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Comprehending West Papua: A Report on the CPAS Conference in Sydney and Surrounding Events

by Cammi Webb-Gannon

“WE ARE MELANESIAN, NOT INDONESIAN!” AND “FREE FILIP KARMA!” CHANTED A GROUP OF WEST PAPUANS FROM AROUND AUSTRALIA - SOME REFUGEES, SOME STUDYING IN AUSTRALIA ON SCHOLARSHIPS - WHO HAD GATHERED IN FRONT OF THE INDONESIAN EMBASSY IN MAROUBRA, SYDNEY, ON FEBRUARY 22, 2011. THIS DEMONSTRATION URGING INDONESIA TO FREE WEST PAPUAN POLITICAL PRISONERS KICKED OFF A WEEK OF EVENTS IN SYDNEY BRINGING TOGETHER ACADEMICS AND OTHER ADVOCATES TO FOCUS ON THE STATUS OF WEST PAPUAN HUMAN RIGHTS.

Later that evening, a cocktail reception hosted by the West Papua Project at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS), University of Sydney, followed by a dinner for conference participants, marked a merry beginning to a serious conference on *Comprehending West Papua* (February 23-24, 2011), the sixth in a series of conferences on the topic held by CPACS over a decade.

The conference was opened the following day by Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees and a performance group from the West Papuan community in Melbourne, both of whom graced the conference, respectively, with West Papua-centred revolutionary poetry and songs of inspiration. Around 80 people attended the conference, with presenters from The Netherlands, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand and Vanuatu. Interstate presenters came from Victoria and the ACT. A number of papers were also presented *in absentia* while one presenter, currently based in Florida, addressed the conference via video link.

The conference received good media coverage prompting an op-ed in the Sydney

Morning Herald by Hamish McDonald (<http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/politics/a-worm-inside-the-new->); several ABC radio interviews <http://www.abc.net.au/ra/asiapac/stories/m1965274.asx>; a New Matilda article (<http://newmatilda.com/2011/03/03/does-westpapua-have-publicity-problemINTERVIEW>), and coverage by Radio New Zealand International and SBS.

West Papuan political positions were represented by Rex Rumakiek and Otto Ondawame from the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation, Jacob Rumbiak and Herman Wainggai from the West Papua National Authority, and Franzalbert Joku and Nick Messet from IGSSARPRI (the Independent Group Supporting the Special Autonomous Region of Papua within the Republic of Indonesia). Passions ran high as discussions on the different political positions (essentially support for independence or integration) predictably emerged with so much at stake for all, but a respectful atmosphere reigned and peaceful dialogue between parties transpired.



Jacob Rumbiak and John Ondowame

Conference paper highlights covered new interpretations of self-determination, from Akihisa Matsuno, in light of the concept of legitimate sovereignty -rather than decolonization- that guided the independence successes of East Timor, Kosovo and (soon to be) South Sudan;

a presentation by Nick Chesterfield on the opportunities afforded for West Papua by new social media currently carrying revolutions in the Arab world; a spectacular analysis of the Australian Museum's Sentani bark cloth art production by Yvonne Carrillo-Huffman; the outlaying of precise political goals for achieving independence and for post-independence governance by Jacob Rumbiak; and an astute reappraisal of the anti-Act of Free Choice campaigns that took place in West Papua in the 1960s by Dutch historian Pieter Drooglever. The entire collection of papers will be gathered into a book to be published later this year.

The conference closed with the launch of a beautiful short film titled *Mambefor Dance* directed by West Papuan Melanie Kapisa, showcasing two young children learning West Papuan dance from imitating bird of paradise rituals. Dr Jude Philp from the Macleay Museum also generously showed conference participants around the University of Sydney's West Papua collection donated in the 1970s and housed at Fisher Library. Finally, conference participants signed an open letter initiated by Human Rights Watch to Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, requesting that the prohibitive restrictions on access to West Papua be lifted for researchers, NGOs and foreign media.



Andreas Harseno & Yvonne Carrillo-Huffman, Paper Presenters at the 'Comprehending West Papua'

Also that week, Indonesian Solidarity launched a campaign to free West Papuan political prisoners at the Amnesty International offices in Sydney. The

launch was addressed by Human Rights Watch's Andreas Harseno with a powerful presentation documenting Filip Karma's imprisonment, and John Dowd, QC, President of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), Australia. The week closed on Saturday 26 February with the annual national meeting of the Australia West Papua Association at which campaign decisions to support West Papuan self-determination for 2011-2012 were made, together with West Papuan advisers and members Rex Rumakiek, Jacob Rumbiak, and Otto Ondawame.

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Using Violence in the Name of Peace

by Wendy Lambourne

THE RECENT INTERVENTIONS IN LIBYA AND COTE D'IVOIRE HIGHLIGHT ONE OF THE MOST PROFOUND DILEMMAS FACED BY PEACE SCHOLARS: WHEN, IF EVER, IS THE USE OF FORCE JUSTIFIED TO PROTECT CIVILIANS?

The vexed question of the morality and legality of humanitarian intervention has engaged philosophers and religious, legal and political scholars for centuries, ever since the concept of just war was conceived as a political compromise by the new pacifist Christian religion. Most recently, the contested doctrine of humanitarian intervention has gained strength in the guise of the new norm of responsibility to protect (R2P). Proposed by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in 2001 and endorsed by the UN General Assembly in 2005, the R2P suggested that if states were unable to protect their citizens from atrocity crimes, then the international community had a responsibility to protect them through, as a last resort, military intervention.

When Colonel Gaddafi responded with force towards civilians who were joining the wave of democratisation protests in North Africa and the Middle East, the UN responded with unusual resolve. Bolstered by the Arab League's statements of support, UN Security Council Resolution 1973 authorised the use of all necessary measures to protect civilians and to enforce a 'no fly zone'. In relation to Cote d'Ivoire, the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, instructed UN peacekeepers, supported by French troops, to use all necessary measures to defend themselves and protect civilians. In taking such swift action, the UN and key member states, including the US and EU members, appear to have been motivated by the desire to avoid the stigma of another failure to prevent mass atrocities along the lines of another Bosnia, Rwanda or Darfur.

Credible reports of mass atrocity crimes have accused both sides in the Cote d'Ivoire conflict, and in Libya the situation has been referred to the International Criminal Court for investigation. In both cases, the UN has been morally and politically judged for taking sides, which begs the question of whether it is ever possible to use force and remain impartial. At the same time, the UN has been criticised for failing to intervene in other situations of mass human rights abuses of equal or greater magnitude.

The UN should not remain neutral in the face of mass human rights violations wherever they occur, but how can it prevent or suppress such atrocities in a timely and effective manner without the use of force? And how can this use of force ever be anything but selective in the face of limited resources and political priorities? Pacifists following a Gandhian philosophical tradition argue that the use of force can never be consistent with the attainment of peace. So how do we as peace scholars – and the UN as the preeminent institution charged with maintaining the peace – resolve this dilemma?

Morally, we can argue that the protection of civilians trumps the maintenance of

negative peace in the face of mass atrocities (just cause). Legally, the use of force is permissible when authorised by the UNSC under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (right authority). Such interventions are provided with legitimacy, over and above legality, when a majority of states (and especially regional neighbours of the country subject to intervention) in addition to the UNSC support them. However, their legitimacy is questioned when the UN and its member states are seen to be biased or partial in their application of the use of force.

We are left with the practical or pragmatic considerations of whether such use of force is likely to be effective in saving more lives than it destroys (proportionality and reasonable prospects), and whether the political motivations are judged as consistent with the ethical humanitarian imperative (right intention). The decision to use force is also legitimately questioned when efforts to peacefully resolve the conflict are sidelined or undermined (last resort).

It is these practical and political questions which affect responses and judgements of the use of force to protect civilians in Libya and Cote d'Ivoire. Has the UN's use of force in Libya aided or hindered calls for a ceasefire and a peaceful settlement? Can the intervention be judged as effective in the face of civilian casualties?

The use of force is a dangerous and ineffective mechanism for resolving conflict. In the end, it is only through addressing the root causes of conflict that sustainable peace can be built. The use of force only treats the symptoms – the direct violence. In the short run, the first priority should always be the peaceful settlement of disputes, as outlined in Chapter VI of the UN Charter. Only *in extremis* can the use of force be justified, such as in Rwanda in April 1994. Somewhat ironically, after failing to authorise the use of force to stop the Rwandan genocide, the UNSC is now authorising the use of force in much less extreme situations.

There is no clear right or wrong answer: we and the policy decision-makers have imperfect knowledge – not only of the precise dangers on the ground, and the motivations of conflict parties and stakeholders, but also of the likely impact of the use of force on political negotiations and the ultimate goals of peace with justice. While it may be argued that the use of force to protect civilians from mass atrocity crimes may sometimes be legitimate and necessary, we should never underestimate the potential for the use of force to further divide enemies, prolong conflict and harm civilians, as well as to protect them. In judging such interventions, the lessons of history as they continue to play out in the Middle East and Africa, as elsewhere, suggest that we would do well to consider Gandhi's admonition: 'I object to violence because when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary; the evil it does is permanent'.

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'The Revolution of Frustrated Wills'

by Neven Bondokji

THE 'ARAB STREET' HAS LONG BEEN CRITICIZED FOR ITS SUBMISSION TO INCOMPETENT AND DICTATORIAL MEN WHO HAVE RULED ARAB COUNTRIES FOR DECADES. THE SHEER NAME OF THE EGYPTIAN MOVEMENT KIFAYAH (ENOUGH) CAPTURES THE SENSE OF FRUSTRATION. THE ARAB THOUGHT FORUM INTRODUCED THE NAME 'THE REVOLUTION OF FRUSTRATED WILLS', WHICH ALSO CAPTURES TWO TYPES OF FRUSTRATED WILLS THAT EXPLAIN THE SENTIMENTS BEHIND PROTESTS IN THE ARAB WORLD.

Arab men and women took to the streets seeking dignity and better livelihoods. It was a response to humiliation that provided the spark for this revolution.

Power Play

by Daryn Graham

*School teacher writing on the board,
Teaching kids about yet another war
And telling them about past cultures
of war to admire.*

*No wonder Jesus knew he was
going to die.*

*What war is really in national interest,
Representing the views of all?
How can I sleep soundly,
While all around the world great
cities fall?*

*Who says a whole war's worth or hate,
Is smiled on by a loving God?
Why are Abraham's children fighting?
No, he hasn't given anyone the nod!*

*How can they possibly call their
actions defensive,
When their fight is on the other side
of the world?*

*How can they stop killing with
more killing?*

Any reason for a take-over to unfold.

*Armed politicians jostling for pride
of place,
With propaganda then coup d'etat.
Why, I ask, all this power-play?
It's the peaceful ones who really know
where they're at.*

*Yet, if this poem were my song
it would sound happy,
Because I'm hoping for a little peace.
Since while war is always just so tragic,
It's their end that's bright for you
and me.*

*The money and the gun.
See the damage done.
Tell me again please,
Before the pain of this history lesson
ends me,
Who won?*

*A: Just another someone who also
suppressed their love.*

*Daryn Graham is completing his
MA in Ancient World Studies and is
a former history teacher.*

A woman bureaucrat slapped the Tunisian street vendor Bouazizi. His subsequent self-immolation was in protest not only to the insult but to the overall mode of governance that subjected citizens to marginalization and oppression. Fellow Tunisians took to the streets; they went home only after the Tunisian president left the country! Likewise, the Arab sense of humiliation reflects years of economic exploitation, political fragmentation, and preferential access to jobs and education. In a moment that passed unnoticed by commentators, an Egyptian man responded to a foreign interviewer, "Why am I always crushed with a shoe?!" The sentiment might be lost in translation, but it signifies deep disrespect for the self and others for submission to incompetent and authoritarian governance.

