



THE UNIVERSITY OF
SYDNEY

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies



PeaceWrites newsletter

No. 2013/1

May 2013

CONTENTS

CPACS Graduation Celebrations	1
Media demonisation of asylum seekers: What can be done?	2
Restorative Justice and the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse	4
The Human Survival Project: Last Chance to Avert Human Extinction?	6
In Honour of Outrage	7
Kenya Learns to Walk at 50	8
Working for Children's Rights in Uganda	9
Feminism, Don't Mention It	10
Finding PJ in Green Reporting	11
A Brief History of Violent Conflict in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	12
Reflection from the Swan Island Peace Convergence, 2012	14
CPACS Community Celebrations	16
Student and Alumni Activities	18
Why a world of democracies would be a world without war?	20
Peace in Tuol Sleng: Notes on an afternoon in the genocide museum	21
The Statesman: Giving up on Pakistan Was Never an Option	23
A Nobel for Europe ? Bravo !	24
Burma: Nobel peace without justice for world's most oppressed people	26
An interview with a Rambo survivor	27
Addressing HIV with South Africa's Youth	28
Do women benefit from war?	29
Peace through Tourism: Promoting Human Security Through International Citizenship	31
The Peace Process in the Philippines	31
Peace through Sailing	32

Editors: Punam Yadav & Lydia Gitau
P +61 2 9351 7686 F +61 2 9660 0862
E arts.cpacs@sydney.edu.au
W sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies
Mackie Building, The University of Sydney
NSW 2006, Australia

Photo credits – Bonaventure Mkandawire, Jake Lynch, Juliet Bennett, Sue Cohen, Hilary Roots, Sam Chivers, Lynda Blanchard, Lydia Gitau, Punam Yadav, and Wendy Lambourne.

Layout – Marc Eliemel Tagub

DISCLAIMER: The views in this publication are solely those of the contributors.

CPACS Graduation Celebrations!

by Wendy Lambourne

CPACS congratulates its three newest doctoral graduates and coursework students who graduated in the past six months. Two Pacific Island residents graduated with MPACS degrees on 14 December 2012: Hilary Roots from New Caledonia and Nanise Caba Saune from Fiji. Dr Annie Herro, whose PhD research explored the potential creation of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service, also graduated at the same ceremony. Mary Ann Rasaiah graduated with her MPACS degree in absentia.



Hilary Roots and Nanise Caba Saune at their MPACS graduation on 14 December 2012



Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees and Dr Wendy Lambourne with Dr Neven Bondokji and Dr James Tonny Dhizaala at their graduation on 24 April 2013.

Dr James Tonny Dhizaala, Dr Neven Bondokji and ten CPACS coursework students graduated on 24 April 2013. Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees (CPACS founding Director and my former PhD supervisor), Dr Annie Herro (whose PhD I supervised along with Stuart), and I were in the academic procession to mark the graduation. Three generations of CPACS academics! A fitting way to observe the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, I reflected.

James, who came from Uganda to Sydney five years ago, completed his PhD at CPACS under my supervision, assessing the contribution of the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission to peace and reconciliation. Neven's doctoral thesis examined the cycle of violence in the discourse of Hamas, with CPACS Director, Associate Professor Jake Lynch, as her supervisor.



New CPACS graduates Rosie Terry, Sue Cohen and Sascha Nanlohy, 24 April 2013

Rosie Terry completed a Graduate Certificate (PACS) whilst Sue Cohen and Sascha Nanlohy graduated with an MPACS degree. They were joined at the ceremony on 24 April by fellow MPACS graduates Nathan Brown, Dominic Monckton and Genevieve Norrie, whilst Ben Lohmeyer (South Africa), Marc Tagub (Philippines) and Hannah Ireland graduated in absentia.

Congratulations to all!

Dr Wendy Lambourne is Deputy Director and Academic Coordinator at CPACS.

Media demonisation of asylum seekers: what can be done?

by Jake Lynch and Mekela Panditharatne

Shock horror! *The Sydney Daily Telegraph* held its front page, one day in late March, for an 'exclusive' by political reporter Gemma Jones, that asylum seekers were being given free

medical treatment for a range of ailments from back pain to impacted wisdom teeth. Why, a pregnant woman was even offered 'occasional childcare support' to help look after her two other children, after they stepped off a boat on to an unfamiliar shore. A side panel on an inside page, overshadowed by a lurid headline about 'lurks and perks' for refugees, noted drily that she 'declined the offer'.

Reading through the litany of cases, one element is conspicuous by its absence – the voice, or even any meaningful characterisation, of asylum seekers themselves. Most are described simply as 'Man, 38' or some such formula. The dental patient was a '27-year-old Tamil Tiger, suspected of committing a war crime', the paper said, quoting 'immigration officials'. It's difficult to imagine how they could have formed such a view, except on information from the Sri Lankan government, itself accused of serious war crimes. But the salient point here is that refugees and asylum seekers are, in this and so much other news coverage, effectively stripped of their identity.

That is what makes them effective scapegoats. An apparently unshakeable conviction seems to have soaked deep into the soul of many Australian voters concerning their 'entitlements'. It's created an audience for 'outrage' at any suggestion that someone else is receiving any kind of undeserved benison. 'So much of our culture, so many of our public discussions contain some suspicion or assertion... that someone else might be getting preferment', the political journalist Laura Tingle reflected. 'The belief that we are entitled to a lifestyle that we think everyone else may be enjoying seems to simmer not far beneath the surface. [In] the debate about asylum seekers... the swirling myths that people who arrive by boat are handed a goodie bag of entitlements as they step ashore... [offer] a conspicuous example'.

Implicit in such myths is that if access to health care (for instance) is 'handed' to asylum seekers, there is automatically less to go round among those who 'deserve' it. Anxieties and insecurities that perturb Australians in their everyday lives can therefore be blamed on someone. Resentments that, in spite of continuous economic growth, life does not feel as secure and prosperous as people feel it should, are controlled and instrumentalised through a process that Murray Edelman, an American communication scholar, called 'political spectacle'. Basically, public attention is directed towards a threatening 'other', through a 'mediated drama' that produces an 'aroused response' – while being simultaneously distracted from other issues less expedient to the author of the drama.

Crucially, for this to work there has to be a 'psychological distancing' effect. The necessary responses cannot be engendered by alienating voters from the friendly and familiar. It requires a group of people we don't know and never meet. Readers of the *Daily Telegraph* would feel, at least, uneasy about keeping someone in pain rather than giving them a

simple operation if they had met them, and could put a name to a face.

Research carried out by Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick, with a grant from the Australian Research Council, involved showing TV viewers different versions of familiar news stories. One of them, in the Sydney branch of the study, was about government handling of asylum claims. The biggest difference between the versions was the inclusion, in the second, of an interview with an Afghan refugee who'd settled here after fleeing on a boat. Viewers of the second version were more empathetic, less angry and fearful, and more likely to discuss ideas for sensible initiatives to treat asylum seekers with more humanity (1).

A similar effect was wrought by the series of programmes from SBS Television, *Go Back To Where You Came From*. Viewers watched as a group of Australians put themselves in the shoes of asylum seekers setting out on the perilous journey to reach sanctuary in Australia. Imogen Bailey, the model and actor who took part in Series 2 of the programme, joined Annabel and me, as well as CPACS' Dr Lucy Fiske, Human Rights Commissioner Professor Gillian Triggs, and a group of senior journalists in Sydney to reflect on how asylum stories are covered in the media, and options for improvement.

Convened as an initiative of the Sydney Peace Foundation, the discussion last October was intended to provide a resource for advocacy and the basis for putting forward a standard, to recognise and encourage good reporting of asylum seeker issues. CPACS intern Mekela Panditharatne has worked with the transcript to produce the following summary of the discussion, and ideas for improvement: (2)

Improving coverage of asylum seeker stories

Current Australian coverage of asylum issues typically involves a crude dyadic view of a policy conflict, which is organised around a classic claim/counter-claim lens, is replete with inundation metaphors, and privileges the voices of antagonistic political parties. The research presented to the conference demonstrated a correlation between such coverage, and audience hostility and contempt. Where sensationalised language was removed, however, and the voices of asylum seekers heard, disillusionment and distrust within the audience decreased.

Such research makes it incumbent upon the profession to examine its own ethical obligations towards making a meaningful contribution to the asylum seeker debate. The way these stories are framed has been shown to have a significant impact on the reception and interpretation of political messages. The news need not straddle the spectrum of views on asylum seeker issues, from out-and-out xenophobia to impassioned advocacy, but it is clear that something more than mere regurgitation of partisan press releases is needed.

In particular, a sensibility to background issues, nuance of expression, and attention to the human face of asylum is key.

Exercise in Agency

Lack of access to asylum seekers, the 24-hour news cycle, and resource restraints were all hailed as contributing to the inadequate depth of asylum seeker coverage. These structural biases tended to favour news production emphasising the official platforms and rhetoric of the major parties, with little recourse to sources outside the parliamentary halls of Canberra.

Increasing the scope for agency, and finding creative ways to counter the adverse effects of a managerial culture, emerged as top priorities for journalists. Dr Lucy Fiske noted that with the shift to community-based detention, there is greater opportunity for journalists to make contact with asylum seekers. Lauren Petterson, of SBS News, raised the importance of taking time to negotiate entry into detention facilities.

Even apart from asylum seekers themselves, a number of agents have a genuine role in advocating for policy change: agencies, charities, and whole communities. A number of media-aware individuals from within refugee communities, who arrived in many cases to seek asylum by boat, have emerged as fluent and authoritative speakers, and should be engaged and encouraged.

More attention to the methodologies of news production is needed; as Annabel McGoldrick noted, freshness and ingenuity in reporting can only increase audience engagement. *Go Back to Where You Came From* remains an example of professional innovation, which piqued audience interest. Imogen Bailey discussed the importance of re-incentivising investigative journalism, or 'organic fact-finding as a process. Diversification of news sources runs parallel to greater vision and independence within the news journalism profession, and to shaking up the monotony of bureaucratic routine.

Political Geographies

Geographies of identity are defining and delimiting the journalistic process. Tendencies to source production and images from the Australian political heartland reflect a preoccupation with the impact of policy on domestic political disputes. As Jake Lynch observed, the physical isolation of Canberra further reinforces a divide between politics and people that informs news reporting.

If the news mediates our experience of space, place and geography, then expanding the reach of news coverage grows the world-view of those exposed to it. Imogen Bailey discussed the narrow introspection of the current Australia media, arguing for the need for the news to contextualise

the experiences of asylum seekers through transnational reporting. That journalists and producers must move away from spatial imagery reinforcing metaphors of foreign 'invasion' and 'inundation' is also clear.

Professor Gillian Triggs, Australian Human Rights Commissioner, raised the imperative for international law to act as an impartial arbiter of refugee policy. Human rights law reflects a global standard of universally agreed norms, and the public should be able to test offshore processing and arbitrary detention policies against Australia's obligations under international law. Professor Triggs stressed the need for the media to familiarise itself with such instruments as the Refugee Convention, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

There are now plans to produce an edited version of the transcript from the discussion, with a full Executive Summary and recommendations, and to stage a second, counterpart event in Canberra for specialist Political Reporters.

Associate Professor Jake Lynch is Director of CPACS and Mekela Panditharatne is an intern at CPACS

(1) Jake Lynch's forthcoming book, published by Routledge, *A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict*, presents and discusses the full findings. Details here: http://www.routledge.com/catalogs/routledge_research_media_and_communication/1/10/
(2) Produced from the original recording by Bonnie Kelly, Events Coordinator and Communications Assistant of the Sydney Peace Foundation.

Restorative Justice and the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse

by Wendy Lambourne and Rob Mackay

The Australian Government has recently launched a Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse which will investigate child sexual abuse in a range of institutions, including churches and other religious institutions, residential schools, sporting clubs and other community groups. Its aim is to establish whether institutions handled allegations of child sexual abuse appropriately and what more can be done to better protect children under their care. Six commissioners have been appointed for a three year term and the first hearing was held on 3 April 2013. An interim report is planned for mid-2014, with a final report due at the end of 2015.

Private sessions will also be available in addition to public hearings, and the Commission is expecting more than 5000 submissions. It will focus on policies and practices, with a view to future change. However, the Commission can compel the production of evidence and refer cases to police for potential prosecution relating to past abuses, and has indicated that

a free national legal advisory service will be established. It has recently announced that psychological support services will also be set up for victims and others giving testimony. Victim support groups have advocated for the importance of appropriate training for all involved to understand the effect of traumatic stress on survivors. There is a need to build trust in the Royal Commission to counter previous experiences of institutional denial and foster the process of healing.

