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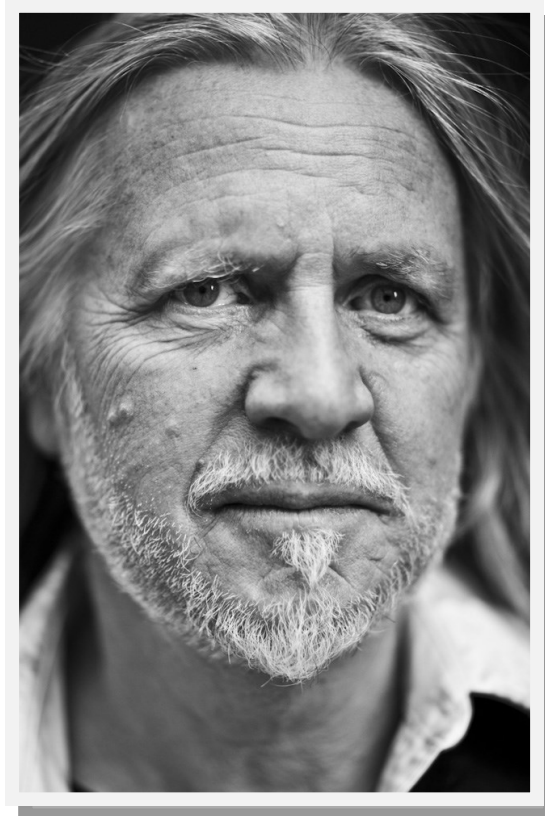
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Humanist Artist George Gittoes to Receive 2015 Sydney Peace Prize

by David Hirsch

Australian humanitarian artist, activist and filmmaker George Gittoes has been selected to receive the 2015 Sydney Peace Prize on Tuesday 10 November.

George Gittoes has been exposing injustice for over 45 years. The 2015 Sydney Peace Prize Jury selected him “for his courage to witness and confront violence in the war zones of the world, for enlisting the arts to subdue aggression and for enlivening the creative spirit to promote tolerance, respect and peace with justice.”

The Sydney Peace Prize is Australia’s only annual international prize for peace. For the past seventeen years the Sydney Peace Foundation at the

University of Sydney has awarded the prize to someone who has made a significant contribution to peace with justice, respect for human rights and the language and practice of non-violence. Past winners include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Arundhati Roy and Noam Chomsky.

Gittoes grew up in the Sydney suburb of Rockdale and studied Fine Arts at The University of Sydney. In

massacre of thousands of Rwandans at a displaced persons camp where they had sought protection from UN peacekeeping forces. This inspired his painting *The Preacher*, which won the 1995 Blake Prize for Religious Art. “At a time when the world is speeding into a new cycle of war” says George Gittoes, “it is inspiring that the Sydney Peace Foundation values art as a way to help overcome

With the help of his partner Hellen Rose, a singer and actress from Sydney, Gittoes has started a film production company in a walled compound named Yellow House after the Sydney art collective. Its mission is to bring peace and positive social change, not with the weapons of war, but with a broad range of creative media and strategies.

“I have been waging a personal war against war with art for five decades” he says. “Showing the other side of conflict has its rewards, but doing something constructive on the ground with the people affected by war is the most satisfying thing I’ve ever done”.

Gittoes’ documentary film *Love City Jalalabad* won awards for Best Documentary and Most Socially Relevant Film at the New York Winter Indie Film Festival in February this year.

Art historian Dr Rod Pattenden says “His images pry open the door to a conversation about what it means to be human at the very limits, where petty myths, tired illusions and worn-out symbols collapse. This is the dare at the heart of his practice – to activate the imagination rather than fear, and to create hope in the face of chaos.”

“I feel privileged to have been able to spend much of my life creating beauty in the face of the destruction of war” says Gittoes.

The Sydney Peace Prize will be presented at Sydney Town Hall on **Tuesday 10 November** where George Gittoes will be delivering the 2015 City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture.



George Gittoes and friends at Yellow House, Jalalabad, Afghanistan.
(Credit: Waqar Alam)

1970 he helped establish The Yellow House artists collective in Kings Cross with others including Martin Sharp and Brett Whitely.

Gittoes’ activism evolved through his work as a painter, filmmaker and photojournalist. He has chronicled conflicts and social upheavals in many places including Nicaragua, Somalia, Cambodia, Western Sahara, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Bougainville, East Timor, South Africa, Palestine, Iraq and Pakistan.

