



# **Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies**

## **Annual Report**



**2003**



**The University of Sydney**

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## **2003 CPACS Staff, Council and Volunteers**

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### **CPACS staff, volunteers & Council members with special duties**

President	Dr Ken Macnab
Director	Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees
Lecturer & Coordinator Peace and Conflict Studies/Seminars Coordinator	Dr Wendy Lambourne
Administration/Publications Officer	Iris Wielders
Research Officer	Dr Paul White
Research Assistant - Lebanese Youth Project	Elissar Mukhtar
Research Assistant - Global Action to Prevent War Project	Lynda-ann Blanchard
Coordinator Conflict Resolution Desk	Dr Tim Marchant
Membership Secretary	Abe Quadan
Librarian	Peggy Craddock
Council Secretary	Paul Clark
Sydney Peace Foundation Officer	Bridget McManus

### **2003 CPACS Council**

Thalia Anthony  
Greg Ashton  
Loret Bartos  
Christina Batchen  
Lynda-ann Blanchard  
Dennis Christley  
Paul Clark  
Bernadette Connole  
Stella Cornelius  
Laurie & Peg Craddock  
Andrew Greig  
Leona Kieran (PACS student representative)  
Wendy Lambourne  
Ken Macnab  
Cheryl Minks  
Abe Quadan  
Stuart Rees  
Roslyn Sims  
Jane Sloane  
John Telford  
George Varughese  
Paul White  
Iris Wielders

### **Part-time teachers**

Christina Batchen  
Lynda-ann Blanchard  
Paul Clark  
Mike Edwards  
Jake Lynch  
Ken Macnab  
Annabel McGoldrick  
Cheryl Minks  
Stuart Rees  
Paul White

## **CPACS Objectives**

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The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies was established in May 1988 as a specialist research and teaching centre within the University of Sydney.

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

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

## The Context of the 2003 Annual Report

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Dr Ken Macnab, President CPACS

### Peace with Justice

As a prologue to an account of CPACS activities the Annual Report has always provided a brief sketch of national and international affairs which have a bearing on our objective of peace with justice. On this occasion, in reflection of the conflicts which have attracted most attention and controversy, and done most damage to peace with justice, the sketch concentrates mainly on the 'war with terrorism', the conflicts in the Middle East, and the conduct of international relationships.

### The War on Iraq

War on Iraq was intended by the American leadership from soon after September 11, 2001. The 'war on terrorism' was expanded beyond Afghanistan in January 2002 when US President George W. Bush named Iraq as part of the 'axis of evil', and at West Point in June when he announced the policy of anticipatory pre-emptive military intervention. Domestic and international reaction against this unilateral aggression led briefly to a campaign to pressure the UN Security Council to sanction the use of force against Iraq. But the great propaganda forays of the 'willing' - Tony Blair's September 2002 dossier titled 'Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction', Bush's January 2003 State of the Union speech, Colin Powell's speech to the UN General Assembly in February and John Howard's address to the National Press Club in March - were all rightly suspected of being largely unsubstantiated and highly emotive special pleading. The Security Council did its job properly, weighed the evidence of the new weapons inspection teams headed by Hans Blix and Mohamed ElBaradei, requested more time for a peaceful resolution and refused to be rushed. Britain and the US withdrew their final resolution and increased the propaganda offensive.

Ignoring massive world-wide anti-war demonstrations and public opinion polls, quoting from one another's 'dodgy dossiers' and 'military intelligence' (an unfortunate oxymoron), the 'willing' leaders and their 'experts' put on the table everything they could, particularly chemical, biological and nuclear 'weapons of mass destruction' and links to 'international terrorism' and al-Qaeda. John Howard echoed them all, insisting that this war was 'right, lawful, and in Australia's national interests.' But most credible commentators believed it was none of these. Australian religious leaders and ethical experts believed that it was not 'right', because the grounds put forward by the 'coalition of the willing' failed several of the key criteria necessary for this to be considered a 'just war'. The overwhelming weight of international legal opinion believes that on the evidence it was not 'lawful', because it was neither sanctioned by existing UN Security Council resolutions nor justified under the criteria for 'self-defence' embodied in well-defined international case law and Article 51 of the UN Charter. Finally, it was clearly not in 'Australia's national interests' to participate in an unsanctioned pre-emptive invasion which could only exacerbate rather than address the sources of terrorism and make Australia a more likely target.

Although 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' was planned to start with the simultaneous unleashing of what *Time* called 'the world's most impressive weaponry, a combination of the latest in battlefield technology and overwhelming firepower', it began on 21 March with a failed attempt to assassinate Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. When the full array of firepower designed to 'shock and awe', named after Harlan Ullman and James Wade's military analysis called *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance* (1996), failed to subdue the enemy into quick submission, a new set of political platitudes was deployed. Sandstorms, unexpected resistance, unanticipated tactics and 'friendly fire' incidents disrupted over-confident plans. Along with the 'positive' media coverage from 'embedded' reporters, the war was 'sold' to the 'patriotic' public in a fashion which swamped serious criticism. The number of civilian casualties and accounts of their treatment were barely mentioned. Moreover, the 'battlefield' components of the war and the 'capture' of Baghdad were largely over within the month. Images of 'cheering Iraqis' welcoming the 'liberators', toppling statues of Saddam Hussein, occupied presidential palaces, and 'the rescue of Jessica Lynch' induced a short-lived euphoria. On 1 May, stage-managing the image that he

undoubtedly believed would ensure his re-election in 2004, George W. Bush emerged from a helicopter attired as a 'high-tech fighter pilot', strutted and smirked his way across the deck of the *USS Abraham Lincoln* and, beneath a banner proclaiming 'Mission Accomplished', announced the end of 'combat operations' in the war in Iraq.

## Post-war Iraq

With the fall of Baghdad it quickly became apparent that very little planning had gone into post-war peacemaking and reconstruction. Before the war started initial steps had been taken towards awarding billions of dollars worth of contracts to US companies and subcontractors from 'friendly' nations for infrastructure repair and operation of the oil industry. Apart from this, only vague and grandiose blueprints had been enunciated. America was to 'remake Iraq' as what Bush called in March a 'dramatic and inspiring example' which would set 'a new stage for Middle Eastern peace' and 'show the power of freedom to transform that vital region'. But little attention was paid to alternative scenarios, or the likely impact of how the war was conducted, how civilians were treated, how the conquerors conducted themselves, how social, political and religious issues were handled, and how the Iraqi people were involved in their own future. The American occupation of Baghdad was an effective military exercise but an inept peacemaking operation, which failed to restore essential services, provide personal security or protect property, and quickly dissipated early Iraqi enthusiasm. Many people in Iraq and elsewhere, for example, were soon pondering the significance of the selective protection of public buildings. While the buildings of the Ministries of Irrigation, Transport and Commerce, the Olympic Committee, the Sahat Antar Telephone Exchange and several public hospitals were all looted, severely burned or completely destroyed, the Ministry of Oil was untouched. It had been ringed with troops and armoured personnel carriers from the moment of US control.

Probably the worst consequence of the failure to protect property and prevent looting was the theft or destruction of some 170,000 artefacts from the Iraq National Museum. These were irreplaceable relics from Mesopotamia, Assyria and Sumeria, some of the world's most sophisticated early civilisations. International law had provided basic protection of 'cultural heritage' as far back as the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, and this had been strengthened following the damaging and looting of European art treasures during the Second World War. Under the International Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 1954, the Coalition forces had a clear responsibility to protect this priceless material. Interestingly, although the Convention was signed by the US, Britain, Australia and Iraq at the time, and today some 95 states are parties to it (legally binding them to compliance, and setting the standard in international law), neither Britain nor the US have ratified it. Australia ratified it in 1984, binding itself to adhere to its rules. Before the attack on Iraq, UNESCO held talks with British and American military leaders about protecting this unique collection. When asked about the lawlessness and looting, Donald Rumsfeld commented: 'Free people are free to make mistakes and commit crimes and do bad things.' Even more succinctly, he added that 'freedom was often messy' and 'stuff happens'. It was of course a different story when the Taliban destroyed the Bamiyan Buddhas in March 2001 and Serbia shelled the World Heritage listed city of Dubrovnik in 1991.