In addition to corruption in varying degrees in Arab countries, lack of economic planning that serves the national interest has worsened unemployment figures which stand between 11%-30%. If we add to that the fact that Arab societies are young with 60% of the population below 25 years of age, the frustration of the unemployed masses cannot be missed out. Equally important is lack of interest in spending years of education, knowing beforehand that one could end up unemployed for at least five years. It has been years of unchallenged perusal of World Bank and IMF schemes that lead Arab governments to privatise assets, without sound economic planning on how the accumulated foreign debt is to be repaid. The government of Jordan, for example, responds to the problem by imposing ever increasing taxes, to a point when a Jordanian held a sign during March protests saying 'a citizen for sale!' IMF schemes encouraged joint projects where cheap labour is to be 'imported' from Asia, meanwhile pushing thousands of locals to unemployment. There is no provision in the Arab countries for unemployment benefit like in Australia. Therefore, their options become crime, prostitution, or joining the religiously 'zealous'.

A few comments about this regional revolution

• On Western intervention and intentions

Many have welcomed Western intervention to protect civilians as a step that has prevented a potential genocide. Yet the history between Arabs and the West, like the colonial heritage in North Africa and the recent history in Iraq, presents a degree of unease about the intentions of NATO operations in Libya. If politics is indeed about relationships as former diplomat, Harold Saunders, proposes, then trust in this context is challenged by implications of oil and military imports. With no clear direction on how the conflict is going in Libya, it was quite shocking when the media reported on 29 March 2011 that oil refineries in eastern Libya are to resume oil exports. One might speculate which companies are to be contracted in the rich Libyan oil business; a context that parallels that of Iraq. On another level, and I'm grateful here for my friend Chakra Rao who pointed this out to me, it is suspected that the new Libyan government will be compelled to make, or pursue in gratitude, military purchases from European governments to rebuild the Libyan air force: a step that will boost European economies in the aftermath of the global financial crises. France and Spain have been major military equipment and ammunition providers to Libya in the past; and both countries are actively involved in the current mission! This is yet another point to raise on Western military adventures and military support for dictatorial regimes coming from my Arab perspective.

• On the scarecrow of Arab regimes

It is no shock that falling Arab leaders have been warning of the rise of al-Qaeda if they leave office. The underlying argument is: a corrupt leader is better than al-Qaeda! There is no doubt that al-Qaeda is the worst form of governance to replace dictators. But this scarecrow shakes the West, which has been supportive of dictatorial regimes that

ensured a faithful service to their interests in the region. The US\$3.5 million per day paid by the US to support the Egyptian military is one example. A rise of al-Qaeda would not only threaten Western interests in the region, but place direct threat on Arabs and Westerners alike. But this argument does not resonate with Arabs, who have experienced first hand how their leaders manipulated the 'War on Terror' to limit civil liberties and to proceed with torture and detention of any possible political dissent. One main demand by Jordanian protesters, for instance, is to dissolve the Central Intelligence Directorate.

• On the media and the Muslim Brotherhood

Unlike Arab dictators, Western media did not buy the al-Qaeda argument, but like them it uses the Muslim Brotherhood as its scarecrow. Pieces of analysis on Australian TV and Time magazine, for example, referred to the 'radical' MB who might rise in power. Reporters failed to note that in Egypt, for instance, the protests were organized by four groups, and one of them was the MB. This gives the MB credit for others' activism and marginalizes secular voices. The protests in Egypt were not ideological. Furthermore, by using the label 'radical', the media fails to clarify that the MB has renounced violence, and that the MB everywhere in Arab countries can hardly be labelled as extremist or radical. In fact, the MB is criticised for its limited proactive policies. It is perceived to have confined itself to opposing governmental policies without providing substantive alternatives.

• On humour and nonviolence

The most remarkable achievement of the revolution has been the wide adoption of nonviolent tactics. Organizers of protests excelled in disseminating knowledge on nonviolent methods and in containing provocation. Protesters in Egypt were instructed to carry flowers for soldiers. Following the Egyptian lead in humour, Arabs carried slogans that are funny but straight to the point.



Leave! The woman needs to give birth, and the baby does not want to see you!

© al-Ahram Daily

One Egyptian protester held a sign addressing Mubarak: “Leave because I miss my wife. P.S. I got married 2 weeks back!” In Libya, people organized an exhibition of paintings and caricatures that ridiculed Qadafi’s threats. Jokes, funny videos and comic short films have all been rampant on *youtube* and *facebook*. These have provided young teenagers with an innovative and humorous sense of what is happening. Years of ‘reformed’ educational curriculum that has shamelessly abandoned poetry and prose on Arab unity, have uprooted Arab children from the sense of unity that older Arabs share. Comic input through social networking sites has compensated for the loss of that much needed sense of unity.



A man addressing Mubarak. “Wrap it up! I need a hair cut!” © al-Ahram Daily

• On women’s activism

As an Arab woman I’m most thrilled that the revolution has shattered decades of stereotypes about us. While observers have previously confined themselves to ‘the orientalist gaze’ and argued about oppression and submission of Arab women for cultural or religious reasons, Arab women took to the streets calling for

good governance. For Arab women, the nationalist takes precedence over the gender debate.



Women protesters in Jordan © al-Ahram Daily

Arab women have historically supported national movements side by side with men; but many have argued that the nationalist should eclipse gender-related demands. As suggested by two Arab novelists I met a couple of years ago, once we win over colonial and neo-colonial powers and our corrupt leaders, then we will turn to the gender debate.

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Women and Fundamentalism in Islam and Catholicism: A Book Review

by Peter Maher

Women and Fundamentalism in Islam and Catholicism: Negotiating Modernity in a Globalized World, Patricia Madigan. (Religions and Discourse Series, Volume 53), Oxford: Peter Lang Publishers, 2011.

MADIGAN ANALYSES THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM OVER THE LAST 100 YEARS BY ADDRESSING THE WAY ANCIENT TEXTS, WHEN TAKEN OUT OF THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT, CAN BE MANIPULATIVE IN PRESENT TIMES AND CULTURES. AN UNCRITICAL APPLICATION OF TEXTS AND SYMBOLS CAN SUPPORT

OPPRESSIVE, REGRESSIVE AND/OR VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR AMONGST ADHERENTS OF THOSE RELIGIONS. SHE REFERS TO THE FUNDAMENTALISM PROJECT, A MULTI-VOLUME ANALYSIS OF THE RISE OF FUNDAMENTALISM EDITED BY MARTY AND SCOTT, BUT NOTES ITS LIMITS IN TERMS OF PROVIDING A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON THE RISE OF FUNDAMENTALISM IN CATHOLICISM. LOOKING MORE CLOSELY AT FUNDAMENTALISM IN MODERN TIMES, MADIGAN SETS TO UNDERSTAND THE SHAPE AND DYNAMICS OF MODERN FUNDAMENTALISM AND ITS EFFECTS ON WOMEN.

The main argument in this gendered analysis of the dynamics of fundamentalism in Islam and Catholicism is that fundamentalism serves the interest of patriarchy. The ruling elites, whether in the Muslim world or the West, create a space where fundamentalism flourishes, either purposefully or as a ‘happy’ consequence, because it serves their power interests.

Madigan claims patriarchy is at the heart of the rise of fundamentalism in the new globalized world. She carefully tracks a historical review of this phenomenon, citing extensively Muslim and Christian scholars. Texts on Islam include Tariq Ramadan’s *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*; Helen Hardacre’s *The Impact of Fundamentalisms on Women, the Family and Interpersonal Relations*; and Beverley Milton-Edwards’ *Islamic Fundamentalism since 1945*. Christian scholars include Mary Daly’s *The Church and the Second Sex*; Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza’s *In Memory of Her*; and Hans Kung’s *Women in Christianity*. Peter Hebblethwaite’s volumes on Pope John XXIII *Pope of the Council* and Pope Paul VI *The First Modern Pope* provide insights into the way centralisation of power took place in the Catholic church in the second half of the 20th century.

Madigan uses these sources to draw a picture of how modern religious fundamentalism supports male elite power bases. Madigan argues that a

major factor is controlling women's sexuality. Both in Islam and Catholicism, it serves the ruling male elite to cast women only in a motherly and home-making role. Thus, women become objects or commodities in the economic, social and political world of a patriarchal structure. Women appear in the discourse as non-persons or at best as persons without a right to be actors in shaping the world. For example, Madigan explores the way women are spoken about in Vatican documents in the 1960s and 1970s. Pope Paul VI in *Populorum Progressio* (1967) spelt out men's aspirations as "continually striving to exercise greater responsibility, to do more, to learn and to have more so that they might increase their personal worth" while women are couched in terms of the "equal but different" or complementarity of natures theme, with its implicit subordination of women" (Madigan: 124). Women are seen in their roles in relation to men rather than for their "personal worth".

To justify the exclusion of women from decision making in the socio-economic world, the ruling elite construct from ancient religious formulae gender roles that continue this oppression and with God's backing, so to speak. Madigan shows that this often happens through a poor critical/historical exegesis of the traditional texts. Madigan cites the Muslim scholar Tariq Ramadan who argues that it is "methodologically incorrect to confuse an Islamic principle a *posteriori* with the way it has been expressed in a given culture ... He finds the continuance of practices such as parents justifying unequal treatment of the sons and daughters, women's exclusion from some mosques, and fast tracking marriages that leave women abused and deceived, without security or rights, ... disturbing" (Madigan: 73). There are many examples of Islamic and Christian scholars who hold an alternative view about the same ancient texts showing how fundamentalist readings are hiding power interests. The reading of texts from earlier historical contexts about the

roles and status of women need to be read with a new hermeneutic to take account of the significant cultural, historical and political shifts in our time. Madigan includes examples of this from economic and political contexts. She argues that these areas of human activity are deeply entrenched in patriarchy.

Why do women seem to be complicit in their own oppression? One interesting aspect of this book is a revealing insight into this question. Muslim women, for example, are wearing veils at a much greater rate than 100 years ago. Madigan points out that where fundamentalism and nationalism are brought together to ward off the poverty and shame of many, particularly the poor, in Muslim societies, women are trying to protect their families in a climate of fear perpetuated by disadvantage and held in place by violence or the threat of violence. In many of these countries women constitute a large pool of cheap labour. To protect the family and its essential income, woman may choose to comply rather than risk a harsher life. For example, the veil can be presented as a touchstone for religious orthodoxy reminding women of their proud religious tradition, while failing to address the conditions of labour. Another perspective on the complexities of the symbol of the veil in modern times is explored by Madigan (193). She cites Leila Ahmed (1992) who argues that the Western argument that the veil is a sign of women's oppression serves to trap "the struggle for women's rights in a struggle over culture ... [and can become] a means of resistance to Western domination", and thus serve to continue the debate in terms set by the colonisers. This is an example of how complex the attaching of meaning to ancient texts and symbolics can be and how power elites can use them in their interests.

Madigan also explores the causes and beneficiaries behind these oppressive practices. Colonialism, which has often brought down proud self-actuating societies in the Muslim world, has been replaced by neo-colonialism in the form of economic exploitation. The arrogance

and greed of the West has created a rich soil for Islamic fundamentalism to grow as the ruling elites in those countries maintain their power at the expense of women and other men. Religious fundamentalism claims to offer a hope to reclaim social and economic standing by casting women and other men as those who must give themselves for a "holy cause". Madigan raises the question of how this supports better outcomes for women. While it may support religious pride, it can distract from the task of forwarding women's human and economic rights.

The chapter on the dynamics of fundamentalism in Catholicism goes to the centre of the power structure of the church – the Vatican. In a detailed study of the papacy over the last 100 years and the popes' personal histories and philosophies, Madigan clearly identifies a mainstream of fundamentalist readings of ancient texts that marginalise and de-humanise women in the Catholic church. The failure to embrace the great wealth of catholic scholarship in historical, contextual and critical readings of biblical and ancient texts abound. Madigan notes that Pope Paul VI took no notice of the Pontifical Biblical Commission's finding that there is no biblical reason to exclude the possibility of women priests, when he issued a declaration which ruled out women's ordination in the Catholic church (Madigan: 125-6). Her analysis gives us an insight into why this has happened as the patriarchal power structure of the church became centralised under the popes. It explores the popes' personal fears of failure and internal political pressure that have contributed to a use of fundamentalist readings of ancient texts, which has continued the exclusion of women from Vatican power structures. Madigan has a detailed and revealing look at the language in Vatican social justice teaching which consistently confines women to domestic roles while continuing to use the term "men" when describing human rights and personal autonomy.

