta High School, Monte Sant Angelo Mercy College, and Asquith Girls High School.

The new YPI website (www.youthpeaceinitiative.org.au) was launched at the start of April and YPI has since expanded its online presence to include a Facebook page (which has over 120 members), a MySpace page, and a Twitter feed. YPI is able to stay in touch with high school and university-aged students from around NSW, Australia, and overseas through these social networks, and to circulate updates about peace and social justice related events and opportunities.

In 2009 YPI partnered with the NSW Department of Education and Training Rural and Distance Education Unit in Dubbo to deliver two video conferences, which enabled the participation of schools from as far afield as Canberra, Newcastle, and the Central Coast. The conferences use the newly installed ‘Connected Classroom’ video conferencing facilities in DET schools, also linking in private and Catholic schools where the technology exists to do so.
Peace Connections is proving to be a highly effective way to achieve semi-regular link-ups between student groups from diverse backgrounds and geographically distant locations. It is also an ideal way for students to learn from one another, as well as from guest speakers who are young, active members of civil society involved in exciting and innovative peace promotion programs.

**Foundation Changes**
Membership of the Sydney Peace Foundation Executive has changed. Alan Cameron has been a politically astute and enabling Chair of the Foundation. His five years came to an end in the middle of the year when he was succeeded by the popular former television news reader and journalist Mary Kostakidis.

Colleagues of long standing also resigned in 2009. Mark Kelly and James McLachlan were highly supportive members of the Executive. They have been succeeded by Paul Wand and Beth Jackson. Both have been invaluable supporters of the Foundation.

**Thanks**
The success of the Foundation depends on the commitment and networks of the full Executive Committee. Those networks extend to our invaluable and highly significant Partner in Peace, the City of Sydney, to generous benefactors such as Steve Killelea and Joe Skrzyinski, and to helpful administrators, staff and students of the University of Sydney.

The Sydney Peace Foundation also thanks our colleagues at CPACS for their ongoing, essential and creative support throughout the year.

YPI owes its success to its many advocates, participants and volunteers. In 2009 the project greatly benefitted from the support and hard work of its steering committee and Abe Quadan and Kuranda Seyit from the Sydney Peace Foundation Executive Committee.

The achievements of the Sydney Peace Foundation in 2009 were the result of much hard work, motivation and creativity by its staff, Director, Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, Executive Officer, Dr Hannah Middleton, Administrative Officer, Leah Chan, and YPI Project Officer Trent Newman. Special thanks go to Leah, who finished with the Foundation at the end of the year; we wish her all the best in her future endeavours, and thank her for all her work in 2009.
Library Report

Peggy Craddock, Librarian

During the year a major source of materials has been Basement Books. Selected titles, chosen to suit the units in the Teaching Program, have been purchased with CPACS funds. Some donations have been received from students and staff and these have been of great value. The donor’s name is noted in the cataloguing database, and is inscribed on the item as a permanent record of the generosity of the donor. Where appropriate the new items are added to the relevant Resource Box, and others are placed on the shelves according to Dewey classification. As new courses are added to the CPACS program, Resource Boxes are created and filled with relevant materials.

Currently, the materials in the boxes are being listed and provided to the lecturers so they are able to alert students to items of particular interest. Materials no longer relevant to a particular course will be returned to the general shelves where they can be accessed as required.

New metal shelf label bases and additional bookends have been purchased and are in use. Unfortunately, we still have problems with some materials being removed illegally and not returned.
Membership Report
Lyn Dickens and Keryn Scott, Administrative Assistants

Over the course of 2009 Kattrin Gloeckler filled the role of Membership Secretary, volunteering her time each week to assist the CPACS Administrative Assistants in the management of CPACS membership. As well as processing new applications and assisting with mail-outs, Kattrin undertook the formidable task of reorganising the CPACS Membership database.

During the second half of 2009 new members were given the added incentive to join of a free copy of the book *Taming War: Culture and Technology for Peace*, generously donated by the author, CPACS Council member Andrew Greig. It is always a pleasure to welcome new additions to the CPACS community, and 2009 has seen many new members. On behalf of the CPACS Council, we welcome them.

A number of members currently volunteer with the Centre or are interested in volunteering; the establishment of the new position of Volunteer Coordinator on the CPACS Council in 2010 will create more opportunities for volunteers, enabling members to become more actively involved in the activities of the Centre. This will benefit CPACS as it continues to grow.

The past year has also seen the creation of a new and improved membership application/renewal form. This form will change slightly with the new University brand in 2010. A new CPACS membership flyer will also be created in 2010 to include the new form as well as meet the new brand requirements.

At the end of 2009 Kattrin was offered a role with the Darfur Australia Network (DAN) and as a result had to leave the position of Membership Secretary. We wish Kattrin all the best in her future endeavours. We also take pleasure in welcoming MPACS student Joanna Blachowska as the new CPACS Membership Secretary. Joanna, who comes originally from Poland, has also volunteered consistently with the Youth Peace Initiative. We have no doubt that she will bring energy and dedication to the role and we look forward to her continued presence in the CPACS community.
Publications
Lyn Dickens and Keryn Scott, Administrative Assistants and Publications Editors

Two issues of the CPACS newsletter, Peace Writes, were produced in May and October, 2009. The newsletters are available in hardcopy from CPACS or electronically from the CPACS website.

Two additions to the CPACS Working and Occasional Paper Series also took place in 2009, in the form of a working paper by Professor Peter King and a transcript of the 2009 City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture presented by John Pilger at the Sydney Opera House.

No. 09/1 Peter King, Undermining Proliferation: Nuclear Winter and Nuclear Renunciation, 2009

No. 09/2 John Pilger, In Search of Change – Robed in Justice, City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture, 2009

The end of 2009 also saw the anticipated publication of Ending War, Building Peace, by Sydney University Press. Edited by Lynda-ann Blanchard and Leah Chan, the publication results from CPACS’ successful 2008 conference Iraq, Never Again: Ending War, Building Peace and celebrates CPACS’ twentieth anniversary. It includes chapters by a number of the conference presenters, as well as members of CPACS and SPF. Ending War, Building Peace is now available for purchase from the CPACS Office, or can be purchased directly from Sydney University Press. Chapters by CPACS authors include:


Jake Lynch ‘Coalition of the unwilling: the phenomenology and political economy of US militarism’, pp. 91-112.


Sandra Phelps, ‘Spectacles of Honour: barbarism within civilised reactions to public killings’, pp. 51-64.

