



# PeaceWrites

CENTRE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES  
THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

THE NEWSLETTER OF PEACE  
STUDIES, SEMINARS, BOOKS  
AND PEACE INITIATIVES  
newsletter

NO. 2002/2 - JANUARY 2003

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## Editorial

This issue of PeaceWrites was due to come out towards the end of 2002, but because of the departure of Jane Fulton and the subsequent Christmas break publication was delayed until the end of January 2003. Apologies for any inconvenience this may have caused.

### Editors

Dr Jane Fulton and Iris Wielders.  
Comments and contributions welcome.

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Disclaimer—the views in this publication are solely those of the contributors.

## Sydney Peace Prize awarded to Mary Robinson

*By Antonia Stephenson of the Sydney Peace Foundation*

On 7th November 2002, former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson was awarded the Sydney Peace Prize by Sir Ninian Stephen, during a successful dinner at Parliament House in Sydney.

Mary Robinson is a distinguished lawyer and former President of Ireland and former United Nations' High Commissioner for Human Rights. In almost every country of the world, not just those which have experienced violent conflict, she has been a tireless champion of the universality and indivisibility of human rights.

Mary Robinson was awarded the 2002

Sydney Peace Prize on the grounds of her leadership in advocating respect for human rights and for her courage in standing up for the powerless against the interests of powerful individuals and governments. Her vision of peace with justice is captured by the title of this year's City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture, *Human Rights at the Heart of Peace*.

The lecture was published as an occasional paper by CPACS. Contact the publications officer Iris Wielders (phone 9351 7686 - [iris.wielders@social.usyd.edu.au](mailto:iris.wielders@social.usyd.edu.au)) if you would like to order a copy. (Cost: \$11.00 or \$8.80 for members to include P&P). On request, we can provide copies of all previous Peace Prize lectures by Sir William Deane, Xanana Gusmão, Desmond Tutu and Muhammad Yunus.

For the Sydney Peace Foundation, please contact Antonia Stephenson on 9351 4468 or [spf@arts.usyd.edu.au](mailto:spf@arts.usyd.edu.au).  
<http://www.spf.arts.usyd.edu.au>



*Sydney Peace Prize recipient Mary Robinson and Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees at the Sydney Peace Foundation dinner.  
(Copyright photo Andrew Stephenson)*

## STOP THE PRESS

Workshop in Sydney with Professor Johan Galtung on Friday April 11th!  
For more information: [lynda.blanchard@social.usyd.edu.au](mailto:lynda.blanchard@social.usyd.edu.au)

## Mary Robinson's visit to CPACS

By Mireille Widmer

**One of the high points of the CPACS calendar was the visit of Mary Robinson to CPACS. As recipient of the 2002 Sydney Peace Prize, Mary Robinson visited CPACS to meet 50 students undertaking our graduate programme in peace and conflict studies, staff and CPACS council members.**

At CPACS, she gave a brief introduction into her work, and outlined the challenges ahead for coopting business and political leaders to tackle issues of human rights, conflict resolution and community empowerment. She then patiently addressed questions from the audience, covering a wide range of topics from the problematic of AIDS in Africa, conflict resolution in West Papua, to reconciliation in Cambodia.

For many students, Mrs Robinson's humaneness and eloquence was a source of inspiration and optimism.

She emphasized the role of women in shaping the future, especially in developing countries, but one could not help but think of the example she set herself, and wish to follow in her footsteps.

During her talk, Mary Robinson introduced her new project, the Ethical Globalization Initiative, in which she will work together with the Aspen Institute (US), State of the World Forum (US) and the International Council on Human Rights Policy (Switzerland).

Contact details: [press@eginitiative.org](mailto:press@eginitiative.org)

## New developments at CPACS

### Conflict Resolution Desk at CPACS

From February 3<sup>rd</sup> 2003 there will be a conflict resolution desk at CPACS. The vision of the desk is to teach, research and provide outreach in the theory and practice of conflict resolution. It is intended that the desk complements the existing work carried out by CPACS. The desk will be staffed by Tim Marchant on Mondays.

The first activity of the CRD is a 12 week study group facilitated by Dr. Stella Cornelius and Lynette Simons, which will be offered to all CPACS staff and other relevant colleagues in the first instance. The group will focus on the 12 skills of conflict resolution. Due attention will be paid to the CPACS ethos and an attempt will be made to integrate these skills and the work of CPACS.

