

The Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

NEWSLETTER

NO 4, October 2004

Director's Report

The Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies has been in existence for nine months. I would like to thank all those colleagues from the School of Political Science and International Studies and the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences who had the original vision of what the Centre might be, and who worked so hard to bring it into existence a year before I arrived. I particularly want to thank those leading the Rotary Program for Peace and International Studies. I also want to acknowledge the generosity of the Venerable Master Chin Kung and his supporters from the Amitabha Buddhist Association. It was their commitment to peace that resulted in the endowment that established the Centre. The University of Queensland also provided strategic start up funds to the Centre. It is on these excellent foundations that the Centre is evolving.

The 21st century, far from being a century of maturity and peace, has been characterised by substantial violence and war. The question of how to generate stable peaceful relationships is therefore challenging the best intellects in the world. There are those who respond to violent crises by expanding military and coercive capacity and there are others (including Faculty and Post Graduate Students in the Centre) who are exploring realistic nonviolent options for generating higher levels of peace and security in an age of growing violence.

The Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (ACPACS) works on these problems:

- > Through research, reflection and theoretical exploration
- > Through practice and policy advice,
- > Through post-graduate teaching and workshops for practitioners and others.

Recognizing the complex, multi-layered nature of conflict and of peace, ACPACS is committed to enhancing people's individual and collective capacities to understand and manage disputes, work against violence, and build sustainable peace at local, national and international levels.



Professor Kevin Clements ▲

Located within the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences at the University of Queensland, ACPACS draws on disciplinary strengths and insights from, politics, international relations, psychology, anthropology and sociology, the study of culture, text and aesthetics, as well as development, agriculture and the health sciences.

We are developing collaborative research and practice partnerships with those in, or vulnerable to violent conflict, with a particular but not exclusive focus on the Asia Pacific region and Australasia. We wish to ensure that our work is compassionate, critical and useful to governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies and policy-makers.

In addition to a regional focus on the South West Pacific and South East Asia, the Centre has been developing thematic programs on:

- > The nexus between development, security and peacebuilding, with specific reference to Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.
- > The role of communities and local governments in enhancing civic responsibility, downward political accountability and nonviolent politics.
- > The development of inclusive community at the local, state and international levels.
- > The relationship between justice and peace and the reform of legal and judicial institutions, with

>> continued on page 2



THE UNIVERSITY
OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

The Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

The Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies is a Faculty Centre within the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences at The University of Queensland.

The functions of the Centre are as follows:

- > to conduct research into the causes of international conflict, international security, modes of conflict resolution and emerging peace-building approaches, with special reference to the Asia-Pacific region;
- > to coordinate undergraduate and post-graduate programs providing knowledge and practical skills in mediation, conflict resolution, peace-keeping and peace-building, in the contemporary global context;
- > to provide advanced-level short courses and training for government and non-government organisations engaged in peace-keeping, peace-building, development activities, humanitarian intervention and work in conflict contexts; and
- > to provide expert advice to public and private sector organisations on issues concerned with conflict and its resolution.

a specific focus on the rule of law and restorative justice.

- > Mediation, Alternative Dispute Resolution, Negotiation and Bargaining, with a special focus on mediating across difference, democratic decision making processes, ADR in relation to customary and introduced law and innovative Dispute Systems Design.
- > Analytical problem solving.
- > Enhancing the capacities of national, regional and global institutions to prevent, manage and transform violent conflict.
- > The development of civil society organisations capable of promoting social and political order.
- > Rethinking security in the face of terror and changing threat paradigms.
- > Arms control and disarmament
- > Security Sector Reform
- > Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration of ex-combatants

We have been quietly recruiting some excellent PhD and D.Soc Sci students to help us explore these and other problems and have been conducting programs for Negotiators and Mediators in Advanced Mediation, Dispute Systems Design, Online Dispute

Resolution (ODR) and high level Facilitation Skills.

The Centre now consists of three fulltime Faculty and one Administrator (Professor Nadja Alexander, Dr Anne Brown, Saira Gulamani and myself). We have other Faculty from different Schools working with us as consultants and associates, as well as specific experts from outside the Centre. We have been developing strategic alliances with similar Centres around Australia and in other parts of the world.

There are two Visiting Fellows arriving in September and October; Professor Peter Wallensteen of the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Uppsala, Sweden and Professor Dan Druckman, Vernon and Minnie Lynch Chair of Conflict Resolution at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, USA.

We have enrolled five Ph.D students, one D Soc Sci Student and two M.Phil Students in the program, all of whom are contributing substantial wisdom and insight to different parts of our research agenda.

Faculty and students are gelling into specific research, teaching and learning teams. Our research priorities are becoming clearer as we respond to specific requests for assistance and discern ways in

PUBLICATION DETAILS

Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies
Level 5
General Purpose North
Building III (39A)
The University of Queensland
Brisbane QLD 4072 Australia
Telephone: +61 7 3365 1763
Facsimile: +61 7 3346 8796
Internet: www.polsis.uq.edu.au/
Email: acpacs@uq.edu.au

Editor

Professor Kevin Clements

Assistant Editor

Nadia Mizner

Design

Office of Marketing and Communications,
The University of Queensland,
Brisbane, QLD 4072, Australia.

Contributors

Professor Kevin Clements,
Emeritus Professor Ralph Summy,
Professor Nadja Alexander, Dr
Anne Brown, Sanjana Hattotuwa,
Morgan Brigg, Postgraduate students as listed.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this Newsletter, as in any of the Centre's publications, do not represent any official position of the Centre. The ACPACS Newsletter and all other ACPACS publications present the views and research findings of the individual authors, with the aim of promoting the development of ideas and discussion about major concerns in peace and conflict resolution studies.

which we can link regional and thematic foci. We have a well-established team of students and faculty considering the challenges of post-conflict peacebuilding in Timor, for example, and another focusing on the Solomon Islands. Dr Anne Brown and I have been working on the development of a research and training program in Vanuatu with the Malvatamauri (National Council of Chiefs) and a Port Vila equivalent, the Laku-lakubula.

We have been building close links with the Pacific Island Forum on their conflict prevention/resolution capacity and will do more designated work on this topic with the arrival of Dr Craig Collins from Tufts University in September. Professor Nadja Alexander has been developing practice programs with the Residential Tenants Association as well as training program for the NPC in the Solomons.

Dr Anne Brown and I are working in partnership with the International Peace Academy on their Development and security program with special attention to the South West Pacific.

The University of Queensland is well placed geographically and intellectually for deepening the quality of our research on all of these topics and many others over the course of the next two to three years. I am pleased and privileged to be able to lead the Centre in these endeavours and with all my Faculty and Student colleagues will work toward the development of the best Post-graduate Research and Practice centre in Peace and Conflict Studies in the Southern Hemisphere!