In 2009 CPACS lecturer and council vice-president Dr Erik Paul completed his latest book *Obstacles to Democratization in the Middle East: A study of the Nation State, Regional and Global Order*. The book is due to be published by Macmillan in April 2010.

Other publications in 2009 by staff and students of CPACS include:


Keryn Scott and Lyn Dickens

CPACS Annual Report 2009
Seminars and Events
Lyn Dickens, Administrative Assistant

Following is a list of CPACS seminars and events held in 2009. They covered a wide variety of topics and attracted a broad audience. All these events were hosted with the support of CPACS volunteers, to whom many thanks are due.

Justice for West Papua: Practical and Legal Issues
Jennifer Robinson (Balliol College, Oxford)
Afternoon Seminar, 13 March 2009

Soldiers of Peace
Tim Wise, Associate Professor Jake Lynch and Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees
Film Screening and Q&A, 19 March 2009

Israel and Palestine: Towards an Apartheid State?
Professor Jeff Halper (Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions)
Seminar, 20 March 2009

When the Peace Process Fails: From Broken Negotiations and Forgotten Victims to an International Demand for Peace with Justice
Katie Bradal, Fergus Hanson and Associate Professor Jake Lynch
Film Screening and Discussion, 23 April 2009

Scarred Lands and Wounded Lives: The Environmental Footprint of War
Dr Hannah Middleton
Film screening and talk, 30 April 2009

After Israel’s attack on Gaza, how do we work for peace and justice?
Conference, 7 May 2009

Basic Mediation Skills
Abe Quadan and Kathleen Dan
Introductory Training Workshop, 23-24 May 2009

23,000 Warheads, Launch on Warning and Nuclear Winter: Keeping up with Armageddon
Steven Starr and John Hallam
Afternoon Seminar, 31 July 2009

Burma’s Border Conflict
Dr Cynthia Maung
Lunchtime Seminar, 20 August 2009

Sri Lanka’s Human Rights Emergency
Bruce Haigh, Dr John Whitehall and Dr Sam Pari
Evening Seminar, 31 August 2009
CPACS Research Seminar Series

Lyn Dickens, Administrative Assistant

2009 also witnessed the first CPACS Research Seminar Series, which commenced in Semester 2. The Seminar Series was designed to showcase academic research which is currently being undertaken at the Centre. A list of the seminars and topics can be found below.

**Propaganda: beyond intentionality**
Associate Professor Jake Lynch
24 September 2009

**Approaching Conflict and Violence in Aboriginal communities in NSW: the importance of Indigenous Knowledges (IK) methodologies**
Dr Vicki Grieves, Department of Anthropology (Guest Presenter)
15 October 2009

**(Re-)Constructing Transitional Justice**
Dr Wendy Lambourne
29 October 2009
CPACS Film Series
Lyn Dickens, Administrative Assistant

In Semester 2 CPACS also began a series of free weekly film screenings, at times accompanied by a Q&A session. The films were selected for their focus on peace with justice and they covered a wide range of issues. The screenings were open to CPACS students, staff and members, staff and students from other departments and the wider public. Below is a list of the films shown over the Semester.

Palestine is Still the Issue (2002)
Q&A with Associate Professor Jake Lynch
12 August 2009

I know I'm Not Alone (2006)
19 August 2009

Bringing Down a Dictator (2001)
26 August 2009

We Will Be Remembered For This (2007)
2 September 2009

Burma VJ (2009)
Q&A with a member of Burma Campaign Sydney.
Wednesday 9 September 2009

16 September 2009

Ten Canoes (2006)
23 September 2009

7 October 2009

Bomb Harvest (2008)
Q&A with John Heathers NSW Coordinator, Australian Campaign to Ban Landmines (ACBL)
14 October 2009

21 October 2009.

Soldiers of Peace (2008)
28 October 2009.
CPACS Visitors
Lyn Dickens, Administrative Assistant

During Semester 1, CPACS hosted two interns. Weller Zheng, an undergraduate student at the University of New South Wales, completed a ten week internship at the Centre, during which time he gave a seminar presentation and helped to organise the conference *After Israel’s attack on Gaza, how do we work for peace and justice?* with Associate Professor Jake Lynch. Brendan Doneghy, from the University of West Virginia, also visited CPACS from May until July, providing assistance to Annie Herro and Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees by helping to organise a conference on UNEPS in Jakarta.

Jennifer Robinson, an Australian lawyer and Rhodes Scholar at Balliol College, the University of Oxford, visited CPACS on 13 March to present a seminar on practical and legal issues surrounding ideas of justice for West Papua. As part of her talk, Ms Robinson discussed transitional justice mechanisms, campaigns for West Papuan self-determination and the situation of Papuan refugees.

On 20 March, Professor Jeff Halper, the Coordinator of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, visited the Centre and addressed University of Sydney staff, students and visitors about his experiences resisting the Israeli Occupation on the ground.

CPACS hosted a screening and discussion of the film *Invisible Children* about child soldiers in Northern Uganda on 23 April. Katie Bradel of Invisible Children and Fergus Hanson of the Lowy Institute, visited the Centre to take part in the discussion and answer questions from the audience, along with Associate Professor Jake Lynch and chair, Trent Newman.

Former Senator of the NSW Greens, Kerry Nettle, Jewish activist Angela Budai, Professor John Docker, Rose Nakad of the Gaza Defence Committee and Paul McAleer, Maritime Union of Australia, joined Associate Professor Jake Lynch and Weller Zheng for the CPACS conference *After Israel’s attack on Gaza, how do we work for peace and justice?* Held on 7 May, the conference examined what individuals could do to help Palestinians and Israelis working for peace.
Steven Starr, Senior Scientist with Physicians for Social Responsibility at the University of Missouri, and John Hallam, of People for Nuclear Disarmament, gave a talk at the University on 31 July. They discussed the dangers of pre-emptive nuclear war and the importance of nuclear disarmament.

On 20 August Dr Cynthia Maung, founder and director of the Mae Tao Clinic, visited CPACS. She gave a talk regarding the clinic’s work providing free healthcare to refugees, migrant workers and others who cross the border from Burma to Thailand. She was also joined by Dr Myint Cho, of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma.

Mediator, arbitrator and educator, Steve Lancken, who heads up the commercial consultancy The Trillium Group, visited the Centre on 26 August for discussions with Dr Wendy Lambourne. The Trillium Group offers conflict management training and services to corporate, government and other clients based in NSW and overseas.

