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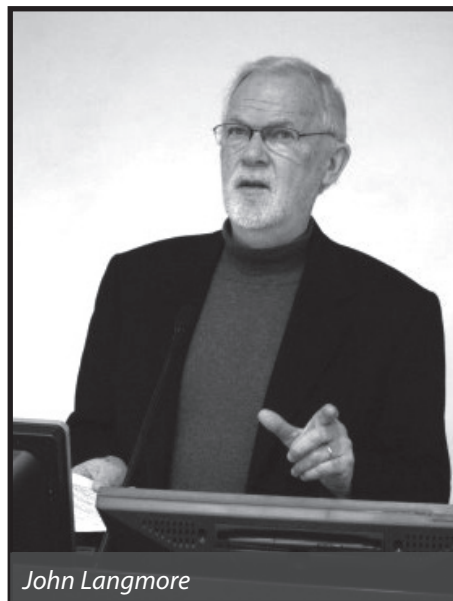
## Human Security, Global Governance

by Dr Wendy Lambourne

CPACS, TOGETHER WITH THE WORLD CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION AUSTRALIA (WCAA), HOSTED A MINI-CONFERENCE ON 3 SEPTEMBER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY AT WHICH PARTICIPANTS CONSIDERED MEANS OF PROMOTING HUMAN SECURITY AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE. THE EMPHASIS OF DISCUSSIONS WAS ON HOW AUSTRALIANS COULD ENGAGE IN SUPPORTING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ADDRESSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, UNITED NATIONS RAPID REACTION CAPACITY AND NATO'S SECURITY ROLE.

### Elimination of Nuclear Weapons THE THREAT

Former Federal Member of Parliament, **John Langmore**, who is now Professorial Fellow in Political Science at the University of Melbourne and National President of



John Langmore

the United Nations Association of Australia, spoke passionately about the continuing dangers posed by nuclear weapons.

Although nuclear weapons have not been used since 1945, and the total number has fallen to 26,000 since peaking in the mid-1980s at around 68,000, their capacity has increased thanks to more sophisticated technology. Professor Langmore quoted the following poem by Judith Wright which he said articulated perfectly one of the corrupting features of nuclear weapons:

*The will to power destroys  
 the power to will.  
 The weapon made, we cannot help  
 but use it:  
 It drags us with its own  
 momentum still.*

*The power to kill compounds  
 the need to kill.  
 Grown out of hand, the heart  
 cannot refuse it;  
 The will to power undoes  
 the power to will.*

*Though as we strike we cry  
 'I did not choose it',  
 It drags us with its own  
 momentum still.  
 In one stroke we win the world  
 and lose it.  
 The will to power destroys  
 the power to will.*

### LACK OF PROGRESS

Professor Langmore went on to say that the asymmetrical Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) has resulted in some states giving up their nuclear weapons (including states of the former Soviet Union), and others have been prevented from acquiring them. However, the major nuclear weapons states, USA and Russia, which possess 95% of the world's nuclear weapons, have not made significant moves towards disarmament. The other three UN Security Council Permanent Members, China, UK and France, also still possess small numbers of nuclear weapons. At the same time, several states who possess or are suspected of developing nuclear weapons, remain outside the NPT, including India, Pakistan, Israel, Iran and North Korea.

### DEVELOPING STRATEGIES

Global citizen and government-led efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons have included: an International Court of Justice ruling on their legality which found that states should, in good faith, undertake disarmament; the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons established by former Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating; the Blix Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction which recommended abolition of nuclear weapons as the necessary goal for preventing their use; and the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) initiated by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and launched at the 2007 NPT review conference.

ICAN, a global grassroots movement, is calling for states to negotiate a Nuclear Weapons Convention which would ban and eliminate nuclear weapons. As Professor Langmore pointed out, such treaties have been

adopted by the UN in relation to other weapons of mass destruction, namely chemical and biological weapons, so why should this not be possible for nuclear weapons? Steps in this direction include NW states China and India promising non-first use and non-use against non-NW states.

*Further information about the ICAN campaign can be found at [www.ican.org](http://www.ican.org).*

At the intergovernmental level, Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, has cooperated with the Japanese government to establish the International Commission on Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament. To be co-chaired by former Australian Foreign Affairs Minister and International Crisis Group President, Gareth Evans, the Commission has a two-year mandate expected to culminate in a major international conference towards the end of 2009 and a final report after the NPT Review Conference in May 2010. The members of the Commission comprise the nuclear weapons states and eight non-nuclear weapon states, including Japan and Australia, as well as other regional representatives. Professor Langmore argued that this gives the Commission a high level of political credibility. In order to ensure its success in moving forward nuclear disarmament, regional issues in relation to the Middle East, South Asia and Northeast Asia would need particular emphasis in the Commission's deliberations.

### ENCOURAGING SIGNS

Professor Langmore ended his presentation by referring to encouraging signs globally that could be used to put pressure on Australia, including a recent *New York Times* editorial praising New Zealand's stand, and an article in *The Economist* which urged the Nuclear Suppliers' Group not to supply India with uranium. Questions

and subsequent audience discussion canvassed the issue of uranium exports and the links between nuclear power and nuclear weapons, as well as the shocking effects of depleted uranium.

### PHILOSOPHICAL AND PRACTICAL CHALLENGES

Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees argued that a major impediment to the elimination of nuclear weapons is the hawkish mindset and doctrinal traditionalism within defence departments which reflect a fascination with militarism. Associate Professor Chris Hamer proposed a better system of dispute resolution through international law to counter the dependence on deterrence through nuclear weapons which he maintained was a misplaced means of ensuring national security. The use of popular culture, as well as citizen advocacy, were suggested as means to counter this militaristic, fear-based approach to security.

In response to questions about the technical feasibility of anti-nuclear defence systems, Professor Langmore argued that investment in such technology was not the best use of resources to prevent nuclear war and that the technology is not yet proven. He also argued that the US placement of anti-ballistic missile bases in Poland and the Czech Republic was politically irresponsible because it would only serve as a provocation to Russia. He confirmed that deterrence based on mutual destruction capacity (MAD) is an ineffective strategy. Professor Peter King added that we need a breakthrough in the psychology of nuclear war and a policy of 'no second use'. In closing, Professor Langmore referred to Amos Oz who compared the Shakespearean tragedy in which everyone dies to the Russian tragedy where everyone ends up unhappy and depressed: let's hope the nuclear weapons challenge follows the Russian tragedy.



## United Nations Rapid Response Capacity

EMERITUS PROFESSOR STUART REES, DIRECTOR OF THE SYDNEY PEACE FOUNDATION, CHAIRED A PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE NEED FOR A GLOBAL RAPID REACTION CAPACITY THAT COULD RESPOND TO GENOCIDE AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN CRISES.

## Peace Operations Today

David Penklis, a PhD candidate at CPACS and former senior UN executive in peacekeeping operations, started by presenting a picture of the steps required to mount a UN peace operation, drawing on his recent experience with managing the setting up of the UN mission in Darfur (UNAMID) to vividly illustrate the challenges involved.



David Penklis

### ASSESSMENT AND PLANNING

The initial political assessment and agreement to act, technical field assessment and negotiation of a UN Security Council Resolution, are followed by a major operational planning, budgeting, force generation and procurement process involving the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), Department of Financial Services and Fifth Committee of the General Assembly. This entails interpreting the mandate requirements, tasks and objectives; and determining

appropriate force strength, composition and structure (including civilian/military mix); feasible deployment strategy; and resource requirements.

### THE CASE OF DARFUR

In the case of Darfur, it took three years from the ceasefire agreement of April 2004 to get the full support of the international community and Sudanese government consent for a UNSC resolution to establish a peacekeeping operation with sufficient military force to respond to the situation in Darfur, despite significant international media and NGO pressure and continuing atrocities. In July 2007 the UNSC established the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Assistance Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) and in October a UN budget of US\$1.5 billion was submitted. In February 2008 the UN General Assembly approved a budget of US\$1.3 billion, seven months after the UNSC resolution was passed.

### CAPACITIES TO RESPOND

States assess their capacities to respond in terms of funding as well as military, police and logistical commitments, and make pledges accordingly. The UN DPKO must then match these pledges with the desired composition and mandate imperatives, and manage the establishment and deployment of the mission, calling on states to fulfill their promises in terms of financial, personnel and equipment contributions. This involves signing of memoranda of understanding and identifying, training and deploying personnel, as well as establishing working arrangements with the host government, and ensuring the physical conditions and services including security, accommodation, offices, fuel, food, water, medical and building materials.

The logistical challenges can be overwhelming, as illustrated in the case

of Darfur where security concerns and the desert climate impeded the transport of equipment, supplies and personnel into the area. As of June 2008, a year after the UNSC resolution establishing the mission and four years since the ceasefire agreement, UNAMID had only 7818 military personnel in the field out of a total planned deployment of 18,453 military personnel.

### WILL AND RESOURCES

The nature and extent of national interest as well as an assessment of international support and the perceived risks involved, influence states in their willingness to commit resources to particular missions. In order to ensure the required resources and commitment, David argued that there must be a genuine international desire and support to resolve the conflict. Also imperative is a genuine commitment by the host government to support the mission and work towards peace. Combined with the local and international political will, the international capacity to mount the mission and respond to the conflict is also necessary. Finally, David emphasised that the terrain, infrastructure, logistical and other challenges should not be underestimated when establishing and deploying a UN mission.

## The Need for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service

As a response to some of these challenges in responding rapidly and effectively to humanitarian crises, a coalition of non-government organisations, Global Action to Prevent War (GAPW), World Federalist Movement and Nuclear Peace Foundation, has launched a campaign for the establishment of a UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS).

The idea of a standing permanent mission or rapid response capacity has existed since the founding of the UN.

**Kavitha Suthanthiraraj**, who is International Coordinator for the campaign with GAPW based in New York, further explained the need for such a rapid response capacity in terms of the delays in UN mission deployment. Over the past 15 years, the delay averaged 46 days until commencement and 13 months to fully deploy peacekeepers. Kavitha highlighted the large number of unnecessary deaths which occur as a result of these delays.



*Kavitha Suthanthiraraj addressing the conference*

#### THE VISION

As outlined by Kavitha, the UNEPS proposal envisages a standing permanent mission capacity to complement existing peace operations with 'first-in, first out' capabilities, available to deploy within 48-72 hours; based in a UN designated site with mobile field headquarters; and with 15,000 to 18,000 individually and independently recruited, gender integrated and professional trained and equipped personnel comprising civilian police, military personnel, humanitarian relief professionals and judicial experts. Embedded in the principles of Responsibility to Protect, UNEPS would provide a viable tool to implement the international

community's responsibility to prevent genocide and other crimes against humanity. The primary goal is to prevent such humanitarian crises from developing so that only in exceptional circumstances would rapid and effective intervention be necessary.