Madigan argues that in some Islamic states and in Catholicism the ruling male

elites maintain their power and control through the subjugation of women who become commodities in the service of economic interests in a globalized economy. This book can greatly assist those interested in understanding the rise of fundamentalism in modernity because it offers a more complex analysis of its causes and the reasons it exists. The feminist analysis explores how women continue to be subjugated in the service of ruling male elites and sometimes in the guise of religious fundamentalism. Madigan argues, however, that it is not a case of an ancient problem reappearing again. This time it is deeply rooted in the modern globalized economy and its power interests.

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Hopes, Fears and Progress at the Refugee Language Program

by Lesley Carnus

THE REFUGEE LANGUAGE PROGRAM HAS JUST RECEIVED CONFIRMATION FROM THE VICE-CHANCELLOR THAT THE PROGRAM WILL BE FUNDED AGAIN IN 2011! STUDENTS AND STAFF ARE VERY PLEASED THAT THE UNIVERSITY CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THIS WORTHWHILE PROJECT. THIS SUPPORT HAS COME AT A TIME WHEN REFUGEE AND ASYLUM SEEKERS' RIGHTS, OR LACK THEREOF, HAVE FEATURED IN THE NEWS ON A DAILY BASIS.

News of riots and suicides, loaded boats heading through the waters to reach a safe haven, funerals and tragic tales of men, women and children dying on the rocks of an island prison; news of politicians without compassion who would deny a child the right to attend his parents' funeral; and news of 'leaders' who want to send these same asylum seekers to theatres of war, to danger, suppression and oppression.

In 2010, several of our students were deported, one with a son and grandchildren in Sydney. Awaiting the final decision from the Minister for Immigration is a family from China, parents with three children. The youngest was born in Australia and the mother, Linda, is pregnant with twins. Friends, staff from their child's school, RLP volunteers, refugee advocates, and treating doctors have all written letters of support to the Minister for this family. The Minister has **not** intervened in **any** case since he was appointed to the portfolio.

Another of our students, Carlos from Togo, has received his order to leave the country. He has exhausted all legal avenues to claim asylum. Carlos is a young

man of tremendous good character; we featured his plight in *PeaceWrites* October 2009. Despite over 40 letters of reference to the Minister, Carlos' claim was rejected and he must leave Australia of his own volition or be deported. His supporters are trying to organize for a visa to Samoa for him as he is in too much danger to return to his own country.

Thankfully, there have also been some success stories for our students in 2010. These included chances of getting a visa, of a good life free from harm, keeping our students strong through their time of endless waiting. M from Sri Lanka, for example, gained a PR visa and brought in a cake to our first class of 2011 to celebrate his good fortune and to thank the staff for their contribution to his success. S from Burma also received his PR and continues to come to Saturday classes. Whenever I write about Permanent Residency visas, I am always tempted to use the word won. To many of us working in the field of refugee rights, the chance that an asylum seeker will get a visa seems very much like a lottery, more based on good luck, than evidence.



Our classes in the Refugee Language Program help in many ways to combat the social dislocation and to provide an educational opportunity for those who have a right to almost nothing, except the air they breathe. Our teachers and tutors all bring warmth and compassion to this group of highly disadvantaged people. In 2011, we continue to provide an Academic Writing class on Wednesdays plus Creative Writing, Intermediate and Computer Classes on Saturdays. Below is a photo of the Saturday Intermediate class with one of their teacher, Karen Garlan.

Refugees from seven countries are represented in this photo and the levels in the class are as diverse as the nationalities. Yet, the two co-teachers Karen and Carmen Terceiro manage the group's language, cultural and social needs with skill, good humour and caring.



Karen Garlan with students in the Intermediate class

Writer, Anna Dell'oso and filmmaker, Lesley Seebold-Freedman, co-teach the Creative Writing class, while Carol Lee teaches the Wednesday Academic Writing class. These three teachers also bring with them the same warmth, tolerance and expertise as their colleagues. Ray and Helen Corcoran, who teach computer and conversation classes also face the similar challenges and rewards of working with such a disparate but most appreciative group of students. In addition to the seven teachers of our classes, we have a team of volunteers who assist with conversation and computer skills on Saturday. The Refugee Language Program is lucky to have volunteers of such a high calibre. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all our generous volunteers, our mentors here at CPACS and the University for their continued support.

To donate to the Refugee Language Program, please contact Lesley Carnus at lesley.carnus@sydney.edu.au



Lesley Seebold-Freedman with Creative Writing Class

News Goo and BDS

by Jake Lynch

CONFIRMATION OF THE APPALLING NARROWNESS OF THE "MAINSTREAM" IN AUSTRALIAN MEDIA AND POLITICAL DISCOURSES CAME WITH A DISGRACEFUL ATTACK IN MURDOCH'S AUSTRALIAN NEWSPAPER, ON THE ALLEGED "EXTREMISM" OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AUSTRALIAN GREENS - SENATOR-ELECT LEE RHIANNON AND MARRICKVILLE MAYOR, FIONA BYRNE - OVER THEIR SUPPORT FOR BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT AND SANCTIONS (BDS), THE NON-VIOLENT CAMPAIGN OF RESISTANCE TO ISRAEL'S SERIAL BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

It's notable that of all the vitriol-soaked articles the paper ran, over two full days just after the NSW State Election, the word, "occupation" did not once crop up. The unquestioning pro-Israel position of most politicians here is only tenable as long as the basic illegality and injustice, that underpin the Israel-Palestine conflict, remain hidden. There is no attempt in the media or by most politicians to explain why it can be argued that Israel's actions, in bullying Palestinians out of territory everyone else regards as rightfully theirs, is the main problem. Or that the purpose of BDS is to highlight this injustice.

In some places, determined efforts by campaigners, academics and others have influenced news coverage for the better. In the UK, for instance, the BBC Governors responded to community concerns by launching their own investigation, finding the corporation's portrayal of the conflict to be "caught in a 'straitjacket' of balance" – and therefore constrained from conveying the essential *imbalance*, between an occupying power, in control of events, and an occupied people whose lives were being controlled.

A recent major survey by the *Middle East Monitor* found that, compared

with a decade or so ago, citizens of the UK and six other European countries were much more knowledgeable about Israel's illegal military occupation of Palestinian territory, and much less likely to accept Israeli policies as a result.

Here in Australia, this shift is being actively resisted by attaching the label 'extremist' to those who wish to expose aspects of the situation usually hidden from public view, and to take their own action of resistance. "Extremist" is not a scholarly word: it is pejorative and, by definition, relative. It cannot tell us anything about the intrinsic merits of the arguments so labelled. Distinguished extremists from history include Galileo, Thomas Paine, Shakespeare and even Christ.

In response to the woeful state of media reporting, on this and many other issues, I've returned to my former role as a television presenter, teaming up with the New Matilda website to produce *News Goo*, an occasional video program looking at news and current affairs; what they cover; what they miss out, and why. We bring to bear, on recent stories, the critical peace journalism approach that also underpins a popular CPACS unit of study: our Conflict-resolving Media course (which has run every year since 2000).

Episode 1 led with a report on the Town Hall rally to show support for the investigative journalism of Wikileaks, organised by the Sydney Peace Foundation with support from Amnesty International. Film-maker John Pilger, and Julian Burnside QC, who spoke at the event, both appeared in interview.

We then looked at a report on the ABC's 7.30 program about defence spending, which – as usual – left unaddressed the substantive question of whether Australia actually needs to be spending so much on its military. That figure is now as high as \$32 billion a year, according to Dr Hannah Middleton, of the Australian Anti-Bases Coalition, who joined me in the studio.

And we analysed the launch episode of 6PM with George Negus, on Channel 10, which promised to offer a new and different take on world events, for an early evening audience... only to open with a soft question to the Prime Minister, and a report on the “threat” of Palestinian suicide bombers from the Gaza Strip, which rehashed some of the same tired clichés that dominate so much coverage of the conflict. At least, in this, the occupation was mentioned, but that’s all – no means for viewers to make sense of it, appreciate its significance or its centrality in the conflict. We discussed all that with the journalist and author, Antony Loewenstein.

Plans for Episode 2 are in the air at the time of writing so look out for it at www.newmatilda.com

Happy viewing!

Associate Professor Jake Lynch is Director of CPACS.

Anti-Media Law Threatens Freedom in Malawi

by Bonaventure Mkandawire

IN FEBRUARY 2011, THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED IT WOULD SLICE HALF OF ITS BUDGETARY SUPPORT TO MALAWI IN PROTEST AGAINST MALAWI’S HARDENING OF ANTI-MEDIA LAW. THIS IS NOT SURPRISING CONSIDERING HABITUAL THREATS BY PRESIDENT DR BINGU WA MUTHARIKA TO BAN PRIVATE MEDIA, RESULTING IN THE PASSING OF AN AMENDMENT BY THE PARLIAMENT TO SECTION 46 OF THE PENAL CODE. THE AMENDED SECTION OF CHAPTER 7:01 OF THE LAWS OF MALAWI AUTHORIZES THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION TO BAN MEDIA PUBLICATIONS.

Chapter IV of the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi of 1994 provides for the right to freedom of expression and

opinion, through any media. One would expect legislators to represent the wishes of the people by rejecting the amendment which negates rights granted in the Constitution. In reaction to the amendment, a number of newspapers, civil society organizations and faith-based groups have condemned the amendment as a threat to media freedom, human rights, good governance, and, by extension, democracy. Indeed, the Malawi Human Rights Commission (MHRC), the Media Council of Malawi (MCM), and the National Media Institute of Southern Africa (NAMISA) have challenged the amended law in court. They want the High Court of Malawi to declare Section 46 (1) of the Penal Code unconstitutional because it is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution on freedom of expression (section 35); freedom of the press (section 36) and the right to access to information (section 37). Before the proposed amendment was approved, the section only prohibited importation of seditious publications.

Section 36 of the Malawi Constitution stipulates that “the press shall have the right to report and publish freely, within Malawi and abroad, and to be accorded the fullest possible facilities for access to public information.” The amended section 46 of the Penal Code, now reads, “If the minister has reasonable grounds to believe that the publication or importation of any publication would be contrary to the public interest, he may, by order published in the ‘Gazette’, prohibit the publication or importation of such publication.”

On its part, the Malawi Government has argued that the amendment is in fact progressive since it seeks to limit the power of the Minister. The crux of the government’s argument is that whereas the Section before the amendment gave the Minister absolute discretion to ban publications, now it requires the Minister to have “reasonable” grounds for banning any particular publication “in the public interest.”

The British colonial powers created the

anti-media law in Nyasaland (now Malawi) in the early 1900s to empower the government to ban imported publications. Indeed in 1926, High Court of Nyasaland Justice Charles Frederic Belcher, using this law sentenced Isa Macdonald Lawrence, a Nyasaland native, to a three-year term for importing into Nyasaland a prohibited newspaper, *The Negro World*, edited by Marcus Garvey in New York. After Nyasaland attained independence from Britain and changed its name to Malawi in 1964, President Banda’s single party administration, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), used Section 46 many times over its 30-year lifetime to ban well over 250 publications. The list included publications considered obscene, that glorified communism, and those that were authored by people considered to be anti-MCP, or the government, or President Banda personally.

From 1994, when President Muluzi won the multiparty general elections and took over from Dr Banda, the Constitution was revised to provide for press freedom and freedom of speech. However, Section 46 was not repealed. It empowered the Minister to ban a pro-multiparty democracy newspaper called *The Democrat* which at the time was produced in neighbouring Zambia and imported into Malawi. *The Democrat* challenged the ban in the High Court of Malawi, which ruled that the Minister had merely exercised powers granted by the law. The section was then used to try to ban *UDF News*, another pro-multiparty newspaper produced in the country. The paper successfully challenged the ban on the grounds that *UDF News* was not imported and was therefore not covered by Section 46. In apparent reaction to the court’s ruling, the MPs, by Act No.12 of 1993, amended the law to extend the power of the Minister to all publications, whether imported or not.