In 1995 Gittoes was a witness to the

brutality. The award of the Sydney Peace Prize is a wonderful and unexpected honour”.

George Gittoes is daring, brash and irreverent – qualities Australians identify with. He is also generous, open-minded and compassionate. The Jury felt his unique approach to peacebuilding and social justice should be recognised and applauded. Gittoes is currently based in Jalalabad, Afghanistan – arguably the most dangerous city in the world – and is at great personal risk from the Taliban.

For more information visit:
www.sydneypeacefoundation.org.au

David Hirsch is a barrister and the Chair of the Sydney Peace Foundation.



Peace Journalism: Options for Editors and Reporters in Afghanistan

by Associate Professor Jake Lynch

Peace activists in Herat have vowed to redouble their efforts for dialogue following several bomb explosions that killed 11 people in the province, blamed by a senior police chief on Taliban commanders finding shelter across the border in neighbouring Iran.

The paragraph above is a typical introduction to a story from my recent Peace Journalism training in Kabul. Organised by Mediothek Afghanistan with support from the German Institute for Cooperation, the workshop was attended by editors and reporters from all 34 provinces of Afghanistan.

A glance at any Afghan media reveals the primacy of an old news maxim: if it bleeds, it leads. Publics understandably want to know any information that affects their own security, which ensures continuing attention on bombs, battles and bullets.

But experience of conflicts all over the world shows there are invariably people at the same time working for peace: building bridges in their community; promoting dialogue, and

advocating for understanding of the 'enemy' as a step towards eventual reconciliation. They typically operate on a small, very localised scale, but their efforts are the building blocks for peace, as they are in any conflict. What they often need is attention and publicity, enabling them to thrive and grow.

That is where Peace Journalism comes in. Its brief is to create opportunities for readers and audiences to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict. In doing so, it attempts to uncover the issues in conflict – why people do what they do, the needs and interests that underpin their responses. It pays attention to people as peace-makers, not just elites. It takes issue with propaganda. And – the most fundamental point – it portrays conflict as a set of problems to be resolved, not as a great tug-of-war that will end with one 'side' winning, the other losing.

The challenge, often, is how to work these elements in to reports of episodes in conflict such as the bombs of Herat, the example above, which were planted, to deadly effect, in May 2014. The next paragraphs of a Peace Journalism story on the subject could go like this:

Herat police chief, General Samiullah Qatrah, claimed to have documents showing financial support for the militants coming from the Islamic state. His remarks follow the latest casualties, seven members of the same family who died when their rickshaw hit a roadside bomb in Shindand District late on Tuesday. Five adults, including two women, and two children, were killed.

Amina, a female peace activist from Shindand, last night called for understanding of what drives the perpetrators: "The Taliban are portrayed as the enemy, but we should remember that they are people, men with families, who have needs and concerns that lead them to take the actions they do".

She had come to know wives of some local Taliban fighters through her peace work, and used the relationship to negotiate the release of an 18-year-old boy who had been held hostage for 13 days – the son of one of her distant relatives. It proves that talking to the Taliban can work, she said.

Amina is a real person, as were others whose stories and angles featured in the workshop exercises, since the aim was to make it as realistic as possible. She took part in training provided by the Afghan Women's Network and The Institute for Inclusive Security, aimed at empowering women to participate in peace processes and negotiations at all levels in their own community.

She joined a group of 21 women from all over the country who attended a four-day workshop in New Delhi, India, to strengthen their advocacy and conflict resolution skills. The workshop, held in June 2013, was part of a two-year initiative by both groups, with international funding, to advance female participation in Afghanistan's peace process. The program has trained 60 women from 12 provinces.

Amina returned to Herat from New Delhi determined to share what she had learned. She organized workshops on women's role in the community, one of which was attended

by wives of Taliban insurgents. Amina forged relationships with these women, visiting their homes and listening as they shared their concerns. She is a typical grassroots peace worker, who speaks with the authority of having actually done something for peace, not just talked about it. That makes her a good source – my own research shows that, when engaged through the story of an individual protagonist, readers and audiences sit up and take notice of arguments for peace. If talking to the Taliban became a

sights into what motivates local men to join the Taliban, and the changes that need to happen, to prevent further recruitment into the Taliban in future.