## CPACS staff

Welcome to Iris Wielders, the new administrative assistant. Iris holds an MA in International Relations from the University of Amsterdam. She also works as a freelance researcher for the European Centre for Conflict Prevention, and is working on a directory of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding organisations in the Asia-Pacific region. Iris will be coordinating the administration of both CPACS and the postgraduate teaching programme. She is also the new publications officer on the CPACS Council.

Congratulations to Wendy Lambourne, the first full-time Senior Lecturer at CPACS. Wendy has been involved with CPACS as a member of the Council for 8 years and lecturing in the Graduate Peace and Conflict Studies Programme since 2001. She has recently completed her PhD on 'Justice and reconciliation and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda'. Wendy will be coordinating and promoting the teaching programme, as well as researching and publishing in the areas of reconciliation and peacebuilding.

## Graduate Peace and Conflict Studies

Since its inception in 1999, the graduate programme in Peace and Conflict Studies has experienced a steady and impressive rise in student numbers alongside the development of a quality teaching programme. Now attracting one of the largest enrolments in the Faculty of Arts, our programme is meeting a growing demand for studies that offer an understanding of conflict and suggest ways to bring about peace with justice.

We thank the University of Sydney for its ongoing support with the establishment of a full-time academic teaching position in Peace and Conflict Studies and a 4-day a week administrative assistant for the Centre. Such action is an unambiguous statement by the University that, in this world riven with strife, obtaining an education on the attainment of peace is a priority. In 2002, 63 students enrolled in units in the graduate programme in Peace and Conflict Studies, including 40 Masters, 6 Graduate Diploma and 3 Graduate Certificate students, in addition to those auditing and cross-listing from other courses.

The 2003 PACS programme will offer two new units, in addition to the eight units already on offer:

- PACS6906 Faith, Politics and the Clash of Civilisations after September 11, taught

in Semester 2, 2003. This course will permit students to examine the notion that a fundamental cleavage exists between 'Western civilisation' and other civilisations — especially the 'Muslim world'. Students will be challenged to explore several case study conflicts, using the 'clash of civilisations' paradigm of Samuel P. Huntington. The course will enable students to consider whether the conflicts being investigated demonstrate a civilisational clash, as well as to explore sources of conflict beyond civilisational clashes and to consider recent scholarship that challenges the Huntington thesis.

- PACS6907 Gender and the Development of Peace, taught in Semester 2, 2003. This unit will explore the significance of gender in peace and conflict studies. From the operation in Australia of women's night patrols as a response to community violence, to the Grameen Bank's experience of the feminisation of poverty in Bangladesh, the course will focus on development as a community process. Feminist approaches to human rights and the role of women as agents of social change will be investigated. Issues to be addressed include gender in peacekeeping operations and the contribution of men and women as peacemakers.

Full details on the Peace and Conflict Studies programme can be obtained from the CPACS website or contact Iris Wielders, email: [cpacs.teaching@arts.usyd.edu.au](mailto:cpacs.teaching@arts.usyd.edu.au)  
Tel: 02 9351 7686

## CPACS Seminars Semester Two, 2002

By Wendy Lambourne, Seminars Coordinator

On 7th June we were entertained in the "Oval Office" at CPACS by Bernard Otterman, a Holocaust survivor visiting from the US, who believes in the power of fiction to educate people about what happened during the Holocaust. His book of short stories *The Golem of Auschwitz* attracted a great deal of interest from seminar participants.

The Director of the International Peace Academy, Dr Rita Hauser, from New York, spoke at CPACS on 17 June about United Nations involvement in peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and the role of non-government organisations in providing humanitarian assistance in the midst of violent conflict. In response to questions, Dr Hauser talked about the plight of

refugees, and about the importance of the new International Criminal Court in providing a mechanism for deterring and punishing war criminals. We would like to acknowledge Dr Hauser for her generous gift to the CPACS Library of a collection of books published by the IPA.

The Consul-General of Israel, Ephraim Ben-Matityahu, spoke at CPACS on 5 August about the challenges faced by Israel in the Middle East. Following an intelligent and spirited question and answer session, Professor Stuart Rees concluded by highlighting the valuable concepts raised by the Consul-General on the importance of narrative, empowerment and democracy. Professor Rees made a plea for greater use of the language of non-violence and human rights to replace the limited language of power.

On 14 August we were delighted to welcome back Dr Armen Gakavian to update us on his experiences living and working in post-communist Armenia. Armen is committed to bringing hope and empowerment to young people struggling to make an impact in their communities. In the midst of overwhelming despair and resignation, Armen retains an optimism and commitment that is infectious and inspiring. One of his projects involves developing young leaders of integrity who could change the face of Armenian politics and society. We wish him every success in his continuing work in Armenia.