Director's Diary

2003 October

- 22-24 Keynote address on "The Role of Regional and Civil Society Organisations in Conflict Prevention in the Asia Pacific Region" at MOST UNESCO, LIPI, UNDP Indonesia meeting on Conflict in the Asia Pacific

November

- 9 Ph.D Oral Examiner, Uni-

versity of Canterbury, Christchurch.

2004 January

- 12-14 "New Threats to Peace in Asia" at Australian Yearly Meeting Consultation on Peace and Conflict in Asia, Canberra.
- 15 Meetings with Ausaid and DEFAT Officials, Canberra.
- 26 Guest Lecture on "Peace and Justice in an Age of Terror" Arcadia University, Pennsylvania.
- 27-28 Consultations with Swarthmore College Peace and Justice Programme.
- 28 Lang Lecture on "Development and Peace Building" Swarthmore College/Pendle Hill, Pennsylvania.
- 30 Meetings with Leonard Rogers USAID and Judy Barsilou USIP, Washington DC.

February

- 2-3 Meetings with Marianno Aguirre Ford Foundation, Steve Del Rosso Carnegie Corporation, Beng Yong Chew, UN, and Necla Tschirgi, International Peace Academy, New York.
- 5 Kennette Benedict, MacArthur Foundation, Chicago.
Guest Lecture on "Alternative Responses to Terrorism" Hamline University Law School, Minneapolis.
- 9 "Non-Violent Responses to Assymmetric Conflict" keynote opening address to University of Hawaii and Toda Peace Research Institute Conference on The US in World Affairs.
- 20 Presentation to Ausaid on Governance and Conflict in conjunction with Griffith University Key Centre on Law and Governance.
- 22-24 Opening Address on "25 years of Peace Research" to Peace and Conflict Studies Roundtable, University of Sydney.
- 25 Presentation to International Law Conference, Adelaide University on "The Causes of Violent Conflict".

March

- 23-24 Discussions with officials at the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Swedish International Development Agency on ACPACS.

Consultations with the Olaf Palme Institute and the Department of Peace Studies at the University of

Uppsala.

- 25 Discussions with Officials at the MOFA, Netherlands and the European Centre for Conflict Prevention Utrecht.
- 26 Discussions about ACPACS programme with Conflict Prevention Unit, FCO London and International Alert, London.
- 30 - April 2 Presentation on the Role of the PIF and ASEAN in Conflict Prevention at Rockefeller.

Workshop on "Enhancing the Conflict Prevention Capacity of Regional Organisations," Bellagio, Italy.

April

- 14 Presentation on "Conflict and Conflict Transformation" to Asia Pacific Youth Conference, Multi Faith Centre, Griffith University.
- 19-22 Keynote address at PIF National Security Workshop, Papua New Guinea on "The Development/Security Nexus".
- 30 - May 3 Fact Finding Mission to Vanuatu with Dr Anne Brown - met with the Malvatamauri, the Lakulakabula, the New Zealand and Australian High Commissioners and the USP Law Faculty.

June

- 7-11 School of International Training, SIT Vermont Summer School, Visiting Professor in the Conflict Transformation Across Cultures course.
- 24-25 Lecture on "Conflict Sensitive Development" to ANU "Aid Effectiveness Conference" ANU, Canberra.

July

- 1-3 Keynote opening address on "What can Peace Scholars do in an Age of War?" Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research, Budapest, Hungary.
- 5 Keynote opening address to International Peace Research Association (IPRA) Conference, Sopron, Hungary; "Compassionate and Critical Peace Research in an age of War and Violence".
- 6 "Non-Violence and Terror(ism)", Plenary Address to IPRA Conference.
- 23 "25 Years of Peace Research" opening address to Inaugural Conference of the Department of Peace Studies, University of the South Pacific, Fiji.

Building peace in EAST TIMOR

BY DR ANNE BROWN

I had the challenge and privilege of spending a month in East Timor from late May to late June, setting up work on a project, conducted with Rebecca Spence of UNE, researching aspects of peacebuilding. Part of the time was in Dili and part in the very beautiful but isolated western enclave province, Oecusse. East Timor is often lauded as a United Nations success story, and there are high expectations of it internationally. However, simply surviving as a state and as a reasonably peaceable society will be a great achievement, given the difficulty of East Timor's political legacy, the scale of destruction and its economic vulnerability. Even the legacy of the period of UN administration is somewhat mixed; international agencies, for example, dismantled and sidelined working local forms of governance (as undemocratic) and replaced them with a highly centralised administrative structure which, following the handover of power to a national government and the virtual withdrawal of the UN, has very limited capacity to project itself beyond the capital.

The relationship between local governance mechanisms and central government, the relationship between local or 'traditional' justice mechanisms and the formal legal system, and the complexity and confusions over what is understood by 'reconciliation' are three of the issues that were prominent during my time in East Timor. Local level elections (village or *sucu* level) are soon to start across the country. It is not clear, however, how these local '*sucos*' are going to fit into the national government structure. The Reception, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CAVR) is due to hand in its final report to the President later this year, prompting public discussion on whether and how the Com-

mission should continue its work as well as questions about the nature of the reconciliation that can be achieved by such processes. The CAVR could be understood as one effort to marry local and formal justice mechanisms. A broadly positive assessment of the Commission's work to date seems to be coupled with scepticism and uncertainty about the nature of reconciliation. The formal reconciliation process did not include major crimes (which came under the scope of the justice system). However, many people who suffered major crimes have no practical way of seeking redress, either because the perpetrators remain in Indonesia, or because the formal justice system is too overburdened to be able to respond effectively to their condition. In effect 'reconciliation' is being asked to absorb this situation, with very different views existing on the viability, desirability or consequences of this approach. The Commission's pursuit of reconciliation has always been linked to the work on justice for major crimes undertaken by the Serious Crimes Unit. It seems likely, however, that this Unit will not continue beyond the end of

the year. Redress through the courts also did not satisfy some communities, who felt alienated from the abstraction and distance from their villages that the trial and imprisonment took place. Questions of the nature of the justice and reconciliation sought in East Timor remain fairly fluid and are likely to affect the social climate over the next several years.

The Centre is exploring the potential of a number of projects in East Timor, and this visit helped that process. Another project for which we are seeking funding is a study of community linking between cities or areas in East Timor and Australia (or elsewhere). Oecusse, for example, has a friendship agreement with Brisbane. There is great potential for both parties in these community-linking arrangements, but also some confusion as to how to develop them in ways that are constructive, creative and sensitive to the needs of the communities involved. A study that could draw on the experience of linked areas and produce advisory guidelines for councils, local administrations and community organisations would be very useful.