Within a month, failure to provide basic services and law and order on the streets of Baghdad led to the replacement of the ineffectual Lieutenant-General Jay Garner with the tough professional consultant and administrator, Paul Bremer. He promised to remove former Baath Party members from positions of authority, crack down on crime, rebuild an Iraqi police force, and get electricity, garbage, water, sewage, health and fuel services working. But as lawlessness escalated into sabotage and military resistance, the Coalition spent more time defending itself and hunting the insurgents. Three months after the fall of Baghdad, life for Bremer's 600 civilian staff, the 146,000 American soldiers and their British allies was back on a war footing. Although Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld insisted, 'I guess the reason I don't use the phrase guerrilla war is because there isn't one', Bremer's chief of operations Andy Bearpark lamented: 'What we're doing is post-war reconstruction before the war's even over.' But the methods of the counterinsurgency operations were damaging the reconstruction efforts. As one White House adviser put it: 'Going out on raids, busting up things and shooting people tend not to win you many friends.' Moreover, the failure to capture Saddam Hussein or find any credible evidence of weapons of mass

destruction, despite unlimited access for former UN weapons inspector David Kay's team of more than 1200 US troops and inspectors scouring the country, seriously undermined Coalition political credibility.

Through August, September and October the mounting toll from attacks on US and British troops, foreign embassies, NGOs and aid agencies, Iraqi police and leaders, public buildings and infrastructure made it clear that the war was far from over. The attack on the UN Headquarters in Baghdad in August killed over 20 international civil servants, including Sergio Vieira de Mello, head of the UN's mission in Baghdad, one of the world's most respected diplomats, whose contributions in East Timor were lauded by many. The escalating spate of bombings, including those of the Red Cross building and the headquarters of the small Italian contingent in Iraq, reveal that while Iraq wasn't part of 'international terrorism' before its invasion, it certainly is a breeding ground and magnet for terrorism now. More American lives have already been lost in Iraq since President Bush declared the war over than were lost during the war, and the figures for Iraqi civilian deaths and injuries are mounting alarmingly. By November, the headquarters of Paul Bremer's 'liberation' efforts, ensconced in the most heavily fortified 7.5 square metre military compound in the world, was itself under attack. Predicting that there would be even more terrorist attacks in the coming months, Bremer admitted that lack of cooperation from the Iraqis and lack of 'intelligence' (meaning information) were the main stumbling blocks. The recruitment not only of former Iraqi military but also former secret police was foreshadowed. Highlighting the contradiction between the need for sensitivity towards civilians and the needs of security, he reluctantly made the obvious point: 'It's not comfortable being occupied. It's not comfortable being an occupying power.'

Not surprisingly, by September President Bush wished to find supporters willing to share the burden of the consequences of the Coalition's unilateral and pre-emptive conquest of Iraq, and turned to the European Union and the United Nations. Not surprisingly, these formerly much maligned organisations were less than enthusiastic. Nonetheless, a six-week diplomatic offensive and the obvious concern in those organisations for the future of Iraq led to the unanimous Security Council Resolution 1511 encouraging foreign governments to contribute troops and money and laying out a road map for Iraqi reconstruction. This requires the Iraqi Governing Council by December 15 this year to announce a timetable for the drafting (sooner than the Americans wished) of a constitution, the holding of elections and transfer of power. So far there has been far more willingness to supply money than send troops. But the international community is well aware that, while they mostly opposed the war on Iraq, the best interests of both the Iraqi people and world peace require their participation and that of the United Nations. Meanwhile, an aggressive anti-insurgency operation called 'Operation Iron Hammer' has been launched, looking remarkably like a 'combat operation'. Moreover, further hastily announced revisions to the plans for Iraq envisage the creation of a temporary constitution known as the 'fundamental law' and the installation of a new government by mid-2004, without elections or a new constitution, both of which would follow later. This is similar to the process introduced in Afghanistan. The new plan was welcomed by the current Iraqi Governing Council. Coincidentally, of course, the timing of the handover to the new government, which would control both internal security and the budget, allows for manoeuvre ahead of the US Presidential Elections.

### **The Israel-Palestine Conflict**

Entrenched extremism and retaliatory violence on both sides of the Israel-Palestine conflict continued to kill and maim, foster hatred and destroy efforts towards peace from both inside and outside the area. In late January, Ariel Sharon's victory in the Israeli elections and the gains of Likud and the far right against Labor, in a campaign about who could be 'tougher' on the Palestinians, signalled an even harsher application of previous strategies and tactics. According to Foreign Minister Netanyahu, who failed in a leadership bid against Sharon in November 2002, 'this election is a repudiation of Oslo.' He also invoked the terminology of the 'war on terrorism' and continued an old theme by stating: 'If we're able to engineer regime change in the Palestinians, it might be possible to introduce some process towards peace.' However, what appeared to be the best chance for peace came from outside in early May, when President Bush, with international support, presented a long-awaited 'Road Map for Peace'. The plan called for simultaneous phased concessions and measures from both sides, leading to a Palestinian State by 2005. Phase 1, to come into effect immediately, required the Palestinian leaders unequivocally

to reject and end terrorism, and undertake the normalisation of Palestinian life, political reform and elections. Israel was required to end settlement activity, withdraw from illegally settled areas and ease controls on the Palestinians. The second phase (June-December 2003) would see the creation of an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders, the holding of an international Middle East peace conference, and the introduction of external monitoring of compliance with the road map. The final phase was projected to involve a second international peace conference, a permanent status agreement and an end to all conflict, agreement on the final borders and the issues of Jerusalem, refugees and the settlements, and the acceptance by Arab states of full and peaceful relations with Israel.

It was a bold and widely welcomed plan, which clearly identified key issues, and had the potential to be a circuit-breaker and the start of a new peace process. Both Israeli Prime Minister Sharon and new Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas gave it their public support. At a widely-publicised meeting with US President Bush and a number of Arab leaders at Aquaba in Jordan, early in June, Abbas stated: 'The armed *intifada* must end, and we must resort to peaceful means in our quest to end the occupation, the suffering of the Palestinians and the Israelis, and to establish our Palestinian state'. Sharon, who the previous week had for the first time used the word 'occupation' (to the outrage of many of his supporters), promised to dismantle 'unauthorised outposts' and recognised the need 'for the Palestinians to govern themselves in their own state, a democratic Palestinian state, fully at peace with Israel'. He added: 'We can also reassure our Palestinian partners that we understand the importance of territorial contiguity in the West Bank for a viable Palestinian state'. Even the terrorist group Hamas promised a ceasefire if withdrawal of the settlements was guaranteed. Bush himself stated: 'Israel must make sure there is a continuous [he meant contiguous] territory that they can call home.' This was a clear reference to the fragmentation of the West Bank and Gaza by settlements, security roads, checkpoints and barriers, which was one of the reasons for Yasser Arafat's rejection of the allegedly 'generous' peace offer in 2001.

Unfortunately, the road map quickly ran into the 'realities' of the situation. Even before the plan had been announced, Israel had presented demands in Washington for more than 100 changes, reducing these in the final days to 14 'comments' (provisos and objections) which clearly subvert the simultaneous requirements of the main text and introduce self-assessed conditionality. Within 10 days of the Aquaba meeting, 23 Palestinians (including 14 civilians) were killed in Israeli missile attacks designed to assassinate the leadership of Hamas, and 23 Israelis (5 soldiers and 18 civilians) were killed by Palestinian gunmen and suicide bombers. The cycle of retaliatory violence, all in the name of 'security', or 'freedom from oppression', or 'the fight against terrorism', and other such rationalisations, started up again. At the same time, implementation of the road map was slow and partial, dashing raised expectations. Some roads were opened and restrictions eased. But removal of some Israeli settlement outposts was soon followed by the authorisation of others, and the building of 'the Wall' proceeded apace. The Palestinian Authority was unable to end terrorism and politically divided as to who should control the existing security forces. Israel insisted on a complete end to terrorism as a precondition to progress, and continued its targeted killing of terrorist suspects and political leaders. Palestinians resorted to more armed resistance and terrorism, culminating in late August with the suicide bombing of an Israeli bus as it carried ultra-Orthodox Jewish families home from praying at the sacred Western Wall. Each side accused the other of destroying the peace process.