**Further information about UNEPS can be found at [www.globalactionpw.org/uneps](http://www.globalactionpw.org/uneps).**

#### THE SUPPORT

The UNEPS campaign, inspired by Sir Brian Urquhart, has received support from non-government organisations (NGOs) and parliamentarians in a number of countries. In Japan, the Upper House of Parliament adopted a bill proposed by the Democratic Party of Japan (DJP) in support of the UNEPS proposal, and in July 2008 the DJP outlined its Okinawa Vision offering Shimojishima airport as a stationing base for UNEPS. In the US, a UNEPS White Paper for the Albright/Cohen Genocide Prevention Taskforce has been launched, and 54 NGOs have written to Members of Congress urging them to co-sponsor House Resolution 213 calling for the US to 'use its voice, vote and influence at the United Nations to facilitate and support the creation of UNEPS'.

Kavitha indicated that campaigning was proceeding in consultation with UN DPKO and other key actors, taking into consideration the Stimson Center's police standing capacity initiative and the Quakers' Nonviolent Peace Force, and related developments in implementing responsibility to protect, peacekeeping reform, security sector reform and gender mainstreaming. In 2007 a public opinion survey found that 72% of Americans agreed that the UN should have a permanent peacekeeping capability.

Advocacy and research, conferences

and workshops canvassing the UNEPS proposal have been conducted in various countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America, with affiliate centres and partners in Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, Brazil, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Africa, Cameroon, Nigeria and Mozambique. Kavitha explained that an emphasis of this research is on vetting the UNEPS proposal in the Global South in order to ensure its credibility with those most likely to be the targets of interventions.

#### What the Region thinks of UNEPS

In Australia, **Annie Herro**, PhD candidate and principal researcher with the UNEPS Project based at CPACS, and Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, have been conducting research on attitudes towards the UNEPS proposal in the Southeast Asia-South Pacific region. In the first year of the three-year project, approximately 40 interviews were conducted, primarily in Australia and Indonesia, with politicians, military officers, senior government bureaucrats, academics, UN officials and civil society leaders. Annie analysed the interview data in terms of the respondents' sensitivity to global power dynamics and their attitudes towards the means of intervention, and as a result proposed a variation of the UNEPS proposal and identified the implications for UNEPS advocates.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARDS POWER

Annie divided the respondents into two ideological categories that appear to affect their perspectives on UNEPS. The first category comprises those who believe (or are conscious that others believe) that the world's inequalities are a major consideration affecting the viability and legitimacy of peace operations. This category included

mainly Indonesians and Malaysians across different professions but also included Australian, American and Austrian academics and military officials. The second category comprises those for whom this power imbalance is neither as severe as the former group believes, nor as urgent a concern for how international peace operations are conceptualized and implemented. They included mainly Australian DFAT officials and a couple of non-government organisations and academics.

#### A VARIATION OF UNEPS

In terms of means of intervention, respondents favoured a regional multidimensional approach incorporating police and other civilians, with military restricted to the security realm, following UN best practice and sensitive to the national, cultural, religious and political character of the 'intervened'. Annie also reported that respondents in the region suggested response to natural disasters as the first step to develop confidence in a regional rapid response capacity that would challenge notions of state sovereignty. She concluded that a spirit of cooperation and partnership would be needed to counter the perception of politically motivated interventions by a regional hegemon, and that UNEPS advocates would need to focus on developing culturally and regionally acceptable versions of the proposal without losing sight of the ultimate goal to develop a service to stop violence and protect civilians.

#### RESOLVING TENSIONS

Questions from the audience triggered discussion about existing rapid deployment capacity including equipment storage at Brindisi and a standby force in the Netherlands. In response to a question about UN Security Council deadlock in authorising rapid deployment, Kavitha mentioned the possibility of

empowering the UN Secretary-General to break the deadlock, or applying the UN General Assembly Uniting for Peace Resolution. David suggested that UN support for development of African Union capacity could go some way to answering the question of funding for regional interventions. The paradox was raised of GAPW operating within an abolition framework and advocating nonviolence, whilst at the same time contemplating a UNEPS with the capacity to use force. Annie suggested that this paradox was addressed at least partially by UNEPS' emphasis on prevention and the concurrent advocacy for a paradigm shift in military doctrine towards protection. The potential for developing and using non-lethal weapons technology was raised by CPACS Council member, Andrew Greig, but with some concerns being expressed by David about their appropriateness and effectiveness.

Stuart suggested that UNEPS advocates need to focus on dialogue and 'having tea' with DFAT officials who see nothing wrong with the current system. Kavitha made a final comment regarding the need to focus more on negotiation and prevention, rather than on peacekeeping being seen as intervention.

### Global Governance

#### A UN Parliamentary Assembly

**Associate Professor Chris Hamer, President of WCAA, spoke first on behalf of Vinay Orekondy, who is the campaign director for WCAA and a passionate advocate of the proposal for a UN Parliamentary Assembly. The Parliamentary Assembly would be an advisory body established as a subsidiary to the UN General Assembly, and would contribute significantly to alleviating the democratic deficit of the UN. Chris argued, however, that the UN is extremely weak, with the wrong structure, and that we should therefore**

**perhaps look towards other possibilities for global security.**

#### EXPANDING NATO'S ROLE

Chris suggested that NATO has the potential to become a worldwide security organisation, expanding beyond its current membership to encompass other democracies including Australia, and dealing with security problems such as climate change as well as traditional military security. He related this proposal to US Presidential candidate John McCain's recent speech advocating a 'League of Democracies', but Chris said he would prefer the term 'Community of Democracies'. He explained that NATO already has the North Atlantic Assembly with a parliamentary structure including advisory and review functions. This structure is much less rigid than the UN, according to Chris, but would need reforming to operate on qualified majority voting rather than on the current consensus decision-making which is becoming unwieldy with the increase in NATO membership to 26 states.

#### OBJECTIONS TO A COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES

A spirited discussion ensued after Chris's presentation, with John Langmore speaking in defence of the UN and arguing that any other organisation such as a League of Democracies would suffer the same political challenges to its effectiveness. Chris pointed to the example of Europe, where Winston Churchill's Council of Europe, a sort of mini-UN within Europe, went nowhere while Jean Monnet's European Coal and Steel Community developed into the present European Union.

Another member of the audience raised the issue of the UN's lack of legitimacy amongst non-Western countries, and asked how NATO or a League of

Democracies from the West could gain global acceptance and legitimacy. Chris answered that democracy would be a good value to start with in gaining such legitimacy. Another participant suggested using an alternative organisation such as the World Social Forum as the founding body because it would be perceived to encompass states from a variety of economic, social and cultural backgrounds. Chris responded that another starting point was certainly possible; however, he also pointed out that the European Coal and Steel Community might not have been thought at the time to have been a good base for the development of what became the European Union.

Some concern was expressed that perhaps NATO could be seen as polarising rather than community-building, and that a counter coalition might develop in response. Chris equated non-members' view of NATO as hegemonic with the continuation of great power dominance in the UN Security Council. He emphasised the importance of showing NATO as non-threatening and non-exclusive; that is, that military or peacekeeping operations outside the member states would only be undertaken under UN authorisation, and that new members would be welcome to join once they qualified as 'democratic'. Others speculated that a democratic UN Parliamentary Assembly could play a constructive role in the UN. Chris concluded by saying that he was a pessimist about whether anyone would take any notice of a UN Parliamentary Assembly, but also an optimist in suggesting that global cooperation would inevitably increase as people across the world are brought even closer together by technology and development.

For further information see  
[www.worldcitizens.org.au](http://www.worldcitizens.org.au) or contact  
 Chris at [c.hamer@unsw.edu.au](mailto:c.hamer@unsw.edu.au)

## The Rudd government and the public sphere

by Associate Professor Jake Lynch.  
 Published in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, August 23, 2008

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

So we're all now being given the chance to have our say. How should Australia spend its military budget, and for what purpose? How should we relate to the Association of South East Asian Nations? Key planks of foreign and defence policy are being opened up for public consultation, with Sydney hearing on the new Defence White Paper due on November 6th.

It might betoken a touching faith in the value of dialogue: our ability, as Australians – as human beings – to exchange firmly founded opinions and, in the process, fashion for ourselves a shared sense of what is right and appropriate. Academics call this idea 'the public sphere', and the German philosopher, Jurgen Habermas, who wrote about it, proposed that 'communicative rationality' was one of our innate human qualities. His notion of 'Lifeworld' took on real dimensions in the coffee shops of Enlightenment-era Europe, where our modern habit of weighing the evidence, and forming our opinions accordingly, was born.

According to Habermas, however, the story of modernity is of the 'structural transformation' of the public sphere, with increasing complexity and

specialisation as we erected vast, often impersonal 'systems' for addressing, forming and wielding public opinion. This was characterised, he said, by 'instrumental rationality' – pre-judging issues by creating and selectively presenting the evidence, in pursuit of 'egocentric calculations of utility'. This is why government officials, for instance, may approach their work and their responsibilities in all sincerity, trying to do what they believe is right – and yet find their scope circumscribed by the conventions and sheer inertia built into the system, a situation captured brilliantly in the ABC comedy series, *The Hollowmen*, set in the corridors of power in Canberra.

And there's more than a whiff of the system-lifeworld conundrum in the Defence hearings, chaired, as they are, by Stephen Loosley, who was recently appointed to the board of Thales Australia, making him, er, an arms dealer. The Government has, moreover, pre-judged one of the central issues by committing itself, in advance, to a three percent annual real-terms increase in military spending.

This is what former US President Eisenhower referred to as 'the military-industrial complex'. Countries face security threats, then take sensible precautions to arm themselves, in order to protect against those threats, right? Not always. System logic sometimes leads them to invent or exaggerate threats, in order to justify spending decisions they want to make – to reward companies whose campaign contributions put politicians into their Washington offices, say.

In the US, indeed, this has become plain silly, with the latest innovation – 'spiral development accounting' – exempting the multi-billion dollar missile defence program from having to show results, or even specify, at the outset, what results it is seeking to achieve. On a smaller scale, Australia's

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

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

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

At the same time, in Canberra, there's life in the 'lifeworld' yet. Michael Smith, the former deputy commander of the UN mission to East Timor, who then headed up Austcare, is now to take charge of the new Asia-Pacific Centre for Civil-Military Cooperation. The brainchild of Colonel Mike Kelly, the Parliamentary Secretary for Defence, its brief will be to 'streamline coordination between security, economic, emergency management, institution-building and non-government organisations to help avoid continuing instability and revolving-door military deployments'.