CPACS hosted a seminar, *Sri Lanka’s Human Rights Emergency*, at the University of Sydney on 31 August. Bruce Haigh, former Australian diplomat and Deputy High Commissioner to Sri Lanka; Dr John Whitehall, Paediatrician and Associate Professor in Public Health at James Cook University; and Dr Sam Pari, Tamil Human Rights Advocate, discussed the experiences of Tamils in Sri Lanka. They were joined by Associate Professor Jake Lynch.

On 11 November, the 2009 Sydney Peace Prize Recipient, John Pilger, visited the University to give a lecture to University staff, students and members and take part in a Question and Answer session chaired by CPACS doctoral student, Neven Bondokji.

Rabbi Michael Lerner visited the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies on 1 December and gave a lecture regarding the relationships between spirituality, peace and social justice in Australia and the USA.
Financial Statements
Keryn Scott, Administrative Assistant

In 2009 CPACS’ finances were administered by SSPS Finance Manager Maggie Ghali, together with her staff members Danka Ondriskova, Amalia Bukatka and Molly Dias. CPACS wishes to thank Maggie and her team for their understanding and support.

The CPACS account structure remained the same as in 2008 with one Responsibility Centre, D5401, and further Project Codes. Some CPACS projects, such as the Refugee Language Program and the West Papua Project, have their own separate accounts, not included here.

For the core CPACS activities, Project Code 00000 is the main operating account, which includes academic and administrative/general salaries, as well as all operating expenses within the approved budget. PC 11111 is the CPACS other-operating account which covers other income generated by CPACS including conferences, seminars, membership fees and publication sales.

The 2009 Balance and Transaction records for the CPACS main operating and other-operating accounts are attached as follows:

(1) Income and Expenditure Summary
(2) Teaching and Learning account
(3) Research Assistance account
(4) Support and Operations account

Note that the Summary and Teaching and Learning accounts do not include student fee income or grants by the Vice-Chancellor and Dean from discretionary funds.
## Income & Expenditure Statement

### Summary

- **Responsibility Centre:** Ctr for Peace & Conflict (D5401)
- **Project Code:** ALJPROJ033CT_P1
- **Year:** Calendar Year 2009

### Income & Expenditure

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### Revenue

- **Revenue**
  - 833 5,207
  - 0 Grants
  - 10,000 53,978
  - 2,000 10,000
  - 42,369 22,000
  - 1,400
  - 24,000
  - 247
  - 8,077
  - 148,215
  - 126,175
  - 170,033
  - 7,700
  - 7,281
  - 7,281
  - 81,400
  - 254,358
  - 221,751
  - 81,400
  - 360,548
  - 221,751

### Expenses: Employee Benefits

- **Expenses: Employee Benefits**
  - 9,987 14,749
  - 8,161 General Salary Costs
  - 73,546 107,445
  - 87,604
  - 75,546
  - 490,544
  - 75,546
  - 490,544
  - 4,600
  - 329,342
  - 154,798
  - 126,175
  - 170,033

### Expenses: Non Salary

- **Expenses: Non Salary**
  - 284 4,020
  - 6,188 Employee Related Costs
  - 2,500
  - 41,608
  - 2,500
  - 34,643
  - 388,152
  - 280,521
  - 280,521
  - 20 648 Consumables
  - 500
  - 486
  - 8,196
  - 8,196

### Total Expenditure

- **Total Expenditure**
  - 10,640
  - 108,440
  - 90,003
  - 108,440
  - 490,544
  - 75,546
  - 717,794
  - 490,544

### Operating Margin

- **Operating Margin**
  - 833
  - 5,207

### Accumulations

- **Accumulations**
  - Carry Forward (Prior Year)
  - 93,015
  - 94,005
  - 93,015
  - 93,015
  - 329,586
  - 329,586
  - 329,586
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  - 329,586
## Income & Expenditure Statement

### Teaching and Learning

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### Revenue

- **0** 5,207
  - 0 Grants
  - 0 Business Income
  - 9,145 7,700 Internal Income
  - 0 0 Other Income

#### Full Year

- **0** 43,978
  - 125,665 118,160
  - 39,434 39,134

#### Prior Year

- **0** 42,369
  - 149,300 118,160

- **0** 0

- **0** 115,535

### Expenses: Employee Benefits

- **0** 48,852
  - 39,740 Academic Salary Costs
  - 3,281 532 Part Time Teaching Costs
  - 10,466 10,802 Casual Salary Costs
  - 10 0 Overtime Costs

#### Full Year

- **0** 384,140
  - 386,815

#### Prior Year

- **0** 280,521
  - 21,286

### Expenses: Non Salary

- **0** 37
  - 4,745 Employee Related Costs
  - 51
  - 173 Consumables
  - 410 0 Repairs and Maintenance
  - 0 0 Equip Purchases & Lease<10,000

#### Full Year

- **0** 20,432
  - 9,862

#### Prior Year

- **0** 9,862
  - 21,286

### Expenses: Total

- **0** 62,608

- **0** 51,074

#### Full Year

- **0** 535,971

#### Prior Year

- **0** 420,848

### Total Expenditure

- **0** 81,828

- **0** 72,001

#### Full Year

- **0** 157,500

#### Prior Year

- **0** 495,226

### Operating Margin

- **0** (67,475)

- **0** (64,301)

#### Full Year

- **0** (27,292)

#### Prior Year

- **0** (376,729)

### Net Operating Margin

- **0** (67,475)

- **0** (64,301)

#### Full Year

- **0** (27,292)

#### Prior Year

- **0** (376,729)

### Accumulations

- **0** 0

#### Full Year

- **0** 0

#### Prior Year

- **0** 0

### Net Financial Performance

- **0** (67,475)

- **0** (64,301)

#### Full Year

- **0** (27,292)

#### Prior Year

- **0** (376,729)

### Closing Balance

- **0** 0

#### Full Year

- **0** 0

#### Prior Year

- **0** 0
## Income & Expenditure Statement

**Responsibility Centre:** Cntr for Peace & Conflict (D5401)

**Project Codes:** Research (RESEARCH_PJ)

**Year:** Calendar Year 2009

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### Income & Expenditure Statement

**Responsibility Centre:** Care for Peace & Conflict (D5401)

**Project Codes:** Support Operations (SUPPORT_OPERATIONS_PJ)

**Year:** Calendar Year 2009

**Income & Expenditure Statement**

#### Support & Operations

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#### Expenses: Employee Benefits

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#### Expenses: Non Salary

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<td><strong>(48,484)</strong></td>
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#### Accumulations

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Appendix: CPACS in the News

‘The war correspondent who became a peace advocate’, The University of Sydney News and events, 25 March 2009

Jake Lynch, ‘Up close and spineless’, The Drum Unleashed, ABC online, 10 June 2009

‘The politics of war and peace’, The University of Sydney News and Events, 24 June 2009

Jake Lynch, ‘How America is constantly at war’, Sydney Morning Herald, 26 June 2009

Jake Lynch, ‘Our turn to be heard on arms spending’, Sydney Morning Herald, 23 August, 2009

Sally Jackson, ‘War of words at SBS over Mid East’, The Australian, 28 September 2009


Jake Lynch, ‘Next Time Check Your Facts, Philip’, newmatilda.com, 15 October, 2009

Jake Lynch, ‘to demonise Sri Lankan boatpeople dodges the issue’, The Australian, 16 October 2009

‘More than 125 Iraqis killed in bomb attacks’, ABC Radio, 9 December 2009
The war correspondent who became a peace advocate

25 March 2009

BBC World Television newsreader Jake Lynch was promptly taken off the air when he spoke out over shortcomings in the media group's coverage of the conflict between Israelis and the Palestinians.