When President Bingu wa Mutharika took over government in 2004, he swore to defend the Constitution and open

channels of social justice and democracy. However, he slowly reverted to dictatorial tendencies. In March 2005, he ordered the arrest of a local *BBC* journalist for reporting that “ghosts,” in the form of crawling rodents, forced the president to move out of the 300-room Presidential Palace in Lilongwe.



Bonaventure Mkandawire attending an event in Malawi

A series of dictatorial tendencies have since been registered, including in 2009 ordering the closure of erstwhile president Bakili Muluzi's Joy Radio station for announcing results of the May 2009 general elections before the pro-government Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) could do so. In August 2010, the president ordered the arrest of a member of the clergy, the Secretary-General of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, Livingstonia Synod, for sedition. It was alleged that he had used seditious words in his sermon at a funeral of an MP who died soon after he had been fired as Minister. He was a member of the Church. The case was later dropped as a result of intense protests and demonstrations for wrongful arrest and charge.

Late in the same month of August, opening the International Trade Fair at Chichiri Grounds, Blantyre, President Mutharika shocked Malawians when he declared on national TV that he would arrest any journalist, or close down newspapers that publishes news against him, his ruling party, or his government.

Attacks on journalists and similar other incidents erode the achievements of the Mutharika administration made during

his first five-year term. The administration would have saved Malawi the embarrassment of passing such a retrogressive law and confining them to the ranks of pariah nations. Malawians do not support the German decision, because it will only affect the marginalized. However, ordinary Malawians, journalists, civil society, and faith-based organizers alike wish the government would rescind its decision. Many Malawians feel the new law is a slap in the face of democracy, and will encourage journalists to be subservient towards the Minister. It will repress all media freedoms. Moreover, it will be used by government to rig the 2014 elections, allowing the president to seek an unconstitutional third term, since he has subtly imposed his own brother to be the sole presidential candidate for the DPP.

Bonaventure Mkandawire is a PhD Candidate at CPACS, and has recently returned from field research in Malawi.

Justice for All?

by Aloysia Brooks

“If it were not for injustice, men would not know justice”

Heraclitus (c. 500BDE)

MY GRANDFATHER WAS A PHILOSOPHER. EVEN AS A TODDLER I REMEMBER HIM HAVING POLITICAL AND MORAL DEBATES WITH HIS FRIENDS IN ALL OF THE FIVE LANGUAGES HE SPOKE. HE WOULD BECOME SO PASSIONATE ABOUT POLITICS, PEACE, JUSTICE AND FAIRNESS. HE WOULD ACCIDENTLY SPIT BITS OF HIS DINNER INTO THE PHONE RECEIVER (WE DIDN'T HAVE MOBILE'S THEN- THANK GOODNESS). HIS PHILOSOPHY ON LIFE SHAPED MY UNDERSTANDING ABOUT WHAT KIND OF SOCIETY WE WERE - MORE CIVILISED SINCE THE HORRORS OF WORLD WAR II AND HOW WE HAD DEVELOPED A GREATER EMPATHY FOR EACH OTHER BECAUSE OF IT. MY GRANDFATHER HAD

HAD EVERY REASON NOT TO BELIEVE IN HUMANITY - HE WAS TORTURED MANY YEARS BEFORE, BUT HE HELD ONTO THAT BELIEF WITH EVERY INCH OF HIS BEING. I MISS MY GRANDFATHER.

A few years after my grandfather passed away, I studied a philosopher called John Rawls. Rawls said that to achieve justice, one must come from ‘the original position’ where principles of justice are decided behind a ‘veil of ignorance’. In other words, for a decision to be just, the person making the decision must put to the side their own cultural background, bank account, intelligence or strength; they must take their own bias out of the picture. I was fascinated by this concept all of those years, and this coupled with a belief in humanity. Like my grandfather, I thought that with time we could only evolve as a species and make justice a reality for even the most forgotten members of our society.

Since September 11, however, this hope of mine has been fading. It may also come with age.

In a post 9/11 era, the ability for us to look at notions of justice through the ‘veil of ignorance’ and with reason has never been more crucial. President Obama has recently announced that military commissions for those detained in Guantanamo Bay will recommence under a new 2009 Military Commissions Act. US President Obama campaigned on the worthy promise that he would close Guantanamo by 2010, end torture and bring those responsible for terrorist acts to justice. Those who know a little about military commissions will tell you that the military commissions system is far from complying with international fair trial standards. If they did comply, there would be no need for them because those subjected would be taken through federal courts and charged with long established criminal offences.

What happened on September 11 was criminal and horrifying. I strongly believe that those who were responsible *should* be held accountable in a federal

court. However, imprisoning, torturing and unlawfully detaining people who had nothing to do with it will not bring justice to the victims, their families or those wrongfully detained. It is only serving to enhance resentment and breed hatred that leads to war. And let's be frank: the Bush administration sanctioned torture. Former President Bush admitted to ordering waterboarding in his recently released memoir. A host of former Bush officials have resigned due to the political interference in prisoner cases, including that of Australian David Hicks. Former guards, military personnel, FBI agents and interrogators have now publically condemned things that they have witnessed and/or done, including sexually assaulting detainees, beatings, and administering electric shocks. Now there is also evidence pointing to medical experimentation. According to a high ranking US General, there are pictures locked away in the Pentagon that show women and children being sodomised by members of the US military.

Out of approximately 800 prisoners initially detained in Guantanamo, only about 30 are slated for prosecution under military commissions where the standards of evidence are low, and statements obtained under 'coercion' are permissible in certain circumstances. Only two current detainees have been 'convicted' under the military commissions, one of them was a child at the time of the offence.

It increasingly appears that the US government is so consumed with, as they say, 'bringing to justice' those who they say are responsible for 9/11. They have forgotten to hold accountable those in their own administration and military who have committed heinous crimes. To achieve justice, accountability must be present on all sides.

The Australian government has a role to play here too. Australia is a party to the United Nations Convention against Torture (CAT) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

(ICCPR). This places responsibility on us to ensure that we are not complicit in torture in any way (complicity may include knowingly leaving an Australian citizen in a jurisdiction where they are being tortured) and independently investigating allegations of torture. The ICCPR also provides for ensuring fair trial protections. On all counts, the Australian government has woefully failed in its international obligations.

Justice is not about serving only those who we *think* deserve it; this is why we have human rights protections. Being part of the human family means that we all have inherent dignity, no matter our race, religion, class or what we are accused of doing. Those who have been tortured and subjected to an unfair system by the US government deserve justice as much as anyone else: a United States citizen or not.

I have hope that our lawmakers can go back to the 'original position' and that we still have some reason left in us.

Aloysia Brooks, Dip. Youth Work, BSW, MHR, is a CPACS alumnus. She has recently left Amnesty International to pursue a Doctorate in the Department of Social Work, University of Sydney, focusing on human rights.

Unfortunate Souls: Reflections on Hong Kong's Cage Dwellers

by Jerome Boutelet

ON THE SURFACE, HONG KONG IS A PARADISE FOR WEALTHY TOURISTS AND BUSINESSMEN WHO FLOOD ITS STREETS AND ENJOY THE MODERN WESTERN LUXURIES. YET UNDERNEATH THIS FAÇADE, HONG KONG IS A HELL FOR ITS POOREST. ALMOST 100,000 PEOPLE IN HONG KONG ARE FORCED TO LIVE IN INADEQUATE HOUSING: A

REALITY CREATED BY THE EVER-INCREASING GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, WHICH IS SEEN IN MOST ASIAN COUNTRIES, BUT MOST EXTREMELY IN HONG KONG. ACCORDING TO THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (UNDP) IN 2009, HONG KONG WAS RANKED NUMBER ONE WITH THE WIDEST GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR. THIS IS NOT SURPRISING IN A COUNTRY THAT BOASTS MORE THAN 19 BILLIONAIRES.

Yet it is the poor in Hong Kong who bear the brunt of an out-of-control materialist psyche, which has more concern for designer goods than basic living standards for its poorest residents. One stark example of this can be seen in the case of cage-dwellers: unfortunate souls that have fallen into destitution and poverty. Most of these cage-dwellers are elderly people forgotten and abandoned by the state. They live in cages, no longer than 6ft and 2ft wide. Adding to this human misery, they must pay for these spaces! Although there is some social welfare, after paying for rent there is little money to buy food and essentials.

In a society built around a 'survival of the fittest', capitalist approach, where those without money are forgotten, it is clear that the basic notion of human dignity of its poorest residents has been overlooked. The structure, on which this society is built, where humans live in cages like animals, violates basic human rights. The government's role is questionable and there is clearly an absence of meaningful debate on a situation which has become normal practice in Hong Kong.

Despite 14 years of fighting the government to provide homes for these people, *the Society for Community Organization (SoCo)*, an NGO that has taken upon itself to fight for human rights of cage-dwellers has had little success. They have worked tirelessly in promoting this cause but because of lack of funds they can do little more than raise awareness.



Cages for residence in HK © TIME Magazine

Also with the influx of migrant workers into Hong Kong from mainland China it seems that as long as there is demand for these cages, there will be supply. Hong Kong's government has noted that this is not forced but actually a choice, so far as "People choose to live in bed space apartments and cubicles because these apartments, apart from commanding a low rental level, are mostly conveniently located in the urban areas". (<http://www.sbs.com.au/dataline/story/transcript/id/600167/n/The-Cage-Dwellers>) With almost US\$160.6 billion dollars in reserve, the government could do more to eliminate this systematic insult to human dignity.

In a country that hosts some of the highest priced real estate properties, luxury goods, and some of the richest people in the world, we should ask why this social injustice continues to exist. It seems that most of the rich in Hong Kong, as in other countries with a large wealth gap, choose to ignore such disparities, by living in tall towers or gated-communities. In practice, the rich have turned their backs on the poor residents, who have been forgotten: unfortunate souls of an economy gone mad.

Jerome Boutelet is completing his Master of Human Rights at University of Sydney.

POSCO's Plunder: Development for Whom?

by Christopher David Brown

IN AUGUST 2010 THE INDIAN ENVIRONMENT MINISTER, JAIRAM RAMESH, MADE A LANDMARK DECISION AGAINST THE MULTI-NATIONAL MINING CORPORATION VEDANTA, PREVENTING THEIR 2.7 BILLION DOLLAR BAUXITE PROJECT IN THE LANJIGARH DISTRICT OF ORISSA. THE DECISION WAS MADE AFTER THE PANEL APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE THE CASE HIGHLIGHTED HOW NUMEROUS ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS HAD BEEN BROKEN AND HOW THE HILLS SLATED TO BE MINED WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE LOCAL DONGRIA KONDH TRIBE. IMPORTANTLY, THEY ALSO SUGGESTED THAT A DECISION TO ALLOW THE PROJECT WOULD FURTHER ALIENATE THE ADIVASIS (INDIGENOUS) POPULATION AFFECTED BY SUCH PROJECTS AND FURTHER STOKE AN INCREASINGLY BLOODY INSURGENCY BETWEEN MAOIST REBELS AND GOVERNMENT FORCES. DID THIS DECISION MEAN THE TIDE WAS TURNING? WHAT WAS THE STATUS OF OTHER CONTROVERSIAL MINING PROJECTS STILL UNDER REVIEW? DID THE GOVERNMENT NOW PLACE THE RIGHTS OF ITS MOST MARGINALISED CITIZENS ABOVE CORPORATE PROFIT MAKING?



Dhinkia Village fisherman set to lose his livelihood

Around 400 kilometres east of Lanjigarh, Jagatsinghpur District sits on the east coast of India. Here, the Korean mining giant POSCO is planning a 12 billion dollar steel project, the largest foreign direct investment in India's history. In adherence to the neo-liberal school of thought that has come to dominate Indian politics since the free market reforms of the early 1990s, the Government claims the project will "bring prosperity and well being to its people". In India's rural villages, however, where such resource exploitation is actually taking place, it can be hard to see the prosperity and well-being of which the Government talks.