## Director's Notes

by Associate Professor Jake Lynch, Director of CPACS

A few highlights in point form:

- I, along with CPACS colleagues Wendy Lambourne, Annie Herro, Jaroslav Petrik and Annabel McGoldrick, attended the biennial conference of the International Peace Research Association in Belgium in July, between teaching two units of study in London as part of our Distance Learning Masters option. At the conference, I presented our bid to host the next IPRA, in 2010 – and won! So Sydney is now the next host city. Anyone who knows of any potential sponsors, let me know...!
- I spoke at the Point of Peace Summit in Stavanger, Norway, to an audience including several Nobel Peace Laureates. I shared a platform with Sir Bob Geldof, who launched The Peace Channel, a web-based platform for peace journalism. My presentation, and an interview recorded at the Summit, are both on

YouTube, and linked from the Peace Journalism page on the CPACS website.

- My new book, *Debates in Peace Journalism*, is about to be published by Sydney University Press. It will be launched at the Faculty of Arts Research Performance Day, on October 30.
- The special edition of *Global Change, Peace and Security* featuring papers from our conference back in February, 'What works – and what doesn't; new directions in conflict intervention', is about to come out. We'll have copies in the CPACS office.
- This year's edition of *Peace and Policy*, the annual refereed journal of the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research, is devoted to peace journalism, and features an article by me, and one by CPACS part-time lecturer Annabel McGoldrick. That, too, will be available through the CPACS office.

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

This is a mission the Australian people would unequivocally approve of, as Ministers would hear if they were really listening. The other long-prepared move, as Rudd took office, was to pull the Diggers back from the frontline in Iraq, of course, and public opinion has now turned against the continuing

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

## International Peace Operations Seminar 2008

by David Penklis

In July this year, David Penklis, a PhD student at the University of Sydney's

**Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies attended and participated, as the Centre's nominated representative, in the International Peace Operations Seminar (IPOS2008) hosted annually by the Australian Defence Force Peacekeeping Centre.**

The two week seminar brought together sixty selected participants from twelve countries representing Defence Forces, Government Departments, non-government organisations, foreign governments and the academic community. The purpose of the seminar, as outlined by the hosts, was to familiarise participants with factors that affect national participation in complex multidimensional United Nations and coalition peace support operations.

A broad range of presentations were delivered that covered topics such as conflict resolution, the United Nations structure, peacekeeping doctrine, civilian/military cooperation, commanding a peacekeeping mission, NGO perspectives, rules of engagement, role of the military, dimensions of disrupted states, mediation process, gender awareness, post conflict reconstruction, public information campaigns and the laws applicable to peace operations. Presenters included Dr Craig Stockings (University of NSW), Major General Mike Smith (recently appointed as Executive Director, Asia

Pacific Centre for Civil Military Cooperation), Dr Toney Murney (Australian Federal Police), Dr Edwina Thompson (World Vision), Dr Ludmilla Kwitko (AusAID), Dr Keith Suter (Wesley Mission) and others, including skilled and experienced military personnel. The presentations provided many insights into field operations and led to the active and rigorous exchange of experiences and views.

One clear theme that emerged throughout the seminar was the need to further develop the Australian military's operations and skills to adequately cover the full scope of complex peacekeeping and peace support operations. Some of the areas requiring further development included the need to: improve pre-deployment training of military and civilians; clearly define the full operational context and expected outcomes; develop tactics for engaging hostile factions while remaining impartial; create harmonious and constructive civil/military relationships; and ensure a united effort and cooperation with NGOs, communities and other security factions.

David's two presentations focussing on the field headquarter aspects of United Nations peacekeeping operations, as delivered on behalf of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies were extremely well received. The ADF

Peacekeeping Centre Director made special mention of David Penklis' contribution to the programme in his closing remarks and proposed similar participation in the 2009 seminar.

*David is a former Senior Executive with the United Nations. He recently returned to Australia and is currently pursuing doctoral studies, focusing on Burundi as a case study of UN peace operations.*

## UNORC Internship Aceh

by Violet Rish

**I have been living in Banda Aceh as an Intern for the United Nations Office of the Recovery Coordinator for Aceh and Nias (UNORC), for nearly a month. The monsoonal downpours are upon us. The Islamic fasting month of Ramadan has begun. But in our office, 'the container', ten interns from across the globe sit tapping away on their computers.**



CPACS Student Violet Rish in Aceh

UNORC's mandate is all about coordination. In the aftermath of the Tsunami, international aid flowed into Aceh. In an attempt to make this money work as hard as it could the UN set up UNORC. The Aceh office is the only one of its kind. It works alongside the Indonesian government organisations for post-tsunami and post-conflict rehabilitation, the BRR (*Badan*



*Rehabilitasi dan rekonstruksi* – the body for rehabilitation and reconstruction in post-tsunami Aceh and Nias) and BRA (*Badan Reintegrasi Aceh* – the body for post-conflict reintegration in Aceh) respectively. My days are spent working with the latter institution on issues of peace and conflict.

August 15th marked the 3rd anniversary of the Helsinki peace agreement between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement. On the night a peace concert was held in downtown Banda, with Acehnese singing sensation Rafli crooning his tunes of peace and faith to a packed out field.

The night was one of true celebration, a sentiment I have heard echo in the seminars and forums which I have attended. This may have been fuelled by anticipation regarding the general election next year, in which local Acehnese parties are likely to weep the floor, as they are being allowed to participate for the first time. However this jubilation of life in peacetime is a little deceiving and sweeps over lingering tensions within the society, especially outside the booming capital of Banda.

Perusing the newspapers over preceding months gives a far bleaker picture. Guns once used by the freedom movement are now being employed for petty and sometimes violent thievery. And even more pertinent, public sentiment towards their own security and safety is low and people still distrust the institutions that are there to bolster the peace process. In some cases this disillusionment stems from both financial neglect and a lack of inclusion in the peace process. A lack of communication about critical events such as the Memorandum of Understanding (the peace agreement signed between the government of Indonesia and the free Aceh movement, GAM - *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*) or negotiations over Aceh's resources reinforces this resentment. These issues of communication are some I wish to tackle in the coming months.

Although post-tsunami reconstruction has been the centrifugal point of humanitarian assistance in Aceh over the last four years, donors and the Indonesian government do recognise the importance of sustaining post-conflict efforts. For me, it feels like a privilege to be part of an overwhelmingly positive process, an antidote to the too often temporary nature of peace.

*For more information regarding internships with UNORC go to [www.unorc.or.id](http://www.unorc.or.id) and follow the links.*

## Remember Burma

**ON AUGUST 20 CPACS HOSTED REMEMBER BURMA, A SEMINAR FOCUSED ON THE HUMAN COST OF THE ONGOING CONFLICT IN BURMA AND WHAT WE AS INDIVIDUALS CAN DO TO HELP. AT OTHER SIMILAR PUBLIC EVENTS, SPEAKERS OFTEN TALK ABOUT LOBBYING GOVERNMENTS AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING CHANGE. AS A RESULT OF THE SEMINAR AND THE DISCUSSION IT PROVOKED, CPACS DID JUST THAT. BELOW IS, IN FULL, THE SUBMISSION SENT BY CPACS DIRECTOR JAKE LYNCH AND CPACS SUPPORTERS TO THE JOINT STANDING COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DEFENCE AND TRADE, PETITIONING THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TO IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS OF REFUGEES FROM BURMA.**

John Carter  
Secretary, Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee  
Joint Standing Committee on Foreign  
Affairs, Defence and Trade  
Parliament House, Canberra  
ACT 2600

August 21, 2008

**SUBMISSION TO THE INQUIRY ON AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONS WITH ASEAN**

Dear Mr Carter,

I write on behalf of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, at the University of Sydney, after consultations with the Thai Burma Border

Consortium. Main points of my submission:

- Australia can improve its relations with ASEAN by helping to improve the prospects for thousands of refugees from Burma, who have sought sanctuary along the border with Thailand.
- Australia can do this by using some of its aid budget to work in the border region with the Royal Thai Government to lift the level of services and opportunities available to Thais and Burmese alike.
- This will be part of a plan under which the Thai authorities can be induced to open the refugee camps supported by the TBBC, allowing refugees to find jobs and access local health and educational facilities.
- At the same time, the Australian government could join with other governments in advocating with the Royal Thai Government for proper screening mechanisms to be introduced, with UNHCR participation, to ensure that access to asylum is available for new arrivals fleeing conflict and systematic human rights abuses in Burma.
- These initiatives will alleviate the pressure on the refugee population and the donor community alike.
- They will also remove a potential long-term security threat from a population becoming embittered and showing increasing signs of stress.
- Such an initiative will help to make good on ASEAN's commitment to human rights, now formalised in the ASEAN Charter, while simultaneously respecting the ASEAN principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states.

### BACKGROUND

TBBC provides food and shelter for nine camps in remote areas of western

Thailand, which are home to some 140,000 refugees. In recent years, 30,000 have found new homes and opportunities in third countries, including Australia. However, this has had the effect of stripping out a generation of skilled, experienced workers, leaving the camp communities in trouble.

The Thai authorities do not allow refugees outside the camps. Instead, refugees run all services inside the camps themselves, including schools and clinics. The skills and experience of the now-departed workers are proving difficult, if not impossible to replace. The resettlement program has solved one problem – providing opportunities to people whose potential was being stunted by being stuck in a refugee camp – but it has created another.

The obvious answer is to allow the refugees to find work and use schools and health facilities in the host community. However, this would entail opening the camps, something the Thai authorities have, so far, refused to do. This prevents the refugees from attaining and enjoying their full human rights, in particular, from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

- Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile;
- Article 13 (1): Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State;
- Article 21 (2): Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country;
- And Article 22: Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

The Royal Government of Thailand has grown accustomed to receiving lectures from the international community on its obligations – and nothing has changed. It is worth noting, however, that Thailand agreed to the adoption of the ASEAN Charter in 2007 (even though it has yet to ratify it); a document which commits ASEAN to “protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms” (Article 1 (7)). This development does perhaps expand the scope for well-intentioned outsiders to help Thailand, in an ASEAN context, to improve its human rights record vis-à-vis the Burmese refugees.

Developments inside Burma mean the number of refugees will continue to grow. TBBC has documented the destruction of 3,077 villages since 1996 – cleared to make way for plantations or developments used to raise foreign currency by the regime to pay for its vast military. In the past ten years, the Burmese army has doubled its presence in border areas, intensifying the pressure on civilians, who are forced to endure slave labour, rape, torture and summary executions.