Lynch is now the director of the University of Sydney's Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. At the time, he had agreed with a critical report commissioned by BBC governors, which said the BBC should better reflect the unequal status of the two sides: Israel as an occupying power and the Palestinians as an occupied, impoverished people.

Lynch recounts this episode in his new book, *Debates in Peace Journalism* (Sydney University Press), which is released this week. It would be "odd", the BBC said, "for a presenter to be seen to be siding with the report." Some of the changes the governors called for have now, to some extent, been implemented and for Lynch this has edged the BBC's representation of that conflict towards a little more "peace journalism".

Peace journalism is a new field of journalism practice and theory, pioneered by Lynch and his wife, the journalist Annabel McGoldrick, as a response to traditional war journalism. It asks editors and reporters to consciously make choices about what to report, and how to report.

This may involve aiming to avoid (for example) uncritically reporting propaganda such as the supposed existence of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, which provided the US and its allies with an alibi for war. Peace journalism aims instead to consider conflicts as consisting of many parties, rather than a simple dichotomy, and to promote peace initiatives from whatever quarter.

In *Debates in Peace Journalism* Jake Lynch traces the major controversies in the field - philosophical, pedagogical and professional - and links his own contributions to them with important new material. Part memoir, part cutting-edge academic research, *Debates in Peace Journalism* is of interest to scholars, while remaining accessible for the interested general reader.

About Jake Lynch

Jake Lynch is currently Associate Professor and Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney and an Executive member of the Sydney Peace Foundation. Lynch is a seasoned international journalist, with experience covering many conflicts in the Middle East, South East Europe and East Asia. He worked as a presenter and reporter for the BBC, a Political Correspondent for Sky News and the Sydney Correspondent for the London Independent.

Book launch: 6pm Thursday, 26 March at Gleebooks

Jake Lynch will be in conversation with Peter Manning, former executive producer of ABC's Four Corners and former head of news at Channel Seven TV; now a filmmaker, prominent media researcher and convenor of the Coalition for Justice and Peace in Palestine.

There's a fascinating exhibition at the Australian museum in Sydney. Titled 'Up Close and Spineless', it features winning entries in a photography competition focusing on the colourful world of invertebrates.

These, along with the permanent insect exhibits, struck me as an apt metaphor for Australia's Foreign Affairs community: a swarm of politicians, public servants, think-tankers and academics. Research on recent international events, and the reactions of world governments, confirmed the impression that Australia is home to the most spineless foreign ministry anywhere on earth, along with 12 per cent of the known species of cockroach.

Two episodes in particular have outraged global opinion - Israel's attack on Gaza in January, and, last month, the massacre by the Sri Lankan army of 20,000 Tamils. Each government accused a non-state armed group of using civilians as human shields - then went ahead and attacked them anyway.

This is explicitly ruled out by a norm of humanitarian protection accepted by the vast majority of the international community. The 1977 Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions specify that:

"The presence within the civilian population of individuals who do not come within the definition of civilians does not deprive the population of its civilian character" (Article 50).

The list of signatories includes 160 of the 200-odd UN member states, Australia being one. Among the absentee are Israel, Sri Lanka and the United States.

Responses to this year's events show abundant double standards. America provided diplomatic cover for Israel as usual, including a last-minute abstention at the Security Council, which scuppered a ceasefire resolution. Hillary Clinton, Secretary of State in the new US Administration, later called on the IMF to suspend development aid to Colombo.

India, vocal in its condemnation over Gaza, kept shtum about Sri Lanka to the point where one of its retired generals publicly accused it of complicity.

Timid bottom-feeders of the international community - countries that would not necessarily develop an opinion, like, say, Bulgaria, Botswana and Bolivia - were 'covered', in strong statements put out on their behalf by the European Union, African Union or Organization of American States.

Even ASEAN, through the Heads Statement of its 14th Summit, identified Israel's attack as the cause of a humanitarian crisis, and called for an immediate ceasefire.

The only such club Australia belongs to - the Commonwealth - has a Ministerial Action Group, which is supposed to uphold standards of human rights agreed in the Harare Declaration of 1991. Except it spent the early months of 2009 belying its name by steadfastly refusing to meet.

New Zealand piped up with a call at the UN General Assembly for Israel to "end its military offensive" and "condemning" its "appalling attacks on United Nations personnel and facilities". Deputy Permanent Representative Kirsty Graham mentioned "allegations of serious violations of international humanitarian law" and affirmed New Zealand's support for "the UN Secretary General's call for an impartial inquiry". The statement features in the list of media releases on the NZ foreign ministry's website.
And what do we find, in the 'media room' of its Canberra counterpart? Nothing. Zilch. Nix. Yes, Australia is the only democratic country on earth not to have uttered so much as a peep of condemnation of either of these two violations of international humanitarian law.

Each merits two press statements, drawing attention to Australian aid. Important, of course, but to confine oneself to that is to connive in the project the late Israeli political scientist, Baruch Kimmerling, called 'politicide': a plot to get the world to see the Palestinian cause not as a political struggle but in purely humanitarian terms, instead.

Following the fall of the LTTE, Foreign Minister Stephen Smith did call for access by international humanitarian organisations to the displacement camps where thousands were now held by the Sri Lankan government, but he conspicuously failed to back the call, by UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay, for an independent investigation into alleged war crimes.

"Now that the conflict is over", Smith told Sky News on May 19, "people will be in a better position in time to make judgements about the conduct of the military engagement".

Well, they are: as UN Human Rights Council president Martin Ihoeghian Uhomoibhi put it, "the international community must strive to deliver justice to victims of human rights violations wherever they occur and ensure that those found guilty of such crimes are held accountable for their actions".