Within Jagatsinghpur District is Dhinkia village, a small community of farmers who rely on betel vine, cashew nut and fish for their livelihood. According to Sisir Mohapatra, the village head and leader of the protest movement against the project, "the local agriculture provides 50 crore annually and ensures everyone in the community has a job". All that will change if the POSCO project goes ahead, however, as the village will be turned upside down in search of the iron ore below. In the neo-liberal economic growth paradigm, self-reliant communities such as Dhinkia village that exist outside India's consumerist frenzy are simply an outdated, backward and primitive group preventing further wealth creation.

In June 2005, a memorandum of understanding was signed between POSCO and the Government of Orissa, but according to Mohapatra there was no consultation with the community. In an attempt to have their voices heard, thousands of people took to the streets and, among other things, succeeded in blocking the entry of any POSCO official into three of the nine villages earmarked for the project. The Government's response? On at least three occasions they have sent paramilitary forces or state police personnel to intimidate, harass and attack protestors, and in May 2010 they fired on a peaceful protest injuring more than 200 people. Following its favourite method of silencing leading dissenters,

the Government has slapped 42 false cases on Mohapatra for heading the protest movement, making him a virtual prisoner inside his own village as he dares not leave for fear of arrest. If the project is going to provide so many benefits, as is claimed by POSCO and the Government, it begs the question as to why it has engendered such local resistance.

One such reason may be the differing way in which the Government has looked after the interests of the corporation as opposed to the interests of its citizens. A report by the Mining Zone People's Solidarity Group highlights how the project has been granted Special Economic Zone (SEZ) status which requires POSCO to pay a flat royalty rate of only US\$50 per tonne for 600 million tonnes of iron ore, when the market rate in 2008 was over US\$100 per tonne. In contrast, the local villagers due to be displaced by the project have been offered a one time payment of approximately one quarter of what they earn annually from betel vine cultivation. The 20,000-25,000 people who rely on fishing waters due to be polluted receive no mention at all in any compensation documents.

Even more troubling is the way in which the Government of Orissa blatantly mocked the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) mandate that required it to hold a public hearing "in a systematic, time bound and transparent manner ensuring widest public participation at the project site(s) or in its close proximity." Instead, the Board chose to hold its first public meeting to discuss the environmental impacts of the project in a high-school in Kujanga, 15-20 kilometers away, which meant that affected villagers who wished to attend would incur the loss of an entire day's wages and earnings through transportation time and costs. Not surprisingly, most people affected by the project did not attend.

In an email correspondence with Saroj Mahapatra, POSCO-India's General Manager of Human Resources, Administration and Resettlement and

Rehabilitation, the company representative was defiant in defence of the project. Did he think the project should be allowed to continue considering two committees had found the Government had broken forest and environmental laws in allowing the project, I asked? Of course he did. "The Government has clarified there has been no violation on their part" he wrote, "we trust the Government". Silly me. Is POSCO interested in working with a Government that uses force on its own people purely for exercising their democratic right to protest? Reprimanding me, he wrote, "the Government has acted with utmost restraint in maintaining law and order" and even went on to wax lyrical about the strengths of Indian democracy, claiming that "in the Indian Governance system there are systems of checks and balances prescribed under the Constitution".



The inadequate transit camp provided by POSCO

As I traveled throughout the village, however, the strengths of Indian democracy weren't so evident. Certainly not for the two men who approached me in the street demanding to know who I was, and only after proving I had no links with POSCO, showed me wounds on their bodies from beatings they had received at night for their vocal criticism of the project. And certainly not for the people I visited in a temporary resettlement camp already built by POSCO. Indeed, as I made my way around this camp, it took some extensive translating before I understood that this temporary community was made up of people from Dhinkia Village who had been ousted by

Mohapatra and his supporters for supporting the POSCO's project. In exchange for their homes and livelihoods, these community members had accepted POSCO's offer of these temporary shelters, a monthly compensation payment of 2250 rupees and a promise of employment upon the project's commencement. So how did this supposedly generous offer play out in reality?

As I made my way throughout the camp I saw small hut homes, most with roof holes and leaks. There was a 'community centre' but it was more a bare concrete structure with no facilities, the photo of it on POSCO's website only shows it from the outside, of course. Nowhere on the premises was health care provided, and no schooling was available for the 70 children who live there despite promises from the company that a school and teacher would be provided. Did they regret their decision to align themselves with POSCO, I asked them? Yes, they nodded, but what could they do now. This is how POSCO says thanks: a sign perhaps of a future with them in charge. When I asked the General Manager about the complaints these people had about not being paid their monthly allowance for three months, he avoided answering by suggesting that my question was not "clear in reference".

When I left Jagatsinghpur the POSCO project was at a standstill. The Government was deciding whether it would provide a final go-ahead amidst all the reports of corporate and Government negligence. Given the Vedanta ruling, hopes were high that the rights of its citizens would again be weighed favourably against corporate interests. After months and months of deliberation, however, a conditional green light was granted to the POSCO project. It seemed one token gesture against Vedanta was all the Government could handle, with pundits squawking about the damage done to 'investor confidence'. In April, however, the project was stalled again as the Central Government held back on granting final clearance for the diversion of forest land

for the project under the Forest Rights Act of 2005. Needless to say, the state Government of Orissa is currently challenging the Act and its application to the people of villages such as Dinkia. In the search for justice and human rights in India's mineral rich hinterland, the battle rages on. As for the Vedanta project, activists in Orissa tell me that the Government is currently searching for other sites to offer up to the company in apology for ruining their other party, six sites to be precise. And it's not just Vedanta, there are over 605 mining leases in Orissa, and more are being negotiated as we speak. For every person in Orissa it's time to watch your hill, house or village, because there is every chance it could be next.

Christopher David Brown is an MPACS graduate and an independent writer/researcher.

Submission.....

by David John Penklis

A RESEARCH DEGREE IS A JOURNEY OF DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT FUELLED BY THE DESIRE TO ATTAIN KNOWLEDGE. THROUGHOUT THIS JOURNEY WE ARE TESTED AND CHALLENGED, HAVE MAJOR DOUBTS, GREAT INSIGHTS AND RIDE A ROLLERCOASTER OF EMOTIONAL HIGHS AND LOWS. TO SUCCEED REQUIRES PATIENCE, PERSISTENCE, AN INQUISITIVE AND CRITICAL INTELLECT, AND A TENACIOUS ATTITUDE. SUCH TRAITS ARE NEEDED TO WIN THE LONG BATTLE THROUGH THE FOG OF CONCEPTS UNTIL EVENTUALLY ONE IDEA SHINES LIKE A BRIGHT STAR.

For many years, I toyed with the thought of undertaking the challenge of a doctoral thesis. It was not until 2005, while working at the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Burundi, that the first threads of a research project began to develop. These small threads grew into my initial idea and research topic, *Implications of the 1993 to 2008 Burundi Peace Process*

for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations.

Even though I had a research topic, had previously conducted research, written United Nations General Assembly reports and completed two postgraduate degrees, I was not prepared for the long and difficult journey ahead. It wasn't long before I met my first challenge, determining from the vast ocean of research methodologies the approach best suited to my research. During this part of my journey, I sailed off course, was becalmed and held captive by inappropriate methodologies. Finally I found my methodology and like a skilled navigator with a strong breeze I quickly sailed across the ocean. I then trekked through the multitude of underlying theories and laid the supporting foundations of my thesis. Gaining momentum and renewed vigour I tackled my case study, discovered new insights and developed ideas. Along the way I was accompanied by my mentor and oracle Dr Wendy Lambourne who guided me towards the final goal and I found support from my coadventurers at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS).



The research I undertook investigates the United Nations peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding theoretical frameworks and the engagement and implementation of these activities by the UN in the Burundi peace process. Adopting a constructivist approach, I analysed the activities, functions, behaviour, structure and coordination of the UN peacekeeping operation, UN Agencies, Funds and

Programmes, UN Integrated Office and UN Peacebuilding Commission, engaged in the Burundi peace process. Coordination deficits and significant overlaps were revealed in UN mandated field activities and roles. Elements of organized hypocrisy and a loose coupling between talk, decisions and actions were discovered. The research resulted in a proposal for a new UN peace process model, expanded role for the UN Peacebuilding Commission, the deconstruction of multidimensional peacekeeping operations, elimination of UN field overlaps and the use of UN Agencies, Funds and Programmes in their mandated roles. My proposal for a greater role for the UN Peacebuilding Commission has recently been echoed by China in the UN Security Council discussions.

In March 2011, I submitted my doctoral thesis for examination. My journey would not have succeeded without the dedication of Dr Wendy Lambourne and the support of staff and fellow researchers at CPACS. My deepest gratitude goes to all.

Visiting Scholars in Residence at CPACS

by Lynda-ann Blanchard

TWO OF MY GOOD COLLEAGUES ARE VISITING SCHOLARS IN RESIDENCE AT CPACS FOR SEMESTER 1, 2011. THANKS TO THEIR GENEROSITY, WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO "EXPLOIT" THE INTELLECTUAL INSIGHTS AND EXPERTISE OF (THE SOON TO BE DR) LUCY FISKE AND DR SANDRA PHELPS.

In contributing to the CPACS teaching and learning environment, these colleagues are guest lecturers and coordinators of various units of study, as well as offering guidance to CPACS students with regard to research papers and dissertation supervision.

I have worked with Lucy for several years in collaborative projects with the Centre for Human Rights Education, Curtin University in Western Australia where she has been a lecturer since 2003.

Originally a social worker, most of her practice experience has been with asylum seekers and refugees where she worked as a community development worker as well as individual casework and advocacy.

Lucy is working on a couple of research projects while at CPACS. She is writing the final chapters of her PhD on the political consciousness of refugees protesting



Ms Lucy Fiske

against their detention in Australia. This has involved interviewing refugees who participated in various actions aimed at opposing, subverting or frustrating their detention such as digging their own graves, making banners, calling talk back radio from inside detention, hunger strike, lip sewing, riot and property damage, escape, sit-ins, work strikes and letter writing. Her second project is expanding from examining detention on Christmas Island to exploring the link between values, ethics and human rights in current detention practices around Australia.

Dr Sandra and I completed our PhDs together at the University of Sydney. Since then, she has undertaken the challenging role as head of the sociology department at the University of Kurdistan Hawler, Northern Iraq, experiencing the challenging conditions of living in an occupied country whilst researching gender, religious and ethnic intolerance within social groups; as well as teaching sociological, postcolonial and feminist theories. Dr Sandra— as she is known in Iraq— is actively involved in the INGO *Tolerancy International* (founded in 2007 by Iraqi Ambassador His Excellency Hussain Sinjari) including her key responsibilities for coordinating significant inter-ethnic and inter-religious conferences to create opportunities for high-level regional dialogue on issues such as reformation and secularism, transparency and the rule of law, reconciliation and human rights— particularly minority rights, women’s rights and freedom of the press. <http://en.tolerancy.org/>

I welcome my friends to this Centre and thank them both for their generosity of spirit in (near to literally) freely sharing

their knowledge and experience and contributing to the intellectual and humanitarian culture of CPACS.



H.E. Hussain Sinjari and Dr Sandra Phelps at Tolerancy International religious and minorities conference “The Acceptance of Each Other: Toward Common Solutions to Shared Problems,” Erbil, Kurdistan Iraq, 2009.

Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard is a Lecturer and Postgraduate Research Coordinator at CPACS.

Special Thanks!

CPACS wishes to acknowledge the invaluable help and support of three University staff members, who tirelessly ensure that CPACS work is in order on a daily basis. Although not as visible as others, their efforts ensure that CPACS continues to run smoothly. We are grateful to Ms Danka Ondriskova, Finance Officer and Mr Henora Tanto, Software and Assets Officer, both at School of Social and Political Sciences, and to Mr Peter McAndrew, Precinct Officer.