Dr Anne Brown ▶

From the desk of the Director of ADR (Alternative Dispute Resolution) and Practice

BY PROFESSOR NADJA ALEXANDER



Professor Nadja Alexander ▲

The ADR and Practice Program at ACPACS is dedicated to building links between theory and practice through training, consulting and research. The first half of 2004 has been a busy time. Within the University we have conducted two mediation courses, a course in business negotiation and one in theories of dispute resolution. As the result of a competitive tender process, ACPACS won a conciliation training consultancy with the Residential Tenancies Authority (RTA) in Queensland. At the time of writing, stage one of a three-stage training program for RTA conciliators had been completed.

Preparations for advanced mediation training in the Solomon Islands for the National Peace Council are underway. The training will be conducted in August-September this year. Other projects in progress encompass Vanuatu, PNG and East Timor.

The ADR and Practice Program at ACPACS is closely aligned with LAWASIA, particularly with respect to Human Rights and ADR Issues. Together with LAWASIA we are developing mediation and arbitration accreditation guidelines. We are also committed to assisting the organisation progress the current Pacific Charter of Human Rights. In 2005 the LAWASIA conference will take place on the Gold Coast. ACPACS has been actively involved in preparations for the Human Rights and ADR segments of the conference.

As Director of ADR and Practice I have presented a number of conferences this year. In April the American Bar Association hosted its annual Dispute Resolution Section conference in New York. As part of a global panel I presented a comparative paper on Australian Trends in court-related mediation. The panel received the award for highest quality materials at the conference.

In June I presented a paper entitled "Mediating the Model Laws Across Cultures" at the National Mediation Conference in Darwin. The paper focused on a comparison of the cultural assumptions about and approaches to dispute resolution in the Uniform Mediation Act Model Law in the USA and the UNCITRAL Model Law on International Commercial Conciliation. The same conference also hosted the premiere of Australian Mediation – the Play an entertaining and thought provoking journey through

the history and ideas of mediation. Co-scriptwriters Professor Laurence Boulle (Bond University) and I were joined in performance by a dedicated band of mediation thespians, Pat McIntyre, Dee McIntosh, Julie Walker, John Hertzberg and Mieke Brandon. After an enthusiastic response in Darwin, we hope to stage the play in Brisbane later this year.

In July the Third Annual UN Conference on ODR (online dispute resolution) was hosted by the International Conflict Resolution Centre at the University of Melbourne. It was attended by high profile academics and ODR providers from all over the world. ODR is a rapidly growing field which encompasses online applications of ADR fields such as mediation, conciliation and arbitration as well as broader political applications such as conflict transformation and democratic decision-making. Sanjana Hattotuwa presented an exciting paper on the applications of technology to conflict transformation. I was fortunate to be able to participate as co-rapporteur for the conference. The rapporteurs' summary of the conference and set of recommendations to the UN will be published in forthcoming conference proceedings.

Looking ahead, I have been invited to present a keynote address "Bridging the Cultural Divide" at the Indiana State Bar Association's ADR Conference in October.

With a growing number of PhD students and publication projects, the Program is not only building links between theory and practice but is also using practice to inform theory. Current book projects include: a book on international commercial ADR focusing on recent UNCITRAL Model Law on International Commercial Conciliation, a US English only publication of Alexander (ed) Global Trends in Mediation published in French and German in 2003, a textbook on mediation focusing on the European market, and a second Butterworths edition of Alexander et al, Negotiation: theories and techniques. Other research themes by staff and students in the ADR Program include the mediation of value disputes in the context of pacific nation cultures and creating peaceful organisations by applying the lessons from peace and conflict studies to workplace mediation and dispute systems design.

Publications

In this issue we feature Professor Nadja Alexander's recent and forthcoming publications. Nadja, an ACPACS faculty member, is editor for international mediation for the World Arbitration and Mediation Report and on the editorial panel of the ADR Bulletin.

■ **ALEXANDER, N. (ed.) Global Trends in Mediation, Otto Schmidt Publishing, Cologne 2003. Bilingual in French and English.**

Book Chapters

ALEXANDER, N. "„Internationale Entwicklungen der gerichtsnahen Mediation" in Ferz, S. (ed.) Rechtskultur – Streitkultur – Mediation: Die Reaktivierung von verlorener Selbstverantwortung und abgegebener Eigenkompetenz Hamburg, Verlag Dr Kovac 2003, 39-57.

ALEXANDER, N. Gottwald, W. and Trenzcek, T. "Mediation in Germany: The long and winding road" in ALEXANDER, N. (ed.) Global Trends in Mediation, Otto Schmidt Publishing, Cologne 2003.

ALEXANDER, N. "Global Trends in Mediation – Riding the Third Wave" in ALEXANDER, N. (ed.) Global Trends in Mediation, Otto Schmidt Publishing, Cologne 2003.

Journal Articles

ALEXANDER, N. "The chameleon mediator" 6 (9) ADRB 2004, 165.

ALEXANDER, N. "When your multi-cultural dinner party conversation becomes an international mediation" 6 (8) ADRB 2004, 145.

ALEXANDER, N. "The UNCITRAL Model Law on International Commercial Conciliation – An interview with Jernej Sekolec", 15 (4) World Arbitration and Mediation Report 2004.

Forthcoming

Alexander, N. "10 Verdicts in Court-related ADR" Book chapter in Law in Context, Federation Press, due 2004.

Alexander, N. "Mediation in Civil Procedure – A Comparative Perspective General" in General Reports of the Academy of Comparative Law, chapter in a collection of international reports of various areas of comparative law, Bruylant, Belgium, due 2004.

ALEXANDER, N. (ed.) Global Trends in Mediation, Juris Publishing, New York, due 2004. This is an English only version of the bilingual Global Trends cited above with updated and some completely new contributions.

Books in progress

ALEXANDER, N. (ed) International Commercial ADR: Conciliation and the UNCITRAL Model, Juris Publishing Inc NY (forthcoming 2004).

ALEXANDER, N., Ade, J. & Olbrisch, C., *Verhandeln, Mediation und Schlichtung*, Alpmann-Schmidt Verlag (forthcoming 2004).

Second edition of SPEGEL (now ALEXANDER), N., Rogers, B. & Buckley, R., *Negotiation: Theories and Techniques*, Butterworths, 1998, Sydney, Australia.

Conference Papers

ALEXANDER, N., "Mediating the Model Laws Across Cultures" National Mediation Conference, Darwin Australia.

ALEXANDER, N. et al, "Mediating under the Shadow of a Different Law" The panel won the award for highest quality

materials at the American Bar Association's Section Conference on Dispute Resolution in New York in April 2004.