Instead, Australia appears impatient to return to business as usual. This week, the Victorian Government is hosting a Sri Lankan delegation for trade talks, including the country's Prime Minister and Education Minister. Next, Julia Gillard is off to Israel, on a junket with politicians, journalists, academics and executives.

Payback, perhaps, on her statement, at New Year, that the attack on Gaza amounted to nothing more than Israel exercising its "right to defend itself".

What is it about Australian politics that sees human rights as an inconvenience, to be brushed aside from important conversations about making money? Are we that desperate?

Canberra refuses US requests to accept 17 Uighurs from Guantanamo Bay for resettlement here, because China views them as 'terrorists'. Asylum was granted to 42 leaders of the West Papuan struggle, but only after a large picture of them making landfall on Australian territory featured prominently in the media, making them unignorable.

The subsequent Lombok Treaty appeased Indonesia by shoving human rights off the countries' joint agenda altogether.

Israel should not be able to enjoy normal relations with the outside world as long as there is no justice in respect of its serial violations of international law.

In the Sri Lankan case, a clear path of action has been set out for the international community, in the statement by Tamil representatives here.

As well as the investigation of alleged war crimes, Australia is being asked to join other countries in insisting that Sri Lanka open up the war zone, and the internment camps where 300,000 Tamils are presently held, to international scrutiny, and release detainees including three doctors who treated the wounded almost to the bitter end.

Smith has warned Sri Lanka that its "longstanding international reputation is now very much at stake", but there is no sign that Canberra is willing to make any part of its relations with Colombo conditional on these demands being met. He also called for "political reconciliation" in Sri Lanka, but you can't get reconciliation without justice.

The Palestinian and Sri Lankan Tamil struggles are for human rights, based on human needs, and those cannot be traded away. So the conflicts will continue, and if we don't join in providing forms of access to justice that don't involve further violence, we will be helping to make that grim turn of events more likely in future.

The timidity of governments leaves the rest of us to take matters into our own hands. Hence the growing campaign for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel.

One highly symbolic target here is the tour by Sri Lanka's cricketers, scheduled for a test series against Australia in 2010-2011.

Our national sport relies, for pre-eminence, on a wholesome image, appealing to every section of the Australian community. Don't jeopardise it, boys - tell the Sri Lankans to stay at home.

Jake Lynch is one of more than 170 signatories to a petition calling on Julia Gillard to call off her planned trip to Israel.
The politics of war and peace

24 June 2009

The Third Australasian Conference on the Economics and Politics of War and Peace, entitled "The Economics and Politics of War and Peace", will deal with the economic and political aspects of the causes and consequences of contemporary conflict, with a particular emphasis on measures for peaceful resolution of both intra-state and international wars, disputes and tensions.

The two-day conference (26-27 June) will include discussion of conflict behaviour in North Korea as well as Iran's nuclear ambitions. It will be hosted by the University's Faculty of Social and Political Sciences.

The conference will also have a particular focus on: behavioural economics and psychology and conflict; war and peace in Asia; and trade, investment, alliances, and conflict.

Conference speakers

Professor Jurgen Brauer, Professor of Economics at James. M. Hull College of Business, Augusta State University (USA), whose talk is entitled: Computing a World Peace GDP.

Jenny Hayward-Jones, from the Lowy Institute for International Policy, who will talk about Peacemaking and Conflict Prevention in the Pacific Islands Region: Australian Responsibilities.

Professor Paul K Huth, Professor of Government and Politics and research director for the Centre for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland (USA). He will be posing the question Does International Law promote the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes?

Associate Professor Jake Lynch from the University of Sydney's Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, on the US and World Media as a Conflict Intensifier.

Professor Brian Pollins, Emeritus Associate Professor of Political Science at Ohio State University (USA), who will present on the Economy and Armed Conflict: An Analytical Tribute to Hayward Alker.

The conference is a collaboration between Economists for Peace and Security (Australian Chapter); Peace Science Society (International); the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Sydney; and the Faculty of Arts/Institute of Social Science, University of Sydney.

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How America is constantly at war

JAKE LYNCH

June 26, 2009
Opinion

Early this year was a turning point in America's relations with the rest of the world, and not just because Team Obama took over. What tells us more about the underlying dynamics of global conflict is that the US switched, at some point following the inauguration, from being a country usually at peace to one usually at war.

The modern era of American war fighting started with what President Franklin Roosevelt called the "date of infamy": Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, which brought GIs into World War II. To this point, 811 months have passed, and the US has now spent 406 of those at war. That doesn't count the innumerable logistical efforts, starting with the Berlin airlift, clandestine operations and proxy wars - even the odd peacekeeping mission.

It is derived from adding the 46 months it took to get Japan to surrender in the Pacific to 37 months of the next episode of all-out combat, in Korea. Identifying the Vietnam starting point is tricky, but the first American military hardware - helicopters - and personnel to fly them arrived in South Vietnam on December 11, 1961.

The formal ceasefire came 134 months later, and for a while the idea of sending Americans to fight overseas fell into disrepute. It was rehabilitated through small-scale deployments like Grenada in 1983 and the invasion of Panama in 1989: two months each.

Then came Desert Storm, where it took three months to eject the forces of Saddam Hussein from Kuwait in 1991.

There followed the ill-starred attempt in Somalia in 1992-93 (10 months) and the bombing of Yugoslavia in the Kosovo conflict of 1999 (another three). The US has been at war in Afghanistan since October 2001, and again in Iraq from March 2003.

American troops are due to withdraw from Iraqi cities this weekend, perhaps marking an end point there, after 76 months, though the country seethes with latent conflicts. Afghanistan now stands at 93 and counting.

Total: 406 out of 811, more than half.

I've counted each month in the overlap twice, to reflect the uniqueness of two major wars happening at once. One might ask whether the US actually ever stopped being at war with Iraq, given the constant air patrols over the no-fly zones, the ever-tightening sanctions regime and the occasional intensification of air strikes.

For the US to be at war should not be surprising, but seen as normal: not "man bites dog" but "dog bites man". In every case, our attention has been directed to particular, external causes, or threats, from South-East Asian nations "falling like dominoes" to communism, to Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction".

Instead, we should be looking for general, internal causes. What is it about America that keeps it at war and what intensifies the pressures to war?

A colossal arms industry needs periodic advertising campaigns, on slogans like "shock and awe", more now because the era of shareholder value means ever greater returns are required, to meet market expectations.