#### OPPORTUNITY FOR AUSTRALIA

The reality is that the border area is impoverished, even on the Thai side. Communities are adequately resourced, in terms of amenities and services, but not lavishly. It would be very difficult for the Thai authorities to make the case for extra provision, solely for Burmese refugees, in order to alleviate pressure on resources.

The opportunity for Australia, therefore, is to work with the Royal Thai Government to transcend the ‘tug-of-war’ formula familiar from so many debates – in so many countries – about providing for refugees and asylum seekers, where a gain for one is portrayed as a loss for the other. Australia could propose to use its aid budget to help lift the level of

development in the entire border area, by providing services accessible to Thais and Burmese alike, for instance:

- Educational facilities;
- Health facilities;
- Human development training and facilitation;
- Seed funding for small enterprise development.

This would improve Australia’s role in and relations with ASEAN, because the trans-border nature of this problem, and the ASEAN charter commitment to human rights, bring it into the ASEAN ‘basket’. If and when the ASEAN Human Rights body is set up, as provided for in Article 14 of the Charter, the plight of Burmese refugees will be high on its agenda.

The proposed initiative would help to sustain the safe haven for refugees fleeing persecution, violence and danger in Burma, as it would enable the existing camps to function as part of a wider community. And it would open further opportunities to forge cultural and trading links through ‘twinning’ initiatives with Australian communities, Fair Trade purchasing of goods made by refugees and suchlike initiatives.

*Jake Lynch, Director, CPACS*

And the following students, friends and supporters of CPACS:

Anna Jenko	Lyn Tuckett
Janell Mills	Chris Brown
Natalia Scurrah	Edwyn Shiell
Rebecca Hinchey	Jenny Brodie
David Brodie	Estelle Hinds
Naomi Potipa	Leona Kieran
Lee Chin Tan	Myint Cho
Grace Hari	Min Thet
Charlotte Long	Naing Zaw
Htoo Aung	Dr Kenneth Curry
Jacqueline Whelan	Saw Victor
Renee Walmsley	John Ball
Diane Brodie	Rosemarie Draper
Erin Nicholson	

## Twenty-twenty vision in the rear view mirror

Associate Professor Jake Lynch,  
Director of CPACS

2008 marks the 20th anniversary of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney. We've been honouring the hard work and achievements of those who built it, and preparing for exciting times ahead, with a stimulating program of events and publications. Some highlights:

- Our conference, What works – and what doesn't; new directions in conflict intervention, got us off to a great start on February 1st. Eminent scholars from home and abroad debated with senior practitioners from humanitarian aid and the military. A collection of the papers is about to appear in a special edition of the refereed journal, *Global Change, Peace and Security*. You'll be able to obtain a copy at the CPACS office, and make a donation to the Centre.
- We teamed up with the Sydney Peace Foundation, the City of Sydney and the International Peaceboat, then docked in Sydney Harbour, together with the Centre for Middle East Studies at Macquarie University, to offer a major public event, *Iraq Never Again*, marking the fifth anniversary of the invasion. And papers from that conference form part of the content for our anniversary book, of which, more details follow.
- 2008 also finds our academic reputation in fine fettle, with the recruitment of an additional full-time lecturer – a post presently filled by Dr Lynda Blanchard – and

record numbers of students in all our programs.

So this is by way of a 20th anniversary edition of *PeaceWrites*, and a big thankyou to all who've made this year such a success, and helped to bring waves of fresh energy, ideas and input to the Centre over its lifetime.

We've pieced together recollections in this special insert, providing a summary of some of the key developments in our history. Feel free to chip in with further memories and reflections, and perhaps we'll publish a selection in our next edition.



*A hanging in the Peace Gallery*



*CPACS longterm trusty building attendant, Tony O'Flynn*

### The book – *Ending War, Building Peace*

That's the working title for a commemorative volume to be edited by Dr Lynda Blanchard and Leah Chan. They write:

CPACS has experienced considerable changes and achieved much over the years. From the 'Posters for Peace Gallery' (recently refurbished) to its significant advocacy of social justice; from its innovative research projects to its reputable teaching program, the achievements are numerous. This 20th anniversary publication will aim to provide an overview of the history and achievements of CPACS at the University of Sydney.

The book will showcase the Centre's evolution and contributions through the voice of its founders, staff and students. The working title for this edited collection is *Ending War, Building Peace* and will comprise two parts: (I) Ending Violence, Encouraging Nonviolence and (II) Ending Authoritarianism, Entertaining Civility. It will address a central question: how does the peace studies perspective contribute to original thinking about the catastrophe of war? It will set out to (a) avoid social scientific-style neutrality; (b) include a range and variety of perspectives – from academics of different persuasions, to poets, to activists, to refugee mothers; (c) address media constructions of war; and, (d) suggest what peace settlements look like.

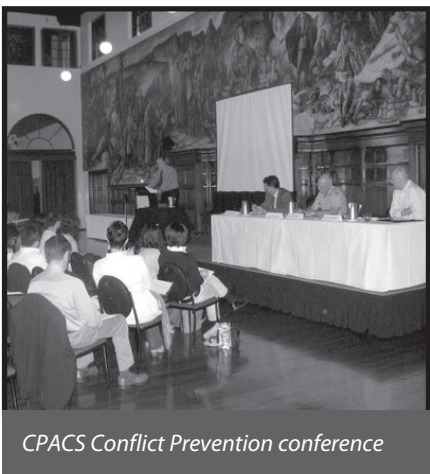
A selection of *Iraq Never Again* conference papers traverse this terrain and will become chapters, such as Richard Hil's 'Iraq – Five Years On and What Now?'; and Sandra Phelps' 'Spectacles of Honour: The World's Response to Du'a Khalil Aswad'. The book will also include chapters by Mary Lane, founder of SSCIPS, the staff-student campaign for the

introduction of Peace Studies; SPF Director Stuart Rees and CPACS Director Jake Lynch as well as a selection of advocacy papers with titles such as 'Bring on the Bricklayers without Borders'; 'Between Iraq and a Hard Place'; 'The Humiliations of Everyday Life' and 'Love Thy Neighbour'.

With the working title *Ending War, Building Peace*, we expect the book to attract the interest of the Centre's members, affiliates and peers, as well as past, present and future students. In addition, it should prove a valuable resource for anyone interested in the development of peace and conflict studies in Australia.



CPACS Director Associate Professor Jake Lynch and President Dr Ken Macnab



CPACS Conflict Prevention conference

## Twenty years of CPACS – collected memories

The idea for a peace and conflict studies centre came in response to students' protests that teaching at the University covered almost every subject except peace. The Centre was duly opened 16 May 1988 by the Defence Minister, Kim Beazley, with founding President, Dr Peter King, of the Department of Government and founding Director, Professor Stuart Rees, in the Department of Social Work and Social Policy. Its original line-up of Council members included students and staff from a variety of University Departments in the Faculties of Arts, Economics, Medicine and Science, and several members from outside the University including Stella Cornelius, the founder of the Conflict Resolution Network in Sydney.

### THE GENESIS

According to Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, the birth and early development of CPACS were beset by tension and controversy over ideals, politics and priorities. The Centre as it stands today began as a project undertaken by a group of social work students and their university tutor to address a major social issue. The group's interest in peace studies led them to definitions of peace and the distinctions between negative and positive peace, which influenced their desire to explore relationships of equality. Eventually, the need for some form of structure led to the creation of the Staff Student Committee for the Introduction to Peace Studies (SSCIPS), founded by Mary Lane. Those who dreamed of establishing a Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies valued the ideals of a bottom-up approach. This however, was at odds with the University's bureaucratic, top-down structure. After several drafts of a constitution, SSCIPS complied with the university's

insistence that the Centre's constitution match university requirements regarding formality and regulation.

The next challenge CPACS faced was the politics of creating a peace studies centre within the university, and gaining approval from the Vice-Chancellor, along with some basic resources. SSCIPS' strategy brought together ten academics from across the university to discuss the creation of the Centre with the Vice-Chancellor. Realising that 'peace studies' was not universally regarded as academically respectable, the ten academics agreed to emphasise the study of conflict and the word 'conflict' was added to the Centre's title. SSCIPS' political skills demonstrated clarity, credibility and the ability to make alliances. As a result, the Vice-Chancellor agreed to the creation of the Centre after just an hour's discussion.

### CPACS IN THE COMMUNITY

In the early years, social action projects included a campaign to defend policies of universal health insurance across Australia, campaigns against nuclear weapons and the possession of guns, and seminars to raise awareness about the war in Bosnia and the increasing prejudice in Australia against Serbs. Today, while community outreach and advocacy remains an important aspect of the Centre's work, equal focus is placed on its reputable research and teaching programs. The evolution of CPACS, as documented by Stuart Rees, may be broken down into four main stages:

1. Advocacy on social justice issues;
2. The writing and publication of books;
3. The creation of the Sydney Peace Prize;
4. The design of postgraduate courses in peace and conflict studies, the enrolment and teaching of students.

The Centre's first publication, *Deconstructing Deterrence*, was followed by books highlighting the destructive human costs of economic rationalism and managerialism, and advocating a new focus on human rights and corporate responsibility. Collaboration between academics from a variety of disciplines (including social work, chemistry, economics and international law) in producing these publications was an early hallmark of the interdisciplinary nature of peace and conflict studies. An Occasional Papers series started in 1994 has seen the publication of papers on topics as diverse as violence against women, the detention of asylum seekers, the gaps and shortcomings in NSW disability services and the international responsibility to protect. In 1998, the Centre's regular newsletter, *PeaceWrites*, was launched.



*Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees*

CPACS has also been responsible for creating and supporting projects and initiatives including the Sydney Peace Foundation, Conflict Solutions Australia, the West Papua Project and the Refugee Language Program. The United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) advocacy and research project is the most recent addition.

The Sydney Peace Foundation was established in 1998 as a CPACS initiative

to develop corporate sector and community understanding of peace with justice. Every year, SPF selects and awards the prestigious Sydney Peace Prize – Australia's only international peace prize. The Foundation provides funding for scholarships for CPACS students, particularly from developing countries, and recently created the Schools Peace Initiative to promote peace in school education and local communities.

Evolving from a Conflict Resolution Desk established in 2003, Conflict Solutions Australia is an arm of CPACS that runs conflict resolution, communication and mediation skills training workshops for students, members of the public and corporate clients. CPACS graduates and members associated with CSA are also engaged in consulting services and practice in conflict resolution, mediation, facilitation, counselling and restorative justice.