The resignation of Abbas in despair in early September opened a protracted struggle between the new Palestinian Prime Minister, Ahmed Qureia, and Yasser Arafat, over cabinet positions and control of security forces. Once again Arafat's popularity had been increased by the Israeli Cabinet announcement that it intended 'in principle' to 'remove' him, and the Israeli deputy Prime Minister's call for his assassination. Meanwhile, Israeli occupation and containment policies were making it increasingly difficult for a viable Palestinian State ever to be created. The expansion of settlements, checkpoints, military outposts, and Jewish-only roads, the seizure of land, the bulldozing of homes and building of what Jennifer Loewenstein, from the Palestine/Israel Peace and Justice Alliance, has called 'the creeping apartheid wall', are creating virtually insurmountable obstacles to peace with justice. At the same time, the propaganda offensive at home and abroad against critics of Israel's policies has been escalated, making it increasingly difficult to engage in rational dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution. The ultimate refusal even to comprehend, let alone take seriously, genuine international dismay at Israeli

policies came with Prime Minister Sharon's dismissal of a recent European Union poll of 7500 Europeans, which revealed that 59% of them regarded Israel as the greatest threat to world peace. He said that anyone who denied Israel's right to defend itself also 'denied its birthright to exist', and that 'this phenomenon' was 'a new form of anti-Semitism.' But supporters and critics from all perspectives, who have a genuine and manifest commitment to non-violence and peace with justice, such as the recent Sydney Peace Prize recipient Dr Hanan Ashrawi, must be heard if there is to be any hope for understanding and reconciliation.

Moreover, the realities behind the rhetoric of this violent and brutalising conflict must be exposed, and both sides condemned and held accountable for their barbaric behaviour. There is no shortage of well-deserved condemnation of Palestinian terrorism. Whatever the 'cause', atrocities are always atrocities. But both sides deserve equal scrutiny and condemnation, particularly from the perspective of international law and justice. Amnesty International said in its 2003 Annual Report of the main groups involved in violent attacks on Israeli citizens, including Hamas and Islamic Jihad, 'Their deliberate targeting of civilians constituted crimes against humanity.' They also make it clear that 'Israel has the right to take reasonable, necessary and proportionate measures to protect the security of its citizens from attacks by Palestinian armed groups, including by restricting access to its territory.' However, in a press release in mid-October, Amnesty International said: 'The repeated practice by the Israeli army of deliberate and wanton destruction of homes and civilian property is a grave violation of international human rights and humanitarian law, notably of Articles 33 and 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and constitutes a war crime.' The situation has been reached when only the introduction of international human rights monitoring and peacekeeping forces can protect the people of both sides.

Nonetheless, hope springs eternal. The Israeli press recently revealed progress towards an alternative Israeli-Palestinian peace plan, emerging from talks between Israeli doves, particularly from the opposition Labor and Meretz Parties, and prominent Palestinian peace activists. It envisaged Israeli relinquishing of some territorial plans and Palestinian relinquishing of claims for refugee right of return. Agreement was apparently reached on compromise formulas for Jerusalem, the holy sites, Palestinian statehood, Jewish settlements, and recognition of Israel as a Jewish state. A Palestinian spokesman said: 'We have developed a draft final agreement which concerns all the final status questions, without exception.' Derogatory comments from the hardline Israeli Education Minister and lack of official Government response make it all the more imperative that these plans be widely publicised and assessed. Called the Geneva Accord, the agreement is in the process of being communicated to citizens on both sides to gauge public support. At the same time, the 'People's Voice' campaign, also promoting a constructive and non-violent approach to a two-state solution, is gaining impressive support. Both initiatives clearly illustrate how much more can be achieved by peaceful conflict resolution than by violence.

### **The Axis of Evil: North Korea and Iran**

When a Bush speechwriter, David Frum, coined the phrase 'axis of evil' for the President's 2002 State of the Union Address, it was probably intended to disguise the extent of the Administration's fixation with Iraq. Unfortunately, it probably also helped provoke North Korea and Iran, the other named states, into more aggressive self-defence measures and confrontational policies. North Korea in particular took the implications of being included in the 'axis of evil' seriously, and commenced aggressive and menacing diplomacy. In October 2002 North Korea declared that it had secretly continued to develop nuclear weapons, in breach of a 1994 agreement with the US, Japan and South Korea to cease its program, in return for supplies of fuel oil and aid with proliferation-resistant nuclear reactors. The United States reacted by cutting off regular oil donations and withdrawing approval for UN-handled winter grain shipments to the impoverished country. In December North Korea responded by publicly reopening a plutonium processing plant, dismantling International Atomic Energy Agency monitoring equipment and expelling its inspectors. It offered to 'clear the concerns' of the United States (stop the nuclear program and permit inspection) in return for recognition of sovereignty and a treaty of non-aggression. The US refused to negotiate anything until Korea ceased its enrichment program.

In the barrage of words that followed, US talked of 'limited containment' (mainly economic sanctions) and peaceful diplomatic resolution, while North Korea charged that 'sanction means war and war knows no mercy'. Serious questions about the different handling of Iraq and North Korea, and the quality of the military 'intelligence' behind the charges of North Korean possession of 'weapons of mass destruction', produced much angry rhetoric from the White House. As was the case with Iraq, Washington put a lot of faith in information supplied by defectors, many of them out of North Korea for years. As was also the case with Iraq, a lot of personal animus was involved. At the start of his term, Bush stated: 'I loathe Kim Jong Il. I've got a visceral reaction to this guy because he is starving his people.' Not surprisingly, a propaganda offensive against North Korea was launched, mixing a modicum of truth with a barrage of allegations, about (according to *Time* magazine) 'missile sales to other rogue nations', massive drug manufacture and trafficking, currency counterfeiting and car smuggling by this 'gangster state', and denigration of new leader (since 1994) Kim Jong Il as 'the sabre-rattling tyrant', 'kidnapping megalomaniac', 'brutal Stalinist strongman' and 'the Al Capone of the Hermit Kingdom'.

American diplomacy over North Korea was a contradictory mixture of conciliatory and aggressive pronouncements, unilateral and multilateral initiatives. In July Australia played the 'dutiful ally' and, despite its dubious legality, agreed to participate in the US-initiated Proliferation Security Initiative, designed to permit the interception and inspection of North Korean ships and aircraft around the world. Reaction from many countries, including some of those in the region, was lukewarm. Moreover, a conference in Beijing in August involving China, Russia, Japan and South Korea produced merely a reiteration of the impasse. North Korea, alarmed by what was happening to another of the 'axis of evil' trio, demanded a non-aggression pact as a prerequisite for ending its nuclear weapons development; America said it would not discuss solutions until North Korea ended its weapons development. Finally, a late October trip to Asia (which included the 'flying visit' to Australia) produced a possible compromise. Bush spread the word that America would offer a written multilateral 'agreement with a small a' - not a treaty - assuring North Korea that the United States would not attack it. After initially rejecting it as 'laughable', North Korea agreed to 'consider' the proposal. Given the ongoing problems of 'regime change' in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the United States Presidential elections next year, the North Korea issue stands some chance of peaceful resolution, for a time at least.