Dr Alan Tidwell, from the US Institute of Peace, provided an interesting analysis of the relationship between globalisation and conflict at a lunchtime seminar on 18 September. Dr Tidwell explained how the interconnectedness of globalisation can help foster both the causes and consequences of conflict and peace, and argued for a creative harnessing of globalisation to promote both conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

On 20 September, a full house of CPACS members, students and guests were treated to a three-hour talk and workshop with Ambassador Richard Butler on the history and future of nuclear weapons control. Ambassador Butler, former Australian Ambassador to the UN and Executive Chair of the UN Special Commission on Iraq, made a heartfelt plea for an end to the hypocritical double-

standard inherent in the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Post September 11, the US has created a dichotomy between "good guys" and "bad guys" which has been reflected in the idea that there are "good nuclear weapons" and "bad nuclear weapons". Ambassador Butler was unequivocal in his argument that there is no such thing as a "good nuclear weapon": they must all be eliminated.

## The India-Pakistan seminar series

*By Jeremy Block, PACS MA student*

One should never judge a particular conflict as being more important or more significant than another. When people are suffering, everyone matters, and all energy should be universally invoked.

Unfortunately the Western media would not agree, and instead have decided to focus their attention on some specific conflicts more than others, i.e.; the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the "War on Terror". What about the rest of the bloodshed in the world, what type of justice can we as humans provide if we are misinformed and ignorant about less "popular" conflicts? Does the life of a Western soldier or an Israeli have more value than that of the millions suffering in war torn Africa or other parts of the earth?

It was these questions that I had in mind last winter when I decided to start a seminar series entitled "The India-Pakistan Conflict: Towards Peace with Justice in Kashmir". At the time of its creation, two fully nuclear packed nations were ready to blow each other to the moon, at the drop of a hat. What disturbed me most was the relative lack of interest that the Western world seemed to show. I realized that I needed to take action. There was probably nothing I could do to stop the potential war, since our faith was placed in the hands of our great diplomats, Powell and Straw. All I realized I could do in this helpless situation was to get people informed.

The seminar series covered a range of topics with the intention of transforming the ignorant mind into a hot bed of thirsty knowledge. Our topics included the roots of the conflict from colonialism to the present time; the modern political strife and decay within South Asian politics; the issue of terrorism and the impact of September

11th; the role of the media and its place in promoting peace; the problem of human rights and the role it plays in violence; and an interesting discussion with the Indian Consul-General on peace building and reconciliation. The audience was a mix of many South Asians, political students, and people who were concerned about the fate of these great nations. Did the series work? In the present day, both nations are cooling down, but the tension is still high. Maybe it was a coincidence, or maybe our energy produced a radical transformation. Okay, maybe not, but I'd like to somehow think so!

## SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT MILITARY SERVICE

*By Dagny Margrete Fosen, MA PACS student*

**On Wednesday 4th September I attended one of CPACS lunchtime seminars. The speaker of the day was Rotem Dan Mor, a 21-year-old Israeli conscientious objector. During my short time as an MA student at CPACS I have found these extra curricular seminars enjoyable and inspiring. Rotem made a strong impression on me.**

Rotem had served in the Israeli Defence Force for a year and six months in the Israeli Defence Force liaison as a soldier teacher before declaring his refusal to serve for political and conscientious reasons. He was released from the army six months later, having spent some time in prison.

Before his arrest Rotem wrote a political statement saying:

*"For a long time, I have had doubts about the honesty of military service. These questions began to arise long before I was drafted. They stemmed from information I had acquired about the Israeli-Arab conflict, and from discovering the false information about it, to which I was exposed for years. As I learned more, I was increasingly sceptical about the official Israeli version of what happened. This official version is the basis on which most Israeli youth justify their military service. I started to understand to what extent fear and hatred had been instilled in me from a very early age. I discovered that I do not believe in the existence of an "enemy", but rather in the existence of people of different cultures, who are frightened and angry, just like me."*

I was impressed by Rotem's courage. The courage to stand up and defy a strong military system like Israel, without quite knowing what would happen to him. The Israeli army recognises the right of conscientious objection, but does not release male soldiers on the grounds of it. The only thing he knew for sure was that his road to dismissal would be long and most likely include some time in jail.

As Rotem was describing the Israeli military system as he had experienced it, it became clear to me that his story mirrored stories I have been told about male friends' experiences in the Norwegian military. I thought that military service in Israel and Norway would be very different. Norway is not in a war situation. Israel is. So I was a bit surprised when Rotem said that most of the work he did in the military was boring, mostly consisting of doing nothing. That is what Norwegian soldiers feel like – sitting somewhere just 'killing time'.