The West Papua Project seeks to promote peaceful dialogue between the people of West Papua and Indonesia, and to promote non violent conflict resolution as a viable alternative to the current and escalating conflict. Since its launch in 2000 the West Papua Project has become both a generator of ideas and a leading focus for discussion in the great debate about West Papua's future which has emerged in Australia, Papua, Indonesia and the global community.

The Refugee Language Program is a project under the auspices of CPACS and has been operating since September 2003. RLP runs writing classes for, and provides a range of services to, refugees and asylum seekers. Class teachers are volunteers and include university staff, students, alumni and local community members. Students in the Refugee Language Program are asylum seekers holding Temporary Protection Visas, the toughest and most excluding visas that the Government offers. They deny the holder access to Medicare, Centre Link allowances or adult education classes.

#### CPACS AT THE UNIVERSITY

In the beginning, the Centre was staffed exclusively by volunteers. The Centre's considerable record of achievement in its work for peace with justice was made possible, despite very limited funds, by the productive output derived from the hard work and commitment of unpaid staff, including the Director and President, other volunteers and students. As the Centre's scope of activities grew, staffing evolved to include a combination of full-time employees, part-timers and volunteers. CPACS gained its first part-time paid employee in 1996, and its first full-time lecturer in 2003. In 2007, Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees relinquished his position as Honorary Director and CPACS welcomed Associate Professor Jake Lynch as the Centre's first full-time paid Director.



*CPACS students at the end of semester dinner*

CPACS was first associated with the Department of Government (in the Faculty of Economics) and Department of Social Work and Social Policy (in the Faculty of Arts), later 'gaining independence' as a Centre within the Faculty of Arts. CPACS at first joined the School of Society, Culture and Performance, then switched to the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry. With the creation of the new School of Social and Political Sciences in 2008, CPACS relocated once again.

### RESEARCH AND TEACHING

Past and present research at CPACS reflects the Centre's commitment to keeping up and engaging with relevant community and international issues. Externally funded projects have in the past covered such topics as Aboriginal night patrols, nonviolent policing and the effects of racism on Lebanese youth in Western Sydney. With the addition of full-time academic staff and a thriving research student community, the Centre's research agenda has grown exponentially. Current areas of research include peace journalism; peace tourism; transitional justice and reconciliation after mass violence; the United Nations and peacebuilding; the responsibility to protect; multiculturalism and Islam in

Australia; the role of humiliation in collective violence; corporate responsibility and climate change, and women's empowerment in post-conflict Peru and East Timor.

The goal of the students who founded CPACS for a peace studies program at the University was finally realised when several postgraduate units of study were offered through the Department of Social Work and Social Policy in the late 1990s. After a few years these units were transferred to CPACS and the Centre's Masters coursework program in Peace and Conflict Studies was born. From modest beginnings in 2000 with five units of study and ten students, enrolment numbers and subject choices have steadily been on the rise. The number of postgraduate units developed by CPACS now totals 24, with a selection of up to 18 of these being offered each year. Class sizes regularly surpass 30 students and total enrolments this year exceed 500. Students come from a variety of disciplines and many countries, and graduates pursue careers in the United Nations, government departments, international and local non-government organisations.

In 2007 CPACS launched its first undergraduate unit of study, taught jointly with the Department of History.

Attracting more than 120 students in 2008, this senior unit explores the history and politics of war and peace from the Crusades to the War on Terrorism, and from the Peace of Westphalia to the United Nations.

The arrival of Associate Professor Jake Lynch as the Centre's new Director has furthered CPACS' drive to expand. The Centre's vision for growth is apparent in its continual development of new units of study and new modes of teaching. 2008 marks the first year of the Centre's Masters by Distance Learning program which features online units of study in conjunction with TRANSCEND Peace University and intensive courses offered at the University of London's School of African and Oriental Studies.

**As CPACS celebrates its milestone 20th anniversary and strives to move forward and expand its programs and influence, let us not forget its history and the values that inspired the spirit and character of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.**

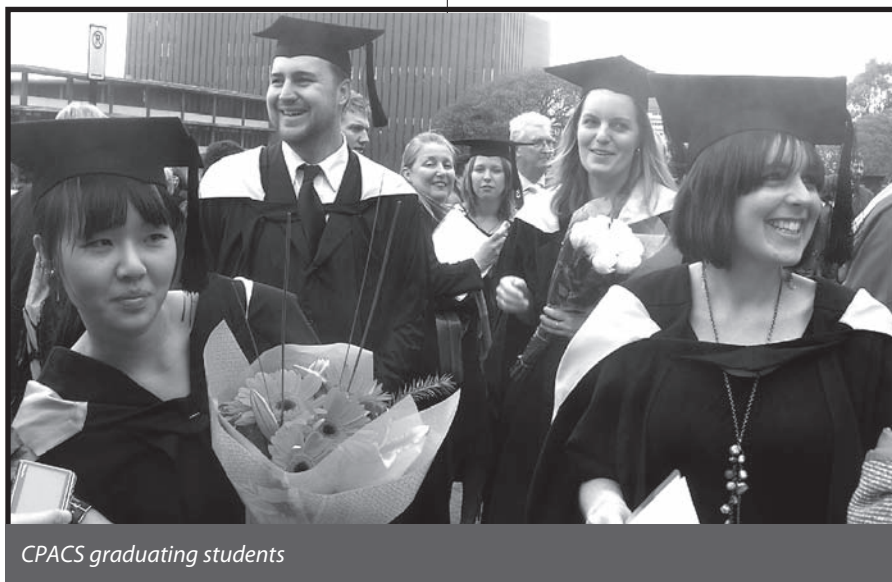
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CPACS graduating students

## Schools Peace Initiative

*from the Sydney Peace Foundation  
Bulletin, Issue 15, August 2008*

**AS A PART OF ITS GOAL TO ENCOURAGE CORPORATE LEADERSHIP TO FOSTER AND PROMOTE PEACE WITH JUSTICE, THE SYDNEY PEACE FOUNDATION SEEKS COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH BUSINESS PARTNERS AT LOCAL, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS.**

The *Schools Peace Initiative*, a key project of The Foundation, is therefore delighted to have a Principal Partner in Peace in *Nakheel*. Based in Dubai, *Nakheel* is particularly proud of its human-centred vision, which it sees as extending beyond Dubai and the United Arab Emirates to the rest of the world. As their corporate vision states:

*"We are taking corporate responsibility to a new level, in the way we look after our people, our customers and our environment. Nakheel is where vision inspires humanity."*

Thanks to the support of *Nakheel*, the Schools Peace Initiative (SPI) was able to employ a project officer, Trent Newman, from August 2008 – a new addition to the Sydney Peace Foundation team. This is a significant development for the Schools Peace Initiative, and the Foundation as a whole.

"Such corporate social responsibility from an international leader is exemplary," says Dr Lynda-Ann Blanchard, chair of the SPI Steering Committee. "As a Partner in Peace, *Nakheel's* generous sponsorship has enabled a project officer to be appointed and this is invaluable to the continuation of the project, which has been totally reliant on volunteer efforts for the past several years."

Director of the Sydney Peace Foundation, Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, has also commended *Nakheel's* support:

"This generous and visionary commitment by an international company encourages me to think that in policy terms young people's initiatives for peace may soon replace their elders' preoccupation with the means of fighting wars."

The core objective of the Schools Peace Initiative is to recognise and support the achievements of young people in promoting peace with justice in their local and international communities. The aim of the SPI online gallery, which constitutes a crucial first phase of the initiative, is not only to showcase peace projects operating in Australian schools, but also to inspire young people both nationally and internationally to promote peace and social justice in their own ways.

Trent comes to the Schools Peace Initiative after almost eight years of work and research in the field of peace education, most recently returning from two years graduate study at the University of California, Berkeley. In 2004-2005 he worked with teachers and students throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina to help implement cross-curricular education programs aimed at reuniting divided communities. Trent has also worked extensively with asylum seeker, refugee and immigrant youth in Australia and the United States in both school and non-school educational settings.

"Joining this project is like a dream come true for me in many ways," says Trent. "It is a core belief of mine that education is fundamental to any sustainable social change and that if we are serious about promoting peace with justice in our communities, we must find new ways to respond to the energy, insights, and ideas of an emerging generation of youth peace builders."

*The Sydney Peace Foundation was established in 1998 as an initiative of CPACS to develop corporate sector and community understanding of peace with justice. This year, SPF welcomes new staff member Trent Newman.*

## Teaching Human Rights in a War Zone

*by Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard*

THE HIGH MOUNTAINS AND FERTILE VALLEYS OF NORTHERN IRAQ ARE IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE TERRAIN OF THE REST OF THE COUNTRY. THIS AREA IS MOSTLY INHABITED BY KURDS AND IS HOME TO THE KURDISTAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT (KRG). ERBIL IS THE MAIN TOWN OF THE REGION AND HEADQUARTERS OF THE KRG. SITUATED ABOUT 100KM FROM BAGDAD, THIS ANCIENT TOWN IS DOMINATED BY A LARGE FORTRESS. THE MOUNTAINSIDE LITERALLY BUBBLES WITH OIL. THERE ARE ALSO LOTS OF CARPET SHOPS.



*Dr Sandra Phelps*

The University of Kurdistan is situated in Erbil and includes students from both southern and northern Iraq as well as international students. Dr Sandra Phelps – who left the University of Sydney a few years ago to become head of sociology and social policy at the University of Kurdistan – visited CPACS in August and shed light on her experiences of teaching and learning about human rights in a war zone.

“We have electricity for about four hours per day, there is no postal system, and you are searched every time you visit the local shop to buy a loaf of bread”, Dr Phelps reports. “At times, the university windows have been blown out of their frames. Yet, I love the teaching project I have undertaken. Education is especially important under such conditions and our students are particularly inspiring.”

Dr Phelps delivered a postgraduate seminar entitled “Spectacles of Honor: The World’s Response to Dua Khalil Aswad.” The paper critically examines responses by peace, human rights and UN organisations to gendered violence. The analysis suggests that it is not the language of nonviolence which underpins responses from such organisations. Indeed the construction of the civilized self in opposition to the barbaric other is left exposed.

“It would be wonderful for a student from Iraq to be offered an opportunity to study peace and conflict studies at CPACS – to study without gunfire, to have access to libraries and resources, to utilise the internet.” Says Dr Phelps. “However, it would also be a valuable learning experience for CPACS students to be afforded the opportunity to study in a war zone”.

We shall keep talking about the prospect of creating such opportunities for exchanges in teaching and learning.