Danka, thank you for all your prompt replies, clarifications and help with financial forms, payment claims, and Spendvision!



Henora, thank you for always being ready to help over the phone or coming here, whether software problems, unikeys, or website troubles!



Peter, your smile keeps this place going! Thanks for your support with the late meetings, room suggestions, and getting us in when we lock ourselves out!

Japan in the World: A Book Review

by Dr Erik Paul

Schlichtmann, Klaus (2009) *Japan in the World: Shidehara Kijuro, pacifism, and the abolition of war*. Volumes I, and II. Cotranslated by William Carter. Lanham MD: Lexington Books.

SHIDEHARA KIJURŌ (1872-1951) WAS AN IMPORTANT FIGURE IN JAPAN'S MODERN HISTORY AS A DIPLOMAT, BUREAUCRAT, AND POLITICIAN. SHIDEHARA WAS ENVOY TO THE HAGUE IN 1914, AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON BETWEEN 1919 AND 1922, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS BETWEEN 1924-1927 AND 1929-1931, AND JAPAN'S FIRST POSTWAR PRIME MINISTER UNDER THE OCCUPATION (1945-1946). HE WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN INTRODUCING JAPAN'S POSTWAR CONSTITUTION ARTICLE 9, DEALING WITH THE ABOLITION OF WAR. SHIDEHARA, SCHLICHTMANN WRITES, 'MARKS THE TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW JAPAN, COMBINING IN HIS PERSON THE LIBERAL-PACIFIST TRADITION OF THE FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT, TAISHO DEMOCRACY, AND PACIFISM IN THE ATOMIC AGE' (II:324).

Japan's emergence in the modern world was prompted by Western imperialism in East Asia in search of territorial acquisition and business opportunities, forcing Japan to sign a number of unequal treaties with foreigners. A young generation of Samurai, including the founder of Mitsubishi, came to power to modernize the country with the knowledge that unless Japan became powerful, its territory would be sliced off among Western intruders. By the end of the 19th Century Japan had a powerful military machine and, according to Japanologist Philip Franz von Siebold, became 'the first non-European state ... to achieve the recognition by the Western powers of its full rights under

international law' (I:95). Japan's military industrial complex gained more strength with substantial military exports during World War I, providing the Allies with 'armaments and destroyers built in Japanese shipyards ... as well as other provisions and services' (I:239).

Japan played an important part in the construction of the League of Nations. It was an accredited participant in the 1899 First Hague Peace Conference; and at the Second Hague Peace Conference (1907) when the 'cardinal question was the arbitration for the peaceful settlement of international disputes through an international court of law' (I:105). Japan participated in the Versailles Peace Conference as one of the 'big five', alongside the United States, France, Italy and Great Britain. During the Paris Peace Conference the League of Nations became a reality as part of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 as a means to prevent war and settle international disputes. Foremost in the minds of the delegates was to avoid a repetition of World War I.

But the acceptance of Japan as a de facto member of the Anglo-Saxon faction was overshadowed by rising racism in the United States and Western Europe. By the end of the 19th Century, Japanese were being excluded from the British Empire, and in 1907 the United States began to look at Japan as an enemy when 'the American navy devised its secret – Plan Orange, in which Japan was identified as the most likely future "enemy", giving impetus to a far-reaching naval arms build-up program' (I:215). Western racism, with the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 and the rejection at the Versailles Peace Conference of Japan's proposal on racial equality, along with economic restrictions to trade with European colonies, helped the rise of Japanese militarism in the 1930s.

This was compounded by the humanitarian disaster in Japan inflicted by the world economic crisis triggered by the US financial meltdown. The 1929 Wall Street crash and the depression of the world economy which followed, led

to drastic changes in international relations in Asia and Europe. The Japanese balance of foreign trade 'sank dramatically by around 50 percent and there was a large drop in the total volume of goods traded in the region'. The sudden 'drop in the prices and quantities of her exports had brought widespread poverty and discontent' (II:148). The economic crisis 'struck a decisive blow to Shidehara's peaceful policy and the acquisition of new territories on the continent seemed to be the only "lifesaver", and Japanese expansionism got off to a new start' (II:150).

The League of Nations failed because 'it possessed no enforcement powers; there was no mechanism to equip the organization with real competencies to adequately guarantee members states' peace and security' (I:111). But this was a time when European citizens, faced with serious economic and social problems and widespread political corruption, were increasingly attracted to the politics of the Third Way: Fascism and Nazism. European politics were to engulf the world in another devastating war with terrible consequences for the people of East Asia, and of Japan in particular.

Schlichtmann's narrative is that 'Shidehara was at no stage an apologist for Japanese imperialism, and that he, and Japanese mainstream politics in general, were on the contrary following a principled course, to maintain international relations which aimed at peace, progress, and cooperation' (II:7). In the larger context of the international peace movement, Shidehara believed that a certain approach to world peace 'would eventually result, ideally, in a democratic world organized along federalist principles' (II:7). Lawrence Battistini, American scholar and pacifist, noted: 'Shidehara hoped to win the confidence and trust of both China and the United States in the motives and intentions of Japan in the Far East. However, his policy was from the beginning opposed by the militants and nationalists' (I:180).

The Tokyo trial after World War II, conducted between 1946 and 1949, was concerned with three categories of offences: crimes against peace; murder; conventional war crimes and crimes against humanity. Bernard Röling, one of the eleven international judges at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo), thought that the trial 'was simply to avenge the attack on Pearl Harbor', that 'racial discrimination may have been one of the roots of the Pacific War', and that the bombing of Japanese cities, culminating with the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 'were war crimes ... it was terror warfare' (Röling & Cassese 1994:78,24,84). The Tokyo trial is a reminder of the responsibility of world leaders in the illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003 and the case made that former president Bush and prime ministers Howard and Blair should be put on trial as war criminals.

Shidehara was Japan's first postwar prime minister (1945-46) and initiated the first draft of article 9 of Japan's new constitution. Until his death in 1951, Shidehara 'lent his name to the World Federalist Movement' along with parliamentarian Ozaki Yukio and Nobel laureate Yukawa Hideki (II:331). After the war, Japan signed a security treaty with the US and became entangled in the geopolitics of the Cold War, and in the late 1950s the CIA began the clandestine funding of the Liberal Democratic Party (Schaller 1997). The budget for the Self-Defense Force (SDF) increased substantially over the years; in 2000, the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* reported on the existence of nuclear weapons on Japanese soil (Norris, Arkin & Burr 2000). At the same time the process to revise Japan's constitution got under way and gained momentum under the threat of North Korean missiles and pressure from nationalists.

The US Obama administration has further engaged Japan in missile defense deployment, along with South Korea, as a US-NATO strategy to contain Russia and

China (Gagnon 2010). There were also territorial issues with Russia in the absence of a peace treaty between both countries, and instances of Japan-bashing in China were further major concerns to the Japanese. Many observers, including Yoichi Funabashi, interpreted these developments as symptomatic of US hegemonic policy to play China and Japan against each other (Funabashi 1993:83).

Much of what happened in Japan and East Asia was determined by Western powers and European conflicts. Edwin Reischauer, the Japan-born American scholar, wrote of the period before World War II: 'The Japanese, claiming equality with China and in contact with all the other units of East Asia ... came closest to the Western concept of international relations, but could hardly develop a family of nations without reciprocity from the others' (I:113). Times have changed and East Asia, with China at its core, is again assuming a dominant position in the region and the world economy. An opportunity now exists for the West to reconcile with East Asia as equal partners in shaping a better and more peaceful world for all.

Reading Klaus Schlichtmann is a time to ponder on the causes of war and reflect on the importance of Johan Galtung's work on the symbiotic relations between structures and systems so deeply saturated with social injustices that they spawn violence and war. Peace studies is an essential field to create a world 'in which the prohibition of crimes against peace finds its natural place' (Röling & Cassese 1994:117).

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This is a short version of a rich and more detailed review that elaborates on contextual and historical elements. The full review is available at CPACS website at http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/publications/review_Schlichtmann_book.pdf

Dr Erik Paul is a part-time lecturer and Vice-President of CPACS.

Towards New Peace Studies: A Japanese Odyssey

by Wendy Lambourne

AFTER MEETING PROFESSOR AKIHIKO KIMIJIMA AT LAST YEAR'S IPRA CONFERENCE IN SYDNEY, HE INVITED ME TO SPEAK AT AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ENTITLED 'TOWARDS NEW PEACE STUDIES: RECONCILIATORY GOVERNANCE & SUSTAINABLE PEACEBUILDING IN CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT AREAS' TO BE HELD AT RITSUMEIKAN UNIVERSITY IN KYOTO, JAPAN, ON 14-15 JANUARY 2011. SO EARLY THIS YEAR I TRAVELLED TO JAPAN FOR THE FIRST TIME.

My hosts were extremely generous, providing excellent hotel accommodation in the centre of Kyoto, opposite Nijo castle, as well as meals and information to assist me with my travel plans. Dr Miwa Okura was particularly helpful, and deserves a special mention for her key role in the organising of the symposium as well as keen interest in research on transitional justice and peacebuilding. The symposium was very well-attended by students and academics, and I was impressed by the quality of presentations, especially from the alumni of the Graduate School of International Relations who shared their research and work experience. Particularly interesting for me were the presentations on conflict

and peacebuilding in Rwanda, East Timor, the Philippines and Indonesia.



With Akihiko Kilijima at Ritsumeikan University

I had been curious about the title of the symposium, and the intention to focus on the link between area studies and peace studies. As the symposium unfolded, I realised the significance of the message for those involved in peace studies in Japan in terms of the link to an expanding foreign policy that increasingly might include peacebuilding interventions in other countries. For the Japanese participants, the theories and experiences of practice in peacebuilding and reconciliation were new and exciting.

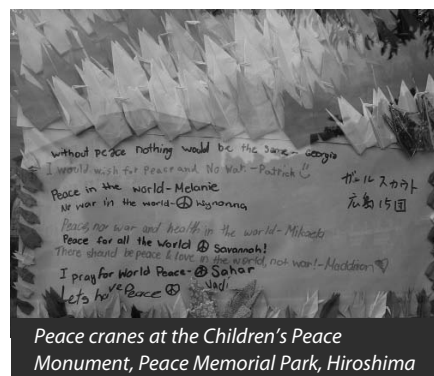


Display of Hiroshima Peace Memorial

In my presentation, I spoke about the need for transformation of both relationships and structures in the political, economic and legal spheres in order to contribute to sustainable peace and transformative justice. I presented several models of reconciliation from John Paul Lederach, Vern Neufeld Redekop and Brandon Hamber and argued that “reconciliation is about creating transformational relational spaces that enable healing of the gap between self and other”. I concluded by proposing a concept of reconciliatory governance that would promote conflict transformation by creating a “framework

for peaceful community relations by providing spaces for participation, communication, social dialogue, peaceful disagreement and ongoing reconciliation”.

I was also invited to give a Peace and Conflict Studies seminar for students and staff at the Graduate School of International Relations on the Monday following the symposium on “Transformative Justice, Reconciliation and Peacebuilding After Mass Violence”. This seminar provided an opportunity to discuss in more depth some of the ideas from my presentation at the symposium. One of the participants was a young Japanese student who had conducted fieldwork in Cambodia in relation to the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. I was impressed with her experience and passion for the topic.



Peace cranes at the Children's Peace Monument, Peace Memorial Park, Hiroshima

A visit to the Kyoto Museum for World Peace at Ritsumeikan University, the only comprehensive peace museum in the world owned and operated by a university, was an unexpected bonus of my stay. Established in 1992, the museum is inspired by the need to eliminate the causes of conflict and remove the barriers to human development “so that we can build a peaceful society in which human potential can blossom”. It features sculptures and other artworks which movingly portray the suffering of war and the vision of peace, along with permanent and temporary exhibitions which move through the two world wars, the Cold War and post-Cold War conflicts. The museum doesn't shy away from examining the Japanese Imperial Army, its colonies and occupied territories, and war crimes, as well as the

Japanese experiences of air raids, the Battle of Okinawa and atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A particularly impressive feature of the museum is the emphasis on how ordinary people can take steps to eliminate the structural violence that hinders peace, and the peace messages from the people of Kyoto.