Obama's first defence budget in early April kept up the previous level of spending. The share price of all the major weapons suppliers turned sharply upwards just beforehand and they've been outperforming the stockmarket ever since. Recently, the industry inveigled Congress into an appropriation the military itself doesn't want, the redundant F-22 fighter.

Then there's the media. As secretary of state, Colin Powell became America's chief spokesman for invading Iraq. TV companies waved the flag. His son, Michael Powell, was then the chairman of a Federal Communications Commission planning to deregulate the industry. NBC, one of the three major TV networks, is majority owned by General Electric, which is a major military supplier and contributor to the Bush presidential campaigns.
A proliferation of on-air experts and commentators from corporate-funded think tanks push military stratagems. The idea for the "troop surge" in Iraq was launched, for instance, by the conservative American Enterprise Institute, with a column in The Washington Post.

Where does that leave us? Australian troops are about to take part in Operation Talisman Sabre, in central Queensland, the biennial joint training exercise geared towards maintaining "interoperability" with their US counterparts. We are rehearsing for the next war, and we should think long and hard about whether we really want to.

Obama has spoken about the need for America to regain its leadership as an innovator of civilian technological applications. He may re-regulate media. He may cut the Pentagon's procurement budgets and he may promote inclusive dialogue and negotiation in Afghanistan.

He may prove a peacemaker: but the underlying momentum, in large sections of the US economy, is pulling in the opposite direction.

Associate Professor Jake Lynch is director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney.
Our turn to be heard on arms spending

Jake Lynch
August 23, 2008
Opinion

The Rudd Government hit the ground reviewing. A swag of initiatives - saying sorry, scrapping workplace laws, signing up to Kyoto - were implemented straight away, having been long in the gestation. The rest is still, to some extent, up for grabs.

We're all now being given the chance to have our say. How should Australia spend its military budget, and for what purpose? How should we relate to the Association of South-East Asian Nations? Foreign and defence policy are being opened for consultation, with hearings on a defence white paper coming to Sydney next week.

But the hearings are chaired by Stephen Loosley, on the board of Thales Australia, making him, er, an arms dealer. The Government has, moreover, prejudged a central issue by committing itself to a 3 per cent annual real-terms increase in military spending.

This is what the former US president Dwight Eisenhower referred to as "the military-industrial complex". Countries face security threats, then take sensible precautions to protect against those threats, right? Not always. System logic sometimes leads them to invent or exaggerate threats to justify spending - to reward companies whose campaign contributions put politicians into their Washington offices, say.

In the US this has become plain silly, with the latest innovation - "spiral development accounting" - exempting the missile defence program from having to show results, or even specify, at the outset, the results it is seeking to achieve.

Australia's Defence Minister, Joel Fitzgibbon, told the National Press Club a few weeks ago that we now face "an increasingly uncertain security environment".

Really? The Human Security Project at Simon Fraser University in Canada finds the world becoming, on one important measure, a safer place. The number of armed conflicts fell, between 1994 and 2005, by 40 per cent. The number of deaths from organised violence has also plunged since the end of the Cold War. Yet the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's annual survey of global military spending reveals that the cost of arms has remorselessly risen, up over the same period by 37 per cent, over and above inflation.

If Labor is convinced we are facing a growing threat, then ministers have some explaining to do. One of those advising on the white paper is Professor Ross Babbage, a former Defence official (and arms dealer) who has raised the spectre of invasion by India or China - unrealistic now, but with the uncomfortable feeling that, if built into our assumptions, it could become a self-fulfilling prophecy. A bit like the Russians threatening to target missile defence installations in Poland.

At the same time in Canberra, Michael Smith, the former deputy commander of the United Nations mission to East Timor, who then headed up Austcare, is to take charge of the Asia-Pacific Centre for Civil-Military Co-operation. The brainchild of Colonel Mike Kelly, the parliamentary secretary for defence, its brief will be to "streamline co-ordination between security, economic, emergency management, institution-building and non-government organisations to help avoid continuing instability and revolving-door military deployments".

Australians who work in conflict zones are "selfless and dedicated", Smith told a conference we organised this year, but now need "new thinking" to succeed. Unlike the Pentagon with its missile shield, he ventured a bold and demanding definition of success: "That civil society is established, or re-established, in a peaceful, just and sustainable manner that empowers people to bring themselves out of poverty."

This is a mission of which Australians would unequivocally approve, as ministers would hear if they were really listening. The other long-prepared move, as Rudd took office, was to pull the diggers back from the frontline in Iraq, of course, and opinion is evenly split over the continuing commitment to Afghanistan.

So please, let's not waste money on war-fighting kit we don't want and don't need, whether manufactured by Thales or anyone else. Let's concentrate, instead, on addressing the real causes of conflict, and help to bring peace with justice to our own region.

Associate Professor Jake Lynch is director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney.

This story was found at: http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2008/08/22/1219262526783.html
CONFLICT over Israel's disputed territories has caused a skirmish about terminology at SBS, with the multicultural broadcaster accused of misleading viewers for directing that the term "Palestinian land" not be used in news reports about the Middle East.

SBS ombudsman Sally Begbie made the ruling in response to a complaint about the description being used in a World News bulletin.

Begbie said the phrase breached clause 2.2 of the SBS Codes of Practice, which states: "Reasonable effort should be made to ensure news and current affairs programs are balanced and impartial."

She said: "The land concerned remains the subject of protracted and deep dispute and therefore the reasonable viewer could consider that the use of the term 'Palestinian land' indicates a lack of impartiality as required under the codes."

A subsequent internal memo from news boss Paul Cutler told journalists and editors to "take care in the language used to describe the occupied territories".

"The status of Israeli settlements on the West Bank is controversial, and is the subject of ongoing negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians," Cutler said in the memo.

"When discussing territory whose status remains the subject of negotiation, care must be taken to ensure that the language used is neutral and cannot be interpreted as being favourable to one side over another.

"The best way to achieve this is to describe the geographic location of the settlements e.g. 'Israeli settlements on the West Bank' or 'Israeli settlements on the outskirts of Jerusalem' or similar. We should avoid describing them as 'on Palestinian land' or 'on disputed land'. If anyone is in any doubt on this issue, please refer upwards."

Tzvi Fleischer, editor of Australia/Israel Review, which is put out by the Australia/Israel and Jewish Affairs Council, backed SBS's position.

"It's sensible where we have a dispute about territory that reports should reflect there's a dispute and use language that makes that clear without adjudicating that one side or the other is in the right," he said.

But Jake Lynch, director of Sydney University's Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, said the ruling showed "a lamentable ignorance of the facts and ... should be rescinded forthwith."

"No reputable expert in international law, international relations or my own field of peace and conflict studies would dispute that the land in question is Palestinian," he said.