## Keep Space for Peace

by Dr Hannah Middleton

**IN THE FIRST GULF WAR, THE US INITIATED THE USE OF SPACE SATELLITES TO DIRECT GUIDED MISSILES TO THEIR TARGETS. SINCE THEN, THE US MILITARY HAS GROWN INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT ON SATELLITE-DIRECTED MILITARY OPERATIONS, AND CONTINUES TO RESEARCH PUTTING WEAPONS IN SPACE. AS THE US MILITARISES SPACE, OTHER NATIONS ARE COMPELLED TO DO THE SAME.**

The Pentagon’s Space Command publication entitled “Vision for 2020” documents the plans for US spaced-based weapons and sophisticated satellite-directed systems to implement “full spectrum dominance;” to “capture and maintain the high ground;” to dominate any battlefield in order to “protect US interests and investments;” and to “deny” other nations the use of space.

Recently, we witnessed the signing of agreements between the US and the Czech Republic and Poland to put Star Wars facilities in those countries – one for deployment of radar bases; the other for “interceptor” missiles. In both countries, citizens opposed these deployments. The ink on the signatures was barely dry when reports emerged about the \$US4 billion dollar contracts that would be awarded to aerospace corporations to deploy these systems over the next few years. Cost overruns on space projects are so common that none can say what the actual costs will be. Since its inception, the US has spent at least \$US150 billion on Star Wars systems research and development.

Meanwhile, few believe the Bush administration’s claim that these systems are intended to protect Europe from a nuclear missile attack from Iran. Credible scientists and political analysts have disputed this pretext, identifying these US systems as offensive and aimed

at Russia. The US is moving towards “full spectrum dominance” but whose “interests and investments” will these deployments actually be protecting?

Since 1967, the UN Outer Space Treaty has provided the structure for international space law. Now, with the increased militarisation of space, an updated Treaty to Prevent an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS) is urgently needed.

The wake up call of global warming makes it clear that security can only be met by building an alternative energy infrastructure with decreased dependence on fossil fuels. The whole world will benefit when the US understands its collective resources need to be refocused away from Star Wars and military domination, and put toward developing the technology to tap the energies of the sun, wind, tides, and earth to survive the 21st Century.

In 1999, the UN General Assembly declared October 4–10 World Space Week to increase awareness of the “benefits of the peaceful uses of space sciences and technology for sustainable development.” Soon after, the Global Network Against Weapons in Space also began to organise events in early October, which it calls “Keep Space for Peace Week.” This space week, as citizens of the world, we need to demand unequivocally that the heavens be preserved for peaceful purposes.

## The Refugee Language Program

by Lesley Carnus

**THE REFUGEE LANGUAGE PROGRAM IS A PROJECT UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CENTRE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES, WHICH PROVIDES A DIVERSE RANGE OF SERVICES TO REFUGEES AND**

**ASYLUM SEEKERS. THESE INCLUDE ON-CAMPUS CLASSES, HOME TUTORING AND A REFERRAL SERVICE.**

The Refugee Language Program has started the second semester by adding a new class to our timetable. This month we began a small computer class where our students have one-to-one tutoring with a group of volunteers. This individual approach will enable the group to develop their skills at their own pace. As with our language classes, the needs of the students are disparate and warrant a more intensive yet flexible style of teaching. Rishi Shankar from ISU developed the manual we use for the computer class. Rishi has been volunteering with young refugees in the Auburn area. This semester we are continuing our Creative Writing class, which is working towards a small publication of poetry and prose, and also an Academic Writing class on Wednesday evenings.

This month, RLP staff and students were offered complimentary tickets to the play *Valley Song* by the South African playwright, Athol Fugard, at the Seymour Centre. The play was a very moving account of the changes

and losses involved when you choose to follow your dream. These issues of love, change and grief resonated with the staff and students who attended the performance.

With the change in Government, we have noticed the more generous attitude of the Department of Immigration towards Asylum Seekers. Some very long term refugees have just been granted residential status, others have had their work rights restored and several more have been asked to come in for a medical, which they interpret as an extremely positive step towards being granted permanency.

Last week a student came to the office to ask for my help. As a holder of a Bridging Visa, she and her husband had no right to attend any English courses at AMES or TAFE, no right to work nor use the Medicare system. Having just gained her status as a Permanent Resident, she was now eligible to attend the 510 hours of English tuition that accompanies her new status. One of the conditions of this right to language classes is that they must register for a course with AMES within 3 months.

This student explained that now that she and her husband could apply for Australian passports, they were anxious to return to their country to see relatives. Her mother and brother had died while she was in limbo here, and her husband's mother is old and frail. Her husband wants to go back as quickly as he can, before his mother too dies. This couple had been fighting to be granted refugee status for 10 years. She was afraid that if she didn't attend classes immediately and instead left the country, they would lose this right to language classes. She asked me to intercede with AMES and ask them not to take her hours away from her. I re-assured her that this would not happen but it was easy to understand why she was so fearful considering the inhumanity and injustice that she has so far endured with the Department of Immigration.

The Refugee Program is also pleased that several graduates and current students of CPACS courses have become involved as volunteers with the program. Steve McIntyre has been a regular volunteer for 6 months and also finds the time to visit refugees in the Villawood Detention Centre. Grace Hari is involved as an evening conversation leader and Harp Kalsi who works for the Hep C Council, tutors on the computer class. Fadia Sassine, whose Masters thesis was on Palestinian identity in a refugee camp in Lebanon, has just joined our program as a tutor. Scott McMiken, the son of our volunteer assistant, Merrilyn, works as a volunteer computer tutor with new CPACS staff member, Trent Newman, managing the class. The commitment of these young, caring adults really is impressive and staff and students of the Refugee Language Program appreciate and welcome their involvement.



*Refugee Language Program students*

# HUMAN RIGHTS

arts & film festival

## Voices Heard Through Art and Film

by Naomi Potipa, Film Coordinator

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ARTS AND FILM FESTIVAL (HRAFF) IS A NATIONAL NOT-FOR-PROFIT ORGANISATION ESTABLISHED IN 2007 BY A GROUP OF PASSIONATE VOLUNTEERS MADE UP OF YOUNG PROFESSIONALS FROM ACROSS A RANGE OF INDUSTRIES COMMITTED TO FOSTERING A STRONG HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA. HRAFF IS AUSTRALIA'S PREMIER CULTURAL EVENT DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE EXPLORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES THROUGH ART AND FILM. AT THE HEART OF THE FESTIVAL'S MISSION IS RAISING AWARENESS, BOTH OF THE RELEVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS DISCOURSE AND CHALLENGES FACING COMMUNITIES NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY.

The festival incorporates film, art, performance, speakers and community activities, which will entertain, challenge, inspire and educate audiences from all walks of life through a diverse array of creative responses to contemporary human rights issues. HRAFF has a wide industry and community support. Our patrons include the Hon. Justice Michael Kirby of the High Court; Philip Noyce, acclaimed director of films such as *Rabbit Proof Fence*; and Margaret Pomeranz from "At the Movies".

2008 NSW Festival Events include:

**Big Issue Arts Project – The Exhibition:** In celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Sydney HRAFF team and the Big Issue will together host a four week intensive workshop with Big Issue

vendors. The workshop is aimed at offering the vendors a unique opportunity to express themselves through the medium of photography. During the workshop, vendors will be asked to focus on the individual articles that comprise the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and interpret selected articles visually. This project will culminate in a free public art exhibition & NSW Festival launch from 11am to 4pm on Saturday 1 November 2008 at the TAP Gallery, 278 Palmer Street, Darlinghurst, Sydney. The exhibition will showcase over 20 photographs taken during the four week intensive workshop and will feature an opening by Sydney's Lord Mayor, Ms Clover Moore, a live performance by Fergus Brown and a community BBQ. The event will also be your first chance to see Sydney's official 2008 Festival program and to purchase early-bird Sydney festival tickets.

**Big Issue Fundraiser:** On November 12, HRAFF will join the Big Issue team to support their fundraiser, a screening of "Kickin' It" in Sydney (venue TBC, see HRAFF website for more details). This film documents the Homeless World Cup, an annual, international football tournament which unites teams of homeless people. The tournament aims to give participants the opportunity to represent their country and change their lives. The event attracts around 25,000 people who take part in training and trials around the world, with the top 500 players from 48 nations competing at the Homeless World Cup. The Homeless World Cup, established by social entrepreneur Mel Young, who launched the Big Issue magazine in 1993, supports and inspires grassroots projects around the world working with homeless and excluded people. Supporters include UEFA, Nike, UN, Manchester United, Real Madrid, Eric Cantona and international footballers Didier Drogba and Rio Ferdinand. The 2008 event will be hosted by The Big Issue Australia in

Melbourne with the support of the state government. We would encourage all to attend this event, with all profits going directly to Sydney's Big Issue.

**NSW Festival:** The NSW Human Rights Arts & Film Festival will take place from Thursday 4 December to Sunday 7 December 2008 at the Chauvel Cinema in Paddington. Highlights of this year's festival will include a selection of international and Australian films covering areas such as health, climate change, indigenous issues, poverty, homelessness and refugees. There will also be performances by the Sydney Street Choir and The Isabel Fire. Corrine Grant will host the opening night and Action Hubs by AIDWATCH, Amnesty International, the Edmund Rice Foundation and Oxfam/Make Poverty History will all be involved. There will be guest speakers including the Hon. Justice Michael Kirby, AC CMG, Paul Power, CEO of the Refugee Council of Australia, Ed Coper, Executive Director of Get Up and many more. Tickets range from \$12 to \$20 and will be on sale via the HRAFF website from November 2008 onwards.

2008 NSW Events (put them in your calendar!):

- **Saturday 1 November: Free Big Issue Project Exhibition/NSW Festival Launch** – 11am to 4pm, TAP Gallery, 278 Palmer Street, Darlinghurst, Sydney.
- **Wednesday, 12 November: Big Issue Fundraiser** – Screening of 'Kickin' It' at venue TBC (see HRAFF website for more details)
- **Thursday 4 December to Sunday 7 December: NSW Human Rights Arts & Film Festival**, Chauvel Cinema, Paddington. Tickets from \$12 to \$20 and can be purchased via the HRAFF website.

*For more information about the festival or on how you can support it, please check out our website [www.hraff.org.au](http://www.hraff.org.au).*

## Art diplomacy across the Timor Sea to Federal Parliament

by Bernadette Connole

**AT THE HEIGHT OF THE 2006 VIOLENCE IN TIMOR I WORKED ON A UNIQUE ART AND SHUTTER DIPLOMACY PROJECT USING ART AND PHOTOGRAPHY AS A TOOL FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION.**

I went with a translator, a bag of paintings and disposable cameras to the border town of Maliana - past the displacement camps of Comoro near the airport and the destruction of the burnt villages leading to Balibo. There were burnt out UN vehicles in the town. It was a town under siege during the battle between east and west factions.