Survivors' expectations of the Royal Commission are broad and deep, and include: uncovering the truth of what happened, naming and shaming, acknowledgement and affirmation that survivors are believed; justice and accountability comprising criminal investigations, prosecutions and convictions, together with civil legal settlements; acceptance of responsibility by institutions; institutional reform; addressing systemic failures, including states' responsibilities; improvements to child protection practices; services for survivors in the form of a national response system and a standardised, coordinated response across states; a healing experience for survivors coming forward to tell their stories; and compensation or reparations to cover the ongoing medical and other costs incurred by survivors. It is unlikely that all of these expectations will be met under the Commission's mandate.

Participating in the SBS Insight TV program on 'Healing' (aired on 5 March 2013), it was clear that survivors are hurt and angry, especially in relation to the Roman Catholic Church which, they say, has treated them with a lack of dignity and respect. Similar inquiries in Victoria and Queensland, and in Northern Ireland, have been accused of providing insufficient psychological support and leaving victims unsatisfied. In the wake of the Royal Commission being established, the Catholic Church has set up a Truth, Justice and Healing Council to provide a central point for information sharing with the Commission and to facilitate the full truth being told in order to support justice and healing for victims. This is a welcome initiative, and we hope that it will provide an impetus to address the issues of unresolved pain and conflict that have affected relationships in the Catholic Church, and survivors who are no longer attached to the church. There are also other churches and religious institutions with similar issues to address.

To support the national process, we propose complementary community, diocesan and parish-based restorative processes in the church to address the impact of abuse of vulnerable people by members of the clergy and others in positions of responsibility. The experience of child sexual abuse by trusted priests and other clergy, and the subsequent denials, mishandling of complaints and cover-ups by the church, has left a need for spiritual healing in addition to redress for the physical and psychological harms caused. The situation is complex because of the large number of people affected, including families of victims, priests and religious who are wrongly accused, priests and religious who feel hurt, and members of the laity who have been distressed by events.

From a legal perspective, the situation is complicated by the number of relevant jurisdictions including canon law as well as state criminal and civil law, and legal parties including the direct offender, those guilty of suppressing evidence of crime, the victim and the church. It is also challenging because many of the cases occurred some years ago.

Restorative Justice is an approach to doing justice that focuses on dealing directly with the harm done and its consequences for all those involved, particularly the victim and the offender, but also including the wider community. It is a peacemaking model of justice. Its aims are to repair the harm insofar as this is possible, and to put in place measures that will reduce the likelihood of reoffending and assist the victim to recover as much as possible from the experience. The approach typically depends on the offender taking responsibility for the offence and for the harm that they have done. However, in this field, few if any direct offenders will be seen to be in a position to participate in restorative processes.

Restorative justice takes on one aspect of the traditional criminal justice principle of retribution, in holding the offender to account. It also takes on some aspects of rehabilitation, through the idea of promoting the reform of the offender and the healing for the victim. It thus embraces two important principles of our criminal justice system, but transcends them by focusing on the people and their reintegration into the community.

Restorative approaches have been adopted at all levels of seriousness in criminal justice – penal systems worldwide, from pre-prosecution through to reconciliation work between relatives of murder victims and offenders awaiting execution.

Restorative approaches have also been adopted in the school setting and workplaces, and applied to the context of transitional societies rebuilding and recovering after mass human rights violations in such countries as South Africa, Rwanda and Timor Leste.

The restorative justice model sits very well alongside Christian and other religious traditions concerning the repairing of harm. What one contributor at the Marquette University conference on restorative justice and the Clerical Abuse Scandal in 2011, Peter Elliot, described as the scriptural cycle (or sequence) of Confession => Repentance => Forgiveness which is compatible with the principles and processes of restorative practice.

This complicated context gives rise to a number of questions and reflections, however. What happens when the direct offender does not take responsibility or is not thought eligible to participate in restorative practices? Can the churches be persuaded to accept responsibility and provide surrogate offenders in restorative processes? Can those who have suppressed evidence participate in restorative processes?

Who will provide restorative justice services? Can the church provide restorative services in non-criminal matters such as breach of trust? What types of harm can be addressed by restorative justice?

A further area of complexity relates to the three layers of harm and restoration. As indicated above, harm can be seen as material, psychological (including psycho-social and psycho-sexual) and spiritual. What we are looking at in this context is on the frontiers of conventional restorative justice practice, alternative dispute resolution and therapeutic practice. To address this, we need to expand our theorisation of moral injury to include spiritual injury⁽¹⁾.

Some of the options that could be considered include: developing the work of supporting victims and promoting healing; initiating work to support the reintegration of offenders within the community such as *Circles of Support and Accountability*; and exploring the viability of approaches to bring victims and offenders together to facilitate healing (including when possible spiritual healing).

Three examples of restorative practices which could be implemented include healing circles, conferencing or privately facilitated meetings between victims and senior church officials. *Healing Circles* would involve any combination of victims, offenders and community representatives, who may or may not know each other, while *Conferencing* would involve those directly involved in a particular harmful event and community supporters. It is critical that whoever stands in the place of the offender in any such processes takes full responsibility for what has happened. The safety and wellbeing of survivors is the paramount factor in such restorative processes. This includes both the proper preparation of participants for meetings and the application of strong practice protocols for meetings involving victims and offenders.

Other potential options could include exploring mechanisms for appropriate non-litigious means for victims to obtain material reparation, which would mean exploring effective mediation between victims and the churches. There is also potential for peacemaking within religious communities that have experienced trauma and conflict as a result of child sexual abuse, which could take the form of community building, reconciliation and peacemaking within the church community. Finally, there is scope for exploring the range of restorative justice practices to see how they could apply to the totality of issues that the church faces.

We recommend that a working project be set up outside the church with independent mediators, facilitators or restorative justice practitioners and academics to explore the design and implementation of restorative justice processes as an adjunct to the Royal Commission to facilitate the processes of healing as well as truth and justice which it seeks to promote. This work can begin now without needing to wait for the results of

the Royal Commission to initiate it. We therefore encourage the churches to take the opportunity to support and engage with restorative initiatives so as to provide the benefits of restorative practices to victims as soon as possible.

For further information and support see the websites of the Royal Commission <http://www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/Pages/default.aspx>; Adults Surviving Child Abuse <http://www.asca.org.au/>; and Broken Rites <http://brokenrites.alphalink.com.au/>

Rob Mackay is an accredited mediator, family dispute resolution practitioner and social worker with Edan Resolutions, based in Newcastle. Dr Wendy Lambourne is Senior Lecturer and Deputy Director of CPACS.

(1) Rob Mackay (forthcoming), 'The nexus between restorative justice and rights' in T. Gavrielides & V. Artinopoulou (eds) *Reconstructing the Restorative Justice Philosophy: Greek Philosophers and Human Rights*. Aldershot UK: Ashgate.

The Human Survival Project: Last Chance to Avert Human Extinction?

by John Hallam

The Human Survival Project arose out of a series of discussions between Professor Peter King, founder-president and later director of CPACS, and John Hallam of People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND) in 2009 when we started to work together lobbying the Rudd government's newly created International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament together with Steven Starr of the University of Missouri who was visiting Australia courtesy of PND.

Steve very much rubbed our noses in the fact that the nightmare of the 1980s, an accidental apocalypse that could/would even go so far as to cause human extinction was/is still on the global agenda. Though global nuclear arsenals are thankfully a fraction of the size they were in 1986, when there were over 75,000 nuclear weapons, the US and Russia still possess a total of around 8-10,000 warheads each, of which about 5000 each are 'operational' in some sense, and of which around 1000 each are kept on high alert, able to be launched in 'a few dozens of seconds'.

The Human Survival Project emerged from the discussions Peter and I had about this possibility and in part out of a now quasi-legendary discussion that I had in May 2012 with Colonel Valery Yarynich, formerly of the Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces. after having attended the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty Preparatory Commission in Vienna. Together we found a suitable locker for his luggage at Praterstern Railway Station and came to a certain cafe, nothing special, where we purchased a couple of beers.

And sat down and talked...talked about a whole range of things,

including the way Colonel Valery explained his preoccupations to his daughters. ("I am doing what I do so that you can keep on doing what you do, and so that everyone can keep on doing what they do" [and not be vaporized.])

Colonel Valery, formerly the USSR's top expert on nuclear command and control, who brought the Perimtr 'doomsday machine' into operation before turning his attention to nuclear disarmament, mentioned that he thought maybe the next important thing for him to do was to perform an analysis of the probability of human extinction with, and without, nuclear weapons on high alert.

This was May and he came to Australia for a wildly successful speaking tour in August (when he launched the Human Survival Project)—but Valery, tragically, died of cancer on 13 December in Moscow.

However, his idea lives on.

And others (Martin Hellman; Barrett, Baum and Hofstadler) are in various ways working on trying to put some kind of number on the likelihood of an accidental apocalypse that would possibly bring about human extinction (and on how to minimise that likelihood.)

The 'other end' of the human extinction equation is, of course, the work done by Professors Alan Robock and Brian Toon and others on nuclear winter. Their story is that the nuclear winter theory of the 1980s—that smoke from, amongst other things, burning cities (the smoke is us) will dim the sun and cause the lowest global surface temperatures since the last ice age, bringing about global famine—is more true than was widely concluded at the time.

The Human Survival Project hosted a brilliant lecture by Alan Robock at the end of January.

The three challenges that the HSP has set for itself are: (1) to arrive at rough numbers for the probability of human self-extinction brought about by large-scale use of nuclear weapons (which still by far tops the list of apocalyptic contingencies facing humanity); (2) to persuade governments to do the right thing and eliminate nuclear weapons altogether, as per the Article VI obligation in the NPT, and as per the repeated expressed will of about 180 out of 190 governments at the UN, and (3) to combat, reform and/or replace those ignorant, unthinking, unreflective, perverse and/or inhumane nuclearised attitudes which persist among scholars, statespersons, "strategists" (who would cheerfully strategise us all to death), opinion leaders and opinion followers—and which threaten the minimal integrity of "the world" as we know it.

To that end, Prof. Peter King and I will attend the 'Second Preparatory Committee Meeting for the 2015 NPT Review Conference' to be held from 22 April to 4 May in the Palais des Nations in Geneva, where we are holding a workshop (known

as an 'NGO Side-Event') on 'Nuclear Weapons and Human Survival'.

To do this one has to navigate through miles of kafkaesque online bureaucracy in order to get accreditation, which does things like let you into the UN building. Literally, without starting about three months ahead you won't even get into the building!

However...it all seems to be happening. The right letters and forms have arrived, fares have been paid and tickets bought, and on 26 April, together with David Krieger from the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (Santa Barbara, Cal.) and Aaron Tovish of Mayors for Peace (the global federation of thousands of municipalities and cities, of which Sydney is one, that seeks to eliminate nuclear weapons), we are presenting, to the assembled diplomats and NGOs, papers on nuclear weapons and human survival.

This isn't the first time that the HSP has presented to the world. We did it last May in Vienna with Colonel Valery and in New York last October last with just me. PND, precursor and now partner of the HSP, has also organised a number of successful trips by other global nuclear experts, notably Hans Kristensen of the Federation of American Scientists, world authority on the non-likelihood of "nuclear re-alerting races."

The two conveners of the HSP, as we've inevitably started to call it, now boasts an advisory team of six distinguished people, namely Helen Caldicott, Alyn Ware, Steven Starr, Anne Noonan, Frank Hutchison and Jake Lynch. You can check out the HSP online, and don't miss "Shakespeare and Nuclear Weapons", at

http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/practice/human_survival_project.shtml

Peter and I are of course always eager to talk about it.

Hopefully the conveners (us) will organise a workshop on the significance of the UN as a forum for global nuclear disarmament and dissent on our return.

John Hallam is a member of the CPACS Council and a co-convenor of the Human Survival Project.

In Honour of Outrage: Sydney Peace Foundation awards a posthumous Gold Medal to Stéphane Hessel

by Juliet Bennett

On 2 May 2013, at the Australian Embassy in Paris, France, the Sydney Peace Foundation will award a posthumous Gold Medal for Human Rights to Stéphane Hessel for his life-long contribution to building a more peaceful and just society.

Stéphane Hessel, a German born Jew whose family fled to France, became a fighter in the French Resistance where he



The photo of Stéphane Hessel was taken by Marie-Lan Nguyen at Europe Écologie's closing rally of the 2010 French regional elections campaign at the Cirque d'hiver, Paris.

was captured, tortured and escaped execution by the Nazis. On returning to Paris, Hessel became a diplomat and was one of twelve members of the committee who drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As the Ambassador for France at the United Nations in Geneva, Hessel promoted non-violent responses to conflict and made a stand against human rights abuses. In 2009 Hessel published a short 30-page book INDIGNEZ-VOUS! (Get Angry! Cry Out!) that became an inspiration to popular protest, particularly the Occupy Movements, around the world.