The Commission uses various mediators, including tribal elders, religious leaders and former combatants who have already joined the process. If the former are necessary to contact and convince the insurgents, the latter play an important role in reassuring the men that they will be neither arrested nor prose-

This should include setting up army checkpoints for protection.

His remarks also indicate the need for some form of justice in respect of the wrongs suffered by many Afghan communities during years of war, including at the hands of international forces. One of the most shocking recent incidents of violence, which took place in Paktia province on the day before I arrived in the country, saw a suicide bomb attack kill or injure more than 100 civilians at a volleyball match.

Dig deeper, though, and the record shows some local people would have ample reason to seek revenge for wrongs they have suffered. Just weeks earlier, hundreds of villagers protested over their allegation that seven civilians died in a NATO airstrike the Alliance said killed “eight armed enemy combatants”. The protesters brought seven corpses to the governor’s office, saying the strike targeted eight people collecting firewood, killed seven and left one man wounded. Their protest was greeted by official promises to investigate, which sounded rather formulaic: unless the grievances are properly followed up, resentment may fester, and lead to more atrocities.

Following the Taliban attack at the volleyball match, a very senior government official vowed revenge on the perpetrators. While an understandable reaction to the grievous loss suffered by the victims and their families, such a step would be to carry on the cycle of violence, and lead inexorably to more atrocities. By itself, the statement was therefore an example of propaganda. The only way for journalists to avoid reproducing the propaganda would be to ask: “If you take revenge on



Jake Lynch in Kabul with interpreter and co-facilitator, Mohammad Atif of Mediothek Afghanistan (Credit: Jake Lynch)

more widespread practice, what would there be to talk about? A valuable insight comes from Hazrat Sharif Modjadeddi, chairman of the Peace and Reconciliation Commission in Herat Province, who has overseen the surrender of dozens of Taliban members from the western provinces who have joined the reconciliation process.

The experience has given him in-

cutted for their past activities.

Mr Modjadeddi says: “Some insurgents were civilians whose homes were destroyed by the International Forces, so they joined the Taliban”. They want development in their districts, he says: “clinics, schools and security” – especially protection against their former allies, now they have left the insurgency and joined the reconciliation process.

them, what do you expect them to do to you?”

The words and deeds of Amina and Mr Modjadiddi show what would be needed in order to divert the cycle of violence to a more productive path. Peace is not going to come in Afghanistan – any more than it has anywhere else – by expecting everyone on one side to throw up their hands, say “OK – we were wrong, you were right all the time”, and join the other side. It will require justice, and that means listening to the reasons why people join the conflict in the first place.

Afghanistan’s new president, Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai, has called for a National Road Map for peace, to provide a sense of coordination for all peace efforts and a central reference point for dialogue. That is a welcome initiative, and, to give it meaning, it will require the free circulation of information as a key resource to make things happen. That confers both responsibility and opportunity on journalists, who bring that information to the public.

The present dominant form of War Journalism portrays conflict as a series of big bangs, with little in between. By filling in those gaps, and drawing attention to the peace work that is already going on, Peace Journalism is giving peace a chance.

The trainees from the Kabul workshops went back to their newsrooms, determined to try their best to work these angles in to their own reporting and their own media. That means ensuring that, when violent incidents are reported, readers and audiences receive adequate backgrounds and contexts, which enable them to appreciate the potential and the arguments for nonviolent re-

sponses. The more journalists who join them in Afghanistan, the more of a contribution they will be able to make to the prospects and resources for a more peaceful future.

Associate Professor Jake Lynch is the Director of CPACS.



Women and Peacebuilding in the Solomon Islands

by Robyn Edwards

The Solomons is a country of islands. Nearly a thousand spread along an archipelago stretching from Papua New Guinea in the north to Vanuatu in the south; over 300 islands are inhabited, often in remote locations. The population is approximately 600,000 (mainly Melanesian) and over 60,000 live in the capital Honiara. Solomon Islands experienced a six-year period of ethnic tension and civil unrest, 1998 - 2003. The ‘tensions’ were fought mainly between armed militias from the two largest and most populous islands, Guadalcanal and Malaita, over issues of migration, land and economic disadvantage.