One Norwegian friend recalled having quite a good time though. Most of the time he would be in his office playing games on the computer, but other times the boys would patrol the Norwegian-Russian border. They would paint some border posts, have a few cigarettes, and cross the border and paint some of the Russian border posts (since they did not have the money to keep the posts nicely painted). Then they would have a chat with the Russian soldiers and yes sure, the Russian blokes were welcome to have a look inside the Norwegian tanks (quite a modern technical scenario for the Russians).

However, to draw a more serious parallel between Rotem's story and the Norwegian military service: Since the summer of 1993 about 20-30 Norwegian men have been prisoners of conscience in Norwegian prisons. A hundred more are waiting to do time. Rotem has spent some of his military service working as a soldier teacher. This is similar to the Norwegian system of a civil service as an alternative to the ordinary military service. Every year about 2500 Norwegian men choose to do civil service. This is 10% of the men who do their service. However, some – like Rotem – choose to refuse to do any kind of service.

The exact number of 'Refuseniks' in Norway is not known. The government does not keep official statistics on this, but unofficial sources guess a number of 100-200 yearly.

The punishment for refusing to do both military and civil service is 90 days in jail. After these 90 days, you can be ordered into the army again. If you refuse the second time, you can be convicted to another 12 months in jail. This punishment is as severe as that given for crimes of violence!

The Norwegian 'Refuseniks' argue that the civil service is a part of the military system and thus contributes to maintaining the military. They refuse to accept that the state has the right to order someone to prepare and participate in a war and to take lives. By challenging the current system, they hope to contribute to the peace debate. Is military force the right solution to solve conflicts? The answer to that is another and longer story. Johan Galtung, often referred to as 'the father of Peace Studies', would have something to say here. He is one of the Norwegian men who chose to do his military service in jail.

## CPACS INTERNS - 'ADOPT A POLITICIAN' CAMPAIGN

*By Melissa Baxter, Rebecca Dudding,  
Sonya Brophy and Christopher Sergeant*

With the constant human rights abuses occurring globally, we felt compelled to use our time at CPACS to combat such abuse. Many flaws exist in Australia's current refugee policy; however, we have narrowed our focus. We aim to contribute toward the abolition of Temporary Protection Visas (TPV), and reinstate the issuing of Permanent Protection Visas for those seeking asylum in Australia, upon recognition of their refugee status.

Hence, the 'Adopt a Politician' campaign was born under the Show Mercy banner. We were able to recruit 38 volunteers, adopting 6 politicians each with all 226 federal members of the government adopted. The campaign has involved the composition and mailing of three waves of letters, sent between the 28<sup>th</sup> of August and the 18<sup>th</sup> of October, addressing the powerlessness of these politicians. The first focused on the current cowardice of politicians in addressing issues regarding these vulnerable people. The second focused on Australia's human rights obligations, with

reference to the United Nations Declarations our nation has been flouting. Finally the third letter addressed the issue of costs, including immediate costs to the community when providing much needed services not provided by the federal or state government, the financial and psychological cost the TPV holders themselves face, as well as the long term social cost to the Australian society.

The responses to our letters present a good overall picture of the attitudes of the Federal Government towards the plight of TPV holders. Replies were inconsistent, with most responses received only after we had conducted rigorous follow up phone calls holding each politician individually accountable to respond to our correspondence. Their attitudes paint a picture of the powerlessness of these politicians. This was illustrated through the vast majority of negative responses that were dismissive, non-supportive and evasive, indicating most politicians feel no compassion or responsibility towards these people.

Aside from the campaign, we have conducted research surrounding TPV holders and their 'life in limbo'. We have identified and researched four main areas that lead to their powerlessness including the culture of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, the costs TPV holders incur, the legal maze these people are forced to navigate, as well as the influential attitudes of the politicians. Currently we are exploring some possible policy proposals, which will be pursued by Show Mercy after our departure.

We hope the research we have generated will provide some insight into the cruelty and hopelessness our government has created for members of our community, and the uncertainty in which they are expected to survive. The current TPV policy will not be abolished while the leaders of our country actively support the inhumane treatment of refugees. A step towards change will require the reality of this policy being exposed, and politicians held accountable for their lack of courage and action to stand up for some of the most vulnerable and powerless people in the world.