"One of the main points of this story is that the occupied territories of East Jerusalem and the West Bank are Palestinian, and SBS journalists must be allowed to explain that, or viewers and listeners risk being misled and confused."

Professor Lynch said the BBC Board of Governors had reached the opposite conclusion to SBS when considering the question in 2004 after a complainant objected to references in its broadcasts to "Palestinian land" and "Arab land". The BBC said in its ruling that "these terms appropriately reflected the language of UN resolutions".

Professor Lynch and lobby group Australians for Palestine have complained to SBS about the ombudsman's ruling.

An SBS spokeswoman said no one would comment further.

"SBS does not make public comments on internal editorial decisions which are made from time to time for a variety of reasons," she said.
Former foreign minister Alexander Downer has taken aim at the Nobel Peace Prize committee over its decision to award the latest prize to US President Barack Obama.

Mr Downer described the decision 'a farce' and said Mr Obama should have refused to accept the prize.

"He has been in office for less than nine months when it is announced that he has won the prize, so they would have made the decision a few weeks ago I suppose. It does make the whole system a bit of a farce," he said.

Mr Downer says it is a pity Mr Obama did not refuse the award.

He says the prize is overtly political and the committee is not equipped to choose the right winner.

"There are people out there like Morgan Tsvangirai, the Zimbabwean leader, who have been struggling for years and years for human rights and for a fair deal for their people who have been ignored," he said.

"While somebody who is, admittedly a very great global celebrity who has just come to office, gets the Nobel Peace prize.

"So it is clearly a completely political decision. Not a decision based on merit.

"Frankly to be nominated after he has been in office for 11 days and to win the prize after he has been in office for less than nine months, I think it discredits the whole system."

Mr Obama, for his part, seemed somewhat embarrassed when he commented on his achievement.
Dr John Lee, a research fellow at the Centre for Independent Studies in Sydney, says he does not think Mr Obama was a deserved recipient.

"The peace prize has to be for actual achievement, not potential, and it also has to be achievement in promoting world peace, not in raising the prestige of the American state, which is largely what Barack Obama has done so far," he said.

"You can look at a whole host of human rights advocates throughout the planet who are doing good things, whether it is through charitable works or whether it is through actually engaging in the political process.

"America is actually at war so it is hard to believe that he would receive the Nobel Peace prize for that purpose."

But there are others who say the Nobel committee got it right and that Mr Obama's win will serve as an inspiration to the world.

The President of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney, Dr Ken Macnab, says initially he thought the award was premature but now he has come around to the Nobel Committee's decision.

"He has been only nine months in his office as president but even in that nine months he has brought a qualitative change to American political style, possibly military style, concern for nuclear weapons, for international cooperation rather than conflict," he said.

"He has reached out to the Islamic world with a fairly well received speech and he is looking at issues of welfare, healthcare and so on in the United States itself.

"Although it is very early, I think the Nobel Committee probably thought that his very clear, good intentions and his very impressive promises could do with some support."

Many commentators in the United States have also lampooned the Committee's decision.
Next Time Check Your Facts, Philip
By Jake Lynch

As Rudd takes a hard line on Tamil asylum seekers, Philip Ruddock's recent claims that all is well in Sri Lanka couldn't be further from the truth, writes Jake Lynch

"The toilets are only less than five metres from my tent and the smell was strong when the emptying of the toilet pits is not carried out in time, which is always the case. When there is water shortage, which is frequent, concern about how one is going to use the toilet becomes the most serious problem of the day, surpassing the problems of food, health and other major issues".

So says a former inmate of Menik Farm, the vast internment camp where the Sri Lankan Government is holding upwards of a quarter of a million Tamils against their will. They were herded away from their homes five months ago in the final deadly phase of the country’s civil war, during which, according to unofficial UN estimates, as many as 20,000 people were killed.

Her eyewitness account, reported on Tamilnet, reached the outside world after she secured exit from the camp by what are euphemistically referred to as "other means": former detainees are known to have bribed the guards with their life savings to get away.

This is what desperation feels — and smells — like. Periodic visits by "dignitaries" were marked by handouts of bread, the eyewitness records, for which the inmates would scrabble pathetically. Rations were so poor that a man went around begging for sugar to sweeten the plain black tea he was feeding his newborn; the mother was so malnourished that her breast milk had prematurely dried up. Staff from the UN High Commission for Refugees were told that Tamils were not to be given vegetables unless they could buy them from Government-approved traders, who were busy leeching off the inmates.

These people are being persecuted, by any definition. Try this one, for instance, from Article 33 of the Refugee Convention of 1951:

"No Contracting State shall expel or return… a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion."

Refugees are people with a well-founded fear of such persecution, on any of the five grounds named. The Tamils are being kept in the camps — deprived of their freedom — solely on the grounds of their race. If they speak out about their treatment, to UNHCR staff, for instance, they risk joining thousands of others over the years who have simply "disappeared" with impunity for those responsible.

What this reading of the Refugee Convention means is that the Tamils of Sri Lanka are entitled to seek shelter in other countries, and to have the governing authorities make a proper assessment of their claims. Given their circumstances, they have what is likely in many cases to be strong grounds for obtaining asylum. And sure enough, Tamils have now acquired an obligatory matching accessory, like a badge of honour: the Philip Ruddock death rattle.

Such people are, the former Attorney-General intones, heading for our shores in greater numbers, not because of "push factors" but because the Rudd Government has "gone soft", notably by scrapping measures adopted by the Coalition such as naval interception of "people-smugglers", mandatory detention and the issuance of Temporary Protection Visas to successful applicants, rather than a "migration outcome", thus limiting "consequential family reunion".

This is the return of what Peter Manning, the former television journalist turned social researcher, termed "dog-whistle politics" with reference to the representation of Arabic speaking and Muslim people in the Australian media in the 12 months before and after 9/11. Its shrill blast is intended, not for the well-heeled residents of Ruddock’s own electorate on Sydney’s Upper North Shore, but for...
aspirational "hard-working families" in crowded marginal seats, who can, according to legend, be convinced that their space and their money are at stake in Australia extending a welcome to any new arrivals.

Base political calculations trump any semblance of evidence-based policy-making. "As an island continent, Australia is uniquely positioned", Ruddock avers, to stem the so-called tide of would-be refugees — conveniently ignoring the fact that the vast majority of asylum claims are lodged by people who have arrived by air.

Following the 9/11 attacks in the US, Ruddock’s boss, former prime minister John Howard, went out of his way to tar asylum seekers with the brush of terrorism — supposedly a threat to the security of those crucial swing voters. And yet ASIO, who ran routine security checks on "boat people", never found a single terrorism suspect.