Under its English title Time for Outrage, Hessel encourages



French Occupy protesters participating in a rally as part of the 63rd anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on 10 December, 2011 in center Paris.

citizens of the world to find our “reason for indignation” and “join the great course of history,” helping it to move “toward greater justice and greater freedom.” He acknowledged that in this “vast, interdependent world” it is not always easy to see whose actions are causing the problems. Yet he reminds us, “there are unbearable things all around us... Open your eyes and you will see.”

Hessel describes two central challenges: “The grievous injustices inflicted on people deprived of the essential requirements for a decent life;” and “The violation of basic freedoms and fundamental rights.”

The widening gap between rich and poor is a reason for outrage, “not only in the third world... but in the suburbs of our largest Western cities.” We must “not be defeated by the tyranny of the world financial markets that threaten peace and democracy everywhere.”

Under the heading “Palestine: My Own Outrage” Hessel says, “Israel is not above international laws.” As a Jew, as a survivor of the Holocaust, and as someone who had visited Gaza and the West Bank many times, his outrage at Israel’s cruelty towards the Palestinians is of particular significance. We must help others claim their rights and grip tightly onto our own—“we must never surrender these rights.” Hessel calls for: “a rebellion—peaceful and resolute—against the instruments of mass media that offer our young people a worldview defined by the temptations of mass consumption, a disdain for the weak, and a contempt for culture, historical amnesia, and the relentless competition of all against all.” Hessel believed in the power of people to make a difference. Stéphane Hessel was originally selected to be the 16th recipient of the Prize in November 2013. On 6 March 2013 before arrangements for the award of this prize could be made, at 95-years old, Hessel passed away quietly in his sleep. Following an address by Chair Stuart Rees, and a reception graciously hosted by Australian Ambassador to France Ric Wells, the Gold Medal will be presented to Hessel’s widowed wife, Madame Christane Hessel-Chabry. The Foundation hopes that this award will help broadcast Hessel’s words of outrage and hope, and that his legacy will continue to spread and inspire non-violent outrage around the world!

Juliet Bennett is the Executive Officer of the Sydney Peace Foundation.

Notes:

All quotes are from: Stéphane Hessel (2010) *Time for Outrage*, translated by Marion Duvert, Hachette Book Group: New York.

“Find your own reasons to get angry, and join the great flow of history!”

Kenya Learns to Walk at 50

by Lydia Gitau

I’ve finally gathered enough courage to write this article, reflecting on Kenya’s first national elections since the 2007-2008 post-election violence that marred Kenya’s image internationally and broke the confidence of Kenyans immensely as to their ability to forge forward in ‘peace, love and unity’ according to the Kenyan motto. I think I’ve been subconsciously afraid to face up to the intensity of the violence and its effects – the subject has been too close to home for me to stand aside and give it even the mildest of an analysis. Within a matter of days, Kenya witnessed violent blood-letting as people of different ethnic groups fought as a result of the disputed Presidential Election results in the 2007 general elections. As a result, 1333 people were killed and approximately 600,000 people were displaced. Kenya is still reeling from the effects of this violence five years down the line.

The post-election violence was a point of major regression in Kenya’s development. It is said to have taken Kenya back 40+ years in terms of development. Since its independence from British colonial rule 50 years ago (1963), Kenya had been arguably on a positive developmental path until the violence which retarded this progress. Kenya lost confidence. She could no longer stand, let alone walk, in the sight of all the onlookers: fellow African States that had been looking up to her as an example and a beacon of hope for stability, and Western states that had confidence in Kenya for diplomatic and economic relations.

For the last five years, Kenya has been trying to recover her confidence, to trace her previous steps and to re-learn the art of taking unguided steps: to walk again. Within this period, a lot of attention has been paid to ensuring that Kenya does not erupt into the kind of violence witnessed in 2007-2008. It appears there was a general paranoia of post-election violence, exhibited not only by Kenyans themselves, but the international community as well. All energies in preparation for the elections seemed to go to this prevention.

Amongst the peace efforts instituted by the Kenyan government are the Peace Committees, which are largely a hybrid of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and the modern formal dispute arbitration processes. These have been employed to help prevent, manage, or transform intra-ethnic or interethnic conflicts.

The government with the support of development partners set up a National Secretariat for Conflict Management and Peacebuilding (NSC) with a mandate to coordinate peacebuilding and conflict management interventions in Kenya. The National Draft Policy for Peacebuilding and Conflict Management also seeks to strengthen the emerging national peace architecture.

The result of these consolidated efforts was a determination in Kenyans to avoid similar violence during the 2013 general elections, to prove to the world, and to themselves, that they can carry on without fighting. They tried to avoid violence at all costs. This determination was the gist of all politicians' campaigns, all preachers' sermons, and all leaders' agenda. This strong commitment to 'no violence', coupled with an even stronger defensive stance against any insinuation of existing violence, was what was referred to as 'peace' in the wake of the post-election violence. The quality and sustainability of this peace is debatable.



Snapshots from a peacebuilding dialogue in a community peace meeting. Photo: Margaret Wamukoya

Kenya conducted her national elections governed by the new constitution on 4 March, 2013. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) formed under the new constitution that Kenya adopted in 2010, was responsible for conducting the elections. The adoption of the new constitution and the establishment of the IEBC were among Kenya's responses to the post-election violence that rocked Kenya after the 2007 national elections.

The main presidential candidates were Uhuru Kenyatta, son of the first President of Kenya Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and Raila Odinga, the former Prime Minister in the Coalition government. Most people voted on tribal basis, which remains the main basis of people's identity. Uhuru Kenyatta was announced the winner, with 50.07% of the votes, just a hairline win to avoid a runoff. The results were disputed by Raila Odinga, citing malpractice and rigging of votes. The Kenyan Supreme court held hearings from Raila, civil society groups, and the IEBC judges to solve the dispute. On 30 March 2013, the

Supreme Court ruled that the election was credible and that Uhuru Kenyatta and his running mate William Ruto were validly elected. It was a major point of pride and maturity for Kenya that the dispute this time round was played out in court, and not on the streets.

Several challenges face the new government set up, though early in its inception. Uhuru Kenyatta's win poses a headache to the International community on how to relate to Kenya, especially the United States of America and Europe who maintain only 'essential contact' with governments that are led by ICC indictees. Both Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto are indictees of the International Criminal Court, accused of crimes against humanity for orchestrating the 2007-2008 post-election violence. They are due to face charges in May and July 2013. Interestingly, the two fought on opposite sides in 2007-2008, but in the lead-up to the 2013 elections, they mobilized their respective communities which represent the two largest tribes in Kenya, to garner support for their coalition against Raila, eventually winning the election. It remains to be seen how the two will play out as the country's leaders, and at the same time face the ICC charges. They have promised to cooperate with the ICC process duly.

Perhaps the greatest challenge is how Uhuru and Ruto will lead and foster unity in a country so clearly divided on ethnic lines as portrayed in the election results. Uhuru's 50.07% win demonstrates that half of the population is not confident with him as the President. How will his new government reassure Kenyans of justice, equity, and economic stability in the wake of the division witnessed in the just-concluded elections?

Another major challenge that faces the new leadership is the fact that Kenya is now under a new constitution, passed in 2010 through a referendum. The new constitution has a new complex set up of governance which will require elaborate efforts to maneuver. Will Uhuru and Ruto be up to this enormous task?

Well, all said, Kenya is slowly learning to take confident steps again, and must not turn back but forge forward courageously, for as the Kiswahili saying goes, '*Ukiyavulia nguo, yaoge...*' (If you undress in front of the water, you might as well swim in it...).

Lydia Gitau is a PhD candidate at CPACS.

Working for Children's Rights in Uganda

by Mariam Mathew

I work for Save the Children as the Child Rights Governance (CRG) officer in Uganda. CRG is a thematic area of Save the Children funded by the Norwegian and Danish governments. CRG focuses on three main components: strengthening systems and mechanisms for monitoring and reporting on the

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child; supporting the government of Uganda to strengthen systems and structures to effectively implement government obligations towards fulfillment of children's rights; and building the capacity of civil society to know about children's rights and hold duty bearers accountable to have these rights fulfilled.

As part of my work last year, I supported children to take part in advocacy work. They collected stories of children's involvement in peacebuilding in several parts of the continent including Ethiopia, Southern Sudan and Zimbabwe. They represented the stories in a series of meetings in Norway and the US to advocate for a resolution to be passed on children's involvement in peacebuilding work.



Mariam with some of the children in an advocacy project.

Mariam Mathew is a CPACS alumnus working with Save the Children as the Child Rights Governance Officer in Uganda.

Feminism, Don't Mention It

by Lisa Townshend

I was recently re-reading one of Cynthia Enloe's cornerstone texts *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (1989) and it made me think about the impact of feminist political thought on our lives today. One of the key points Enloe makes throughout the book is how the structure of international politics controls and restricts women's autonomy, applauding and institutionalising male dominance. She, like other feminist writers and international relations scholars at the time, introduced to the discipline the perspectives, experiences and voices of women, minority groups and the disempowered. Received as a radical feminist interpretation of the world in 1989, it has just as much relevance today as it did in then.

"Where are the women?" Enloe asked referring to the role

of professional women in society. She suggests most women are not in positions of power and act as assistants to their male bosses. Although today, we are increasingly seeing more women in positions of authority, I believe complacency is pushing feminist ideals into the background. Feminism, it seems, is less popular than the Pope.

Whether it be the plight of women in Australia or abroad, domestic violence (which most agree is unacceptable), or the invisible social and professional channelling of women and men into different occupations, in many social settings these topics are generally boycotted. I would like to ask why? "Well, that's just the way things are", "it will take too long to resolve" are some common responses. I generally retort, "But why should it be this way?" Some may think I am naïve, or just don't know "the way the world works" yet, however, I don't think it was naivety that outlawed slavery, introduced the idea of universal human rights, or gave women the vote in the majority of countries.

Our fundamental human rights, which at least in the developed world are generally taken for granted, were fought for and won. For this reason if nothing else, they should not be "given back" or taken away easily. To be fair, women's rights have come a long way. The suffragette and the women's liberation movements throughout the twentieth century made an immense difference to the lives of women and their rights across most of the Western world. We are no longer restricted to the kitchen or banished from public life, and we have sexual discrimination and gender equity legislations protecting our legal rights. But, it is time for more.

Although in Australia women do enjoy a relatively "equal" existence alongside their male counterparts, there are various aspects of life where being female is just a bit of a drawback. One of those is employment. As the Australian Workplace Gender Equality Agency has found, female graduates earn significantly less than male graduates and for no apparent reason. The Agency recorded that, on average, the gender gap for starting graduate salaries was \$2000 in 2011 and \$5000 in 2012 (1). While this disparity only affects a small percentage of the Australian population, it is nonetheless important. Why is it that educated women in the twenty-first century, in a developed Western country where women are supposedly equal, are earning a significantly lower wage than their male equivalents? Why is there hardly a peep from the general population? Is this acceptable?

Any resolution would in my opinion involve a restructuring of corporate culture and a new social revolution committed to righting institutionalised gender inequality. However, what concerns me most is the lack of public interest in Australia's gender-related issues. It seems that now we have ostensibly "equal rights" the response to any discussion of rights for women is "what do you want now?" Do we really have to have no rights before society takes women's complaints seriously?

And if we do accept lower pay without protest, what will come next?

Last year, Prime Minister Julia Gillard's "misogyny" speech attracted widespread international attention and brought some critical gender issues in Australian society to the table. Although Gillard's motive and message have been widely criticised, it has at least brought some unspoken inequalities into the open. The hope is that such dialogue can move from political speak to action.

So reading Enloe's timeless take on international politics really struck a chord. Perhaps now is no different to when she was writing in 1989. Perhaps now is the time to take feminism to the next step, and break free from the institutionalised, social and cultural inequalities still prevalent in Australian society. Of course, opposition to the status quo is always shunned until it becomes an accepted norm. Then, we look back and struggle to understand how colonialism and slavery ever took place when it was obviously not right. So at your next dinner party, why not mention it.

Lisa Townshend is a CPACS student.

(1) Australian government's Workplace Gender Equality Agency, GradStats – starting salaries, January 2013, http://www.wgea.gov.au/sites/default/files/2013-01-07_GradStats_factsheet_tag.pdf.