Whilst in Japan I took the opportunity to visit Hiroshima where I spent a day immersing myself in the history and experience of the atomic bombing that destroyed a city and many peoples' lives. The extraordinary commitment to peace that has sprung from the suffering of the people of Hiroshima was palpable and inspiring, and I hope to be able to visit again one day to further explore the many memorials in the Peace Memorial Park and environs. It has reinforced my commitment to supporting policies and campaigns for the abolition of nuclear weapons.



Jin with Golden Temple in the snow, Kyoto

Other highlights of my trip to Japan included meeting up with CPACS graduates Kim Dong Jin from South Korea at the symposium in Kyoto, and Andrea Ottina who is undertaking an internship at the United Nations University in Tokyo. With Jin, I visited the Center for Korean Studies at Ritsumeikan University and was privileged to meet South Korean torture survivor, Suh Sung, who presented me with a copy of his book *Unbroken Spirits: Nineteen Years in South Korea's Gulag*. Andrea introduced me to his colleagues at UNU including Vesselin Popovski whose research covers human rights, the International Criminal Court and UN reform, and Madoka Futamura who is one of very few other

researchers in the world who focuses on transitional justice in a peacebuilding context. Madoka's doctoral research was on the Tokyo Tribunal and she has published on transitional justice and peacebuilding in Afghanistan.



Great Torii at dusk, Miyajima Island

Last but by no means least, I must mention the magic of temples and shrines in Kyoto in the snow, and the fascinating sights and invigorating walks on Miyajima Island – a spiritual renewal to match the intellectual stimulation of my first Japanese experience.

Note: Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto is hosting the Asia Pacific Peace Research Association Conference on 14-16 Oct 2011 – for more details contact apprainfo@gmail.com. After expressions of concern from APPRA members about the devastating impact of the earthquake and tsunami, the organisers decided to continue with their plans to host the conference in Kyoto.

Dr Wendy Lambourne is a Senior Lecturer and Academic Coordinator at CPACS.

Tea-Stained Paper Cranes

*Tea-stained paper cranes
tossed like toys
with sodden wings
lying limply in piles of
broken futures*

*New realities define
where the land meets the sea
met the sea
once upon a time*

*And a wave of fear spreads from
your door
as my home
suddenly smells like your home
pungent with the reek of nori rolls
stranded high above the tide*

*And outside my window
a seabird cries the anguish of
a broken trust
between the land and the sea*

*And tea-stained paper cranes lie
piled against my door*

Derek Cleland 2011

TRANSCEND Pacific-Oceania Network

by Lynda-ann Blanchard and Tim Bryar
(Convenors)

THE LAUNCH OF TPO TOOK PLACE MARCH 27TH 2011 AND COINCIDED WITH WORLD THEATRE DAY TO REMIND US OF THE CREATIVE POSSIBILITIES TO IMAGINE AND ENABLE PEACE WITH JUSTICE ON OUR PACIFIC-OCEANIA STAGE. SO, WELCOME TO THE BIRTH OF TRANSCEND PACIFIC OCEANIA (TPO) AND ITS WEBSITE WWW.TRANSCENDPO.ORG

CPACS research student Tim Bryar, who lives in Fiji, designed the website as one starting point for TPO. Another starting point is a Pacific Studies Journal article entitled 'TRANSCEND Pacific/Oceania: a philosophy and network for peace by peaceful means', co-authored with Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard.

The TPO website aims to provide a space for exploring conflict in the Pacific-Oceania region through action, research, education and media. In particular, it hopes to amplify the often unheard voices within these spaces in an attempt to broaden the search for peaceful and nonviolent responses to conflict.

Although definitional boundaries vary, the Pacific-Oceania region consists of at least 24 Pacific Island Countries and Territories (including Hawaii and Rapa Nui), plus Australia and New Zealand. It also consists of diverse actors around the Pacific Rim including Japan, China, Indonesia, Timor Leste, Canada, and Chile.

This launch also acts in solidarity with the people of Japan who have demonstrated such courage and strength in the face of the recent devastating earthquake and tsunami, which rocked the entire Pacific. On the website we dedicate poems – including the opposite one by Derek Cleland – in recognition of the human and environmental costs to our neighbours.

Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard is a Lecturer and Postgraduate Research Coordinator at CPACS; Tim Bryar is an MPACS graduate and MPhil candidate with CPACS.

IDEAL GIFT FOR FAMILY AND FRIENDS – LIMITED COPIES AVAILABLE THROUGH CPACS (\$10): MY HIROSHIMA BY JUNKO MORIMOTO

Junko Morimoto, a Hibakusha survivor from Japan, is the writer of children's books — such as *My Hiroshima* (1997).

Through writing about the human and environmental devastation caused by nuclear weapons, Junko is educating for a more peaceful world.



Junko Morimoto at IPRA Conference, July 2010

Obstacles to Democratization in Southeast Asia: A Book Review

by Ken Macnab

Erik Paul, *Obstacles to Democratization in Southeast Asia: A Study in the Nation State, Regional and Global Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

GIVEN THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF BOTH THE ISSUES EXAMINED AND THE AREA TO WHICH THEY ARE APPLIED, THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO AUSTRALIAN SCHOLARSHIP. ERIK PAUL HASTAKENASERIESOFINTERCONNECTED THEMES - STATE SOVEREIGNTY, DOMESTIC GOVERNANCE, ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION, INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL CO-OPERATION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE - AND ANALYSED THEIR SHAPE, CONSEQUENCES AND POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE IN THE REGION LABELLED SOUTHEAST ASIA. THE UNIFYING LINK THROUGHOUT IS A DISCUSSION OF THE OBSTACLES TO DEMOCRATISATION, THE PROCESS THROUGH WHICH THE CITIZENS OF THE STATES OF THIS REGION CAN ACHIEVE MORE EQUALITY IN POWER, WEALTH AND INCOME, THE PROVISION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND PERSONAL SECURITY, THE ELIMINATION OF SOURCES OF DISCRIMINATION SUCH AS CLASS, RACE AND GENDER, AND AN EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATORY VOICE IN CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICS.

The eleven states of Southeast Asia - Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste and Vietnam - vary considerably in size, population, wealth, ethnic and religious composition, national identity and political systems, to mention just a few parameters. The difficulty of ranking them meaningfully is illustrated by the

author's decision to analyse them alphabetically. But, as Dr Paul points out, "In all cases, however, the state is to one degree or another repressive and undemocratic in the sense that it does not represent the free will of the people." At one end of the spectrum there are the military dictatorship of Myanmar, the absolute monarchy of Brunei and the authoritarian city-state of Singapore. Then come the regimes running Vietnam and Laos, followed by Cambodia. Towards the other end come the nominally democratic but occasionally authoritarian, internally conflicted, potentially progressive states of Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Timor-Leste.

Significantly, all of these states (except Thailand) carry the legacy of imperial rule by the British, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, French or Americans, and all were further shaped by both the Cold War and the current "war on terror". These aspects of their history are clearly canvassed by Dr Paul, as well as the other socio-economic, cultural, religious and political forces shaping the lives of the people. Key hindrances to equal justice and democracy, such as the distribution of wealth and power, class struggle, racial conflict, the impact of globalization, and the ruthlessness of entrenched elites, have been emphasised.

One of the commonest themes and strongest influences in all these states is the type and extent of corruption. This varies from the "opulent and wasteful lifestyle of the Sultan's extended families and cronies" in Brunei to the all-pervasive "culture of corruption" in Indonesia. In many cases this patronage and corruption is abetted (for profit) by the collusion of "foreign banks, aid and intelligence agencies, and foreign investors." Another common (and interconnected) theme emphasised is the institutionalised role of the armed forces, with great economic and political power and an inherently anti-democratic culture.

Having analysed the theoretical framework of democratisation and its practical implications in each state in turn, Dr Paul turns to the purpose and changing

nature of the institutions of regional integration. Interestingly, the creation of both the South East Asian Treaty Organization (1954) and the Association of South East Asian Nations (1967) were American and British devices for conducting the Cold War, with the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement promoting economic integration only emerging in 1992, at the end of the Cold War. Some common interests, such as ecological challenges, particularly illegal logging, and human rights, have been articulated, but with little apparent awareness of the role of military complicity and corruption. Since then ASEAN has aspired to greater social and democratic integration, along European Union lines, but with little willingness to grapple with elite-led authoritarian regimes (such as Myanmar) and hence little success. As Paul argues, the only way forward for ASEAN lies in promotion of democratisation and human rights.

Overall, this book provides a clear exposition of the relationships between democratisation, human rights and regional integration, an excellent introduction to the dynamics of a complex geo-political region, and an analysis of the origin and nature of the impediments to democratisation in Southeast Asia. If it runs to another edition, as it deserves - particularly in the light of the rapid changes going on in the region - it would be useful to include a variety of maps illustrating geographical, political, ethnic and other local and regional information.

Dr Ken Macnab is President of CPACS.

Rotary Peace Fellowship: My Journey So Far

by Goranka Slavujevic

EARLY IN MAY 2007, I DECIDED TO APPLY FOR A ROTARY PEACE FELLOWSHIP. AFTER LOOKING AT THE ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA, I WASN'T SURE I WAS GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE

PROGRAM, BUT DECIDED TO APPLY ANYWAY. I WAS SICK OF HOW AT TIMES LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE WOULD GET IN WAY OF HONOURING MY COMMITMENTS.

By July 1st, I had to complete an application form, which entailed: writing a piece about my motivations for applying and what I hope to achieve, getting my Serbian language instructor -with whom I was last in contact in 1996- to sign a form stating I am proficient in the language, and collecting three reference letters supporting my application. I also needed to be endorsed as a candidate by a Rotary Club, then by the District to which that club belonged, who would send my application to Rotary International for consideration in a worldwide competitive process.

I was told there are over 700 high-calibre candidates who reach the international level, and that only 60 are chosen. Through the entire process I had to keep reminding myself of what I want. I wanted to be a peace fellow as soon as possible! By September 2007, I resigned from my job as a Marketing Executive at Singapore Airlines, as I realized that the managerial path in an airline is not the right path for me. I had realised that a meaningful life for me meant working for peace. I had spent almost two decades convincing myself that peace is impossible. Yet, I was not prepared to remain inactive. I was ready to let go of the cynicism, which I carried since my experiences in the Croatian war of the early 1990s, and move as quickly as possible toward a present where I would be actively engaged in creating the kind of world I want: a peaceful one.

By February 2008, my place as a Rotary Peace Fellow starting in September 2008 at Bradford University in the United Kingdom seemed a done deal, except for one issue. A visit to a chiropractor in January left me with acute sciatica down my left leg and part of my right leg. Despite weekly physiotherapy, kinesiology, reiki, massages, and spending several

RPF APPLICATION PROCESS: QUICK FACTS

1. *Review eligibility criteria and award entitlements*
2. *Contact a local Rotary club regarding your intention to apply*
3. *Complete the application form and submit to local Rotary Club*
4. *Attend Rotary club interview and get selected!*
5. *Attend Rotary District level interview and get selected!*
6. *District sends your application to international selection panel by 1 July 2011*
7. *Finalists selected by the Rotary Foundation and university partners of the Rotary Peace Center*
8. *University reviews application and offers placement around February 2012*
9. *Peace Fellowship commences in September 2012!*

thousand dollars on treatments, I was still in severe pain by July and had been recommended back surgery. The only reasonable option was to defer my studies to the following year and focus on my health.

I remember vividly the day of deferring my Rotary Peace Fellowship to 2009. I was in Martin Place; the outer world looked the same as before my visit to the physiotherapist a few moments before, but my world seemed completely changed.

Whereas before I had grand and exciting plans to go to Bradford University in September, I now had to wait more than a year to commence my studies. The in-between period would be filled by doctor's appointments and living with my parents on the Newstart Allowance, which didn't occur to me as particularly grand or exciting at all.