Despite the dominant Melanesian culture which sees Solomon Island men in positions of authority and as the natural leaders, women played important and brave roles during the tensions as peacemakers and community leaders. Their roles are detailed in *Herem Kam: Stori Blong Mifala Olketa Mere*, the Women’s Submission to the Solomon Islands Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

During the tensions, women from both sides of the conflict approached the militants in their bunkers. Guale and Malaitan women brought food and tobacco, and asked the men to lay down their arms. ‘When the boys were armed with guns, the mothers were armed with peace and passion and love, and this is what their tools were to fight. The women met every morning to pray before they launched out to the camps. They went to the leaders first, then after that the commanders. They had one simple message – *‘Please lay down your arms and come home, my son’*.

When the fighting was at its most dangerous members of the *Women for Peace Group* negotiated and mediated between the warring parties, the Isatabu and Eagles. However, women were not recognised or included in the formal peace settlement or drawing up of the *Townsville Peace Agreement*, which marked the end of the conflict in 2000. In the words of one female leader, ‘We risked our lives at the militants’ bunkers, being the human shields for the men, and when it comes to negotiations we feel the men have forgotten us’.

In the years following the tensions, women throughout the Solomons have played important roles as peacebuilders. I was able to witness this first hand when I lived and worked in Honiara, and then Gizo as an Australian aid volunteer. In 2014 I joined a Women’s Peacebuilding Forum in Gizo, organised by the Western Province Council of Women for village women from the surrounding islands. During the Forum women spoke about how they had initiated community development and livelihood projects in their villages.



*Simbo women wearing the island dress they designed, printed and hand sewed
(Credit: Robyn Edwards)*

A particularly successful and empowering example of this, was a project on the island of Simbo, where women designed their own island dress with the symbol of the frigatebird. During the launch of the project (July 2014) women from Simbo's four zones paraded around the village commons wearing their island dress, to the beat of panpipes and drums.

It is important that peacebuilding projects are generated from the grass-roots, like in Simbo, and provide avenues for the empowerment of women. However, there needs to be change at the national level as well, particularly in relation to women's representation in the National Parliament.

National elections 2014

Solomon Islands became an independent and democratic nation in 1978. Previously they were a British

colony, heavily influenced to this day by Christian missionaries who arrived in the early 1900s. Since independence there have only been three women elected to National Parliament. I was living and working in Gizo at the time of the last national elections, held in November 2014.

Following a long and sustained campaign to support women's candidacy and election, there was hope throughout the country and women's organisations such as the Solomon Islands Council of Women and Vois Blong Mere, that women would be elected.

Twenty eight women stood for the 50 seat parliament. Some were high profile candidates who had demonstrated their abilities as members of Provincial Assemblies or excelled in different positions of authority in civil society. However, only one woman was narrowly successful in the election, from the remote prov-

ince of Temotu. Questions were quickly raised about her owning a logging company, her ability to buy votes (alleged to be the *only* way candidates are elected in the Solomons) and her minority ethnic Polynesian background. The previous national parliament had one woman member as well, elected to represent a seat in North Malaita. She was the wife of the previous member who was in prison for his role during the ethnic tensions; a victory for nepotism and male retention of power, not a true victory for women or the nation.

We may need to wait for generational change to see women represented in the National Parliament. Young educated men and women living and working in Honiara are slowly changing the social, economic and cultural landscape of the nation. The Young Women's Parliamentary Group is advocating use of Temporary Special Measures (under CEDAW) to reserve seats for women. Meanwhile, issues of gender equality and empowerment of women continue to be on the agenda of government and civil society organisations.



One of a series of election posters voicing women's concerns (Credit: Robyn Edwards)

Gender equality has also been one of eight goals of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). With the MDGs ending this year, and their replacement by Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), it is likely that issues of global and national equality and inequality will be included in the new UN platform for action. Gender equality could be located within this frame. Understanding and addressing inequalities in all its forms may lay the foundation for a fairer, more inclusive and peaceful world.

Robyn Edwards is a current CPACS student. She has lived and worked in the Solomon Islands for two years, in Honiara and Gizo, as part of Australian Volunteers for International Development (AVID).