Finding PJ in Green Reporting

by Maria Frencie Carreon

Much of the literature on peace journalism is focused on armed conflict and violence, although its forerunners Johan Galtung, Jake Lynch, Annabel McGoldrick and all others in the academic field who put their minds and hearts into this discipline, did not specify that conflict has to be so.

In April 2012 I went to do fieldwork in the Philippines and while there, was invited by MindaNews, a media information cooperative, and the Ateneo De Davao University to give a 16-hour lecture series on Peace Journalism and Environment Reporting at the 5th Mindanao Summer Institute of Journalism. Most of the attendees were practicing journalists, a few were environment advocates working as information officers in non-government organizations, and a handful were mass communication students from four universities in southern Philippines and South Korea.

Environment reporting in the Philippines has been a misunderstood field, at least among practicing journalists who have been reporting on casualties and damages in mining sites and disaster areas, according to statements of politicians and local leaders glorifying their contributions to displaced communities and victims of environment-related catastrophes. "Environment reporting" (or what is called the

green beat if it is the journalist's fairly regular assignment) has been unconsciously confined to mining deaths statistics, occasional heroic leadership by some politicians who march off to shorelines for some coastal clean-up events and to not-too-bare mountainsides for tree planting activities. On occasion, injustices brought upon indigenous peoples as victims of the environment-related disasters are published as off-shoots of crime reports.

My areas of coverage in the early years of my journalism practice have always been on defense, life in the community grassroots level in armed conflict villages in southern Philippines, and conflict had taken deep roots in the mining issue, wherein human rights violations and social injustices were principal matters. My fair share on environment reporting was on specific subjects: the endangered Philippine Eagle which is the world's largest eagle, some migratory birds, on regional biodiversity in southern Philippines, unusual sea and local volcanic movements, and on climate change. And I thought that sharing my experience along with some theoretical knowledge would be helpful to the audience, as I saw the need for more reporters on the green beat, and the need for us to explore how to blend peace journalism into environment reporting.

In 2003, the BBC produced a documentary featuring David Attenborough's global trail from Kenya to Ecuador, from the Philippines and the Maldives to Easter Island, and from South Africa to California. While showcasing the planet's natural resources across continents, the documentary posed challenges for television audiences on the causes of an existing extinction crisis that could worsen in the next hundred years if not acted on accordingly by the present and next generations.

In September last year, Professor Robert Hackett of the Simon Fraser University in Vancouver and Professor Wendy Bacon of the Australian Centre for Independent Journalism of the University of Technology, Sydney visited The University of Sydney, and joined CPACS' Associate Professor Jake Lynch, the Media Communications (Meco) Department's Dr Penny O'Donnell, Dr Alana Mann, Professor John Keane, and MeCo Chair Professor Gerard Goggin, for a discussion on the challenges and opportunities of new media and new journalism. In this symposium, Professor Hackett talked about Peace Journalism and Environmental Communication as Challenger Paradigms, and cited the need for journalists to engage more in environment reporting.

With natural disasters incurring heavy damage and fatality in the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries in the past ten years, and latent conflict arising from these situations, it is important for journalists on the green beat to understand the risks of environment reporting, especially in the Philippine setting. Southeast Asia is the centre of the world's marine biodiversity and the Philippines is at the core. We need to understand the current issues and the history

behind each. It is likewise necessary for us to understand (rather than to master, or to perfect) the science—ecology, environment science—without having to become the experts on environment science. And as we arm ourselves with all our basic reporting skills (interviewing, and documenting, among others), as well as our understanding of the ecology, the ecosystem, and the environment, we can go into exploring if not doing practical applications of peace journalism, as recommended by Associate Professor Jake Lynch and Ms Annabel McGoldrick.

MindaNews', Titus Brandsma Media Center, and the Ateneo De Davao University's collaborative effort to hold the lecture series on environment and disaster reporting was a sequel to the First Environment Summit for tri-media practitioners. It was in this Summit that I first presented a paper on Peace Journalism and Environment and Disaster Reporting. The discussion points at the two-day conference have sparked the interests of the participating media practitioners, as there have been an increasing number of news and feature stories from them on the environment and natural resources. There still are marginalized stories, but this is where I found the need for a stronger application of peace journalism into tri-media (print, broadcast, and online) reporting.

After all, we pay the price for poor environmental planning. The need to be conscious of environmental justice and sustainability relative to human survival and the necessity to make environment-friendly choices must be disseminated beyond campus walls, beyond conference halls, where a destructed nature calls.



Peace Journalism and Environment Reporting in the Philippines: Maria Frencie Carreon shares her insights and experiences in peace journalism and environment reporting with practising journalists, environment advocates, and media communication students from Philippines and Korea. MindaNews editor-in-chief Carol Arguillas presents her with an appreciation certificate in lower photo (left). Photos courtesy of the Philsouth Angle

Maria Frencie Carreon is a PhD candidate at CPACS.

A Brief History of Violent Conflict in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

by Bonaventure Mkandawire

The Democratic Republic of Congo has faced violent conflict, both international and domestic, for most of its history: from brutalization and slave labour, locally known as Bura Matari (breaker of rocks), under Belgian Royal and Colonial rule, to the chaotic, extractory and exploitative politics of the Post-colonial era, to yet the First and Second Congo Wars. But in this brief, I will focus on the history of the violent conflict of the Second Congo War. These wars are estimated to have killed almost as many, directly and indirectly, as the Holocaust did (Human Security Report), and involved over fourteen armed groups and incalculable factions and break-off militias (Autesserre, 2008). This has made the conflict in the DRC extraordinarily confusing.

In the First Congo War after the end of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, Rwanda's current President Paul Kagame and the Rwandan Patriotic Army-backed Laurent Kabila led the Banyamulenge rebellion to overthrow the then Zairian President and long-term dictator Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko. Simultaneously, and for different self-interests, Uganda's Yoweri Museveni fought the Congolese-based anti-Ugandan rebel group, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), which was backed by Sudan. Eventually, Uganda and Rwanda saw advantages to partnering against the Congolese regime for different self-interest reasons, but based on the mutual goal of toppling Mobutu. In 1997, they succeeded and Laurent Kabila, whom Rwanda had promoted as a Congolese non-Tutsi face to the (Tutsi-backed) movement to increase perceived legitimacy, declared himself President of the DRC, driving out President Mobutu Sese Seko into exile in Morocco where he died later that year. However, almost immediately Kabila turned against his Rwandan backers and allied himself with the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR) Hutu rebels, who carried out attacks on Rwandan refugee camps. Thus, 1998 saw the beginning of the Second Congo War.

In 1999, Uganda and Rwanda withdrew, creating a new series of alliances and a stalemate. Rwanda continued fighting through its stand-in militia, the RDC. Uganda used the MLC, and the DRC army was in alliance with Zimbabwe and Angola (Reyntjens 2005, p. 591). Kabila allied with the ex-FAR (Forces Armées Rwandaises), a Hutu movement of former génocidaires and enemies of the Rwandan regime. The Armed Forces of Rwanda (FAR) was the army of the ethnic Hutu-dominated Rwandan regime that carried out the genocide of more than 800,000 Tutsis and regime opponents in 1994. The Interahamwe was the civilian militia force that carried out much of the killing. The groups merged and recruited additional fighters after they were forced from Rwanda into the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1994. They became known as the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR).

Throughout 1999, Rwanda and Uganda clashed directly and through surrogate militias, partly due to personality politics between Presidents Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Paul Kagame of Rwanda, but were conciliated to a degree by British and American pressure. Filip Reyntjens (2005, p.596) points to Rwandan satellitisation of the DRC, referring to reports of rent-seeking, economic coercion in the absence of a legitimate Congolese state, and criminal extraction of resources by and for the military.



Photo: M23 rebel spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Vianney Kazarama, addressing the crowd after taking over the City of Goma. (Photo taken from: <http://www.aljazeera.com>)

President Laurent Kabila, who had toppled Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko, was assassinated in January 2001 and replaced ten days later by his son, Joseph Kabila, who agreed to further UN peacekeeping. Despite 2002 and 2003 Peace Accords promising the DRC the withdrawal of Rwanda and Uganda and a transitional government, the war raged, with the unrelenting splintering of armed groups, conflicts over mineral resource control, and high civilian casualties. In 2006, the country's first apparently democratic elections affirmed Joseph Kabila's presidency.

Today, the conflict continues, although the involvement of Rwandan and Ugandan troops is less barefaced, with both countries denying international accusations of supporting the M23 movement, which successfully captured the eastern City of Goma on 22 November 2012, and with Western donors' threats to cut off or reduce aid proving to be mostly empty. Most recently, the region's key players, the DRC itself, and several non-governmental, humanitarian, and international organizations signed the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework, although any lasting effects it will have on peace in the region remains unclear.

This violent conflict between multiple and ever-changing parties and shifting alliances has been characterized by insatiable violence against civilians perceived by an armed

group or army to be allied with its enemy; the use of rape as a weapon of war, although this is a narrative that may be over-represented in Western discourses, and the extraction of natural resources, e.g. Coltan, the mineral used in the manufacture of electronics -- mobile phones sim cards and computer chips, found only in DR of Congo, with civilian casualties as the by-product.

The DRC's current political institutions are marred by corruption, exacerbated by Western multinational corporations, a lack of legitimacy, and the irrelevance or even destructive nature of the state in many parts of the vast country among its sparse, rural populations. The political culture is one of neo-patrimonialism, with a structure of government that is formally a presidential republic but actually a patron-client network made up of rent-seeking politicians and constituents. This neo-patrimonial political culture affects the country's foreign policy and international relations standings by delegitimizing the state to the degree that it is dismissed as an equal economic or trade power in the world and by creating a vacuum in the context of the 50-year long unending civil war that prompts international military intervention.

Neopatrimonial system

According to Bratton and van de Walle (1997) neo-patrimonialism is a political structure based on a façade of formal and strictly regulated positions and institutions of power, and on the reality of patron-clientelism, the exchange of favours, and corruption. By this definition, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is an example of neo-patrimonialism. Placed fourth in the world on Foreign Policy's 2012 (2011) Failed State Index, the DRC is rife with corruption, and power plays between actors with unequal wealth, status, and influence, is often based on ethnicity but occasionally on region or economic rank as in Rene Lemarchand's conception of feudal and mercantile clientelism. The country's fractured national history of many different ethnic and regional groups forced together under brutal Belgian commercial and colonial rule contributes to tribalism, corruption in local governments, and patron-client networks. In these networks, politicians promise benefits to "their" own tribe or region in exchange for political and moral support. One example of this political culture is the common trend among government officials to extract more from local government coffers, and pocketing and distributing the change to tribal or regional clients with impunity.

One consequence of this neo-patrimonialism for international relations is the delegitimization of the DRC on the world stage as an economic power. Despite the country's vast untapped natural resources, the world's great powers do not trust the DRC Government enough to give it weight in its own trade deals. Britain, for example, banned DRC cargo aeroplanes from landing because of their lack of safety regulations. From

the Belgian King Leopold II's brutal extraction of rubber and ivory using slave and forced labour (Bula Matari) at the turn of the 20th century, to the current "conflict minerals" used for electronics corporations across the world today, the DRC has faced a history of extraction without regard for its government and rule of law, resulting in a positive feedback loop of illegitimate and corrupt leadership and the dismissal of governments.



Photo: Residents flee fighting between M23 rebels and government troops in Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. Photograph: Dai Kurokawa/EPA. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/nov/22/uk-rwanda-aid-drc-rebels>

The other consequence of Congolese neo-patrimonialism on international relations is the ongoing conflict between the impotent DRC Army and Government and an ever-changing cast of rebel groups fighting for different causes in different regions of Africa's vast country. The Government has been so thoroughly emasculated by the war (which continues today despite a 2003 Peace Agreement) that recent reports from Goma, stated that the citizens of the city felt the presence of a structured institution more strongly during the rebel takeover than they had in years under the DRC Government's Administration.

The Capital, Kinshasa, is so far away from most of the country and communication is so difficult that a Hobbesian "war of all against all" dominated by the desire for survival in poor and war-battered areas, a result of violent Rebel versus Government and Rebel versus Civilian conflict, is a more germane description of the political situation than a relationship to a legitimate government. The result for international relations is the intervention of the United Nations, as was the case in Goma, and the involvement of nine African countries in the African World War.

Bonaventure Mkandawire recently completed his PhD at CPACS.