The idea came out of a theme from Sydney Peace Foundation winner, Prime Minister Gusmao, who flagged this vision to the Great Hall at the University of Sydney in 2000. He told a packed house that "reconciliation requires greater political flexibility if we are to prevent wounds from continuing to fester and work on healing in an honest manner."

I worked with students from Maliana High School and the Catholic boarding school and asked them to look at good neighbours in their district. With cameras and paint brushes in hand they went into the street markets, the farms and nearby beaches to see the healing process unfold. At the time there was a power blackout in Maliana and the students worked at night by generator and candles to complete their projects.

It was through their eyes and their raw artistic talent that the healing took place. One of the art works by Edgar De Assis has now been accepted in Australian Federal Parliament as the first East Timorese art piece in the National Assembly. It shows the traditional house of Timor Leste with the backdrop of the sea and sunset. Other paintings are now also in the State Parliament, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the UN Office in Canberra.



Edgar De Assis' painting

In his address in Sydney, Xanana Gusmao spoke of the significance of the East Timorese traditional house: "Timor Lorosa'e, the sacred house of peace, which we are challenged to build as a new nation, needs four poles for its foundation." Edgar depicts these themes in his art work: the importance of the foundations of reconciliation and the need for peace and justice in this process.

When I returned to Darwin to look at the photographic proofs and assorted art work I knew something special had taken place in this isolated border town. It was through the eyes of the students that the healing took place in this emerging Democracy - this tiny island

with a population of less than 800,000. In Indonesian times art was not allowed and even today in Timorese schools art is considered indulgent. This pilot project was a practical way of letting the students work on peace building in their own communities.

*Bernadette Connole is a humanitarian worker and Council member of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. She worked for the UN as an electoral officer in 1999 and has worked in Timor Leste and South-East Asia on peace building projects.*

## Passion, peace and poetry

by Lynette Simons,  
PACS 6916 Passion, Peace and Poetry  
Unit of Study Coordinator

**TEACHING THE POSTGRADUATE UNIT PASSION PEACE AND POETRY AT CPACS HAS DEEPENED MY APPRECIATION OF THE WAYS IN WHICH POETRY CAN OPEN MINDS TO SEEING THE WORLD IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT. THE HIGH QUALITY OF STUDENTS' WRITTEN CONTRIBUTIONS TESTIFIES TO THE DISCOVERIES THEY HAVE MADE DURING THE COURSE OF THEIR STUDIES.**

I am taking the liberty of sharing with you - with their permission - some of the insights shared by two of the students - Elena Berrocal Capdevila and Aloysia Brooks - who attended the Winter School in 2008.

Elena Berrocal Capdevila's reflections convey the personal, interpersonal, communal and global impact poetry has across the continents and centuries.

She selected three poets in her anthology - Federico Garcia Lorca, Pablo Neruda and Roque Dalton on the basis of their contribution toward social justice.

She writes that their connection is not limited to the subject of peace and the recognition of truth ... “the three poets and their work have been important players in the crafting of my social conscience and identity. In choosing them I have also wanted to reflect the deep relationship that exists between Spain and Latin America, a relationship that is relevant to the pursuit of peace and that Neruda, particularly, has captured in some of his poems”.

When Capdevila was teaching at a university five years after the end of the civil war in El Salvador, she began working with former guerilla members “who were, slowly, re-entering civil society and were learning to use tools other than weapons to put their point across”.

“It is the closest”, Capdevila writes, “that I have ever been to the aftermath and horrors of war and it is an experience that today still informs the way in which I act and live my life. Roque Dalton’s words remind me of it and the people that I met in El Salvador, beginning a new life without violence.”

Her conclusion reflects the ways in which poetry can lead to activism. She writes that Dalton’s poetry is “angry and fierce, it can make my blood boil and urges me to do something about the injustices of the world”.

While Capdevila takes the reader back to the Spanish Civil War, Aloysia Brooks brings us to Australia in 2008, the year in which the Prime Minister Kevin Rudd formally apologised to the stolen generations. She refers to the work of poet Jack Davis which expresses “his confusion surrounding conflict in the white-fella society”:

#### A EULOGY FOR PEACE

*by an old Aboriginal*

“Why don’t white man sit down  
quiet by fire?

Not stand up and call other  
country-fella liar.

What white-fella want to talk about  
fight for?

Everybody have plenty, still  
want more.

He have big house, Money  
in pocket,

Yet he not satisfied:

Want to make bigger rocket ...”

*(in Stuart Rees, Passion for Peace: Exercising Power Creatively, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003, p. 105).*

Brooks describes poetry as “the tool by which our deepest emotions and thoughts can be expressed” and in doing so, makes a plea that people everywhere will learn to value the insights that poetry can provide. “Throughout time, poetry in all forms has been inspirational in opening the hearts of people to seek peace with justice. Poetry in all its forms, whether through art, music or theatre, has given many who are oppressed the voice to speak about their experiences which will in turn promote an understanding of conflict and peace.”

Brooks points out that the common discourse in today’s society is “centered around terror, war, chaos and misery” and that it is the poets who give the world an alternative way of expressing diverse points of view.

“Poetry can have a role in this by legitimizing people’s grievances and fears. Emotions are very powerful and utilizing words to express them brings about a cathartic experience. Hearing and acknowledging people’s feelings promotes respect towards each other, whether it is a mother and daughter in conflict or a domestic or international conflict.”

Brooks argues that a new level of consciousness would arise in the global community if the poetic voices of peace

could be communicated through the media and schools. “Poetry educates and promotes understanding and respect ...and provides a vision of a world which speaks the language of peace.”

In summary, Brooks and Capdevila have conveyed their own personal understanding of the powerful and persuasive role poetry can play in communicating insights and discoveries that lead to peacemaking.

## Relevance of poetry to understanding & resolving conflict

*by Elena Berrocal Capdevila*

**A DISCUSSION ABOUT THE RELEVANCE OF POETRY TO UNDERSTANDING AND RESOLVING CONFLICT REQUIRES, FIRST OF ALL, A REFERENCE TO THE MEANING OF PEACE WITH JUSTICE. PEACE WITH JUSTICE IMPLIES THE ABSENCE OF NOT ONLY PERSONAL BUT ALSO STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE. THAT IS, A SITUATION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN WHICH POWER AND RESOURCES ARE DISTRIBUTED IN AN EGALITARIAN MANNER. CONDITIONS OF THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS ARE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ELIMINATION OF ANY FORM OF DISCRIMINATION, POVERTY, REPRESSION OR EXPLOITATION.**

Poets have contributed to the achievement of these conditions in more ways than one. They have raised awareness and understanding of cultures and peoples, more often than not of marginalized or oppressed sections of society, and they have urged broader society to reflect on the extent to which social equality does or does not exist. In these cases, poetry has provided the ‘space’ for pondering society’s ability to function. Federico

Garcia Lorca's poems are an example of the kind of poetry that seeks to confront the national conscience with the discrimination of a cultural group.

The strength of poetry in this context is enhanced by the fact that poets have the license to genuinely bestow a voice to those who are voiceless, they can speak for the dispossessed and relay a credible message. In his poem *And the poets?* the Salvadorian poet Jaime Suarez Quemain explains the role that poets can have in this regard:

#### AND THE POETS?

Because in the end poets  
are peons  
only megaphones  
where the multitude hears  
their voice  
because they're not demagogues  
seated in power  
who speak in the name  
of the people,  
their voice garbled  
with distortion.  
It's the poets who speak  
for the people  
and each cry is collective  
and each blow is collective.

Poets have documented the atrocities and the human rights abuses committed in history, thus contributing to the acknowledgment and recognition of the wrongs of the past, the first step towards reconciliation. The poet Roque Dalton was particularly preoccupied with ensuring that his fellow Salvadorians were aware of their times gone by and wrote numerous poems chronicling what he thought were the essential, truthful facts of history. His views on this matter were captured in the first lines of the poem *Reflection*:

#### REFLECTION

The are no  
'mysteries of history'.  
There are falsifications  
of history  
the lies of those  
who write history.

Peace with justice cannot exist without first attaining everybody's human rights and poets have also been fundamental in educating others about the importance of respecting these rights. For example, in this fragment of her poem *Aboriginal Charter of Rights* the poet Oodgeroo Noonucaal writes the following plea and presents a vision of a future with peace

#### ABORIGINAL CHARTER OF RIGHTS

Give us welcome, not aversion,  
Give us choice, not cold coercion,  
Status, not discrimination,  
Human Rights, not segregation.

While the above elements can characterize art forms other than poetry, in my view what makes poetry stand out from other ways in which to pursue social justice is the power of its imagery and its potential to generate a response in people from all walks of life, present or future. Poetry speaks, directly or indirectly, to people's hearts and hence is available to all sorts of people regardless of their background, education or commitment to peace. Its potential is colossal. Furthermore, since poetry does not have an expiry date attached to it, its relevance can transcend time and space. The Nicaraguan poet Ernesto Cardenal captures this quality of poetry in the following poem:

#### OUR POEMS CANNOT BE PUBLISHED

Our poems cannot be published  
yet.  
They pass from hand to hand,  
in manuscript  
or cyclostyled. A day will  
come, however,  
when the name of the dictator  
they attack  
will be forgotten,  
and they will still be read.

(Epigram XXXV)

In addition, poets can trigger the imagination and the creativity of the recipients of their poetry to an extent that possibly no other discipline is able to achieve. This resonates with what Brand-Jacobsen and Jacobsen called the need for imagination and creativity when addressing security threats. These authors argue that 'war and security threats occur when we lack the creativity and imagination to think of alternatives'. Poetry is a source of inspiration that can assist in the resolution of what is called *adaptive challenges*. An adaptive challenge is a particular problem that cannot be solved through the application of current technological know-how or routine behaviours such as, for example, a conflict between people or between nation states. I believe that poetry, because of the imagery that it evokes and the multiple dimensions that it can take, is able to have a uniquely significant impact in producing new and creative responses to a particular conflict or situation. Stuart Rees reflects on this idea when he states that 'poets conjure a multi-dimensional picture of what is and what ought to be'.