A similar erratic oscillation between dialogue and confrontation was evident in American policy towards Iran. Although long disliked by hard-liners in America for its post-Shah revolutionary ideology and anti-Americanism, as well as its support for terrorism, conciliatory contacts ensured that Iran was not a problem during the Afghanistan and Iraq wars. However, the issue of the possible development of nuclear weapons emerged in the middle of the year as a bone of contention. Since signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1970, Iran has pursued peaceful nuclear development under the inspection regime of the UN International Atomic Energy Agency. But exiled dissidents claimed that Iran had secretly built an underground enrichment facility capable of producing weapons-grade uranium. When IAEA inspectors found traces of highly enriched uranium in the centrifuges at this facility, Iran claimed that they had come from a variety of sources and had been contaminated before they reached Iran. It was denied that bombs were being secretly manufactured. Nonetheless, under sharp American and international pressure on the IAEA to take the issue to the Security Council, it was agreed in September to give Iran a deadline of 31 October either to provide satisfactory proof of its claims or face possible UN sanctions.

This ultimatum posed problems for President Khatami's liberal administration, in their political struggle with the power of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khomeini's anti-reform intransigence. Both resented America's stance, believing, as one spokesman put it, that 'Americans have been looking for pretexts for 25 years now.' With the assistance of involvement by Britain, France and Germany, who promised recognition of Iran's right to peaceful nuclear development and technological 'cooperation' in return for compliance, by late October Iran announced that it would sign an Additional Protocol. This calls for unfettered inspection and the suspension of enrichment and reprocessing, and requires Iran to resolve all questions about any 'possible failures and deficiencies' of its nuclear program. Bush grudgingly described the arrangement as 'an effective approach', but his officials privately voiced the view that this was just a postponement of the real reckoning. Iran was adamant that there were genuine explanations of the evidence, and that there would be 'unprecedented consequences' if the UN weapons inspectors

found that it was in breach of its agreement. When the International Atomic Energy Agency issued a report recently saying that there was indeed no evidence of a weapons program, the United States responded that this was 'impossible to believe' and said the report in fact confirmed Washington's belief that Iran had such a program. It is difficult to know the real situation, although useful to keep the recent past in mind when attempting to decide. It has been said that 'truth is the first casualty of war.' These days 'truth is the first casualty of politics.'

### **The Role of the United Nations**

In the period before the recent war in Iraq, treatment of the United Nations by the United States and Australia in particular was at times self-serving, hypocritical and destructive. They disparaged, voted against or refused to participate in important initiatives such as the addition of a protocol to the Convention against Torture permitting the inspection of places of detention (Australia was sensitive about its treatment of refugees) and the implementation of the International Criminal Court (America was determined not to permit its military personnel to appear before any such body). The Bush Administration's approach to the United Nations General Assembly, and the Security Council in particular, was to attempt to bluff, bully and bribe it into endorsing the American view of the need for war against Iraq, and charge it with 'failure' and 'irrelevance' if and when it didn't do so. Both approaches demean the United Nations. Moreover, both obscure the point that in many ways the UN and the Security Council handled the recent crisis on its merits, and their response was right and proper. The shortsightedness of these attacks is well illustrated by the fact that the Coalition is now back at the UN asking for support with reconstruction in Iraq.

Several points should be made, loudly and clearly, about the United Nations. Its Charter, its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, its declarations, protocols and guidelines in a wide range of areas, and the agencies actively deployed in a wide range of tasks (including more than 30 peacekeeping missions around the world), represent both the best enunciation of humanitarian aspirations yet achieved, and the most praiseworthy attempt at their international implementation in existence. The UN is far from perfect - possibly in some areas quite far from it - but it is by far the best agency available. It deserves our strongest support. Moreover, the United Nations remains by far the most appropriate agency to oversee humanitarian aid and play a leading role in post-war reconstruction, to ensure in particular that the peace is not just the end of violence, but a peace with justice, inclusive democracy and respect for human rights.

### **Weapons of Mass Deception**

In the 1930s George Orwell, well aware of contemporary politics, particularly the propaganda of Fascism, Nazism, Stalinism, and the contenders in the Spanish Civil War, became concerned with the corruption of language and communications. Work for the BBC during the Second World War increased these concerns, to the extent that he wrote an essay titled *Politics and the English Language* in 1946, in which he asserted: 'Political language – and with variations this is true of all political parties, from Conservatives to Anarchists – is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind.' He argued that 'one ought to recognise that the present political chaos is connected with the decay of language, and that one can probably bring about some improvement by starting at the verbal end.' This concern became widely shared during the Cold War, when words became weapons and vast propaganda edifices were created to brand opponents and justify policies. The same process quickly became central to 'the war on terrorism'.

However, the conduct of public affairs, particularly the language of political communication, has reached new depths of duplicity in the past twelve months. An all-pervasive 'culture of spin' has smothered rational analysis and debate. All the talk about 'weapons of mass destruction', 'links with international terrorism', 'acquisition of nuclear weapons' and so on was based on deliberate misrepresentation. All their insistence that, despite extensive 'pre-deployment' of massive military forces, Bush and Blair and Howard were 'men of peace' who had not yet made a 'final decision' about war, was utter falsehood. Much of the material presented to the public to justify the need for war in Iraq was equally false. This was made abundantly clear during the Hutton Inquiry in the United Kingdom, into the public naming (and

subsequent suicide) of weapons expert Dr Kelly, whose concerns about the misuse of 'intelligence' were used by a journalist to claim that the famous Blair Dossier had been 'sexed up' for political purposes. The Inquiry revealed the machinations through which the Blair dossier on Iraqi 'weapons of mass destruction' was fabricated using information known to be spurious.

Equally creative effort and disregard for truth has gone into the American saga of 'Saving Private Lynch.' This lack of regard for integrity has increased even greater lack of public respect for the political process itself. In July this year, outgoing head of the Uniting Church in Australia, the Reverend James Haire, told the Church's National Assembly that the recent policies of the Howard Government (and the inability of the Opposition to do its job properly) had plunged the nation into 'new depths of moral depravity'. A range of policies, from the Tampa incident through welfare matters to the war on Iraq, displayed 'abysmal moral standards'. He went on: 'When truth becomes a commodity manufactured by spin doctors and aided and abetted by Government departments and political minions afraid to tell it like it is [we are] in a powerless moral state.' Similar 'abysmal moral standards' were being displayed in the United States and the United Kingdom.

The process of deliberately and aggressively using propaganda, distortion, misinformation and outright lies, as a substitute for honest policy formulation and presentation, in relation to the American case for war on Iraq, has recently been subject to scrutiny by Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber, from the Centre for Media and Democracy, a watchdog organization that monitors the public relations industry. Their book, *Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq*, exposes the interconnections between the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department and a number of America's largest public relations and advertising firms. One such firm was Benador Associates, 'a high-powered media relations company that acted as a sort of booking agent' for Middle East 'experts' affiliated with neoconservative think tanks. According to Rampton and Stauber, Benador's success in filling the media with the views of their clients 'was all the more striking in comparison with the slight attention that media and policymakers paid to the 1,400 full-time faculty members who specialise in Middle East studies at American universities'. Thus 'weapons of mass deception' consisted of the continuous manufacture of post-September 11 fear by terror alerts, raids and deportations, the flooding of an uncritical media with endlessly repeated government statements and supporting commentary, the use of emotive language (such as 'regime change', 'liberation' and 'coalition of the willing') that concealed reality, and the displacement of independent assessment by self-chosen 'experts' from lavishly funded support groups and think tanks.

A recent Australian study by Don Watson, *Death Sentence: The Decay of Public Language*, reinforces this concern for the corruption of language. Watson illustrates how mindlessly repetitive corporate jargon, incorporated in 'mission statements' and 'organisational systems and processes', displaces genuine articulation of beliefs and values. He laments that:

The language of management - for which read the language of virtually all corporations and companies, large and small, public service departments, government agencies, libraries, galleries and universities, the military, intelligence organisations and, increasingly, politics - is language that cannot describe or convey any human emotion, including the most basic ones such as happiness, sympathy, greed, envy, love or lust. You cannot tell a joke in this language, or write a poem, or sing a song. It is language without human provenance or possibility.