ALEXANDER, N. 'Modern Meets Traditional: Kultur und Mediation am Beispiel des Native Title Tribunals', *Culture meets Culture: Third Vienna Mediation Congress*, September 2003 . Invitation as keynote speaker.

ALEXANDER, N. 'Globale Trends der Mediation', *German National Mediation Conference*, September 2003 . Invitation as keynote speaker.

Critical acclaim for ACPACS Publications

Dr Anne Brown's *Human Rights and the Borders of Suffering: The Promotion of Human Rights in International Politics* (Manchester University Press, 2002) is receiving international acclaim.

Sonia Cardenas, from The American Political Science Association Online, describes Brown's work as "pervasive and compelling", commending the book's contributions to emerging research and saying that "even scholars employing very different methodologies and theoretical paradigms will benefit from this book's powerful critique and intriguing argument about contemporary human rights".

Michael D. Barr, writing in the Australian Journal of Politics and History says that Brown's book is "a top-quality contribution to the revisionist side of this discourse and deserves the close attention of anyone seriously interested in any of the fields of debate related to human rights." Barr further claims that Brown steps "past the ontological obstacles in the path of a truly universal understanding of human rights."

EXAMINING THE NONVIOLENT PARADIGM

BY RALPH SUMMY

Ralph Summy taught political science at the University of Queensland for 33 years, establishing Peace and Conflict Studies at the University. Ralph Summy was the director of the Matsunga Institute for Peace at the University of Hawaii and is now retired.

The Chinese ideogram for crisis contains two symbols: the first alerts us to the DANGERS; the second challenges us to explore its OPPORTUNITIES. The crisis of terrorism provides the opportunity to respond outside the conventional paradigm. Instead of countering non-state terrorism with greater state terrorism, the challenge exists to shift the paradigm to more effective and ethical ways of resolving deeply rooted conflicts.

One alternative is to explore the potential of a nonviolent response. Indeed, a book has recently come out with this exact title, *Nonviolent Response to Terrorism* by Tom H. Hastings (Jefferson, NC and London, 2004). While my ordered copy has yet to arrive, the reviews have been positive, extolling its scholarship, historical perspective, and analysis of the theory and dynamics of nonviolence.

This same theme of nonviolence as a counter to the network of terrorist organisations proliferating around the world was taken up by the Nonviolence Commission of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) at its conference in the medieval town of Sopron, Hungary, 5-9 July 2004. The papers are being assembled for possible inclusion in an edited book, as well as additional contributions solicited from other scholars of nonviolence. Researchers, who have not been contacted, are also invited to submit chapters for consideration by contacting the Nonviolence Commission's convenors, either Senthil Ram or myself.

Among the papers on 'Nonviolence vs Terrorism' at the IPRA conference were two outstanding presentations at a plenary session, one by Chaiwat Satha-Anand, a Muslim from Thailand, and the other by Professor Kevin P. Clements, the Director of ACPACS. The former cogently argued the novel thesis that terrorism needs to be transformed into a more productive/creative conflict-solving process, and this can be done by using Muslim nonviolent alternatives. A 'radical transformation,' he contends, 'is possible



▲ *Ralph Summy*

precisely because of the similarities, not differences, between terrorism used by some Muslims and "principled nonviolence". He reaches his conclusion that the transforming of the Muslim pursuit of truth and justice is possible through nonviolent actions if three philosophic issues are tackled and resolved: 'questioning the supremacy of instrumental rationality, the absence of innocents, and the reduction of humans to objects.' None of these propositions can 'be supported by a profound philosophic understanding of Islam where God's Mercy is Infinite and the creation of the universe, with humankind, is done with a Divine Purpose.' Once these 'differences' are reconciled with Islamic teachings, the convergence of religious-based terrorism with principled nonviolence is possible, heightened by the natural similarities such as 'the imperative to fight injustice in the world and the willingness to die for a good cause.'

There should be no illusions about nonviolence being an easy path. But it offers a possibility rather than the assurance of continuing violence and insecurity as experienced under the current response to terrorism. Professor Clements stressed our need to recognise the hardship and suffering demanded of ourselves if we are to attend to

the pain of those around us — the sine qua non of resolving the terrorism issue. He cites the work of Adam Curle on the importance of listening to guerrillas and terrorists, recognising and living with the reality of pain and death, 'spilling from outer to inner circles of violence,' and always reacting positively to any perceptible sign of a drawback rather than interpreting it as weakness and a signal to overpower.

Increasingly, social scientists in the 21st century are coming to realise the potential of the nonviolent paradigm in effecting justice in non-democratic contexts. Much of this reconceptualisation stems from the wave of successful nonviolent movements that occurred in the latter half of the 20th century. In this regard, one is directed to the symposium, for example, that was conducted in *PS: Political Science and Politics* (June 2000); also the article 'Nonviolent Action and Its Misconceptions: Insights for Social Scientists' by Kurt Schock, an Associate Professor at Rutgers University, that appeared in *PS Online: www.apsanet.org* (October 2003, pp. 705-12).

A major book addressed to political scientists on the subject of nonkilling (Glenn D. Paige, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*) was published in 2002, receiving the acclaim of a Past President of the American Political Science Association, James MacGregor Burns and many other distinguished political scientists. The author, himself, comes from a productive background in the discipline that ranks him at the top of his profession.

Scholars, as Paige's book implies, have a critical role to play if there is to be a reassessment of assumptions that guide the decisions of policymakers. To realise peace on a global scale, the human needs for security, well-being, identity, self-fulfilment and yes love (agape) must become the priorities behind our actions. For they form the calculus of how to move closer to a nonviolent society.

Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies Seminars

ACPACS has hosted the following seminars over the past nine months.

Dr Volker Boge, University of Frankfurt "A Comparison of the Bougainville and Solomon Islands (Townsville) Peace Processes"

Dr Lorelei Kelly, Stimson Centre Washington, "Changing US Security Paradigms"

Paul Tovua, National Peace Council, Solomon Islands, "Politics and Change in the Solomon Islands Post RAMSI"

Dr Jerry Van Klinken, University of Leiden, "The Timorese Truth and Reconciliation Commission"

Professor Peter Fensham, Monash University "Using Community Expertise as a Data Source-The public 'need to know' science with special reference to China"

David Dunn, University of Keele, "From Conflict Resolution to Conflict Prevention: An Analysis of the work of John Burton."

Professor Jo Camilleri, La Trobe University "Islam and International Relations"

Alison and Richard Broinowski, Sydney University and ANU "Australia in the World: A Critique of Australia's Defence and Foreign Policy"

Student Profiles

Postgraduate work in peace and conflict is thriving, with students engaged in internationally significant and cutting-edge research.