The Rudd Government stands accused of colluding with the Sri Lankans to keep the Tamils in the camps — anything to prevent them from reaching the airports. Bruce Haigh, the former Deputy High Commissioner in Colombo, says the Deputy Chief of the Navy went with this message, back in June, with Kevin Rudd’s explicit endorsement: "His plea amounted to an endorsement of the continued detention of Tamils in appalling conditions", Haigh notes in a recent article. Perhaps inmates will find some distraction from the mosquitoes in the glossy ads the Australian Government is commissioning from Saatchi and Saatchi to discourage them from coming here to seek sanctuary.

The Foreign Minister, Stephen Smith, has expressed concern over their plight, and called for full access to appropriate international humanitarian organisations, however, when opportunities have arisen to back this up with anything more than words, Australia has been notably backward in coming forward. It did not, for example, follow the lead of the US and UK in publicly abstaining from a vote at the International Monetary Fund on a loans package for Sri Lanka, thus losing the opportunity to exert any leverage in support of its concerns.

One of the factors supposedly preventing the return of detainees to their homes is the continuing danger from landmines in the Vanni region in the north east. There are also plans to install Sinhala populations in former Tamil areas in a scheme of ethnic cleansing, according to a Tamil National Alliance politician. To avoid collusion, Canberra is channelling Australian aid for the purchase of de-mining equipment through NGOs, not the Sri Lankan Government. That, at least, was the assurance given by DFAT to members of the Tamil community, but news then filtered through of officials flaunting Australian largesse as a direct handover to a Government-appointed taskforce.

Not the least concerning aspect of the situation in Sri Lanka is the continuing shroud of secrecy. Eyewitness accounts such as the one quoted above are routinely denigrated by Colombo as fabrications; pictures smuggled out are dismissed as fakes; monitoring groups such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch are condemned as biased. James Elder, the courageous head of UNICEF, who spoke out about the dangers of child malnutrition in the camps, was promptly expelled.

Ruddock glibly suggests that Sri Lanka should now be regarded as a source of less well-founded asylum claims because its "Tamil insurgency … appears to have been defeated militarily". That he can get away with such poppycock testifies to the lack of ventilation in public discourse for the real issues confronting hundreds of thousands of detainees, held in conditions that are worsening as the monsoon rains close in.

Australia has general responsibilities towards asylum seekers as a signatory to the Convention. Far from breaking the law, they are exercising a right under Australian and international law. And it has a special responsibility to provide for those fleeing a well-founded fear of persecution in Sri Lanka, given its complaisance in their predicament.
To demonise Sri Lankan boatpeople dodges the issue

UPWARDS of 250,000 Sri Lankan Tamils are being held in appalling conditions in the vast Manik Farm internment camp, deprived of their freedom solely on grounds of race. Speak out about their plight and their lives are at risk as well: they have a well-founded fear of joining the thousands of others who have "disappeared" with utter impunity for the perpetrators.

They may therefore meet the definition of refugees under the 1951 UN convention, to which Australia is a signatory, but their right to apply for asylum, and have their case fairly considered, is not matched by any right of entry. That is why some turn to so-called people smugglers.

If Australia does not like the consequences of this situation, it should intensify pressure on the Sri Lankan authorities to deliver justice, starting with a properly supported process of return to their homes for the Tamil detainees. To whinge about asylum boats and to demonise those who provide them is to dodge the issue.

Jake Lynch

Director, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney
More than 125 Iraqis killed in bomb attacks

Michael Vincent reported this story on Wednesday, December 9, 2009 12:21:00

ELEANOR HALL: Iraq's Parliament has held an emergency session to discuss last night's coordinated attacks in Baghdad, which analysts say are an attempt to inflame religious and ethnic divides in the run up to the election.

A series of explosions, including two suicide car bombs, killed more than 125 people and left hundreds wounded. No-one has claimed responsibility for the attacks, which targeted government sites including the Finance Ministry and the Labour Ministry buildings as well as a court complex.

Michael Vincent has our reports.

MICHAEL VINCENT: The first blast targeted a police patrol, the remaining bombs exploded in quick succession, striking at government institutions. Once again black plumes of smoke rose into the skies above the Iraqi capital.

As the wounded were ferried to hospital emergency crews began sifting through rubble for the dead. It's the third coordinated attack on Baghdad in four months, despite increased security checkpoints across the capital.

The attack comes shortly after the date for the national elections was announced. They've been set for March seventh, a delay seven weeks because of political infighting.

Iraqi MP and former security adviser, Dr Mowaffak al-Rubaie, says this latest attack is part of a campaign to intimidate the population before the vote.

MOWAFFAK AL-RUBAIE: There is no doubt that the blueprint of all these car bombs this morning in Baghdad is the act of Al Qaeda in Iraq. Al Qaeda's been active in Baghdad recently and the aim is to show the Government is unable to protect civilians and its own people and also to deter people from going to ballot boxes.

MICHAEL VINCENT: Iraqis are now being left to question whether the Government can defend them before US troops withdraw in 2011. The United States has said it will continue with its pullout despite the attacks. Its 115,000 strong force would not be drawn down until after the elections.

Research fellow and Iraq specialist at Cambridge University's Department of Politics and International studies, George Joffe, says he suspects those behind the attacks are
running out of resources to maintain a campaign of violence.

GEORGE JOFFE: The fact is that over the last year the resistance has been profoundly damaged and marginalised. Whether it be a resistance based on Al Qaeda in Iraq or whether it in fact be based on the remnants of the old Mahabharata and the Ba'athist Party, which were in fact accused of the attacks in August for example.

So we don't yet know quite who it is who's responsible, although I think we can say with certainty that the objective is to undermine the elections and to undermine the Iraqi Government.

MICHAEL VINCENT: But others suspect the attacks will continue until the underlying problems are addressed.

Emeritus professor Stuart Rees from the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Sydney University says increased security is not the only solution needed.

STUART REES: Well I think it depends what we mean by security because we've given the military a long innings to provide more helicopters, more bomb shelters, more green zones and it doesn't appear to make any difference.

And most of our security in, for example, that we experience, has nothing to do with military forms of protections. And at some point, to build the civil society that people hope for, there will have to be a talk about justice for all the groups, for all the interests, for all the religious interests, for all the ethnic interests and then we'll rethink what we mean by security.

ELEANOR HALL: That's emeritus professor Stuart Rees from the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Sydney University. He was speaking to Michael Vincent.

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