What is even worse is the political embracement of this language, and the complete failure of the media to challenge its shallowness and duplicity. Watson makes the point:

Politicians are attracted to managerial language because it is an endless fund of clichés; of interchangeable phrases that can be rolled out interminably. The pressure of the media makes these instant weasel words - words with the meaning sucked out of them - invaluable. And the media, for reasons I don't quite understand, play along with it. They never ask what these vacuous phrases mean. They never object to them on our behalf. They seek the truth in a language that has no truth in it.

Whether the media really seeks the truth is a matter of opinion. But human beings have long recognised the inhumanity of war; and those who fail to heed the past are destined to repeat it. In 1509 the famous Dutch Renaissance humanist, Erasmus, wrote scathingly in his *Praise of Folly*:

War is something so monstrous that it befits wild beasts rather than men, so crazy that the poets even imagine that it is let loose by Furies, so deadly that it sweeps like a plague through the world, so unjust that it is best generally carried on by the worst type of bandits, so impious that it is quite alien to Christ; and yet they leave everything to devote themselves to war alone. Here even decrepit old men can be seen showing the vigour of youths in their prime, undaunted by the cost, unwearied by hardship, not a whit deterred though they turn law, religion, peace and all humanity upside down. And there's no lack of learned sycophants to put the name of zeal, piety and valour to this manifest insanity, ...

## Director's Report

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Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, CPACS Director

By any standards this has been a tumultuous year: characterised by numbing violence of the war in Iraq and its aftermath, by the continuing nihilism of events in the Middle East and by powerful politicians ignoring public protests against war and against the persistence of injustice. Suicide bombings in Israel and the reprisal killings in the Occupied Territories underline the need to search always for non-violent ways to address issues of insecurity and injustice. Specific tragedies also showed the inhumanity of the 20<sup>th</sup> century continuing unabated in the 21<sup>st</sup>. These tragedies included the killing of the US peace activist Rachel Corrie by an Israeli bulldozer in April, the bombing of the UN compound in Baghdad in August resulting in the death of Brazilian diplomat Sergio Vieira de Mello and 16 others, the killing of Iraqi police by friendly fire in September. And so it goes on as though violence will solve problems, as though Gandhi, Martin Luther King and other champions of non-violence had never lived.

Those observations remind me of the rationale for CPACS' existence: to explain and attain peace with justice in any context or country no matter how demanding and difficult that task. This reference to 'CPACS' also underlines the inevitably blurred relationship with the Sydney Peace Foundation, hence the following comments about this year's extreme demands, in particular the management of the controversy surrounding the award of the 2003 Sydney Peace Prize to Palestinian academic, legislator and human rights activist Dr Hanan Ashrawi. Throughout the year, each meeting and each decision associated with that event required considerable reserves of stamina and some might say courage. In the midst of these events I was constantly reminded of poet Maya Angelou's wisdom. 'History despite its wrenching pain cannot be un-lived and if faced with courage, need not be lived again'.

The CPACS story for 2003 provides an optimistic contrast to world events. Colleagues have built a culture marked by enthusiasm, hard work and professionalism. Visiting colleague, Dr Bob White, Professor of Literature from the University of Western Australia, remarked at the launch of my book *Passion for Peace: Exercising Power Creatively* by actress Judy Davis in the Great Hall in October, 'This Centre is unique in its teaching, its advocacy and in its welcome to strangers. The University should be congratulated on the invaluable work of the Centre's volunteers and staff'.

Other congratulations and thanks are in order. Wendy Lambourne gained her PhD earlier in the year and almost simultaneously became the first full time Lecturer in Peace and Conflict Studies. Wendy's impressive qualifications, her experience and commitment to realise CPACS' potential equip her to carry a very heavy workload. Wendy has been very ably supported by Iris Wielders whose experience of conflict resolution and international relations has also been a significant bonus for CPACS' reputation and resourcefulness. Iris' oversight of CPACS administration and her own work on the conflict in the Solomon Islands have provided coherence to the workplace culture and diversity to CPACS' peace with justice agenda. In our research activities Paul White has given expert analysis and commentary not only on the lives of Lebanese youth in Sydney's western suburbs but also on Iraq, on the lives of Kurdish peoples and on stereotypes about Islam and about peoples of Islamic convictions.

Volunteers continue to be a significant feature of CPACS' culture and working environment. Peggy Craddock provides library services with characteristic humility, humour and expertise. Dr Tim Marchant has run the conflict resolution desk and has given a significant extra dimension to our work. Abe Quadan has been an invaluable colleague in the negotiations that resulted in the successful Peace Prize Lecture and award ceremony. Always calm and considerate, Abe has been a lighthouse in a storm for me. He has also been Membership Secretary and CPACS representative on the executive of the Sydney Peace Foundation. Colleagues from the CPACS Council have also played key roles in the Centre's work, not least Paul Clark who represents the Council on the regular meetings of the Centre's working committee – the 'kitchen cabinet'. Paul has been generous in distributing regular e-mail to Council members on conflicts around the globe that affect prospects for peace.

The presence and leadership of Ken Macnab has continued to be invaluable personally. In the eyes of the University he gives to CPACS a reputation for balanced judgment and 'fair go' negotiating skills. I thank Ken for his collegueship but wonder when both of us will hang up our boots and say to the University that the Centre will not only need its continued support but also new leadership. Perhaps the end of 2004 is not too early for this transition to occur?

Significant initiatives in 2003 concerned Paul White and Elissar Mukhtar's research on the effects of racism on Lebanese youth and our identification of priorities in the Global Action for Prevention of War program, which has its base at Rutgers University in the States. This program foreshadows worldwide disarmament and a bolstering of peacekeeping resources for the United Nations. Two interns, undergraduate students from the Department of Government – Adam Maine and Bronwyn Armytage – worked with Lynda Blanchard on this project. Lynda's return to CPACS work plus her continuing role in the human rights education committee which meets in the Mackie Building is a welcome feature of the CPACS scene.

At the end of 2002 it was decided to have a moratorium on the West Papua Project, even though we had made considerable progress in negotiating with representatives of the Indonesian government and with leaders from West Papua over human rights abuses and over the nature of governance in that province. Several volunteers have continued to keep in touch with West Papua Project colleagues and in September CPACS was awarded another substantial grant by the Myer Foundation to consider the revival of dialogue with West Papuans and with Jakarta based Indonesians over the future of West Papua. At the time of going to press, we are still deliberating whether and how to revive this work. Our dilemma on this issue concerns the age old problem for this Centre: responding to too many demands with too few resources.

There is no dilemma over our commitment to the postgraduate Peace and Conflict Studies teaching program. Continued impressive enrolments of students from all over the world give a cosmopolitan flavour to CPACS seminars and to the postgraduate student culture. Also impressive have been the range of postgraduate units and the standards of teaching. Given the numbers of students and the need for dissertations to be carefully supervised we will need an extra lecturer before the end of 2004.

My thanks to all staff and volunteers for a year which saw significant progress in teaching and which gave national and international prominence to the Sydney Peace Foundation. All these events demonstrated the value of CPACS work for peace with justice. Our teaching, advocacy and research achievements and the publicity surrounding Hanan Ashrawi's visit provide irresistible momentum to carry us from 2003 into 2004.

Stuart Rees  
16<sup>th</sup> November 2003

## Teaching

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Dr Wendy Lambourne, Lecturer and Coordinator Peace and Conflict Studies

### Staffing

The Peace and Conflict Studies teaching program began the year on a strong note with the appointment of the first full-time lecturer, recent PhD graduate Wendy Lambourne, who has been involved with the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies as a Council member since 1995. With the invaluable assistance of Iris Wielders, appointed as Administrative Assistant for the Centre in November 2002, Wendy has taken over coordination of the teaching program from Dr Jane Fulton who moved overseas at the end of 2002. We acknowledge the support of the University of Sydney for making these two appointments possible. In addition, the Centre employs a number of part-time lecturers on a casual basis to teach particular units.