Claire Rawnsley

► (M. Phil. Candidate) is examining the relation between political order and East Timorese culture and identity, asking: what elements contribute to form a strong national consciousness and social cohesion? Claire is looking at traditional culture colonial-catholic influences and the recent post 1999

impact. Claire has just recently had her second visit to East Timor. She spent time in a village called Railaco and met the villagers, making some good contacts that have helped her with her research.



◀ **Jennifer Laakso** is a Ph.D student in the Centre and is currently planning for her fieldwork in East Timor (leaving in September). She is interested in the peacebuilding process in East Timor and the role of 'justice' in fostering sustainable peace.

Joanne Mackey

► is completing a Masters of International Relations (Peace and Conflict Studies) and is interested in conflict resolution, specifically as it relates to adolescents. She has also been working with Professor Nadja Alexander on compiling training materials on conciliation for the Residential Tenancies Authority and also on mediation training materials for the Solomon Islands.



► **Sarah Ireland** has completed a Masters in International Studies (Peace and Conflict Resolution), concentrating on the use of the media in conflict and post-conflict countries. Her thesis, "The Use of the Media as a Peacebuilding Tool in Post-conflict Countries", looked at the varying success of different media initiatives used in various post-conflict countries around the world.

Spotlight on Morgan Brigg ▼



A PhD candidate in the School of Political Science and International Studies and ACPACS, Morgan Brigg is currently re-drafting and editing his thesis on the politics and ethics of intercultural conflict resolution for submission. The thesis engages critically with traditional political science approaches to develop an innovative connection across cultural difference for examining and advancing conflict resolution processes between Aboriginal and Settler-European Australians.

In June-July Morgan presented a section of his thesis at the National Mediation Conference, *True Talking, Forward Walking*, in Darwin. His paper drew upon contemporary political and social theory as well as his training and employment as a mediator including work with Aboriginal people to show that mediation and mediators typically operate in relation to western political systems including culturally specific values and understandings of order and dispute. This effects an operation of power that acts upon parties through a subtle system of injunctions, inducements and rewards.

The operation of this power relies upon both the mediator's competence with the technical skills and procedures of the mediation process and his/her involvement with, including appreciation and concern for, the parties. These two capacities can be termed technicality and susceptibility. Such a paradoxical involvement with participants in mediation processes means that, on the one hand, mediation

processes and the mediator reinforce Western political systems and approaches to selfhood and conflict resolution. On the other hand, involvement with others generates a vulnerability that can make mediators susceptible to non-Western worldviews and processes thereby opening the way for challenging Western conflict resolution processes.

The paper showed that the balance of these two capacities tends to be skewed toward the former in most mediation processes thereby reinforcing Western values, political systems and approaches to selfhood and conflict. Equally though, it showed that working with Aboriginal people requires a reliance upon relationships and therefore an openness to Indigenous ways of being together and dealing with difficulties among people. In this way, a connection can be made across cultural difference and mediation reveals itself as a practice that can mitigate political inequality. The presentation concluded with suggestions for how this possibility might be pursued further in intercultural mediation practice.

Morgan continues to be involved in intercultural conflict resolution issues and practice through ongoing work as a mediator and participation in events such as a cross-cultural mediation workshop in North-Eastern Arnhem Land. In conjunction with Professor Nadja Alexander, ACPACS Director of Practice and other team members, he has developed training proposals and materials for Advanced Mediation Training with the Solomon Islands National Peace Council. The theme of these advanced workshops; *Developing Solomon Islands-Style Mediation* is aimed at enhancing Solomon Islands capacity to deal with conflict by drawing upon a blend of Indigenous and imported processes and methods.

▶ **Jane Sloane**, Ph.D candidate, is focusing on the role of the creative individual in peacemaking and peacebuilding. She has been busy interviewing Dr Stella Cornelius and members of the inner circle of the Conflict Resolution Network during its early years of operation. Jane recently prepared an article on Stella for inclusion in a forthcoming issue of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention journal.

▶ **Barb King**, Ph.D Candidate is doing research on gender and peacebuilding, with fieldwork in Bougainville and East Timor.

▶ **Paul Jensen**, Ph.D candidate, is developing a research project into mediating value differences. He is a trained counselor, mediator and Uniting Church minister.

▶ **Jodie Mansfield**, Ph.D candidate, aims to evaluate the relative effectiveness of different peacebuilding approaches in workplace conflict resolution, identify which techniques are appropriate in different contexts, and outline implications for organisational policy and development. The project also seeks to elucidate the relationships between culture and workplace conflict in the search for the peaceful workplace. To this end it will compare the implications of different peace building strategies across different cultures, and within the same cultures as they change over time. It is expected that this analysis will highlight the effects of culture on workplace conflict and associated resolution methods.

▶ **Lyndell Findlay**, M.Phil from the Pearson Peacekeeping Institute in Canada, wishes to work on the effectiveness of humanitarian assistance in conflict with special reference to the Sudan.

Untying the Gordian Knot:

Information Communications Technology for Conflict Transformation and Peace Building

BY SANJANA HATTOTUWA

Introduction

Information Communications Technology (ICT) in South Asia, as well as in the rest of the world, is an experiment in progress. ICT is not a panacea for problems facing developing nations. Normative assumptions about ICT tend in most cases to outstrip knowledge of how technology is actually used. ICTs cannot magically liberate people, alleviate poverty, erase the 'digital divide', and ensure prosperity. It must be remembered that ICT is a means to an end, not an end in itself.

My research will concentrate on the increasing confluence between ICT, conflict transformation and peacebuilding. Case studies in this field are rare, since synergies between these fields are still at an embryonic stage. I will highlight, inter alia, Info Share, an ICT initiative in Sri Lanka that is involved in the peace process, as an on-going experiment in the use of these radical new technologies to augment traditional conflict transformation techniques on the ground to help strengthen an on-going peace process.

My contention is that peacebuilding processes could be greatly strengthened if organisations, peoples and regions were connected in effective multi-sectoral and peace building networks and provided with active and open knowledge banks. By building local, regional and national peacebuilding networks between and within government, local authorities, political stakeholders, civil society and international support and resource institutions, ICT has the potential to shape powerful conflict transformation partnerships.

Information Communications Technology (ICT)

Most definitions of ICT ignore major challenges facing developing nations entering the 'information society' and 'knowledge economy'. Many countries in South Asia are racked by internal conflict, border disputes and are economically under-developed, socially fragmented and very often, politically weak. While most definitions of ICTs come from countries where the exercise of nation building is complete, ICTs are an intrinsic part of the nation building exercise in South Asia, and do not stand apart from it. As such, ICTs are actually part of the complex web of inequalities and social disparities that continue to be a source of conflict in South Asia. Furthermore, any study of ICT and peace building also has to address the questions of appropriation and access to the relevant technologies and whether ICT interventions, however well intentioned, may actually serve to exacerbate existing fault-lines within and between ethnic groups and communities.