## Research at CPACS

By Dr Paul White, Research Officer

**CPACS has succeeded in securing a \$53,000 research grant. This will fund the project 'The Effects of Racism on Lebanese Youth in Australia. Pathways to Just Solutions'. The project will analyse racism directed at Lebanese youth in Australia and identify means to resolve specific consequences of such racism among Lebanese youth.**

Ever since the mid-1990s, a growing number of concerns have been voiced by public figures and the media in New South Wales regarding an alleged increasing lawlessness in Sydney's western and southwestern suburbs. Murder and a gang rape have been cited as part of this lawlessness, which has evoked a 'zero tolerance' foray by police in west-suburban Sydney, against youth of Middle Eastern background. The problem has only become further exacerbated in the wake of the September 11 US terrorist attacks, and by Australia's controversy over unauthorised Middle Eastern asylum seeker arrivals. In debates about law and order, these issues are frequently lumped together.

More specifically, the research will establish the origins of this racism, and identify the effects that it has on the employment levels and educational achievements of Lebanese youth in Australia today, as well as on their relations with a wider community. Research indicates that 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.

The project aims to promote the self-esteem of Lebanese suburban youth and contribute towards breaking the cycles leading to 'deviant' behaviour, by identifying pathways to the just resolution of social problems. These problems currently bar the way towards the full participation of these youth in Australian society and their fruitful

interaction with key government and non-government agencies.

Our partners in this research will be the Bankstown-based Lebanese Community Council. We have also been supported by the Australian Lebanese Welfare Group, which is based in Merrylands. The Foundation for Young Australians, which is funding this research, seeks 'to create positive opportunities and outcomes for Australia's young people, by leading the development of innovative strategies that enable them to reach their potential and participate fully in society'.

### West Papua Project

By Scott Shanley, Project Assistant

**In September 2002, the West Papua Project organised its third workshop on peace building in West Papua, titled "West Papua: Reconciliation and Consolidation Among West Papuans". The workshop drew representatives from a cross-section of West Papuan society, plus Australian participants to deliver an uncompromising message of peace through collective dialogue.**

In total 58 people participated including seven West Papuans. The clear objectives of the one and a half day workshop involved examining ways of fostering reconciliation and consolidation among West Papuans whilst building partnerships within Papuan civil society. It aimed to provide a forum to promote peaceful dialogue.

The organisers aspired to a balance of participants. The attendance of indigenous West Papuans residing in West Papua was perceived to be of critical importance to the workshop's authenticity. Likewise, by attracting a circle of high profile sympathisers from within Australia, it was anticipated that a kind of synergy could be attained, and contribute to positive outcomes.

The workshop aimed to cover a broad yet relevant spectrum of debate on the West Papua issue. Papuan and non-Papuan speakers addressed the following broad topics of discussion: the philosophy and practise of non-violence in a milieu of violent oppression;

difficulties in achieving reconciliation in Papuan civil society; the absence of human rights as central to the undermining of the peace process; the role of the Indonesian military, and the rise of pro-Indonesian Islamic militia; the question of good governance; special autonomy; the rapid disintegration of a hitherto pristine environment and general resource exploitation in a climate of disenfranchisement for indigenous Papuans; the AIDS time bomb and the woman's place in Papuan society.

Some of the main conclusions and outcomes were:

- The polarised views of the many parties: One of the major dialectics of the workshop was the gospel according to liberal democratic Western values colliding headlong into the privations of indigenous experience.

- The violence/non violence alternatives and tensions: Drawing upon the collective wisdom of diverse participants it emerged that Papuans must forge vigorous alliances with the outside world. Imposed isolation, self or other, tends to arrest development and encourages the Indonesian military to act before they think.

- Organisational obstacles: All agreed that a robust infrastructural and institutional base, as outlined above, is of the essence in building foundations for a future beneficial to all members of West Papuan society. Autonomy will be facilitated by the Papuans' ability to organise and demonstrate efficiency in running their own affairs of state.

- Convergence of values: Inclusiveness implies respect for the dignity of everyone. Any convergence of values for the common good should never fail to recall the tribal nature of Papuan society.

- Negotiation Strategies: The net for negotiation ought to be wide, inclusiveness the mantra. All spheres of influence, e.g. Jakarta, Laskar Jihad, the military, commercial enterprises, transmigratory populations from Java, would benefit from gathering at the great table.

The spirit engendered by the workshop encouraged Papuan delegates to promote the language of hope through non-violence and reconciliation. Media

interest, as was conferred upon this workshop, can be instrumental in overturning two considerable impediments: firstly, the manner in which media exposure rescues a particular cause from obscurity and isolation; and secondly, how invariably the media lend legitimacy to the objectives of whatever cause, in this case the West Papua Project.