Horrors of Terror: an Alternative Perspective

by Dr Shabbir Hussain

As Australia paid homage to its war veterans for their services in the war on terror on the eve of the official conclusion of Operation Slipper, the media coverage appeared to conceal as much as it revealed about this conflict to the people of Australia. It is hard to believe what the country's Prime Minister said on the occasion: that the global community has 'successfully eliminated the scourge of terrorism from Afghanistan', suggesting that soon the whole war-affected region would be put on the track of democracy and 'civilization'. For someone like me, living on the border region of Pakistan and Afghanistan, the above iteration seemed odd in many respects. The global community has failed in

its mission to cleanse the region of terror. In fact, it is part of the problem. Any successful resolution of the conflict would require disbandment of Al-Qaeda in movements similar to the withdrawal of foreign troops and the cessation of strategic interests.

It's a pity that Prime Minister Abbott didn't mention the most important aspect of the conflict: the unbearable sufferings of the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The global war on terror was unleashed on them, despite none of the perpetrators of attacks on the US coming from that region. According to the Pakistan government, so far 70,000 Pakistanis have died in the conflict. Across the border in Afghanistan, where this war is being fought, no credible body count is available, though the casualties are feared to have exceeded this number. The war has wreaked complete havoc in the region and hardly a family remains unaffected in the vast expanse of the border region in the two countries.

This writer had the opportunity to travel to tribal areas of Pakistan (total population 9 million) where this war is in progress. Since 2004, as many as 200,000 Pakistani soldiers have engaged in combat with Taliban fighters in this region. While security gains achieved from this military (mis)adventure are open for debate, this is the worst humanitarian crisis as a result of the war. It is horrific, to say the least. The situation on the ground is difficult to describe. I saw the whole region grappling with trauma, where psychological devastation reigns supreme. Talking to people, I listened to each family member tell their story of grief and

agony. They mourned their dead, grieved for those rendered permanently disabled and pitied their homeless. In the past decade and a half, the region has recorded the displacement of 3-4 million people at any one time in different locations. Even at the time of writing this article, around one and a half million



*CPACS Visiting Scholar Shabbir Hussain
(Credit: Shabbir Hussain)*

people in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas region have taken shelter in shantytowns and refugee camps, where they are living in pathetic conditions.

Aside from the heavy toll on human lives, houses, properties, businesses and agricultural lands have been destroyed in the conflict. Many people have spent nightmarish times at refugee camps (though they were the privileged ones, having received a place in the army-run camps) and they simply shudder at the thought of having to return. Children especially are living in a precarious situation. US drones and Pakistan army helicopter gunships constantly hover in the air. I personally saw a group of children who were playing scream

when they saw a helicopter gunship approaching. Many parents told me that their children were reluctant to play outside and experienced frequent nightmares. It is unfortunate that psychological services are not available even in the best-managed refugee camps (housing the smallest number of displaced people). One can experience a strange hysteria that has gripped the region and you wonder how the next generation of tribespeople will cope with life, exposed to the horrors of war at such an unprecedented level.

As far as strategic and military gains of the global war against terrorism are concerned, there are not many. In fact, we are exactly where we started. The Taliban has not been defeated and in fact, it is now considered a legitimate entity and an equal partner in the future dispensation for Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was unable to achieve this status, even when ruling Afghanistan two decades ago. Now, the democratic government in Afghanistan is largely restricted to Kabul.

Similarly, in the tribal regions of Pakistan, though the country boasts an impregnable defence (being a nuclear power) and a strong military, it has not been able to “wipe out the terrorists”, to use common military jargon. In fact, the Taliban’s influence has increased in the settled districts. They have a sizeable portion of sympathisers in the country for their promise of enforcing a more just and equitable system of governance. There is a realisation among the country’s top military elites that the Taliban would have to be appeased and mainstreamed to ensure durable peace in the region. Looking at the potential role of Australia in peacemaking around the world, I would have loved to hear Prime

Minister Abbott talking about this conflict in similar terms. Here are a few suggestions on how to help resolve this conflict, from my experience as a peace researcher. I would like Australian people, intelligentsia and politicians to consider heading in this direction instead of kowtowing to the belligerent stance of the US.

First, we need to consider the conflict from a humanitarian perspective. The poor tribespeople are the real sufferers who are languishing in refugee camps, killed at the hands of both army and Taliban fighters, whose businesses are destroyed and deprived of all the facilities of modern life. The poor tribespeople are the real stakeholders, and the conflict needs to be told from their perspective, rather than through prevailing securitised narratives.

Secondly, specific to Pakistan, the conflict needs to be properly contextualised. In many cases, there is evidence that US drones and misadventures by the Pakistan army have violated the peace agreements.