In the context of peacebuilding, ICT, through the use of new technologies to augment existing stakeholder interventions, can enable hitherto marginalised actors to participate more fully in peacebuilding processes, empower grassroots communities and bring cohesion to the incredible range of activities on multiple tiers that are an intrinsic part of peacebuilding and conflict transformation.

However, computers and internet connections are insuf-

ficient if the technology is not used effectively because it is not affordable, if people are discouraged from using it or if local economies and patterns of access cannot sustain long term application.

This is precisely why ICT will play, for the foreseeable future, a complementary role to other stakeholders working on the ground to resolve conflict. However, the converse also holds true. Recognition of the immense potential of ICT and developing inclusive, participatory long-term plans to expand existing access to ICT interventions can help those who have traditionally been excluded from developmental processes to take part in the exercise of nation building.

However, ICT in peacebuilding should not only enable stakeholders to exchange information but also address the positions of major stakeholders in a peace process - their interests and the basic human needs that underpin them.

Challenges & Future for ICT in Peacebuilding

ICT has a phenomenal potential to augment the interventions of individuals and State, NGO, INGO and non-State actors in many areas of a peacebuilding process, including, but not limited to humanitarian relief and development; rebuilding trust between communities; creating dialogue within and between ethnic groups; giving voice to marginalised communities and groups; enabling grassroots participation in the dialogues



Sanjana Hattotuwa is a student of the University of Queensland's Rotary Program for International Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution. The University's Rotary program is one of only seven such programs worldwide, enrolling at least ten students each year.

related to peacebuilding; but-tressing the interventions of organisations involved in peace-building in their respective fields of interest; geo-spatially mapping peacebuilding interventions, their outcomes and impact; engendering greater collaboration between donors involved in reconstruction and rebuilding; reintegrating IDPs and refugees; processes of reconciliation and also in drawing the social and constitutional contours of a future state.

However, there are several key challenges that the use of ICT in peacebuilding has to address:

- > **Appropriation:** The strategic use of ICT, where organisations use ICT interventions to dovetail with and strengthen their existing (and planned) interventions on the ground, is pivotal to the success of the technologies in the theatres of peacebuilding and conflict transformation. There is a need to explore and problematise the often unquestioned assumption that access to technology automatically ensures its adoption and then leads to its appropriation by relevant stakeholders.
- > **Equity / Inclusivity:** The lack of access to technologies

by peoples may serve to exacerbate existing tensions within and between communities, and may create new inequalities even as old wounds are healed. The emphasis of ICT should be self-effacing. ICT must build social capital, and invest in societal frameworks that empower local communities to grapple with conflict in non-violent ways. The outcomes and the process are the most important factors in peacebuilding – not the technology itself.

- > **Trust:** The use of ICT is inextricably tied to issues of trust, especially in theatres where little or none exists between key stakeholders. As ICT for peacebuilding develops, there is a need to develop more effective cultures of collaboration based on virtual determinants of trust. These should build on real world signifiers of trust, while suggesting revolutionary new ways of conducting critical discussions in virtual spaces.
- > **Sustainability:** The sustainability of ICT interventions is a challenge. There is a need for new organic, endogenous models to support ICT interventions, for the long-term.
- > **Relationship building:** ICTs cannot magically build mutually beneficial relationships

and partnerships where none have existed overnight. Furthermore, the intensive use of ICTs is a relatively new phenomenon for non-profit organizations and donor organizations, let alone the key protagonists in a peace process. Sustainable and stable relationships in peacebuilding processes can be augmented in virtual spaces by ICT interventions, but they are also very dependent on stakeholder interventions in the real world.

Given the extremely complex nature of violent and protracted ethno political conflict, ICT must not be seen as a magical harbinger of a new social order. Rather, the use of ICT in peacebuilding has to be deeply cognisant of, inter alia, social schisms, changing power centres, key and emerging stakeholders, spoilers, the fears and concerns of the masses, partisan and zero sum politics and politicians, intra party tensions and ethno-religious tensions. Without such a holistic framework, the blinkered use of ICT may lay the foundation for the continued marginalisation of certain segments of society, and may create new rifts that hinder the transformation of violent conflict.

>> *continued on page 12*

2004 FULBRIGHT SYMPOSIUM:

Civil-Military Cooperation and the War on Terror

ACPACS was involved in the 2004 Fulbright Symposium, held in July at the University of Queensland. The Fulbright Symposium is supported by a grant awarded to an Australian institution by the Australian-American Fulbright Commission. The Symposium is held annually on a topic of current bi-national interest between Australia and the United States and engages leading speakers from both countries. This year, the conference focused on issues of civil-military cooperation and the war against terror.

The Fulbright Program was established in 1946 by Senator J. William Fulbright and the US Government to promote mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States and the world through educational and cultural exchange. Now one of the largest and most prestigious educational scholarship programs in the world, the Fulbright Program exists between the United States and 140 other countries.

The Australian-American Fulbright Commission was established in 1949 and coordinates the Fulbright Program in Australia, annually providing up to 20 scholarships for Australians to study in the United States, and a similar number of scholarships for Americans to come to Australia.

The 2004 Fulbright Symposium covered a wide range of topics relating to Civil-Military cooperation and the war against terror, such as:

- Terrorism in the region and further afield: causes and consequences
- The impact of the war on terror on the work of non-governmental organisations
- Homeland security
- On-going operations in Iraq and Afghanistan
- Lessons from Peace Operations
- Security Sector Reform
- Building regional peace and security
- The development-security nexus
- The Australian military's civil-military cooperation doctrine

Dr Anne Brown presented a paper on development and security in the South West Pacific at an International Peace Academy/UQ panel on Policing in South West Pacific Conflicts.

>> continued from page 11

Info Share in Sri Lanka – Using ICT for Peacebuilding

Because traditional methodologies of improving communication flows were proving difficult to implement, the architectonics of Info Share were conceptualised to address several deep flaws in Sri Lanka's peacebuilding process using ICT.

Even though there was positive movement between Track One actors in the peace process, there was an ever widening information gap between Track One and the concerns and fears of the general public. Furthermore, institutions that were engaged in the process of rehabilitation, reconciliation and relief efforts rarely coordinated their interventions with each other, leading to project overlap and wastage of resources.

This is not a feature that is unique to the Sri Lankan peace process – in countries coming out of protracted ethno-political strife, dilapidated institutions and systems of governance do not have the ability to keep up with the frenzy of work and interventions by multiple stakeholders on multiple tiers that take place in the heat of a fledgling peace process.