### Enrolments

The postgraduate Peace and Conflict Studies program continues to attract one of the largest and culturally diverse enrolments in the Faculty of Arts, with almost half being international students. The 48 students enrolled in the program in 2003 came from countries including Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, New Zealand, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, Japan, India, Kenya and the US – as well as Australia! We were also joined by German, French, Chinese, Korean and other students who were cross-listing from other Departments and Faculties, including a large contingent from the new Masters in Media Practice, and exchange students from overseas universities. Class sizes ranged from 14 to 34 students, with an average of 21 students enrolled in each unit.

### Units of Study

Students are required to complete six coursework units and a two-unit dissertation in order to graduate with an MA (PACS) degree. Graduate Diploma students complete only the six coursework units, and Graduate Certificate students complete four coursework units. All students must complete the core compulsory unit, SCWK 6930 Peace and Conflict: Understanding the Issues, which is offered in both semesters. Students can choose from four optional units each semester or one of the units offered in the Summer School intensive format. In 2003, the optional units on offer were:

PACS 6901	United Nations and International Conflict Resolution (Dr Wendy Lambourne)
PACS 6902	Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation (Dr Wendy Lambourne)
PACS 6903	Peace and the Environment (Dr Mike Edwards)
PACS 6906	Faith, Politics and the Clash of Civilisations (Dr Paul White)
PACS 6907	Gender and the Development of Peace (Lynda-ann Blanchard)
SCWK 6934	Resolving Conflicts Within Organisations (Cheryl Minks)
SCWK 6935	Peace-Building Media (Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick)
SCWK 6940	Passion, Peace and Poetry (Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees)
SCWK 6941	Understanding and Attaining Human Rights (Dr Wendy Lambourne)

Two of these units were offered for the first time in 2003. A further three new units have been developed and approved by the University, and will be taught in 2004:

PACS 6908	Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding (Dr Wendy Lambourne)
PACS 6909	Cultures of Violence (Dr Ken Macnab)
PACS 6910	Peace Through Tourism (Lynda-ann Blanchard)

Also in 2004, the unit SCWK 6933 Non-Violence and Social Change will be taught again by Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees in first semester.

## Skills-Building Workshops

For the first time, PACS students were given the opportunity during the past year to participate in skills-building workshops designed to help bridge the gap between theory and practice in peace and conflict studies. The workshops focussed on experiential exercises and role plays to enhance students' practical skills and understanding of conflict resolution, non-violence and peacebuilding. The first workshop, titled 'Skills-Building for Peace Practitioners', was held on Saturday 31 May and was attended by 27 students and graduates of the program. The facilitators for this workshop were conflict resolution and mediation trainer/practitioners Wendy Lambourne, Cheryl Minks, Paul Clark and Abe Quadan. On Friday 15 August a workshop on 'Non-Violence: Philosophy and Praxis' was facilitated by Jason McLeod, a non-violence practitioner and trainer from Melbourne, with 23 participants. We acknowledge the generosity of the facilitators who shared their skills and experience with very little recompense in order to make these workshops accessible to as many students as possible.

## Graduates and Alumni

Fifteen students graduated from the program in the first half of 2003, and a further nine students became eligible to graduate in the second half of the year. Of these, seventeen graduated with an MA (Peace and Conflict Studies) with Merit, five with an MA (PACS) and two with Graduate Diplomas. Dissertations produced by these students are housed in the CPACS library and cover such diverse topics as:

- o Third-party intervention in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict;
- o Ethnic conflict and democratic institution-building in Kenya;
- o Forgiveness – the wounded healer;
- o Humanitarian intervention and the Kosovo crisis;
- o Art as non-violent protest;
- o Peacebuilding in Somalia using radio soap opera;
- o The Norwegian approach to conflict resolution;
- o The impact of IMF policies on human rights and development in Indonesia;
- o Managing conflict in the South China Sea;
- o The Colombian civil war;
- o Empathising with the enemy and transforming the Palestinian-Israeli conflict;
- o Narrative framing of conflict stories in the news media;
- o Comparing cold wars and counter-insurgency in Malaysia;
- o Restorative justice and circle sentencing;
- o The Australian indigenous voice in Western economic discourse; and
- o The moral implications of British imperialism.

PACS graduates are engaged in widely varying activities, from further postgraduate study to volunteer work, internships and employment with NGOs, government departments, educational institutions and international organisations. Areas of specialisation include the environment, small arms control, gender issues, international education, reconciliation, restorative justice, and the promotion of dialogue and conflict resolution. A number of graduates are pursuing PhDs in various countries.

## New scholarship

In 2004 a one-year scholarship will be available for a full-time international student from a developing country to complete a Master of Arts (Peace and Conflict Studies) at the University of Sydney. The scholarship has been made possible by a generous donation from Sydney Peace Foundation corporate sponsor, Citigroup, and matching funds provided by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor. We thank these sponsors for their vision and commitment to promoting higher degree education in peace and conflict studies.

## Benchmarking Project

Funding was obtained from the School of Society, Culture and Performance in second semester to begin a peace and conflict studies benchmarking exercise. Iris completed the first phase of the project,

surveying and compiling comparative data on other Peace and Conflict Studies courses in tertiary institutions in Australia and overseas, and inviting two Australian centres, the Centre for Peace Studies at the University of New England and the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Queensland, to be benchmarking partners with CPACS. Benchmarking involves exchanging information in order to evaluate the quality and distinctive nature of our respective programs. As part of the project CPACS will host a Roundtable of peace and conflict studies centres and teaching units in Australasian universities at the University of Sydney on 22-23 February 2004.

### **Educational Outreach**

On 4 February, CPACS organised a workshop for students from Keisen University, Japan as part of their course at the Centre for English Teaching. Held in the Posters for Peace Gallery, President Ken Macnab and Lynda-ann Blanchard introduced the students to the work of the Centre, before engaging them in an afternoon workshop exploring the language of non-violence as expressed in the pictures in the gallery. Dr Wendy Lambourne ran a new course on 'The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security' for the Centre for Continuing Education over four Saturday morning sessions in August. The course was very popular and well received, with almost 30 participants of all ages and from all walks of life learning about the achievements of the UN and discussing the challenges it faces in fulfilling its mandate to maintain international peace and security.

### **Visitors**

Nick Lewer, Director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Bradford, the largest peace studies and conflict resolution program in the UK, met with Wendy and Paul Clark at CPACS on 12 September, and on 13 November Professor Kevin Clements, the newly appointed Director of the recently established Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Queensland, visited CPACS and met with Wendy, Iris and Ken. Both of these meetings provided valuable opportunities to exchange ideas, experiences, resources and contacts regarding teaching, research and conflict resolution training at our respective institutions.

### **Future Plans**

We continue to receive enquiries from students interested in pursuing postgraduate research degrees with the Centre and it is expected that we will begin to take MPhil and PhD students from 2005. Plans are also being considered to introduce senior-level undergraduate units in peace and conflict studies in the future.

## Research – Lebanese Youth Project

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Dr Paul White, Research Officer

In last year's *Annual Report*, I stated the concerns that motivated us to embark on this project:

Lebanese youth are significantly over-represented on the wrong side of the New South Wales justice system and prone to academic under-achievement. This unfolding situation has placed additional demands on public resources, and reduced the life chances of Lebanese-Australian youth.

Sadly, I have to report that research in this project — especially our interviews to date with Lebanese youth — seems to indicate that a very alarming state of affairs is festering in Sydney's southwest. All the issues affecting young people from an Arabic-speaking background continue. Worse still, a number of developments this year have only worsened problems:

- o The tendency by sections of the media and some in government during the 2003 war on Iraq to demonise Muslims and Arabs in general as 'terrorists'.
- o The recent spate of gangland killings in the southwest Sydney area has been used by these same forces (sections of the media and government), to further blacken the public image of Lebanese-Australian youth. (It was literally weeks before the media admitted that criminal gangs were responsible for these killings — *i.e.*, that the cause was not some inherent defect deep in the genes of Lebanese, as some were implying initially.)

Developments such as these have, of course, only added considerably to the sense of alienation from the rest of Australian society felt by many of these youths. We are following all these events very closely. Our research is still in its early stages, but the chilling prospect is already beginning to emerge that what we are witnessing is the construction of a ghetto situation on the US model — with ghetto attitudes on both sides to match.