Thirdly, in the recent past, it has been observed that the Pakistan Taliban has no territorial ambitions but wants an Islamic system in the tribal areas. This should not be an issue with the government as the country’s constitution envisions an Islamic welfare state.

Lastly, one hopes that the considerations of peace journalism are adhered to (such as pro-people, peace-oriented media coverage), and that chances for constructive developments leading to the peaceful resolution of this deadly conflict can be maximised.

Dr Shabbir Hussain is a Postdoctoral Visiting Fellow at CPACS and is an Assistant Professor at Riphah International University, Pakistan.



State of Resistance

by Karen Collier

“Ever since a National uprising in 2008, Tibet has been in a state of constant resistance against Chinese occupation. The Tibetan people describe this condition - Tsen-göl.” (Tsendue, 2012)

Following this year’s 56th anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising (observed 10 March worldwide) Tenpa Dugdak, a Tibetan refugee living in Sydney’s Northern Beaches, told me of his grave concern for Choephel Dawa (his cousin), who was seized by Chinese security forces in the middle of the night on 28 March, from Sok Tsanden Monastery on “unknown charges”. Prior to his arrest, the 27-year-old monk had been “secretly” imprisoned in 2012, for sharing “subversive material” over social media. Choephel’s disappearance follows a spike in arbitrary arrests in Tenpa’s village, situated in Kham Province, Eastern Tibet, one of the most sensitive areas of the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).

According to Tibet Post International, Chinese authorities in Sok also “rounded up” seven monks on 14 March for “subversive activities. The monks allegedly spread photographs and information “dealing with the grim situation in Tibet,” (possessing the Dalai Lama’s photograph inside Tibet can result in

torture, arrest and imprisonment). *Voice of America* revealed that Tibetans are monitored intrusively with the *anticipation* of their dissent, through a panoptic grid system, authorised by former President of the People's Republic of China (PRC), Hu Jintao in 2013. Over 50 surveillance cameras have recently been installed around Sok Tsanden monastery "to monitor the monks' every movement." The highly sophisticated surveillance system was termed: "nets in the sky and traps on the ground", by Yu Zhengsheng, the Political Bureau Central Committee's top official responsible for nationality policy.

According to broadcaster *Radio Free Asia*, Chinese officials announced the expansion of the system in its annual TAR Working Report (February 2013) as the key to "social stability maintenance" in Tibet. "The purpose of the grid system appears to be surveillance and control, encroaching on Tibetans' rights to freedom of expression, belief, and association," said Sophie Richardson, China Director at *Human Rights Watch*, at the time of its implementation, and implored that "Chinese authorities should dismantle this Orwellian 'grid' system."

Tenpa states that most of Sok's residents are first generation Tibetans born under the Chinese regime and have never left Tibet. His Father, Sok Shabdrung Dujom Dorjee Rinpoche (a former political prisoner) has only recently become reacquainted with his son Tenpa in exile, after years on end of torture and trauma, solitary confinement, indignity and separation. He once served his people as Abbot of Sok monastery, before joining the re-

sistance in the 1950s, which led to his eventual arrest and imprisonment for the duration of 13 years. As the local leader and spiritual teacher, Tenpa's Father had been permitted to rebuild the 1,000-year-old monastery for his people, which has withstood numerous cycles of destruction, including an aerial bombing campaign during Chinese occupation (1950). Tenpa learnt of the monastery's powerful



Nobody has heard from Tibetan monk Choephel Dawa since he was detained by police on March 28. It is not known where he is being held, the charges against him, or what risk he faces (Credit: Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy)

symbolism during a fraught journey back into Tibet with his family in 2007.

The majority of Tibetan refugees granted political asylum through the Humanitarian Entrant Scheme in Australia (around 1,000), are former political prisoners who suf-

fer deep anxiety about the welfare of their families, alongside long-term post-traumatic stress disorders. Further compounding these anxieties is that stateless Tibetans (approximately 6 million in Tibet and 150,000 in exile) are denied Tibetan citizenship, and cannot freely enter or exit their own homeland.