References

1. Severine Autesserre (2008). The Trouble with Congo: How Local Disputes Fuel Regional Conflict. In *Foreign Affairs*. Retrieved from <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63401/s%C3%83%C2%A9verine-autesserre/the-trouble-with-congo>
2. Filip Reyntjens (2005). The Privatisation and criminalization of public space in the geopolitics of the Great Lakes Region. In *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43, 4: 587-607.
3. Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle (1997). *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p.277
4. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/failed_states_index_2012_interactive
5. Rene Lemarchand (1972). Political Clientelism and Ethnicity in Tropical Africa: Competing Solidarities in Nation-building. In *The American Political Science Review*, 66, 1, pp 68-90.
6. Donald L. Gordon (2013). African Politics. In April A. Gordon & Donald L. Gordon (Eds.), *Understanding Contemporary Africa*. 5th Edn. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Reflections from the Swan Island Peace Convergence, 2012

by Shane Fenwick

Last year from 23 - 27 September, I flew down to Melbourne to join up with the Swan Island Peace Convergence. After much time discovering, talking about, and being convicted about the nonviolence at the core of my own Christian faith – and what it means to follow in the footsteps of a nonviolent Messiah – I thought it was about time to back up my words with some action.



Anti-war protesters peacefully blockade the entrance to Swan Island, Queenscliff, September 2012

Apart from being involved in a protest or two, this was the first time I'd ever been involved in nonviolent direct action. The first day we arrived was a day to hang out, share a meal, prepare some banners, and get to know one another. I had the pleasure of creating a banner which said 'Blessed are the Peacemakers' with my new friend Alan from the UK who'd recently been in London showing his support for Julian Assange (currently taking refuge in the Ecuadorian Embassy). Later on, we had time to learn about what was happening in Afghanistan, about Australia's involvement in the war, and the significance of the Swan Island military base.

The next day involved training and preparation. One thing that both surprised and delighted me was just how much planning, organisation, and training goes into a successful nonviolent action. A local Uniting Church had kindly let us use their premises to hold workshops on nonviolence – the principles behind nonviolence, the tactics we were going to use, and practice. One of the most important things I took away from the training was that to truly cultivate a nonviolent lifestyle – and be involved in nonviolent action – we must first deal with the violence in our own hearts. At one point in the workshop, we had the opportunity to stand by a quote which impacted us most – from people such as Martin Luther King Jr, Gandhi, Dorothy Day, and Malcolm X – and share why it did. I remember standing by a quote from Martin Luther King Jr. Though I don't remember the exact quote, I remember what the main idea behind it was: that love is the foundation of nonviolence. At the core of nonviolence, we act out in love; exposing the injustice being carried and hoping to turn our enemies into friends. We don't seek revenge with our enemies, or overcome injustice with more violence. No; we hope to see oppressor and oppressed reconciled, and chains of injustice broken, through love in action. For us, this meant nonviolently resisting the unjust war in Afghanistan. A war which we believe dehumanises both the people of Afghanistan, as well as our troops participating in it.

The next day, we were up early to start the blockade. Candles were placed across the road, banners were up, and we stationed ourselves in front of the entrance, singing and sharing. It wasn't long before the police came, and military personnel started lining up in their cars. After a number of failed attempts to move us out of the way, due to our persistence in continuing to block the entrance with our bodies, the police gave up and we had successfully blocked the base. After a victory song in John Farnham's 'You're the Voice', we set up camp out the front of the entrance. Picnic rugs, games, handball, kicking a footy, and hanging out together as a peaceful community: embodying the alternative to the systems of violence and domination that exist in our world.

Throughout the rest of the day and into the next, we managed to continue blocking the base, until we made the decision on Wednesday afternoon to end our blockade with a peace march through the streets of Queenscliff. Earlier on Wednesday,

some of us gathered together to plant a vine and fig tree by the entrance to Swan Island, to act out an ancient prophecy found in Isaiah 2 and Micah 4 of the Bible –

"They will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore. Everyone will sit under their own vine and under their own fig tree, and no one will make them afraid, for the Lord Almighty has spoken."

We then shared the Eucharist (or 'Communion') together, reflecting on – for us as Christians – the peaceable Kingdom that is breaking into our world; the Kingdom we strive to embody through inclusive, authentic community. Later that night, we had an opportunity to Skype the Afghan Youth Peace Volunteers (<http://www.youthpeacevolunteers.org/>), a grassroots movement of young Afghani's seeking a life of nonviolence and non-military solutions for their country. For me, this was such an important moment. It served to give me perspective – along with the Eucharist and the planting of the vine/fig tree. These were the reasons why I chose to put myself 'in the way', and do my little part to non-violently 'drive a spoke' (as Dietrich Bonhoeffer would put it) into the wheel of injustice that is the war machine. Many Afghans are calling for us to stop 'intervening' in their country. They're calling for another way to progress forward, that doesn't involve war. They've had enough of living under the constant terror of war and poverty. And the presence of foreign forces there isn't helping. Have we not yet learned that the situation isn't improving; with the thousands of civilian deaths, hundreds of our own casualties, and recent 'green-on-blue' attacks? The people of Afghanistan are calling out for a better future: one in which they can work towards a more peaceful future. Things haven't improved, and it's been over 11 years since the start of this unjust, unwinnable war.

As Martin Luther King Jr said, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." As a follower of Jesus, I can't sit idly in my own comfort and choose to turn a blind eye, knowing what I now know about Afghanistan. Just as I hope to work to end injustice through caring about issues of extreme poverty, the environment, homelessness, or the oppression of our own Indigenous people, I too hope to challenge injustice through non-violently resisting the war. And I will continue to do so, as I truly believe that a day will come when peace will flood the earth. As Robert F. Kennedy once said –

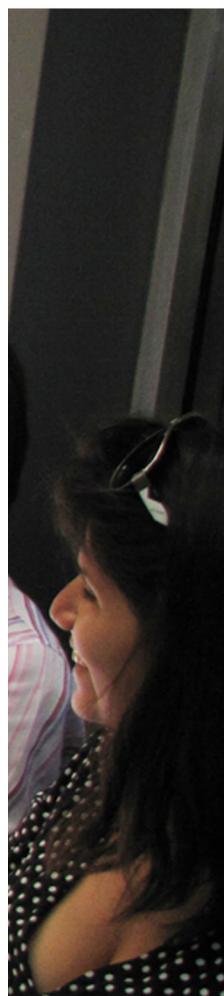
"Each time a man stands for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centres of energy and daring, those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

Shane Fenwick is a 21 year old student from Allambie Heights, in Sydney.

CPACS community



ty celebrations



Student and Alu



umni Activities



LEFT: CPACS Alumnus Marc Tagub (left-most) and current student James Yong (right-most) with staff of the Alliance for Conflict Transformation in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Both are volunteering.

RIGHT: Current student Giselle Wansa (second from the right) with other active peacebuilders in Costa Rica.

DOWN LEFT: Recently graduated Sue Cohen (right-most) with other students at International Institute of Humanitarian Law, Villa Ormond, San Remo/Geneva

DOWN CENTRE: Alumnus Mariam Mathew doing advocacy work for Save the Children as the Child Rights Governance (CRG) officer in Uganda.

DOWN RIGHT: CPACS graduate and current SPF staff Bonnie Kelly (sixth from the left) at the The Bologna, Italy Symposium on Conflict Prevention, Resolution, & Reconciliation.



Why a world of democracies would be a world without war?

by Farhad Arian

The response to this question is laid in the structural and normative explanations of Democratic Peace Theory (DPT). DPT is the idea that democracies are less likely to become involved in violent disputes among themselves. The spread of democratic governance across the globe contributes to a peaceful world since democratic states prevent conflict and maintain peace among themselves due to institutional and normative constraints. Critics of this idea nevertheless argue that democracies are as much engaged in militarised conflicts with one another as other regime types. They claim that regardless of the regime type, states become involved in military disputes based on their policy priorities and strategic interests.

Despite the argument of its critics, DPT evidently supports the notion that democratic states never or very rarely have military conflict with one another. Institutional and normative explanations of DPT particularly highlight the relationship between democracy and peace with presenting robust conceptual and empirical foundations. As such, the translation of DPT's conceptual foundations into practice within the international system suggests that a world of democracies would be a world without war.

Institutional explanation

The institutional explanation of DPT refers to internal institutional factors in democratic states that not only influence their foreign policy behaviour, but also constrain their ability to engage in militarised disputes with one another. Political constraints, power distribution and technical restraints are the most visible institutional constraints that prevent democracies from engaging in military disputes among themselves.

Democratic political systems pose significant institutional constraints on democracies, limiting them to involvement in violent disputes with each other. While the potential of political systems in the context of presidential and parliamentary systems institutionally constrain military conflict between democracies, the degree of effectiveness of political systems varies. Overall, democracies are institutionally constrained in decision-making processes from initiating war due to the institutional complexity as well as the inter-connectivity of decision-making institutions such as parliament, political parties, and civil society.

In addition, the principle of checks and balances in the context of balance of power is a further institutional constraint preventing democracies from using force against each other. This principle leads to a situation where neither a single power of the state nor any institution of the executive is capable of completely dominating the political decision-making processes.

This is because the power of each institution is defined in a way to have a share of power in the system. The principle of checks and balances is a core institutional constraint limiting the power of democratic states to decide to initiate war.

Moreover, technical constraints in the context of elections play a significant role in the formulation of foreign policy behaviour of democratic states that institutionally constrain them from engaging in violent disputes. Elections are one of the most effective means of institutional constraints through which citizens decide about the future of their leaders in democratic societies. Elections institutionally constrain political leaders in terms of their foreign policy decision-making processes because in democracies there are a variety of mechanisms, such as freedom of speech and open political processes, enabling voters to rate democratic leaders' performance.

Normative explanation

The normative explanation of DPT focuses on the role of domestic norms in shaping foreign policy of democratic state toward a more peaceful behaviour. Principles of domestic political processes, the externalisation of domestic norms, and the role of public opinion are the most noticeable normative constraints that force democratic states to be less likely to engage in militarised conflicts among themselves.

Norms of bounded and non-violent competition in the domestic political processes significantly influence the behaviour of democratic states toward other democracies. Democratic states are often characterised by the presence of norms of bounded and non-violent competition in which material interests and political values compete with one another to shape foreign policy behaviour of states through a variety of peaceful political mechanisms. Despite different regulatory processes at domestic levels, the norms of peaceful competition largely apply across democratic societies in a sense of culture, perceptions and practices that allow peaceful settlement of disputes without the threat of violence.

In addition, the externalisation of domestic norms of political processes significantly constrains democratic states from clashing with one another. Democracies project internal norms of political decision-making such as negotiation, moderation, compromise and non-violent means of dispute settlement in their foreign relations. As a result of the externalisation of domestic democratic norms to further the commitment of democratic leaders to respect such norms, democracies choose to behave peacefully rather than aggressively in their relations with each other.

Lastly, liberal values as a set of norms, combined with democratic principles, enable public opinion in the context of individual freedoms to play a significant role in the formulation and enforcement of foreign policies. Liberal-based normative accounts share a common value system in which the respect

for individual liberties is an issue of central importance, enabling public opinion to shape foreign policy behaviour of democracies. As such, individual freedoms of citizens in the context of liberal values provide public opinion with numerous normative constraints to oppose war in democratic societies.

Critiques of DPT

Despite the fact that the idea of DPT is widely supported, its critics argue that there is historical evidence indicating the failure of democracies to maintain peace among themselves. From this perspective, although democratic states have become much less war-prone political systems in the post-1945 era, in the pre-1945 period democracies had widely been engaged in militarised disputes the same as other regime types. They similarly argue that maintaining peace between democracies in the post-Second World War period has been a direct consequence of political and strategic alliance systems among themselves rather than the effects of structural and normative constraints.

Critics of DPT also claim that some of the obvious historical clashes between democracies have always been ignored in assessing the involvement of democracies in militarised conflicts. They particularly argue that while advocates of DPT overestimate the potential of democratic institutions and norms in constraining militarised conflicts among democracies, such an overestimation has resulted in the ignorance of significant historical military clashes within and between democracies such as the United States civil war and the 1982 invasion of Lebanon by Israel.

Lastly, critics point out that apart from the presence of various institutional and normative constraints, DPT is unable to theoretically justify the examples of military clashes between democracies across the globe. For instance, they refer to examples of the 1861 Trent Affair between the United States and Great Britain and the 1898 Fashoda crisis between France and Great Britain as two indications of clashes between democracies.

In conclusion, DPT is one of the most significant theoretical phenomena widely debated in academic and policy making circles. The central argument of DPT that democracies are significantly less war-prone structures and are less likely involved in militarised conflicts has largely been supported by various scholars and policy makers. However, despite widely agreed and supported, DPT has its own critics arguing that democracies are as war-prone as other regime types.