Worryingly, however, those in positions of authority and in our society have so far ignored these danger signs. Instead of seeking to merely 'control' it, through throwing exotically named police task forces at it, they would be better advised to study the real economic, social and political *causes* of youth alienation. Peace with justice means addressing the hurts, fears and apprehensions on *both sides* in a dispute. So far, 'analysis' by the media and public officials too often ignores the root causes and focuses obsessively on the Lebanese community as 'culprit'. The life experiences of many young Lebanese Australians in south-west Sydney lead them to be very suspicious of police and other authority figures; local police, on the other hand, are very wary of all persons of 'Middle Eastern appearance'.

### Key Research Questions

Our research project aims to contribute to a holistic appreciation of the problem, through examining statements and attitudes by the media and public officials as well as by approximately 100 Lebanese-Australian youth. We have two key research questions:

- o How racism affects whether young people from Lebanese backgrounds in south-western and western Sydney succeed in finding employment and/or continuing education.
- o Whether the perception or experience of racism causes young Lebanese Australians to come into conflict with authority figures.

So far, we have conducted interviews with 22 Lebanese-Australian youth. These include interviews with 13 students studying at the University of Sydney, plus a focus group of 5 other Lebanese-Australian students at this University. So far 4 youths have been interviewed in the region itself and more interviews will take place shortly. We have also conducted a number of informal interviews in and around south-west Sydney.

We have made plans to conduct interviews in schools, youth clubs and other venues in the region. As many different groups of Lebanese-Australian young people as possible are being interviewed: Christians, Muslims, secular youth, rappers, etc. We have also consulted with a number of other professional colleagues at other universities and agencies who have conducted similar research. Later in the project, we will interview senior police in the region (contacts have already been made) and local schoolteachers.

### **Research Assistant**

The appointment (for 12 months, with the possibility of a further 6 months) of Elissar Mukhtar as Research Assistant in this project has been of tremendous value. Elissar — who is herself a young Lebanese-Australian — is an excellent social researcher, with a vast experience in working in similar projects for the University of Western Sydney. She communicates very well with Lebanese-Australian youth and provides very sound insights to the research as a whole. A second Research Assistant will start shortly.

### **Media attention**

The project is already attracting favourable media attention. ABC TV's *7.30 Report* keeps in touch with the progress of our research and wishes to interview the research team soon. The same show has also rung to consult unofficially, seeking analysis of the recent shootings in south-west Sydney. Elissar may soon appear on the show to discuss these events, as a young Lebanese-Australian who is working on our project at CPACS. We have also had considerable interest from *al-Jazeera*, the Arabic-language international satellite channel. An interview with the Research Officer about the project was recently broadcast on *al-Jazeera*.

## **Advocacy**

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Lynda-ann Blanchard, Research Assistant - Global Action to Prevent War Project

### **Global Action to Prevent War**

The *Global Action to Prevent War project* is a comprehensive, phased set of political, military and social processes projected for the next three to four decades. It calls for the establishment of a United Nations system capable of preventing war, genocide and other deadly conflict. It also calls for the mobilisation of an international consortium of civil society organisations to support this program.

This project not only provides important opportunities for international dialogue on promoting non-violence and a culture of peace, but also includes important national dialogue amongst peace advocates, conflict resolution practitioners, scientists, lawyers, and doctors in academic and civilian settings.

Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees (University of Sydney) and Professor Joseph Camilleri (LaTrobe University) are the contact persons for the GAP project in Australia. Over the past year or so, their preliminary discussions with both international and national associates of the *Global Action Program*, have elicited a network of support in particular with colleagues from the Medical Association for the Prevention of War.

This year, CPACS provided seed funding for a small research project designed to review the *Global Action Program* in an Australian context. This work, undertaken by Lynda-ann Blanchard, has resulted in a CPACS Working Paper -- *Joining the GAP: Australia and the Dialogue on Global Action to Prevent War*. As a part of their CPACS internship, Bronwyn Armitage and Adam Maine contributed to the *Global Action* dialogue in their analyses of different aspects of the program. These studies are also included in the working paper. A further outcome of this work was the organisation of an inaugural Australian GAP Working Group meeting at CPACS on December 4<sup>th</sup> 2003.

## Outreach

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During 2003 CPACS hosted a number of seminars that were all open to the public. Most seminars were well attended, with up to 70 people at the more popular seminars including university students and staff from many different departments as well as NGOs, CPACS members and others. Many seminar attendees signed a list for further information on CPACS events and were added to the 'cpacsmembers' email list. A number of new CPACS members have also resulted from the seminars.

CPACS is a regular meeting place for community outreach groups such as the New South Wales Human Rights Education Committee and the Medical Association for the Prevention of War. In 2003 CPACS also provided occasional office space for the Coalition for the Protection of Asylum Seekers and the Australian West Papua Association. Other outreach activities included the organisation of seminars and the support of a workshop with Professor Johan Galtung, co-organised by Soka Gakkai International. This year also saw the establishment of a Conflict Resolution Desk at CPACS with the purpose of raising the profile of conflict resolution skills in the Centre, and to look into ways in which these could be made available to the wider public.

### CPACS Seminars

Wendy Lambourne, Seminars Coordinator

#### Seminars in 2003

Tuesday 11 March	The History and Politics of Disarmament in the Interwar Period Dr Andrew Webster, Cambridge University
Monday 17 March	War in Iraq: Causes and Consequences Dr Paul White, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies
Tuesday 8 April	On Israelification: Democracy and Paranoia in International Relations Today Dr Ghassan Hage, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney
Monday 28 April	Reconciliation in Practice: Post-conflict reconciliation stories from South Africa, Lebanon and the Solomon Islands (Together with Initiatives of Change)
Tuesday 29 April	Condemned to Repeat: The Paradox of Humanitarian Action Dr Fiona Terry, Médecins Sans Frontières
Tuesday 6 May	Why U.S.? An Insightful Look at the 9/11 Tragedy and What Makes the United States a Target. A free film showing and discussion with the filmmakers (Together with ACCESS, the University of Sydney Union)
Friday 16 May	Gender, Politics and Islamic Fundamentalism Faried Esack, Xavier University, Ohio
Tuesday 10 June	The Conflict in Western Sahara: A Saharawi woman speaks out Fatima Mahfoud
Wednesday 11 June	Richard Butler, former Australian Ambassador to the UN and Chief Weapons Inspector in Iraq, on current affairs (Organised by the Medical Association for the Prevention of War)

- Tuesday 5 August                      Women's Rights in post-Taliban Afghanistan  
Tahmeena Faryal, RAWA  
(Notes from this seminar were published in CPACS Working Paper No. 03/1)
- Wednesday 29 October              Forum for Peace and Solidarity: Christian and Muslim speakers discuss  
the role of their faith in the 21st century  
(Organised by CPACS students)

### **Johan Galtung Workshop**

Lynda-ann Blanchard, Council member

In April 2003, visiting peace scholar and conflict resolution practitioner Professor Johan Galtung, ran a very successful one-day workshop *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means*, involving over 230 participants. Due to the enthusiastic response to this workshop, CPACS is engaging in a follow-up workshop with Professor Galtung, scheduled for March 2004.

The success of this event was in part due to the tremendous volunteer coordination by our colleagues at Soka Gakkai Australia (SGIA). Their beautiful Culture Centre in Homebush Bay housed the workshop. Young musicians provided a string ensemble, and videos and photographs carefully documented the event. As well as substantially subsidising the forum, SGIA also generously donated proceeds of \$7,000 to CPACS. The workshop proceedings were documented by CPACS graduate students Donna Mosford, Dagny Fosen, Valerie Ley and Alison Boyd and edited into a publication as part of the CPACS Occasional Papers Series.