I would like finally to refer to the relationship between poetry and humour in the search for peace. Humour is an effective way of diffusing tension and bringing people together, as we tend to trust people that we

laugh with. Moreover though, the use of humour in a particular conflict can help move the focus from a situation of pain and grief to a position of hope and future. The following poem by Roque Dalton is a great example of how humour and irony can be used in poetry to denounce violence and war.

#### THE WARRIOR'S REST

The dead are more insolent than ever.  
It used to be easy: we gave them a starched collar, placed their names on an honor roll: the length and breadth of our land the illustrious shades of yesteryear the monstrous statue. The cadaver signed on memory's dotted line joined the rank and file once more and marched to the beat of our wornout music. but what are you gonna do, the dead just ain't what they used to be. These days they get ironic, they ask questions. Seems to me they're starting to figure out that they're a growing majority.

I would like to finish with the acknowledgement that not all poets are concerned with achieving peace with justice, nor is this goal exclusive to poets. However, for the reasons mentioned herein I believe that poetry can play an important role in the quest for peace and I would like to draw on it in my future undertakings in conflict resolution.

#### SOURCES

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J. Galtung, 'Violence and Peace', in P. Smoker, P., R. Davies, and B. Munske, (eds), *A Reader in Peace Studies*. London: Pergamon Press 1990, pp.9-14.

J.P. Lederach, 'Civil society and Reconciliation', in C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson and P. All (eds) *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing Conflict*. Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press 2001, pp. 841-854.

S. Rees, *Can Poets Change the World?*, Local-Global, Volume 3, 2007. pp. 33-40.

## War Caused by Suppressed Sex, Peace by Inspiration from Poets

Stuart Rees reviews R. S. White's

### Pacifism and English Literature, Minstrels of Peace

London & New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2008 pp. 299

**A TREND IN TERTIARY EDUCATION IS TO LAUNCH SHORT COURSES SO THAT STUDENTS MUST STUDY IN A FEW DAYS WHAT USED TO TAKE MONTHS. A TREND IN PEACE STUDIES ENCOURAGES DISTINCTIONS ABOUT SUBJECT MATTER – AS BETWEEN VERSIONS OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION – WHICH ENCOURAGE A PREMATURE DIVERSION INTO ABSTRACT SPECIALISMS.**

A brilliant book by a lifelong pacifist and Professor of English underlines the unfortunate consequences of these trends. It is inconceivable that students in a condensed course could begin to digest this book's challenging content. The book contains material so central to the study of peace that I also hope that it will be regarded as core curriculum material. A modest tasting of Bob White's work should make the point.

The book's ten chapters provide a detailed history of the cruelties of warfare and of protest against those cruelties. They contain a concise account of attitudes of the world's major religions towards war and peace, a debunking of just war theories and, with the help of poets such as Denise Levertov, an expose of the inhumanities of aerial bombing. In a reference to Anna Akhmatova's sad, poetic account of her months long wait outside a Leningrad prison to see her husband, White comments that in such times of evil doing, 'poetry becomes a surviving memorial, a social conscience.'

His objective is to identify 'a poetry which is obliquely against war while being fundamentally a poetry for peace.' He fulfils this task by an intellectual radar sweep through literature which is inherently pacifist in its cry of outrage against the violations of human rights and human dignity. His search for the pacifist dimension allows him to range from Confucius' insistence that there can be no hint of a possibility of a just form of killing to a reminder of the significance of Thoreau's thesis on Civil Disobedience: 'the legitimacy of conscientious objection and active resistance to government policies which are morally objectionable.'

If only politicians, public servants, judges and opinion writers would heed the poets' message, they would learn

that illustrations from the past have direct pertinence to the present. Erasmus' seminal work, *In Praise Of Folly*, teaches that peace was a positive and autonomous virtue not just an alternative to war. A succession of poets, novelists and philosophers condemn the dangerous stupidity of militarism. In 1894 in *Arms And The Man*, George Bernard Shaw debunked heroism and the glorification of soldiers. In his letters to Sigmund Freud, Einstein dismissed the man who joyfully marches in rank and file 'as somebody who has been given a large brain by mistake and is a disgrace to civilization.'

As befits a leading Shakespeare scholar, perhaps the most intriguing chapter concerns *Pacifist Voices in Shakespeare*. As though he might have been hearing the voices of surviving citizens of Iraq, White reminds us that the citizens of Elizabethan England were also fed up with perpetual conflict, yet felt condemned to tolerate more of the same. In Henry IV Part II we are reminded that conscripts were innocent cannon fodder. Coriolanus contains a prophetic, Eisenhower-like warning against the military machine and the arms industry which, says White, owes allegiance to no particular country but only to its logic of profiteering from war.

A chapter on *Romantic Peace and War*, shows the potential for republics to achieve the ideals of perpetual peace. It sounds like a contemporary appeal for a downplaying of national sovereignty in the interests of energetic support of the UN. White quotes Rousseau's social contract argument that international and inter religious unions would remove the main causes of wars of conquest and aggression.

I am tempted to say that this book holds many of the answers to questions which pepper courses in social

development, international relations and peace studies. In a recent Sydney address, the law correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald* Richard Ackland wondered why so much aggressive, anti civil liberties behaviour is exhibited by lawyers, policemen, politicians and journalists. One answer to his question concerns the continuation over centuries of men's lazy, top down fascination with violence as a way to swagger and impress. But in Bob White's judgement, poets, film makers and other artists give more searching answers to this question. Shelley condemned heartless monarchs who liked to maintain their control by sending men to war and certain death. Blake anticipated Freud when he argued that war was the result of suppressed sex. 'I must rush off to war, for the Virgin has frowned again and refused.'

The title of this book may make prospective readers assume that this volume may not be central to postgraduate studies of peace. Yet this is a Pandora's box of riches. Ruminations over any one chapter could bolster each reader's humanity. The thesis that violence persists because the pro peace poets and novelists have not been read widely and because the pacifist voice has been marginalized, merits careful scrutiny.

If readers want to be inspired by the beauty and elegance of the greatest poets, philosophers and novelists of the past 500 years, they'll find that inspiration in Bob White's encyclopaedic work. We could all benefit from opportunities to take time in studying this book and to ponder the life enhancing implications of poets and other writers' insights; and this work only refers to English Literature. Across other countries and cultures, sit other rich sources ready to give similar inspiration.

## Review of Invisible Balance of Power, by Sajjad Shaukat

*Ferozsons Press, Lahore, 2005*

by Jake Lynch

ONE NIGHT IN MID-SEPTEMBER, TWO CHINOOK HELICOPTERS CARRYING US TROOPS LANDED ON THE AFGHAN SIDE OF THE BORDER WITH PAKISTAN. NEWS AGENCIES REPORT THAT WHEN THE AMERICANS MOVED TO CROSS IT, PAKISTANI TROOPS OPENED FIRE. PAKISTAN HAS BEEN CALLED 'THE NEW FRONTLINE IN THE WAR ON TERRORISM', AND THE OPENNESS WITH WHICH CROSS-BORDER INCURSIONS ARE NOW TAKING PLACE, FOLLOWING AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ISSUED BY PRESIDENT GEORGE W BUSH, IS NEW. BUT, ACCORDING TO AN IMPORTANT BOOK BY NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST SAJJAD SHAUKAT, THE CONTOURS OF THE UNDERLYING CONFLICT ARE LONG-ESTABLISHED, AND, WITHOUT A RADICAL CHANGE OF DIRECTION, THE PROBLEM WILL GET WORSE, NOT BETTER.

Shaukat proposes a variant on the realist theory of the 'balance of power' – now resting, he argues, between the armed might of the Pentagon – and its franchised outlets such as Pakistan's own military – and, on the other hand, "Islamic radicals" who offer increasingly potent resistance to the US, a formation he characterises as "state terrorism" versus "group terrorism".

The present US plans for escalation in Pakistan envisage the use of air power, including the powerful C-130 helicopters and unmanned drones, but they are ranged against, not a conventional enemy but one dispersed throughout a society, where militants who have converged on places like the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of

Pakistan have married into local families and are now waging, in their own eyes, a people's war.

Hence Shaukat's (and others') characterisation of the calculus of US military operations as "state terrorism". It's not that civilian casualties will be the likely accidental result, as they pursue prime targets (still with a dream that the head of Ayman al Zawahiri or even Osama bin Laden himself will be delivered on a plate in time to boost John McCain's chances for the White House). Rather that such killings are the inevitable and unavoidable consequence of the decisions that have now been taken. Manslaughter, perhaps, rather than murder, but culpable nonetheless. And counter-productive: "the more aggressively

American forces conduct military operations against Muslim radicals, the more suicide attacks in response are likely to occur", Shaukat points out.

The author marshals a wealth of facts and examples to support the by now familiar argument that "massive superiority" in military technology, communication, tactics and training is rendered irrelevant by armed conflicts of the kind the US is encountering in Afghanistan, now Pakistan and – albeit there is a relatively quiet period at the moment – Iraq.

Where the book is most obviously lacking is in any rigorous explanation for how the sense of, as Shaukat puts it, "inconvenience and discomfort" transmits itself into violent resistance and connects with the fears and

grievances of everyday life for millions of people in US target countries. Still less does he consider any authentic non-violent responses to the "injustices in the world that take origin from the privileged and the unprivileged status quo", which he identifies as "the root cause" of the conflict.

Still, events since the book first came out three years ago (it has just reached Australia) have done nothing to refute its central thesis. It is an interesting read (and now placed in the CPACS Peggy Craddock Resource Centre) as a perspective from a country on the receiving end of attacks now increasing in intensity and suffering political traumas and upheavals of its own.

## Darwish & Solzhenitsyn Are Dead

Mahmoud Darwish the poet for  
identity,  
for the subtlety of words to be  
inscribed without loss of blood,  
who has given a gift to eternity,  
whose sentences will stay  
unfinished,  
is dead.

Even when surrounded by  
oppressors,  
even when the oppressors  
insisted that no-one  
should be entitled to survive the  
chronic condition of hope,  
this believer without religion  
suffered the disease  
and kept it alive.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn who  
painted slave labour,  
offered liberation for other times  
and other places,  
whose imagination of what  
we need to avoid  
was carried by the disbelief in  
his revelations,  
is dead.

His pencil broke the gulag fences  
and when the soup was thin and  
the ice thick  
the pictures in his pages became  
the blood to warm his fingers  
before glasnost and perestroika  
said that exile should be his home.

The one was privately optimistic  
in spite of the violence,  
the other reclusive in spite of the  
garlands showered upon him.  
They both supported the sky,  
held the moon in their hands,  
showed how waves of freedom  
would reach the land  
and might breathe this epitaph  
on everyone's shore.

*Stuart Rees  
August 13th 2008*