Regardless of its critics, advocates of DPT justify their argument by explaining various institutional and normative constraints, such as political and technical limitations, distribution of power, domestic norms of compromise, peaceful conflict resolution, externalisation of democratic norms and public opinion, as the main strengths of their argument. It is therefore concluded

that a world of democracies would be a world without war because democratic states behave peacefully in their foreign behaviour and are less likely to engage in military conflicts with one another.

Farhad Arian is a CPACS student and a Research Analyst at Edmund Rice Centre for Justice and Community Education.

Peace in Tuol Sleng: Notes on an afternoon in the genocide museum

by Samantha Chivers

When entering the Chao Ponhea Yat High School in central Phnom Penh, it is easy to imagine the throngs of children who would fill this courtyard: slender and dark-haired, wearing dark blue matching uniforms and clunky school shoes, slurping ice lollies, shouting as they run after a wayward ball during their lunch break; a playground full of joyful calls and laughter. Instead, the courtyard is mostly silent. Small groups of middle-aged foreigners mill around, slowly, shading their eyes from the sun as they examine maps and scratch the toes of their sneakers in the dirt. Now called Tuol Sleng, this school was used during the Cambodian genocide as a prison for thousands of political prisoners. While this site witnessed thousands of acts of horror, it was only one of at least 150 execution centres in the country. It is estimated that 2 million Cambodians died from political execution, starvation, and forced labour during the Cambodian genocide, around a quarter of the population.

In the mid-1970s, the guerrilla group known as the Khmer Rouge (Red Khmer) swept through the Cambodian capital and forcibly marched all its inhabitants into the fields. This school was barricaded: bars were placed over the windows, barbed wire went up around the balconies, and classrooms were emptied and separated with short brick walls to make impromptu cells. It is estimated that 17,000 people made the one way journey into the prison over the four years it was in operation; thousands at any one time. Shackled to bars in their cells, they were forced to give detailed autobiographies, then tortured through the most horrific forms of torture into confessing to the treasonous crimes for which they had been arrested. Teachers and musicians, doctors and politicians from the highest levels of government sat shackled in adjacent cells in the dim light, listening to the despair of their cellmates across the courtyard. The place is eerily peaceful. Quiet, slow-moving people shuffled respectfully past the displays of thousands of mug shots: room after room of black and white photographs, the only remaining record of many of the prisoners. Stark in their simplicity, hundreds upon hundreds of people look out at you, tired and confused, scared and sad, calling you from the shadows of the empty room. As I look at them, I wonder how many knew the scale of what was happening, and what lay ahead of them. I wondered how they coped with the uncertainty, and the certainty of knowing your time would come. Of the tens of thousands of prisoners that entered

through the leafy gate of Tuol Sleng, only seven survived. The rest were taken to empty fields outside of the city and beaten to death with makeshift weapons, while patriotic songs blared from speakers in the trees to mask the sound.

I had come to Cambodia for a few weeks on holiday, eager to escape a bustling Bangkok and explore a new part of Asia. Before leaving for Cambodia, I had attempted to be the good academic, and read a handful of papers on Cambodian history, the genocide, and the Extraordinary Chambers. Cambodia was turning out to be much more than I expected: friendly, dusty, loud, and full of fascinating ancient history and a thriving local scene. People I met everywhere were building businesses, learning their fourth language, and bartering overflowing baskets of goods in the markets. It seemed to me that the country was filled with a frenetic, youthful energy; a hive of activity that vibrated under my feet.



Outside the Killing Caves, Battambang, January 2012



Painting at the Killing Caves, Battambang

Earlier that week, we had gone to another important historical site: the Killing Caves near Battambang. This was where the Khmer Rouge brought women and children: told they were going to work, they were instead brought to this field, blindfolded and bound to the others in the group, before being walked to the edge of the hilltop and pushed over the edge of the skylight. Women were beaten and interrogated before being pushed over the edge; children were usually bludgeoned and thrown into the caves below. We had hired one of the children that came to greet us in English; all of ten, our guide launched into her well-worn spiel as she scampered up the mountain, we barang* panting after her. At the entrance to the cave lay a cage of recovered fragments: shards of bone sat trapped between intact skulls, torn clothing and devices. Next to this, the depths of the caves, framed by the skylights high above. Unimaginable, the terror of being blinded and bound, hearing the screams of other women as they fell. Unimaginable. Often, we were told, people survived the fall with only broken bones; they then were left to die a slow death of dehydration, trapped and suffocating under innumerable other bodies piled above them. It seemed that in this remote place, the only presence to bear witness to their desperation would have been the Buddha that sat in a nearby cave, long since shattered by Pol Pot. As we listen to the stories of beaten children flung into that deep darkness, a nun sat among the remnants of old burnt incense sticks, and intoned chants to the remains of the statue.

According to a popular Khmer belief, those who have not had a proper burial will have to live on as a ghost, unable to find peace. In the Killing Fields outside Phnom Penh, fragments of broken shoes and clothing today continue to be found lying in the grass, as if discarded by visiting children only moments ago. Fenced off with ropes, the mass graves constantly move with the soil, bringing bone fragments and tufts of hair to the surface. This poor country has more pressing issues on which to spend its meagre resources than paying respect to these ancestors.

This Genocide did not happen generations ago. This happened well within the memory of anyone over 40. I often caught myself staring at old women in Cambodia, wondering their stories. The girl we hired at the Killing Caves, sitting bored with other children, was happy and playful as she answered our questions. She was 10; yes, she went to school, and practiced her English every day. As we walked, heavy and silent, she skipped ahead and ran down the path alone, leaping into the air to catch fluttering prayer flags. She didn't care, or didn't show us she did. These events had no power to touch her youth; they were academic, a thousand years ago, a weird curiosity of the *barang*, an opportunity for a few dollars. I wondered if she would feel them someday as we did, or whether they were already internalised. I wondered if they still carried the power to affect her life, or if by growing up in the shadow of so many ghosts she had given it up to some unknowable past, and moved on. Her spirited skipping towards the caves gave me hope that perhaps those dark places would not pull her toward them, but instead push her forward, into the sunlight.

At the end of our visit to Tuol Sleng, my friend and I bought some incense and planted it in a pot between the disco-lit Buddha and a cabinet of skulls. As we exited the museum, we heard traditional Khmer music blaring loudly around the square. Someone on the next block was getting married, or celebrating an impending monkhood. A family that lived on this street was celebrating the life milestones of a beloved young family member.

As we stood on the grass, blinking in the sunlight and not knowing where to look, my friend turned to look at me, and said: "Well, life goes on."

Samantha Chivers is a CPACS student.

*In the Khmer language of Cambodia, *barang* means foreigner, especially of European origin.

The Statesman: Giving up on Pakistan Was Never an Option

by Karen Collier

"Because of the nature of his expertise, the Statesman is intimately connected with everyone engaged in the care of humans: the truest mark (horos) of the Statesman, says the Stranger, is that by which the wise and good man manages

the affairs of the ruled for the benefit of the ruled." Plato

Few convictions have inspired me as profoundly as Imran Khan's realisation of the Shaukat Khanum Memorial Cancer Hospital and Research Centre in Lahore, completed in honour of his late mother in 1994 with support of the Pakistani people from all walks of life. As the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) expressed, "Paradise lies at the feet of the Mother." This intention alone, inspired an essay I wrote in 2009, "Why Pakistan Needs Imran Khan" and with a developing interest in Pakistan, became the catalyst for an independent documentary in development, *The Statesman*. I became aware of Khan's philanthropic and political aspirations on ABC TV's *Enough Rope* in 2008, which resonated with me personally, having witnessed my own mother's demise from the violent disease of cancer.

Only months later, following the bold attack on the Sri Lankan cricket team in Lahore in 2009, which some regard as Pakistan's 9/11, Khan's conviction to transform Pakistan's political consciousness after a series of tipping points, prompted me to submit a paper to CPACS Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies core unit, which sealed the beginning of my Masters degree.

I was further motivated from theory to practice, by Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick's galvanising Conflict Resolving Media class and Ken Macnab's deeply insightful Cultures of Violence. These units combined with Wendy Lambourne's unwavering support, "just keep going!" provided a strong foundation for the evolution of my documentary. While focused on Khan's 'movement for justice', *The Statesman* regards the deficit of Peace Journalism in Pakistan, noted recently by (Feyyaz: 2012) and as Ken described in the CPACS 2012 Annual Report, underscores the 'all-pervasive influence' of the 'military-industrial-counterterrorism complex'.

Despite the machinations of realpolitik, I believe many observers have underrated the resonance of Khan's Movement for Justice, with his sights fixed on the bigger picture, which has global relevance and reach at a time with a serious deficit of inspired global leadership. Besides, who can deny the universal appeal of the underdog story narrative?

The courage of the Pakistan people cannot be measured. A friend described to me recently, Pakistan today is "engulfed in a morass of countless miseries." But despite this reality beyond my comprehension, Pakistanis continue to hope against hope. This inspires me endlessly, and is why I think this story is worthwhile to document.

Proudly safeguarding the 'dream of Pakistan', while remaining deeply engaged in Australian culture, they endeavour to restore the self-esteem and dignity of Pakistan and a sense of 'selfhood' or *khudi* that has long been hindered by a malign combination of perpetuating issues. At the psychological level this documentary is concerned with how these issues

pierce the Pakistani psyche and how this is affecting historical events and processes. Pakistanis are 'psychologically ready for a revolution,' says Khan.



Imran Khan

Whether in power or not, Khan is unarguably, in a unique position as a mediator between the fraught 'Islam and the West' mentality, to dismantle polarising misconceptions—or find common ground—as he emphasised to US President Obama in an open letter in 2009, "we share the fundamental values of peace, justice and equality before law."

Against shadowy forces compounded by the global war on terror, this contemporary depiction of Pakistan looks beneath the surface of its tragedies and flaws—while juxtaposed against its hidden beauty and potential. A hostage to peace and long hindered by institutionalised violence, deprivation and stigmatisation under the guise of securitisation post 9/11, *The Statesman* is set against a backdrop of multi-dimensional challenges Pakistan needs to overcome, to restore its self-esteem and dignity among nation states and realise opportunities in the so-called 'Asian Century.'

Khan's standpoint on the ominous rise and blowback of the CIA drone program has internationalised drone warfare in the 21st Century, placing his party at the vanguard of strategic non-violence and front line in policy debate. The challenge for Khan if his party 'sweeps the next election', will be balancing

the national interest with long neglected human security needs, delivery of justice and the aspirations of Pakistanis across religious, ethnic and social divides argue the realists. A self proclaimed rational idealist, Khan and his movement for justice have unarguably changed the discourse on Pakistani politics, set new benchmarks for democracy and awakened the consciousness of the nation. Khan has proved himself to be in esteemed company with the world's leaders of conscience, whatever the outcome of Pakistan's general elections.

As far as Khan is concerned, in Pakistan, the people have already decided for change.

Change Volunteers (Tabdeeli Razakar)

To be the change he wants to see in the world, 31-year-old Australian Pakistani Farhan Arif, has quit his job and travelled back to Pakistan on 'a call of duty', to follow leader Imran Khan, the unstoppable political force on the final weeks of his campaign trail. Farhan returns home to a country he no longer recognises, to be a part of what is, in spirit, the biggest political revolution in Pakistan's history. Pakistan's general election on 11 May is the first and historic transition between democratically elected civilian governments in a country that has experienced three military coups. This critical intersection will have wider implications as to how the world perceives and engages with Pakistan in the future, and moreover—how Pakistanis perceive themselves.

In Pakistan's recent history, the stakes have never been higher. In 2011, Pakistan ranked 2nd amongst 158 countries, at the top of the Global Terrorism Index and ranked 149th (of 158) at the bottom of the 2012 Global Peace Index with the large number of internal conflicts, high level of militarisation and economic downturn contributing to its low ranking.

Farhan regards this trip to vote in the elections as a historic opportunity to participate in the campaign for change, which potentially, could be larger than the Arab Spring, 'but hopefully real, peaceful, democratic and long lasting,' he says. At the time of writing, overseas Pakistanis are appealing for their democratic right to vote, refused by the Election Commission of Pakistan. Having filed a petition in the Supreme Court to reverse this decision, Imran Khan stated 11 April, "The overseas Pakistanis are an asset for the country and denying them the right to vote is a grave injustice."

For Imran Khan, giving up on Pakistan was never an option. He regards the youth and overseas Pakistanis the nation's greatest assets. His signature jalsa rallies, crafted in the language of peace with justice, have galvanised the youth and turned the political tides towards his vision for a 'Naya' (new) Pakistan—dreamt by Pakistan's spiritual father, Iqbal and visualised by Jinnah, the constitutionalist and democrat over 65 years ago.