Some of the linkages Info Share has been able to achieve, and is in the process of augmenting, within the peacebuilding process in Sri Lanka., are outlined in Fig:2. The information sharing networks include large, geographically dispersed organisations, INGOs, donors, CSOs and grassroots networks, operating within and between multiple tiers of the on-going peace process.

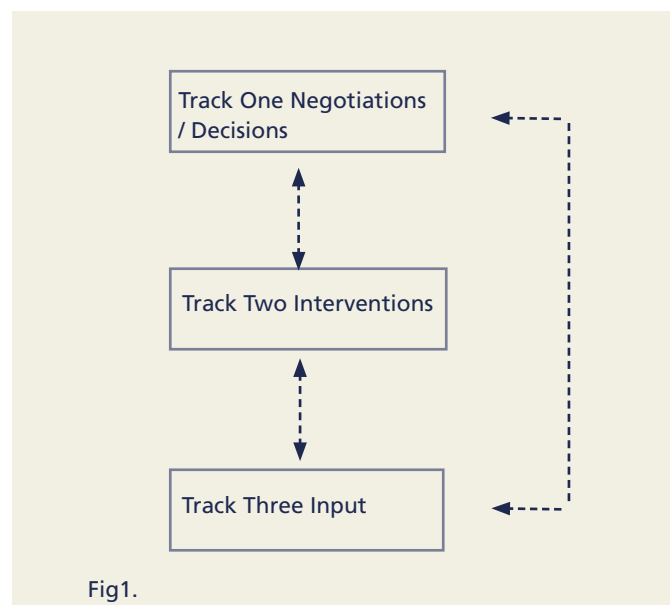


Fig1.

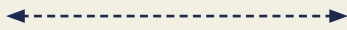
It can be argued that effective communication and collaboration is a cornerstone in any peace process, and has a pivotal factor in the progress of the process itself. For stakeholders engaged in a peace process, the overwhelming abundance of raw data must be weighed against accessible, secure, trusted information that helps them to work together, and collaborate on programmes, projects and interventions that buttress peace building.

By providing mechanisms and applications for public and private/confidential/secured shared working



Fig:2.

“ At the end of the day, computers and technology don’t create just and lasting peace. Technology can only augment the human imperative - we make peace between ourselves and within ourselves. ”



- Incoherent communications and media strategies engage with concerns and fear about the peace process
- Inability to address the concerns and fears of people in Track Three despite the progress in talks on Track One
- No overall map of peacebuilding - actors in Sri Lanka had little or no idea of complementary activities and interventions
- No networking of peacebuilding activities, leading to extremely fractured interventions and outcomes.

spaces, Info Share hopes to enhance the capacity of people and organizations to work collectively on conflict and peacebuilding (regional, national, local or sectoral). Info Share allows stakeholders to develop and implement best practices and appropriate peacebuilding and transformation initiatives - including traditional, culturally specific methods - drawn from resources locally and internationally.

By using the experience gathered during operations in Sri Lanka, and the accrued human resources, Info Share has the potential to be a pioneer in adopting and appropriating the power of ICT for peacebuilding and conflict transformation.

The networks of collaboration that are envisioned in this radical new paradigm, go far beyond the traditional email lists or websites – there are secure, accessible, authenticated workspaces where information can be shared with key partners irrespective of where they are in the world, and how they connect to the internet.

Final thoughts

ICT can help channel resources (human, financial, technological) around the world in order to help address intra-state and regional ethno-political conflict. Stakeholders can continue to engage with the complexities of peace process without having to be in the same region, and organisations

can learn from each others experiences in real time if necessary, with repositories of information that are accessible, secure and confidential.

To date, however, the overwhelming majority of populations do NOT participate in ICT interventions. While this is in itself is not necessarily an impediment to the usefulness of ICT in peacebuilding, to forget this fact would be folly.

Successful conflict transformation does not come in the form of technology per se, but in the ability of societies to develop their social capital organically, and to then engage with the possibilities of developing non-violent creative ways of addressing inequality, exclusion and legitimate grievances.

At the end of the day, computers and technology don’t create just and lasting peace. Technology can only augment the human imperative - we make peace between ourselves and within ourselves.

ICT is at best a powerful catalyst that aids change. People make the difference.

Regional Security Workshops

Professor Clements and Dr Anne Brown participated in the Regional Security Workshop series at the invitation of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), Kevin taking part in the PNG workshop and Anne in the Vanuatu meeting. The Workshops are part of the region's efforts to understand better the complex of security issues affecting both the region and individual states within it and to support collaboration among Pacific states to assist each other to develop responses to potential conflicts. While there has been some anxiety expressed about terrorism and organised crime setting up home bases in the region, most security concerns centre on the kinds of domestic conflict and social violence that often accompany post-colonial transition. Most states in the region are working with the difficult challenges of shaping forms of governance that are effective in their own local social, cultural and economic contexts. The Workshops are the beginning of efforts to encourage greater discussion of common problems and possible ways forward in the South Pacific.

Graduation Ceremony

BY PROFESSOR KEVIN CLEMENTS

As a sociologist and political scientist I am proud and privileged to be addressing a graduating class of social and behavioural scientists. You are part of my own academic tribe. From my totally unbiased perspective, therefore, I can say unequivocally that this tribe is intelligent, fun to be with, curious about the human condition and generally willing to embrace social and political change. Being married to a political scientist I am duty-bound to add that social scientists make much better lovers and partners than graduates from the other faculties as well! So, to the SBS graduating class of 2004, congratulations and welcome to the community of social science scholar and practitioners. You and your families have worked hard for these qualifications and all of you deserve the recognition that is yours tonight.

The American satirist Russell Baker at a Graduation Ceremony in 1995 told the audience that graduation ceremonies were all about telling students to go forth into the world, and giving them advice on what to do when they got out there. He concluded, however, that this was a ridiculous waste of time as the graduates rarely if ever took the advice. He concluded that the best advice he could give anybody about going out into the world was not to do it.

As he said "I have been out there. It is a mess".

In 2004, I feel pretty much the same way. The world is in a bit of a mess at the moment. Some of the mess is of our own making; some of it is a consequence of forces beyond our control. Whatever we determine to be the root or proximate causes of the mess, however, we as social scientists have no alternative but to engage it, analyse and understand its component parts and

see if there are ways in which we can turn the crises that confront us into creative opportunities. As my Yorkshire ancestors used to say "Where there's muck, there's brass". So what is the brass that lies beneath the muck of the current crises?