As a caveat for future priorities as far as West Papua is concerned, serious attention needs to be directed at existing institutional shortcomings, which have bedevilled the advancement of reconciliation and peaceful dialogue. These shortcomings refer specifically to a lack of institutional support, the paucity of local infrastructure, both political and social, and scant financial resources. By tackling these limitations we may realise the goals of a more peaceful, prosperous and enfranchised future ordained by Papuans for Papuans.

## ON THE PEACE TRAIL

### In Pursuit of Peace – Cabramatta Peace Garden

*By Carole Shaw, MA PACS student*

**On Wednesday 25 September 2002 Professor Stuart Rees opened Cabramatta High School Peace Garden. Cabramatta High School has approximately 950 students, 97% of whom come from non-English speaking backgrounds.**



**Cabramatta peace garden**  
(Copyright photo Carole Shaw)

### **A large number of the students are refugees, and many are scarred by memories of persecution, of flight and of war.**

It was during the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the WTO Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington DC on September 11th 2001 that the concept of the peace garden came to be born. Many of the students at the school were strongly affected by the events of September 11th, and the growing feelings of discrimination and resentment that occurred as a consequence of the attacks.

In an attempt to address this conflict and the feelings of injustice that prevailed, and to help promote an attitude of positive peace within the school, the suggestion of a peace garden was offered to the students. The students were keen to have a space where they could go for discussion and contemplation. A place that would be a symbol of the importance of peace, tolerance and goodwill and a place to remember those who had suffered from the trauma of war and conflict.

The peace garden was designed, constructed and planted by the students of the school, under the supervision of horticulturalists from the Sydney Horticultural and Ecological Training Centre in Strathfield. The garden includes a pathway that winds amongst the

plants, a bridge, a pebble river, a mural and seating. Each student in the school placed a pebble with their hopes and dreams for peace into the pebble river. In the river are also ceramic tiles made by the students, which show the word for peace in the 30 different languages represented in the school. Along one side of the garden are five murals painted by the students in the style of Monet, depicting scenes of bridges and water. Local businesses and organisations helped the project with financial and practical support. A bridge was donated to the garden, and the Students Representative Council raised money for the purchase of seating in the garden.

The students who had read the story of Sadako Sasaki had prepared 1,000 paper cranes that surrounded the garden. On the day of the opening, after the speeches were given, the winners of a peace poetry competition read their poems and the school choir sang 'Imagine' to the accompaniment of a guitar. Next, 17 different religious leaders blessed the garden. Professor Rees then officially opened the garden by cutting the ribbon and white doves were released into the air. It was truly a magical moment and many were brought to tears by the achievement of the students. Guests and members of the school were then invited to walk through the garden and on leaving the garden were presented with a paper crane as a memento of the day and a symbol of peace.

In the words of Aung San Suu Kyi "It is undeniably easier to ignore the hardships of those who are too weak to demand their rights than to respond sensitively to their needs". In this example, despite the contexts of the individuals being different, this project, through the conduit of the school and its values, has allowed a recognition of conflict to become overt and dealt with in a "whole of school" way. The project has acknowledged the feelings and realities of the students (i.e. not discounting their feelings and realities in the solution) and has empowered the students with skills and knowledge and a way to work in unity towards a peaceful solution.

## CPACS Commentary The New Cold War

By Dr Ken Macnab, President CPACS

**On Thursday 10 October, at the Annual Conference of the Independent Scholars Association of Australia in Canberra, Dr Ken Macnab delivered a paper on 'The Implications of the War on Terrorism.' The main points are summarised below. Lengthier versions are to be published. Dr Macnab can supply amplification or references on request.**

### The New Cold War

President Bush announced the 'war on terror' to Congress shortly after the September 11 attacks. His policy was elaborated in other speeches, such as his State of the Union Address in January 2002 and his speech at West Point Military Academy in June, and the document titled *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, released in late September 2002.

Some key aspects of this 'war on terrorism' are worth noting. The first is a distinctive interpretation of history that places America at the centre of a new world view. Out of the conflicts of the twentieth century had emerged 'a single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy, and free enterprise.' Integral to this view of history is a belief in an American 'mission', a 'crusade', a new 'manifest destiny'.

Secondly, the American leadership has not the slightest doubt about its ability to arbitrate for the whole world, to identify the 'good' and the 'evil', the 'civilised' and the 'uncivilised', those 'with us' and those 'against us', those supporting 'freedom' and those supporting 'terror', those possessing threatening 'weapons of mass destruction' and those merely having these same weapons for their own protection.