### **Conflict Resolution Desk**

Dr Tim Marchant, Coordinator Conflict Resolution Desk

2003 saw the establishment of a Conflict Resolution Desk at CPACS. It aims to enhance the visibility of conflict resolution resources at CPACS by pulling together the existing skills of CPACS staff, members and associates, and make it possible for CPACS to offer these skills to the wider community. The CRD started with the organisation of a study group on the skills of conflict resolution, which was run between February and April. This group was helped on its way by Stella Cornelius and facilitated over the duration by Lynette Simons. Those attending included CPACS staff, Council Members, NSW Human Rights Education Committee members and other interested parties.

During 2003, the Conflict Resolution Desk was staffed by Dr Tim Marchant, who created a CRD brochure and website, and researched the possibilities for community outreach by the Conflict Resolution Desk. Within CPACS, the one-day workshop 'Skills-Building for Peace Practitioners' was facilitated by Wendy Lambourne, Cheryl Minks, Paul Clark and Abe Quadan. Within the wider University of Sydney community, Dr Marchant researched existing conflict resolution activities to identify a variety of roles that the Conflict Resolution Desk at CPACS might play.

The development of the Conflict Resolution Desk was supported by regular meetings of CPACS staff and members, including many conflict resolution practitioners, discussing various options and directions for the Desk. Dr Marchant has produced a comprehensive report, which includes an overview of the activities of the CRD in 2003, and potential scenarios for 2004.

### **New South Wales Human Rights Education Committee**

Lynda-ann Blanchard, Council member

The New South Wales Human Rights Education Committee (NSWHREC) alternates its bimonthly meetings between CPACS and UNIC (the United Nations Information Centre). A number of CPACS members have been key contributors to the work of this Committee in 2003, including its chair Lynda-ann Blanchard and committee members Stella Cornelius, Laurie and Peggy Craddock, Tim Marchant,

Claude Mostowik, Lynette Simons and Jane Sloane. NSW Governor, Professor Marie Bashir, has been approached to become patron of the NSWHREC in 2004.

The major work of this Committee in 2003 has been in laying the foundations of the *Citizenship for Humanity* project. The project is sponsored by the National Committee on Human Rights Education and was launched by the Federal Attorney-General and the Shadow Attorney-General at a forum at Parliament House in Canberra on Human Rights Day 2002. The forum was hosted by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on Human Rights.

The *Citizenship for Humanity Project* is a human rights education project for final year primary students. The aim of this project is to provide interested primary schools in New South Wales - including all sectors from public and private to religious and special schools - with a 'Citizenship for Humanity Lesson Guide' and every participating student with a personalised 'Citizenship for Humanity Certificate' as a part of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004).

## Library

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Peggy Craddock, Librarian

The CPACS reference library exists to serve the interests of staff, students and members and other interested parties. The books are for use in the centre, not for loan. In addition to books and videotapes, the collection contains journals and newsletters from centres and associations concerned with the promotion of peace with justice for all, including civil and political rights, human rights, disarmament, conflict resolution, sustainable development and other issues in the peace with justice domain. All items in the collection have been donated, including major donations from Val St John, Ted Wheelwright, and Stella Cornelius from the Conflict Resolution Network.

During the year donations from Jane Sloane, some students and Stella Cornelius and the Conflict Resolution Network have been incorporated into the collection. Another recent donation has been made by People For Nuclear Disarmament. Because of lack of space in the library it has been housed in the office of the Conflict Resolution Desk. A hard copy of a list of items in this resource has been compiled by some PACS students and is available in the library.

Books and videos on subject areas such as the media, non-violence and social change, human rights, politics, conflict resolution in organisations, refugees, communities and communication within and between groups are needed to improve and increase the resources available for the teaching program in future.

## Membership

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Abe Quadan, Membership Secretary

CPACS currently has 245 members in its database. This represents an increase of 26 new members from last year's report (2002). Life memberships have increased by 2 from last year.

The current membership status is as follows:

Honorary Member	1
Financial to the end of 2003	86
Financial to the end of 2002	146
Life members	12
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Total	245

Two reminder renewal letters were sent out during the year. A number of letters have been returned undelivered due to change of address. We have witnessed a decrease in the number of members renewing their membership. This is due to a number of reasons, mainly because some members have moved to new locations overseas and/or interstate.

Some members who did not renew their membership have sent us letters and a few have included cheques as donations to CPACS. We acknowledge these donations and the continuing support financial and moral support from our members.

Many thanks to all our students, volunteers and staff who helped with preparing and sending the renewal letters and pamphlets/flyers during the year. I wish all our members, staff, volunteers, students and Council members a Merry Christmas and a Very Happy, Safe and Peaceful New Year.

## **Publications**

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Iris Wielders, Publications Officer

During 2003, CPACS continued its Occasional Paper series and started a new Working Paper Series, to publish materials such as seminar notes, workshop reports, conference papers and interim research reports. The CPACS Working Papers can be downloaded from the CPACS website. Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees brought out a new book *Passion for Peace*, which was launched in the Great Hall of the University of Sydney by actress Judy Davis on 28 October.

CPACS was also asked to contribute to the *On Line Opinion* website, a website for Australian current affairs and policy discussion. CPACS staff and members were invited to submit materials for publication on the website on an ongoing basis. So far, CPACS has submitted the article on 'Non-violent Responses to War' by Stuart Rees, Ken Macnab and Wendy Lambourne, which was published in *PeaceWrites* No 1, 2003.

The CPACS website has been restructured and updated. It now includes a homepage with a 'news' section with announcements of upcoming CPACS events and new publications. In addition, the membership form and publication order form can now be downloaded from the website.

### **CPACS publications in 2003**

#### Books

Stuart Rees, *Passion for Peace: Exercising Power Creatively*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2003.

In a dark and pessimistic time, *Passion for Peace* is a timely and uplifting work. Written in an engaging and optimistic style, combining poetry and prose, this book is both practical and philosophical, showing how a creative use of power can contribute to peace with justice in any context or country.

#### CPACS Occasional Paper Series

No. 03/3 Hanan Ashrawi, *Peace in the Middle East: A Global Challenge and a Human Imperative*, 2003  
City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture, 2003

No. 03/2 Iris Wielders (ed.), *Achieving Peace with Justice II: Four Case Studies*, 2003

No. 03/1 Alison Boyd, Dagny Fosen, Valerie Ley and Donna Mosford, *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means: A Workshop with Professor Johan Galtung*, 2003

No. 02/2 Mary Robinson, *Human Rights at the Heart of Peace*, 2002 City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture, 2002

#### CPACS Working Paper Series

No. 03/1 Iris Wielders (ed.), *Women's Rights in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: Seminar Report*, 2003



## Sydney Peace Foundation

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The Sydney Peace Foundation is a partnership between the corporate, media, public service, community groups and academic communities. It is a not-for-profit organisation within the University of Sydney. The Foundation:

- o Selects and awards the Sydney Peace Prize
- o Develops corporate sector and community understanding of the value of peace with justice in diverse contexts and countries
- o Sponsors peace initiatives, particularly the work of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies
- o Teaches peace and conflict studies and creates jobs for young people in areas of peace research, conflict resolution and the promotion of human rights
- o Awards scholarships and internships in peace, human rights and conflict resolution

At the beginning of 2003, Bridget McManus joined the Sydney Peace Foundation as the new Administration and Finance Officer, concurrently working as a part-time Events Coordinator for a small communications company. Bridget holds a Bachelor of Business in Marketing and a Graduate Certificate in Accounting and Finance.

The 2003 Sydney Peace Prize was awarded to Dr Hanan Ashrawi, a human rights advocate and founder of the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy. Dr Ashrawi presented the 2003 City of Sydney Peace Prize lecture on 5 November in the Seymour Centre. On 6 November she was awarded the prize by New South Wales Premier the Honourable Bob Carr during a fundraising dinner in Parliament House.

This year, the Foundation also announced the launch of the Sydney Peace Foundation Schools Peace Initiative. The Schools Peace Initiative aims to increase advocacy of peace with justice and the practice of non-violence with young people. All high school students throughout New South Wales will be eligible to participate.

The Sydney Peace Foundation supports the position of Research Officer at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

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