There are too many dimensions to the current mess to deal with all of them in ten minutes. So important though they are, I will draw a veil over things like truth telling in politics and the political justifications for wars of choice; or corporate greed and corruption and what these do to the integrity of markets; or the growing gaps between rich and poor all around the world. These issues, while important deflect me from a major focus of the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies which is how to analyse, understand and delegitimise violence as an acceptable means of communicating needs and protecting or promoting individual, social, economic and political interests.

I can think of no more important or challenging task than this. There are seventy countries (out of 194 member states of the United Nations) that are either on the verge of, or experiencing significant violent conflict at the present time. Eighteen of these countries are moving rapidly towards a significant escalation of violent conflict. While Iraq figures in this list of 18 the casualties there pale into insignificance compared to those being killed in the Eastern Congo where over 3 million people have been killed in the last 10 years, which is nearly the whole population of New Zealand. We don't hear too much about these deaths in the Western media because the major news channels don't have imbedded journalists in Goma and Bukavu since most of them are sitting in Baghdad or Jerusalem.

War is organised killing between groups. We mustn't forget, however, the growth in individual violence throughout the world. There are, for example, some very sobering statistics in the July issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

"In Europe right now the statistics of male violence against female partners are shocking. For European women aged between 16 and 44 violence in the home is the primary cause of injury and death, more lethal than road accidents and cancer. Between 25% and 50% of women in Europe are victims of violence. In Portugal, for example, 52.8% of women say that they have been violently treated by their husbands or partners. In Germany almost 300 women a year, or three women every four days, are killed by men with whom they used to live. In Britain one woman dies in similar circumstances every three days."

The figures for Australia and New Zealand are comparable.

When these figures are added to the millions being killed in political and military violence or as a result of both bottom up and top down terrorism it is clear that there is a big mess out there and violence is at the heart of it.

There are two ways of responding to individual and collective violence. The first is denial. This violence is not our violence and therefore not our problem. We are neither responsible nor culpable. The second is engagement. The problem, with this, however, is how to engage with violent actors and violent behaviour in ways which will transform them and generate virtuous rather than vicious cycles?

Security specialists, police and military professionals are concerned with coercive responses to violence. Peace and Conflict Studies programs like ours at UQ are (among other things) aimed at expanding the range of nonviolent options available for breaking cycles of violence.

A visiting American academic told us recently that nonviolence was no longer a politically acceptable option for the United States. This is a very sobering assessment

given how blunt and ineffective the use of overwhelming force coercion and power has been in Iraq. It is also worrying that the most powerful military in the world sees little place for non-violent soft power in pursuit of its foreign policy and security objectives.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who said, "I object to all violence because when it appears to do good, the good is always only temporary but the evil it does is permanent."

The challenge, though, is discovering what nonviolent methods are both practical, and effective in relation to imminent and probable threats of violence.

In the first place we must reiterate the central importance of Human Dignity as a guiding principle for all of our work. We accord persons dignity by assuming that they are good and that they share the human qualities we ascribe to ourselves. This is a pre-requisite for opening conversations and deeper exchanges with others, including those who are not of our tribe. If we do not make this assumption, the possibility for positive change is very slight indeed.

In relation to personal violence, however, there can be no excuse or justification for male/female violence of the sort that afflicts Europe and most other parts of the world. It needs to be roundly condemned and delegitimated by all of us.

But what about terrorist violence? How do we deal with that nonviolently? My old colleague Rich Rubenstein asserts that

"Terrorism is violence by small groups claiming to represent massive constituencies and seeking by "heroic" provocative attacks to awaken the masses, redeem their honour, and generate an enemy over reaction that will intensify and expand the struggle".

If we deny terrorists this pleasure and act fearlessly and without over reaction we will certainly create conditions more conducive to nonviolent problem solving. But even then we have to ask

"I object to all violence because when it appears to do good, the good is always only temporary but the evil it does is permanent."

MAHATMA GANDHI

what next? What can and must we do to rehumanise the terrorist and meet his/her deeper needs of recognition, security and welfare? How can we individually and collectively respond to centuries of humiliation, fear and marginalisation? This is where ethics and sound social science start converging. But it is also where we must begin. As Oscar Wilde, said 'The basis for optimism is sheer terror.'

In relation to nonviolent techniques here are some starting points. We need to develop programmes that are mutually empowering; which build resilient relationships/solidarity between peoples. Israel will never be secure behind its wall. We have to develop programs that demonstrate a willingness to suffer rather than inflict suffering and which promote changes which advance the interests and needs of the poorest, weakest and most vulnerable; As Nelson Mandela put it in his last speech to the South African parliament, "the common good ultimately translates in to a deep concern for those that suffer want and deprivation of any kind ".

In all of this work we need to speak truth without fear in order to promote a mutuality of respect across all class, gender and ethnic divisions.

All of this is a tall order, I know, but from my own research and practice these principles do

>> continued on page 16

The Cure at Troy.

BY SEAMUS HEANEY

*Human beings suffer,
They torture one another,
They get hurt and get hard.
No poem or play or song
Can fully right a wrong
Inflicted and endured.*

*The innocent in gaols
Beat on their bars together.
A hunger striker's father
Stands in the graveyard dumb.
The police widow in veils
Faints at the funeral home.*

*History says, Don't hope
On this side of the grave
But then, once in a lifetime
The longed for tidal wave
Of Justice can rise up
And hope and history rhyme*

*So hope for a great sea change
On the far side of revenge
Believe that a further shore
Is reachable from here
Believe in miracles
And cures and healing wells.*

>> *continued from page 16*

generate conditions and communicative patterns that make peace possible.

There are many other institutional changes that need to occur so that economic, political and social institutions create environments within which violence is delegitimated and individuals become habituated to nonviolent problem solving. These personal steps, though, are a good start.

I hope I have said enough, however, to persuade you that violence is one of the major challenges of the 21st century. If this century is to become one of maturity it is absolutely vital that this issue be engaged by everyone. The violent and avoidable death of anyone anywhere in this inter-connected world diminishes all of us. The management and transformation of violent processes into non-violent ones therefore, requires the most powerful intellects and the highest levels of compassionate and empathetic imagination that we can muster.

If we leave the problems to the security professionals almost certainly we will have more messes like those in Iraq. Violence is an issue that concerns all of us, as national citizens and as global citizens. We all have a right to security and a right to be defended in ways that will generate positive rather than negative outcomes. This is why the Presidential election in the US is so critical this year. The world should have a say in who gets to lead the most powerful military in the world. In particular, there should never be any annihilation without representation or at the very least consultation!

If these current crises generate momentum for nonviolent solutions to complex political, social and economic problems this will be the brass that emerges from the current muck and my Yorkshire ancestors would pronounce themselves well pleased with the outcome.

I would like to finish with a poem by Irish Poet Seamus Heaney from his translation of Sophocle's Philoctetes.