The anticipation is palpable amongst Pakistan's emerging politically conscious youth. The revolution is irreversible. Meanwhile, as political actors enter and exit stage, a backdrop of multi-dimensional conflicts bleed into one another and threaten the very existence of the state. Analysts grapple with the intrigue, characteristic of Pakistani politics speculating how much of this heightened socio-political consciousness will translate into votes during critical elections. Pakistan's youth bulge has altered the electoral landscape; 47.5 per cent of registered voters are under 35 and 19.77 per cent, under 25. The youth vote is a potential game-changer.

Beyond the elections and selective media gaze—there is much more at stake for Pakistan longer term, and for both regional and international peace and security. Pakistan's destiny now depends on the people, free, fair and timely elections and a constellation of unseen forces, as Pakistanis hope beyond hope to create the circumstances to build a new Pakistan.

In 2008, Dr Claude Rakisits outlined concisely why Pakistan matters in a policy brief, *Engaging Pakistan*. I credit this deeply insightful analysis with further propelling this documentary into spirited action, engaging with Pakistan at the people-to-people level, to “contribute to the broader effort that is needed to break down mutual suspicion and misunderstanding between Pakistan and the West,” as Rakisits suggests. A country profile of Pakistan borne of the Asian Century white paper states, “Australia will continue...to work with Pakistan to help it realise its potential as a stable, secure, moderate and fully functioning democracy” (DFAT: 2013).

Australia awarded 143 scholarships to Pakistanis in 2012, promoting “knowledge, educational links and enduring ties between Australia and Pakistan.” At CPACS we were fortunate to exchange insights with visiting Pakistani students in 2012, and as former DFAT chief, Dennis Richardson recently underscored, people-to-people links and the experience of international students in Australia should be strengthened, affirming Australia as a prime location for international students.

As I embark on field research (a reccie) to Pakistan, it is my hope the intention behind this documentary is one step closer towards challenging the negative perceptions of a country and people with colossal potential, extraordinary courage and very little left to lose.

Karen Collier is an MPACS graduate, CPACS Council member and Creative Director of Brave Media. She aspires to submit The Statesman independent documentary to the 2014 Sydney Film Festival. See <http://www.thestatesmandocumentary.com>

A Nobel for Europe ? Bravo !

by Hilary Roots

(The following article by French international affairs journalist, Jean-Michel Demetz, was published in l'Express magazine, France, on 12th October 2012. Its authorised translation is by Hilary Roots, recent MPACS graduate.)

It's a distinction that couldn't come at a better time.

Europe often rankles and rightly so. Its squabbles, its summits that end in convoluted communiqués that give rise in the weeks that follow to contradictory interpretations, its slow decision-making process, its bureaucratic jargon, the partitions of its guide-lines from Brussels that faze businesses: all of which are grounds for criticism, controversy and denigration.

But Europe is also a remarkable success story given its history of a continent marked by tragedies. And it's this success that we tend to forget on a day-to-day basis.

Desired by courageous men, and let's not hesitate to recall, often undertaken against the will of the people of the various nation states, this immense work of reconciliation, from the beginning, stirred sarcasm and scorn.

French-German reconciliation? Few, in the post-war generation, believed in that. And not everyone wanted it.

The Iberian Peninsula's peaceful attachment to democracy and its emergence from under-development? The same scepticism applied.

And what about the Unity of the continent, once the totalitarian communist regimes were cast into the rubbish bin of History? Remember all those pessimistic voices promising the return of the 'brown shirts' and who, certainly, were going to turn to their advantage the inevitable misery in Warsaw or in Prague ...

All these harbingers of ill augur were badly mistaken.

In reality, Europe triumphed over all the challenges presented by the 20th century history.

And – let's dare predict – in time to come, it will rise up over the current Euro crisis.

The Common Market, the Economic Community, then the European Union have all created an immense space that's rich and open, without borders from the Algarve coast to the confines of the Finnish Arctic. And too, a university without borders (Erasmus) where students can discover those who will be their work colleagues of tomorrow or their spouses. It's a model of knowing how to live together that brings forth admiration from other continents.

All that is well worth a Nobel.

Hilary Roots is a recent CPACS graduate.

Burma: Nobel peace without justice for world's most oppressed people

by Kuranda Seyit

It is no understatement that Burma is one of the hottest spots for conflict in the world today and that it is high in the Australian government's agenda on SE Asia. As peace activists, students of peace and conflict and general promoters of peace, we are all interested in what goes on in Burma.

Recently I watched the film "The Lady", and with a title like that it sounds like a Richard Gere style light-romance. But it was not light at all, a film about the life of Nobel Peace laureate and pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi. For a long time, I avoided saying her name because I never was sure if I was saying it right. Now, having done some research about her I am much more confident talking about her in public. One cannot but be inspired by her after watching the film.

Besides the Nobel Peace laureate, Burma is more recently known for the horrific violence and ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslims that occurred in July of 2012.

I, like most of the world was left aghast by what we saw on our TV screens and particularly on our computer screens, through on-line sources. Granted, there were some dubious and questionable images being circulated and there was no doubt that in some cases the footage was not authentic. However, the TV news reports showed hundreds of refugees stuck on the Bangladeshi border who were eventually sent back on over-crowded leaky boats, and eye-witness accounts indicated that there was unfettered violence being carried out against the ethnic Rohingyas by Buddhist vigilantes supported by the Burmese government.

Likewise, the world leaders stood silent on the issue. There was some condemnation from the UN but it was not backed up by stronger language. Instead, the then US Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton lifted sanctions after Burma held democratic reforms. This was like saying 'We are rewarding you for killing Muslims'. At the time Aung San Suu Kyi was touring the states, and when she was asked about the issue, she replied, *"You must not forget that there have been human rights violations on both sides of the communal divide. It's not a matter of condemning one community or the other. I condemn all human rights violations."* (Channel 4, World News Blog)

This was a disappointing response from the Nobel Peace Laureate and Activist and indirectly her unwillingness to condemn the violence allowed the killing to continue unabated.

Anushay Hussain wrote in the Huffington Post, *"When I first mentioned that I wanted to write about how Suu Kyi has failed the Rohingyas, many people were shocked that I would 'attack' a woman the world holds so dear. No one wants to*

hear anything bad about Suu Kyi. We clearly have idolized this woman to the point of no return."

Ironically in 1991 Suu Kyi said, *"its not power that corrupts but fear and that fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it. While the fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it"*.

Was she pre-empting criticism of herself, almost two decades early?

The Rohingya, who are called "one of the world's most persecuted minority groups," follow the Islamic faith and are situated mainly in the coastal Arakan state of western Burma. Over the past three decades, the Rohingya have been systematically pushed out of their homes by Burma's military government and subjected to widespread violence along with the complete negation of their rights and even identity. They have become a stateless minority.

The Rohingyas have been wrongly described as ethnic Bangladeshis who migrated to Burma about 200 years ago. However, history indicates that the Rohingyas have lived in the area for over 600 years and converted to Islam around this time when Arab merchants arrived in the area via Malaysia.

The question that I want to posit to *PeaceWrites* is "What is the fine line between an act of violence and the unwillingness to condemn an act of violence?" Does that mean, our silence condones it or is merely the fear of losing power or jeopardising one's chances of winning an election an excuse for cowardice?

We here in Australia are relatively impervious to the events that occur abroad, but even at this safe distance we have a moral responsibility to try to stop the violence or to at least speak out against it.

I was quite disturbed by the unfolding of events; from the continuing violence; to the inaction of the international community; the lack of response from Aun San Suu Kyi; and to the impact that it had here in Australia.

There are probably fewer than 1000 Muslim Burmese here in Australia. However, the community was in shock at what they saw and felt helpless. They lobbied some government representatives and held a protest rally in Canberra. However, it fell on deaf ears. I met with Rohingya community leaders and there have been several charity fund-raisers to assist refugees.

The situation in Burma in the western Arakan State has not improved. Thousands are living in fear and poverty and many are displaced effectively in a stateless zone between their homeland and Bangladesh.

I plan to leave for Burma and to make a short documentary about the post-violence situation in Arakan state. God willing I will return with more information and some sense of where we are currently at, in terms of world peace, a general love of humanity and the double standards of the world when it comes to Muslim lives.

Kuranda Seyit is an MPACS graduate, a Council member of the Sydney Peace Foundation, Director of the Forum on Australia's Islamic Relations (FAIR) and an independent documentary film maker.

An interview with a Rambo survivor

by Blake McDermott



A caricature of Rambo

I have been travelling for days to meet him. It was a long flight from New Delhi to Kabul, and an even longer drive from Kabul to Chagcharan. I meet my guide Zahid, who informs me that the rest of the journey will have to be on camel.

"Why can't we travel by car?" I ask.

"In Afghanistan, camels get better mileage." Zahid responds.

During the trip, Zahid tells me about the horrible Rambo 3 Massacre of 1998. During the massacre, over 130 Afghans

were officially K.I.A. There are reports that hundreds more died, but their deaths were never captured on film.

For years, it was thought that there were no survivors. Rambo is, after all, thorough. It was only earlier this year that I discovered from a friend - who had a friend who had a grandfather whose milkman had reported that he had a customer who had met a survivor - that there might be a man who survived the Massacre. It is based on this rumour that I have travelled so far.

After a ten hour camel ride, with only one toilet break (which was for the camel) we arrive at a small village. The village is desolate. A tumbleweed drifts across the sand. I think how strange that is, considering I didn't think you could find tumbleweeds in this part of the world. However, my mind quickly goes back to the task at hand. I can do tumbleweed research another time.

Zahid takes me to a tent on the outskirts of the village. I enter. In the middle of the tent is a table. At that table sits a man, and I know that this is the man I am looking for.

"Farhad is my name." He says.

I introduce myself, and then ask Farhad to tell me about his experience facing Rambo in 1988. When I mention Rambo's name, fear flashes across his face, but then he composes himself, and begins to speak.

"I first encountered Rambo when I was a part of the rebel army. I did not necessarily agree with the rebel army's mission statement of causing terror and opposing the American Way; I joined it because it had great benefits, including free dental.

One night I was sitting down around the fire with my comrades, when we heard machine gun fire coming from a nearby building. Our commander rushed over and said that there was a shirtless, white man with a red sash around his head, who was attacking our army camp. Fifteen of my comrades grabbed their weapons and ran into the building. I stayed behind. 'Fifteen people should be enough to kill one man' I thought.

I was wrong.

As soon as my comrades rushed into that building, there was an explosion. The whole building was destroyed, and my comrades with it. 'At least the white devil was killed.' I thought.

Once again, I was wrong.

The next day, we heard that he was spotted around the outskirts of our camp. My commander was not going to take any chances, so he called upon our whole rebel army to face him: three tanks, a helicopter, and 256 soldiers. We were hopelessly outnumbered.

Our army created a barricade in front of him, and asked him to surrender. Rambo didn't respond with words, instead, he held up a machine gun in each arm and started firing.

Despite 260 different entities firing upon him, he managed to avoid every single incoming bullet and missile, whilst standing still. Every time he pulled the trigger, he shot someone or something. At one point he threw a rock at our helicopter, which exploded upon the rock's impact. One of the tanks exploded just from the sheer number of bullets that Rambo hit it with. All my comrades were falling. I turned to run, but a bit of exploding tank hit me on the head, which knocked me out cold. When I awoke, he was gone, but I could still smell the stench of sweat and testosterone that he left behind..."

At this point, his voice fades out, and he looks down. He is crying.

After some time, he tells me how the arms race has forever been changed as a result of Rambo:

"After the Rambo incident, governments realized that one man with shaggy hair and upper body strength can cause more devastation than an army. That is why the American government started investing in projects such as 'Schwarzenegger' and 'Chuck Norris'. There are rumours going around that the Chuck Norris weapon is so powerful that it can swim through land.

China, not wanting to be left behind, began investing in weapons such as Jet Li and Chow Yun Fat. Even Thailand has its own weapons program right now, it is rumoured to be called Ong Bak..."

I write this article just after I have learned that the U.N. has adopted a treaty controlling the trade in conventional arms. This treaty, in addition to the non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons treaty, may fool you into thinking that humans have made much progress.

I ask you though: Why haven't states signed a Chuck Norris treaty?

Clearly, as a species, we still have a long way to go.....

Blake McDermott is a CPACS student.

Addressing HIV with South Africa's Youth

by Michael Brown Woliver

I completed a CPACS unit, Key Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies, in August 2012. Although my degree was a Masters of International Public Health, I was keen to use one of my electives at CPACS. After the conclusion of my final class, I was fortunate to find a job immediately as the Fundraising Coordinator for The Africaid Trust. My post is currently based in Durban, South Africa, specifically with the program

called WhizzKids United. The following paragraphs are a brief overview of our program along with a few pictures from a couple of our 'World Cup' style tournaments with students who have completed our 'On The Ball' life skills course.