Thirdly, the definition of 'terrorism' at the heart of this war is vague and changeable, and is mainly political rhetoric, permitting selective and self-serving application. The focus of the war is flexible, including 'thousands of terrorists in more than 60 countries', 'regimes that sponsor terror' such as the 'axis of evil', 'rogue states' and other American-chosen targets.

Finally, although there are statements about peaceful methods of pursuing the 'war on terrorism', such as promoting 'human dignity' and working with others to 'defuse

regional conflicts', the only methods given any real support are aggressive and militaristic. Moreover, at West Point, Bush proposed selective pre-emptive military strikes, whereby America must 'confront the worst threats before they emerge. (Applause).'

All this largely ignores the lessons of the history of terrorism. For a start, terrorism has rarely been defeated by force alone. Force on its own is frequently counter-productive, because it ignores the origins of terrorism, and plays into the hands of the terrorists by reinforcing the original prejudices.

Next, the issue of defining terrorism is complicated by perspective and purpose. Hence the old adage: 'One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.' However, we need to define terrorism clearly and analyse it impartially. Put simply, terrorism is the selective use of violence to intimidate, terrorise and coerce for social or political purposes, carried out not only by individuals and groups, but by organisations and states.

A number of more specific conclusions deserve emphasis.

Firstly, there has been a world wide tendency to exploit the September 11 tragedy. If you can label your opponents 'terrorists', you can claim the high moral ground for your own actions, including the use of violence and terror. Moreover, President Bush himself is now exploiting and manipulating the tragedy for international and domestic political advantage.

Secondly, the methods by which America is pursuing the 'war on terrorism' are a serious challenge to international standards and institutions such as the United Nations. The concept of anticipatory pre-emptive attack is dangerous, and is not an accepted part of international legal custom. Neither 'anticipatory self-defence', nor 'pre-emptive strike' (or any other such Orwellian Newspeak) are justified by Article 51 of the UN Charter, or by the classic formulation by the United States after the 1837 Caroline incident.

Thirdly, in its zeal the American Government has seriously undermined the very respect for human rights and the rule of law on which it bases the claim to be the leader of the free world. The American Patriot Act of October 2001 and new Cabinet-level Office of Homeland Security have created dangerous powers and procedures. Countries such as Britain and Australia have followed suit.

Internationally, flouting of the rule of law is being justified by the 'war on terrorism.' Despite originally supporting the proposal, the US withdrew from the International Criminal Court, determined that no Americans would face 'foreign' tribunals on war crimes charges. Similarly, when the UN's Economic and Social Council recommended adoption of a new protocol to the Convention against Torture, on the inspection of places of incarceration to prevent cruel practices, Australia voted against and the US abstained.

Opportunities for the 'leaders of the free world' to practice some of what they preach are ignored. Both the UN World Food Summit in Rome in June 2002, and the World Summit on Sustainability in Johannesburg early in September, saw the outcomes tailored to suit the richest countries of the world.

Fourthly, the rhetoric and methods of the 'war on terrorism' seriously exacerbate the 'double standard' which is enshrined within virtually all the policies of the leading powers. Recently, Ambassador Richard Butler sharply criticised the 'hypocrisy' of the United States and other major powers for insisting on their right to retain chemical, biological and nuclear weapons while demanding that others dispense with theirs or never obtain them.

Finally, there is little new about the current 'war on terrorism', apart from its scope, intensity and the centrality of the American role. Those leading it are shaping it to be the New Cold War (or Cold War II if you prefer), with all the features that characterised the original Cold War: the rhetoric of good and evil, civilised and uncivilised, take our side or suffer the consequences; the oversimplification and labelling and demonising; inflated military budgets, reduced care for domestic issues; the justification of violence, including terrorism, to defend the national interest; the collusion of the media in inflaming feelings and sustaining morale; the curbing of freedom of speech and access to information, and attacks on critics as traitors; the reduction of civil liberties and human rights; and the hypocrisy of supporting some terrorism while condemning other users.

The comment of Octave Mirabeau is worth remembering: *The greatest danger of bombs is in the explosion of stupidity that they provoke.*

## PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT NEWS

By Lynda-Ann Blanchard, CPACS Council

### People's Diplomacy, Non-Violence and Global Civil Society Conference

Rovereto sits in the northern Italian Alps. It is known throughout Europe for its enormous peace bell (made from bronze obtained by fusing cannons from all the armies of WWI) which tolls a hundred times every evening in remembrance of those killed in all wars. This picturesque city of 30,000 people and tiny cobbled streets hosts an international peace convention each year. This 10th annual course has as its theme People's Democracy and Global Civil Society.