However, within moments of bitter and resentful self-pity, I considered how someone committed to peace would deal with my predicament. Three words came to mind: acceptance, compassion and love.

Before my recovery and finally commencing my Rotary Peace Fellowship in September 2009, there were several occasions when I strayed from this path of acceptance, compassion and love. But I kept bringing myself back through a commitment combined with support from loving family, friends and Rotarians. Looking back now, it makes complete sense that before embarking on the journey of building peace in the world, I had to learn how to build peace in my own inner world.

As a current Rotary Peace Fellow, I can confidently say that the experience was worth the wait. I'm surrounded by world-leading professor-practitioners in peace work, inspiring students from all across the world, and I am learning daily about my role as part of a global community of committed actors. The Fellowship includes three months of funded field work relevant to peace and conflict studies and it is based on a student's interests. Conference funding is also available, which gave me the opportunity to attend a conference on reconciliation in Belgrade, Serbia last year.

I would recommend the Rotary Peace Fellowship to anyone with a commitment to peace who wants to pursue Masters level study. The application process in itself is transformational.

More information about the Rotary Peace Fellowship Program <http://www.rotary.org/en/studentsandyouth/educationalprograms/rotarycentersforinternationalstudies/Pages/ridefault.aspx> is available online.

Goranka Slavujevic is a former CPACS intern, University of Sydney alumnus and Rotary Peace Fellow 2009, Bradford University, United Kingdom.

Wikileaks Cables: Will the World Now Intervene over Torture in Kashmir?

by Dilnaz Boga

WILL THE LEAKED COMMUNIQUÉS MARK A SHIFT IN WESTERN FOREIGN POLICY, OR IS IT TO BE BUSINESS AS USUAL IN KASHMIR?

A mother of a disappeared son protests on the eve of International Human Rights Day in Srinagar, Kashmir.

Almost every household in Kashmir has a story to tell of human rights violation by the local police or the Indian security forces. Generations have experienced violence amid a culture of impunity spanning six decades.

Last Friday, leaked US embassy cables disclosed the findings (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/dec/17/india-wikileaks-cables-row>) of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on torture in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) between 2002-2004.

ICRC claimed out of 1,296 detainees it had interviewed, 681 had said that they had been tortured. Of those, 498 claimed to have been electrocuted, 381 said they were suspended from the ceiling, and 304 cases were described as sexual. Things haven't changed much since that period.

Now, Kashmiris who have endured years of abductions, enforced disappearances, custodial killings, rape, torture and detentions want to know if the cables' release will make a difference. Will there be a change in policy on torture internationally? Will these revelations fortify India's justice mechanism after civil society's intervention? Or will it propel the Indian mainstream media to report Kashmir's human rights issues from the highest militarised zone in the world?

Kashmiris want answers.

Serious impediments to human rights can stall progress in any society. Kashmir is no different. In the Valley, the state feels free to flout its own constitution. Therefore, the people expect intervention from the international community.

The summer of 2010 brought on a significant change in the Kashmiri struggle for independence from India. From being a pan-Islamic militant movement sponsored by Pakistan in 1989, it has now transformed into a non-violent indigenous people's movement. But the response of the state has not altered since the 1990s.

Kashmiris expressed themselves against what they view as an illegal military occupation by India through peaceful protests, civil strikes, sit-ins, internet and graffiti campaigns, rallies and demonstrations.

Despite the fear of arrest, young people have used the internet to post blogs, photographs of human rights violations and videos of killings, while the government gagged the press for weeks.

Since June, over 100 men, women and children have been killed at demonstrations for protesting against widespread human rights violations. All of this happened as the world watched silently.

The leaked US cables stated that, in 2005, ICRC's findings were also communicated to the UK, France and Holland. They chose to stay silent. And why shouldn't they, when there are defence deals to be signed and investments to be made in the soaring Indian markets?

Diplomacy, coupled with the prospects of a burgeoning economy, have shielded India from criticism by the global community. Even the UN only issued a statement, urging India to tone down its response to the protesters.

Responding to ICRC's allegations, an official spokesperson from the Indian ministry of external affairs said: "India is an open and democratic nation which adheres to the rule of law. If and when an aberration occurs, it is promptly and

firmly dealt with under existing legal mechanisms, in an effective and transparent manner."

Meanwhile, J&K's chief minister Omar Abdullah said the government doesn't condone torture. Passing the buck, he added, "I am not getting into it... it pertains to 2005, and you know who was in power that time." Omar was referring to the coalition of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the Congress that ruled the state from November 2002-August 2008.

On Saturday, Indian broadsheet, *The Times of India*, chose to report on the row over a statement on Hindu terrorism, and comments about Indian Muslims made by former US envoy to New Delhi, David Mulford. In a commentary about India's 150 million-plus Muslims, Mulford stated: "India's vibrant democracy, inclusive culture and growing economy have made it easier for Muslim youth to find a place in the mainstream, reduced the pool of potential recruits, and the space in which Islamic extremist organisations can operate."

There was no mention of torture or of Kashmir in the newspapers.

It is doubtful that India will make changes after these leaks, but hope never dies in places where violence is a way of life. Kashmiris are still hoping, against all odds, for a change.

Dilnaz Boga is a CPACS alumnus who finished her Master degree in 2004. She currently works as a journalist with the Mumbai Mirror. With co-director and fellow journalist, Aliefa Vahanvaty, Dilnaz made the documentary film Invisible Kashmir: The Other Side of Jannat, which was shown at numerous colleges, film clubs and film festivals in India and abroad, and has received support and praise from both Muslim and Hindu Kashmiris for its depiction of the alienation felt by many young people in Kashmir. See box for details of an international award received by Dilnaz for her work in Kashmir.

Indian Journalist Takes AFP Prize for Kashmir Work

HONG KONG, MARCH 30, 2011 (AFP) - DILNAZ BOGA, AN INDIAN REPORTER AND PHOTOGRAPHER, RECEIVED THE KATE WEBB PRIZE FROM AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE ON WEDNESDAY FOR HER COURAGEOUS INVESTIGATIVE WORK IN INDIAN-ADMINISTERED KASHMIR.

Boga, 33, spent a year in Srinagar working for the respected news portal Kashmir Dispatch as well as a number of international publications and websites, the culmination of a decade covering the troubled region.

She received a certificate and 3,000 euros (\$4,200) in cash from Eric Wishart, AFP's regional director for the Asia-Pacific region, in a ceremony at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Hong Kong.

"Dilnaz Boga is a more than worthy recipient of the third Kate Webb Award, and her work stood out from a very strong field of applicants from across the region," Wishart said.

Boga said the prize money would help support her future coverage of Kashmir as an independent journalist.

"I, on behalf of my colleagues in Kashmir, would like to say that we will not stop

telling the truth at any cost," Boga said.

She vowed to "fight the battle against forgetfulness -- for we know that there can be no peace without justice".

The Kate Webb Prize was launched in 2008 in honour of a legendary AFP correspondent in Asia who blazed a trail for women in international journalism.

The prize recognises exceptional work produced by locally engaged Asian journalists operating in dangerous or difficult circumstances in the region.

It is administered by the AFP Foundation, a non-profit organisation created to promote higher standards of journalism worldwide, and the Webb family.

"Dilnaz has shown a lot of drive in going to live in Kashmir to report on the impact of a very volatile situation, and on the lives of ordinary people, especially children," Webb's brother Jeremy and sister Rachel Miller said in a statement.

"In doing so, she obviously uses her direct experiences with the people she is reporting on to shape how she writes about issues. That very much reflects Kate's way of operating particularly in the early part of her career," they added.

Before working in Srinagar, Mumbai-based Boga earned a master's degree in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney with a dissertation on the psychological impact of human rights violations on children in Kashmir.

The inaugural Kate Webb Prize was given in 2008 to Pakistani journalist Mushtaq Yusufzai for his reports from the border region between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The 2009 prize was awarded to the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, which was chosen for its fearless work in the deadliest country for reporters.

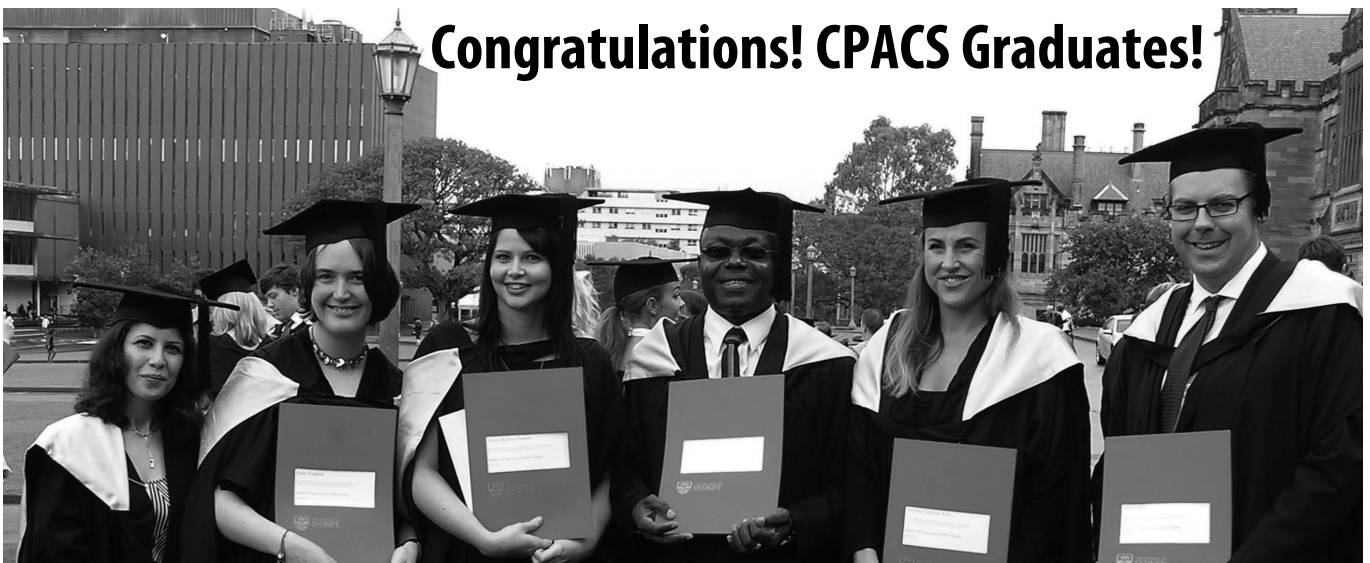
Webb, who died in 2007 at the age of 64, was one of the finest correspondents to have worked for AFP, earning a reputation for bravery while covering wars and other historic events in the Asia-Pacific region over a career spanning four decades.

She first made her name as a UPI correspondent in the Vietnam War prior to assignments in other parts of Southeast Asia as well as India and the Middle East with AFP.

AFP 301207

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Congratulations! CPACS Graduates!



CPACS students Sahar Okhovat, Holly Fingland, Emma Dawson, Jude Ogonnaya, Nichola Krey, and Allan Foster at the graduation ceremony, April 2011



CPACS Community in photos

FROM TOP LEFT CLOCKWISE

1 Gal Farchi, Cecilia Paraluppi, Friya Mehta, Ben McAlpine and Lexi Miller at end of semester dinner November 2010

2 Part-time lecturers Dr Erik Paul, Dr Ken Macnab, Dr Frank Hutchinson and Ms Lynette Simons at Welcome Lunch, March 2011

3 Part-time lecturers Mr Peter Herborn and Ms Leticia Anderson at Teaching Day, February 2011

4 MLitt student Paul Duffill with his fiancée, Izumi Sato, at end of semester dinner, November 2010

5 CPACS students Scott Heardon, Daniel Jang and Yoganaadan Kadir at end of semester dinner November 2010

6 New students Edyta, Samantha, Jakub, Amanda and Sascha at Welcome Lunch, March 2011

7 Students in Conflict aResolution and Peacebuilding class, October 2010, Alex, Annaliza, Awab, Julie, Katie and Anna

8 Mr Abe Quadan (standing) with assessor and students in Community Mediation class, Summer School 2011