In 2005, Africaid launched a pioneering new program to address what were rapidly becoming the main casualties of HIV infection across Africa – young people. The program, which came to be known as WhizzKids United (WKU), revolutionised the way in which youth HIV prevention is approached and delivered. Instead of the staid classroom setting which outlined awareness of HIV and the ABC (Abstain, Be faithful, Condomise) response, WKU 'broke out' on to the soccer pitch to use soccer as an analogy to teach the life skills youth need – appreciating social and economic status – to remain HIV negative. This interactive, fun approach culminated in the launch of WhizzKids United's Health Academy in 2010, offering a complete soccer-led 'package' of prevention, care, treatment and support services for youth. Since its inception over 35,000 youths have benefited from the programs.

WKU's relentless hard work in developing HIV interventions which are both Youth and Country specific has been rewarded by a number of high profile organizations who have been keen to collaborate, partner and deliver WKU unique brand of programs. These include Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), United Nations Association of South Africa (UNASA), United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP), Streetfootballworld, Oxfam, Harvard Medical School, KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health, Liverpool Football Club, Abbott Laboratories, and many more. WKU has earned numerous awards and accolades while being regarded by FIFA as the best HIV prevention program using soccer.

WKU's Health Academy is situated in Umgungundlovu District, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa – arguably the most devastated area in the country as a result of HIV and AIDS. Among South Africa's 52 district municipalities, Umgungundlovu has the highest HIV prevalence rate among antenatal clinic clients (42.3%), the fourth lowest condom distribution rate (5 condoms per adult male per year), and the fifth highest STI incidence rate (6.5% per year). A recent study conducted by WKU of 8,000 school kids aged 12-16 attending local schools in the area revealed that 4,500 kids qualified as either orphans or vulnerable children. Extended families are the norm for many youth and cases of sexual abuse or rape amongst adolescents is very high. The aforementioned issues lead to a vicious cycle of poor health and high mortality rates, alcohol and substance abuse, crime, sexual abuse and an aura of hopelessness prevails.

We have designed many programs to address these issues. Here are a few of our main programs designed specifically for our region in South Africa.

'On the Ball' Life Skills and Sexual Health Curriculum: WKU has developed a curriculum known as On the Ball which



harnesses soccer as a language and medium of education. The youth participate in soccer drills and games which serve as metaphors to illustrate lessons about sexual health and life skills. These materials have been developed by HIV and health experts, sports scientists and football coaches, and refined through years of experience and feedback from working with South African youth.

On the Ball is run in public schools throughout Africa by WKU's Life Skills Trainers. WKU works in schools with the cooperation of the Department of Education and school governing bodies. At the conclusion of the curriculum, all of the participants join us for a 'World Cup' Style tournament that runs throughout an entire day; everyone who partakes receives food and a medal while the winning team receives a trophy to be displayed at their school.

Mixed Gender Football League: WKU has developed a successful model for running after-school soccer leagues with mixed-gender teams. This provides disadvantaged youth with a rare – particularly for girls – opportunity to play organised sports. The league's structure and rules are specially designed to promote gender equality, and reinforce the soccer and life skills they have learned during On the Ball. At the close of the league, a prestigious league final and awards ceremony is held.

All beneficiaries of On the Ball and the Mixed Gender Football League are recognised by WKU and their school with medals and certificates.

Team Talk: WKU Team Talk is a peer education program in which learners who showed exceptional leadership in On the Ball are trained to encourage classmates to access health and counselling services at clinics. The training involves actually visiting the clinic and accessing services themselves so they can act as effective ambassadors for sexual health to their peers.



Rustenburg Championship Shootout

Health Academy: The WKU Health Academy is our very own adolescent sexual health clinic on the grounds of Edendale Hospital, run in partnership with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health. The Health Academy delivers HIV Counselling and Testing, one-on-one Sexual Risk Counselling, couple counselling, ARV treatment and psychosocial support, family planning, management and treatment of STI's, Orphans and Vulnerable Children Support program, a Computer Resource Centre and countless recreational and educational programs.

FIFA has recently committed to building a Football for Hope Centre and artificial turf soccer pitch which will adjoin our Health Academy.

Clinic Liaison: In communities where a WKU Health Academy is not yet feasible, WKU implements a Clinic Liaison program designed to make health and counselling services more accessible and friendly to adolescents. This program uses capacity building and advocacy to create links between schools and clinics.

Before I sign off, I would like to thank Jake, Wendy, and Lucy for a great course. It was a rapid and intense six day workshop; however I was able to take away enlightening views regarding peace and reconciliation. Yet, more importantly, I left with great friends and relations that I will cherish forever, so again I say thank you.

Michael Brown Woliver is the Fundraising Coordinator for The Africaid Trust in Durban, South Africa, with the program WhizzKids United.

Do women benefit from war?

by Punam Yadav

Do women benefit from war or armed conflict? The obvious answer would be what kind of question is that? Obviously not! How can one benefit from war? That's out of the question! This was the start of my speech when I was invited as a guest speaker at Rotary Club, Lane Cove on the occasion of International Women's Day, 2013. My presentation started with lots of unusual questions. I could see curious eyes looking at me for the answer to those questions. Not to break the normality or the usual way of looking at impacts of war, I started with the facts and figures about negative impacts of armed conflict on women in Nepal. For instance, when it started and how many people died. My presentation was divided into three sections. The first section was dedicated to give an overview of armed conflict in Nepal, while the second section was to shed some light on positive and negative impacts of war. The aim of the third section was to highlight the trend of peacebuilding interventions and how these lose sight between the needs of the people and conventional and popular programs for building peace programs.

Armed conflict has various impacts on both women and men but women face the experience of conflict unevenly due to their traditionally defined roles and their status in the pre-conflict situation. Nepal went through internal armed conflict for more than ten years (from 1996 to 2006). During this period, 14,000 were killed, 1400 people disappeared and hundreds of thousands of people (200,000) were displaced from their place of origin which had led to other negative impacts such as war widows, orphans, loss of property, loss of livelihood, loss of social network and social capital etc.

Despite these negative impacts and hardship, people, especially women, also benefited from the war. Nepal is a patriarchal society, so it is usually men's job to earn for the family and take care of matters outside the home. Women's role is mostly confined within the household. However, when men died, were displaced or joined Maoist, women were left alone. They were pushed to do the roles that they never had done in the past such as ploughing fields which was never considered as women's job in the past. Culturally women were not even allowed to touch that but when men died and no one was there to support the family and farming was the only option for their livelihood, they were pushed to do so. When one woman started, others also followed and later it was accepted by the society and became normal. Similarly, women started their own businesses for the survival of the family. Even after the establishment of democracy in 1990 only 7% women were in the parliament. The Constituent Assembly election took place in 2008 and for the first time in Nepalese history, 33% women were elected representing all castes and ethnic groups. Likewise, more than 30% of Maoist combatants were women which set an example for Nepalese society that women can do anything if they are given the opportunity. Again for the first time in Nepalese history, women were recruited in the Army as military police and combat support. There were women in the Army in the past as well but only as nurses, engineers, doctors and legal advisers.

Changes took place in laws and policies as well. The government of Nepal started changing gender discriminatory laws and policies. The 11th amendment bill was passed in September 2002 which legalized abortion on the ground of reproductive rights. Similarly, the Gender Equality bill was passed in 2005 which removed more than 100 gender discriminatory provisions. The Bill on marital rape was also passed. These are some of the examples of positive changes that took place in terms of gender equality within a short period of time.

The internally displaced population, among which 80% were women and children, suffered a lot when they were first displaced because they were never exposed to the public place before and had no skills to find decent jobs in the city. Therefore, the struggle was more than one would think. However, when they were pushed to address the challenges, they also learned from them. They learned new skills and strategies to deal with the challenges. Most of these women

have become independent now and they are doing different jobs for their survival.

After the peace agreement in 2006, the government encouraged all the IDPs to go back to their homes and provided little cash which was only enough to cover their travel expenses. These women, who had spent 5-8 years in the city and were going back to the same village were, however, not the same as when they came to the city for the first time. They had learnt so much. Their needs were different. Some of the women whom I had interviewed during my research trip said they are more confident and they can survive now in any situation. They have no different needs. They can't just go back to their previous roles. They want to do something for the family and also for the society. They have learned new skills and wanted to utilize them. However, this side of the reality was totally ignored by the government. The government's only focus was on return. Some NGOs and UN agencies supported the return and reintegration of IDPs; however, these women's needs were hardly taken into consideration. How can one think about building a sustainable peace by ignoring the current needs of the people? There are still many peace interventions. However, none of them have intervention in response to newly emerged needs which are positive in nature. If that is not addressed, it might lead to conflict again.



Punam Yadav receiving her Award, March 2013. She received The Faculty of Arts Postgraduate Teaching Fellowship Award for a second consecutive year.

My speech ended with the request to all the donor organizations and international community, if they want to do something to support people in the war zone, they should also

be looking at positive impacts and current needs of the people instead of focusing too much on the loss.

This was my first Rotary meeting. I loved the way it is conducted. It is a great forum to discuss new ideas. It was very satisfying for me to see people going out of the room after the meeting saying there is a lot to learn about the world.

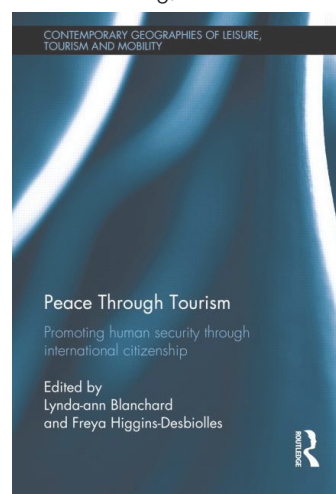
Punam Yadav is a PhD candidate and is one of the editors of PeaceWrites

Peace through Tourism: Promoting Human Security Through International Citizenship

edited by Lynda-ann Blanchard and Freya Higgins-Desbiolles to be published on May 2013 by Routledge – 276 pages

Series: Contemporary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility

Peace through tourism refers to a body of analysis which suggests tourism may contribute to cross-cultural understanding, tolerance and even peace between communities and nations. What has been largely missing to date is a sustained critique of the potential and capacities of tourism to foster global peace.



This timely volume fills this void, by providing a critical look at tourism in order to ascertain its potential as a social force to promote human rights, justice and peace. It presents an alternative characterisation of the possibilities for peace through tourism: embedding an understanding of the phenomenon in a thorough grounding in multi-disciplinary perspectives and envisioning tourism in the context of human rights, social justice and ecological integrity. Such an approach engages the ambivalence and dichotomy of views held on peace tourism by relying on a pedagogy of peace. It integrates a range of perspectives from scholars from many disciplinary backgrounds, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), tourism industry operators and community, all united by an interest in critical approaches to understanding peace through tourism in broad contexts. Additionally, diverse geopolitical contexts are represented in this book from the USA, India, Japan, Israel, Palestine, Kenya, the Koreas, Indonesia, East Timor and Indigenous Australia.

Written by leading academics, this ground-breaking book will provide students, researchers and academics with a sustained critique of the potential and capacities of tourism to foster

global peace.

The Peace Process in the Philippines

by Jennie Laran-Mordeno

The Philippine government signed an agreement with the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) on July 4, 2011 for the final disposition of arms and forces. Among the components of the agreement is also the delivery of livelihood and infrastructure projects in conflict-affected areas to benefit former combatants, their families and communities.



Staff of the Project Management Office under the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process doing rounds in communities with government projects for former rebels.



Community consultations with residents of Madaymen. Locals have very strong connections with their communities, thus the keen interest in the proposed projects in their areas. The elders' opinions are still very much sought after in the community.

The community projects are envisioned to provide basic services as well as to promote acceptance and reintegration of CPLA members back into their communities. Partnership

and cooperation is also sought from town councils, local governments and Civil Society Organizations for the implementation and monitoring of government programs and projects.

Jennie Laruan-Mordeno, a former CPACS student who completed her MPACS in 2008, works for the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) which oversees the fulfillment of government commitments relative to the signed agreement with the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA), in the Philippines.

Peace through Sailing

by Stuart Rees



James knows where he is going...



or does he?



Neven rescues stranded Kenyan... ..



and she's en route around the world, sailing.



On the High Seas. Admiral Ken in command!



The Spirit of CPACS. A Dolphin!

Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees is Chair, Sydney Peace Foundation.