On greeting us, the deputy mayor of Trentino, Ms Donata Loss, suggested, "there is no future without peace". Giuliano Pontara, director of Rovereto's International University for Peace, welcomed the opportunity to learn about initiatives for non-violence in diverse contexts and reminded us of the importance of such work. What has happened in the past year, he said, could be summarised in three ways. (i) The global tide for peace has become worse; people of the world are less empowered to act for themselves. (ii) Democracy and its way faces greater challenges; it is more difficult for countries without democracy to acquire it. (iii) Conflict has become more militarised; September 11 was a new step in the globalisation of violence.

During the conference, theoretical frameworks for peaceful management of inter-ethnic conflicts were considered. The power and potential of the internet for promoting civil society worldwide was presented as both an educational tool and NGO strategy for non-violence. Gandhian philosophy and practice were discussed as means to counter the rising mood of global conflict.

Indicative of the avid community interest in these conversations were the ongoing public fora. Press conferences were held between sessions (the Palestinian and Israeli delegates were popular!) and the well-attended evening "alternatives to war" dialogues lasted until midnight. At these meetings, news of demonstrations in London (400,000), the US (100,000) and Germany (50,000) were encouraging. Delegates were also invited to local schools and universities to discuss peace and conflict in their regions.

Drinking coffee with colleagues from Peru and Macedonia, Armenia and Nepal we reach consensus. Italian coffee is truly the best!

### NSW Human Rights Education Committee

The Human Rights Asia Pacific Forum hosted a two-day conference in July to which CPACS was invited. Representatives from most of the regional human rights commissions as well as a wide representation of Australian NGOs were in attendance. A key focus of the workshop sessions was the importance of engaging the media in promoting regional peace initiatives.

CPACS and the NSW Human Rights Education Committee were also active participants in the National Human Rights Education Committee's annual strategic conference "Dignity, Democracy and Equality" held in Canberra in August. Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees was a key speaker on issues of engaging the corporate sector in conversation about human rights. CPACS associates Tim Marchant and Dr Stella Cornelius were appointed rapporteurs and chairpersons.

### Timor Lorosae Images for Peace

In solidarity with moves towards self-determination in East Timor, a photography exhibition was mounted in Sydney Town Hall from May 22nd - June 6th. Supported by CPACS, the International Institute for Peace Tourism, the National Human Rights Education Committee, the East Timorese community and funded by the City of Sydney, Australian photographers presented their images of peace from the world's newest nation. Lord Mayor of Sydney, Frank Sartor, welcomed the initiative and commented on the importance of ongoing neighbourly relations with East Timor. The evening was well attended and we congratulate the City of Sydney for their support in promoting regional peace celebrations.

## PEACE WORK

### The Alliance for Conflict Transformation has produced an index of career opportunities in human rights, peace and conflict resolution, development and civil society development.

For the past three years the US-based Alliance for Conflict Transformation has developed and maintained some of the premier resources for professionals seeking employment and fellowship opportunities in

the field of peacebuilding, conflict resolution, international studies, development and human rights.

ACT currently maintains Announcement Forums for individuals seeking jobs and scholarships, and for organizations interested in recruiting qualified candidates.

Contact ACT, Inc.  
PO Box 3203  
Fairfax, VA 22038 USA or online at  
[www.conflicttransformation.org/index.asp](http://www.conflicttransformation.org/index.asp)

## PEACE AND POETRY

### Refugee Story

By Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees,  
Director CPACS

Work hard seven days a week  
for seven years and then  
feel rice mixed with tomatoes  
for another seven years  
impossible life, must leave  
but how, confide in mother  
so gold the only answer  
she says, pay to get out,  
gold to bribe policemen  
keep quiet about leaving,  
travel down from highlands  
to lowlands coast for boats,  
lucky as I'm fit young man  
not scared and don't care if I die,  
but sea not blowing too much  
boat four days to Malaysia  
four months in refugee camp  
lucky again immigration  
interview for Australia  
not know where that is  
but no more corruption needed,  
goodbye to family  
goodbye to controls,  
sorry for family  
not sorry for controls,  
out to airport and flight  
to new country with no luggage  
and no word of language  
not even 'yes' or 'no',  
lucky again, up comes job  
with Ford motor company  
soon wages so chicken comes with rice  
later marries with Vietnam wife  
then two real Ossie sons,  
today for refugees  
escape more difficult,  
can't explain it but perhaps me...  
just fit and young and lucky.

Xuan, South Vietnam  
May 30th 2002