Back in 2008, Dugdak stressed that "Tibetans in exile are permanently worried about what is hidden behind the great wall of silence in their old country". While Tibetans in Australia describe Tibet as "the world's largest prison," Dr Lobsang Sangay underscored: "The situation of increased restrictions is so excessive that even Chinese tourists have been moved to comment that the present conditions in Tibet are like a 'war zone'". On 10 March in an official statement marking the 56th Anniversary of the Tibetan Peoples' Uprising, *Sikyong* Dr Sangay, the democratically elected Prime Minister of Tibetans in Exile stated that inside Tibet today, "Tibetans must swipe their identity cards that are embedded with sophisticated second generation chips at multiple checkpoints in major urban centers under constant surveillance cameras." One Tibetan expressed, "Your identity card is like your shadow, without it you cannot move."

Through my conversations with Tenpa, I have a better understanding about the sheer resonance of the collective political consciousness, or "unspoken language" between Tibetans—and why it poses such a threat to China's one-dimensional power structure. Tenpa speaks of this in his family story, *Our Tibet* (2008). Tibetan freedom fighters, like Tenpa's

Father, banded together to defend and preserve the Tibetan way of life in their brave last stand against the Chinese invaders. The little known, US-backed Tibetan Resistance, as detailed in *Buddha's Warriors* (2004), is a sobering account of desolation and hope against a backdrop of the Cold War and the ultimate fall of Tibet.

In order to curtail this living memory, the PRC has gone to extraordinary measures to reinforce state control around its sensitive anniversaries, which US scholar John Mearsheimer says is in concert with China's rise and projection of power in international relations. A cache of hardline policies designed to crush resistance, normalise the expanding military-security-surveillance complex, and ultimately legitimise Chinese rule since annexation, have led to the desperate self-immolations of 137 ethnic minority Tibetans since 2009. This phenomenon is understood by numerous observers to be a symptom of China's failed policies in Tibet. Despite the global shift in the balance of power in China's favor, John Mearsheimer argues that the security state's unresolved territorial disputes will significantly constrain China's ability to rise peacefully.

Arbitrary arrests, disappearances and detentions have increased since the regime imposed severe restrictions on communications throughout Tibet, to prevent any news reaching the outside world. Chinese authorities banned foreign journalists from entering Tibet following peaceful protests back in 2008, when the Beijing Olympics underscored China's record of systematic human rights violations. Australian journalist and *Wiradjuri* indigenous leader, Stan



Tenpa Dugdak at March 10 protest in 2008, Tibetan Peoples' National Uprising Anniversary, Chinese Embassy, Sydney (Credit: Xander Collier)

Grant, was the first foreign journalist to brave the culture of silence in restive Tibet during a lockdown in 2012.

In a report for CNN (Beijing), Grant revealed the degree of entrenched structural violence the state-owned media goes to extraordinary lengths to conceal, before his crew were questioned and detained by authorities. Despite the absence of conventional warfare and proportion of *direct* violence, as dealt to Tibetans in the Cultural Revolution, Norwegian academic Johan Galtung asserts how this insidious condition he terms: "structural violence", "shortens life spans" and "denies human dignity." If one dares to question the unaddressed grievances of Tibetans

today, apparently they are "living in a Maoist socialist paradise".

"Tibetans have the sense that every online communication is monitored," stresses Dugdak. In April 2014, journalist John Garnaut affirmed the extent of Tibetans' shared anxieties, reporting for *Sydney Morning Herald*, describing the extension of China's elaborate, organisational "watching web of surveillance" across borders. Garnaut wrote that the level of Chinese espionage conducted directly by the Peoples' Liberation Army and Ministry of State Security, has driven the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) to increase its counter-intelligence capabilities significantly in response.

A perpetual cycle of oppression and resistance designed to reinforce a violent regime, implies that Chinese rule has failed in Tibet. Harsher security crackdowns are feared, due to the sensitive 50th anniversary of the establishment of the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region this year, as the Tibetan Diaspora prepares to celebrate the 80th birthday of His Holiness The 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet on 6 July.

Chairman Mao Zedong announced the PRC's expansionist designs to "peacefully liberate" Tibet in 1949, the same year George Orwell's novel, *1984* was published. Considering the development of an insidious global culture of surveillance more broadly, Penguin reported that sales of the dystopian classic have recently increased by 6,000 per cent, since Edward Snowden's NSA/PRISM revelations. Orwell forewarned:

Always there will be the intoxication of power, constantly increasing and constantly growing subtler. Always, at every moment, there will be the thrill of victory, the sensation of trampling on an enemy who is helpless. If you want a picture of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human face—forever.

Without hope, such oppression would become unbearable, particularly for Tibetan youth, considering the level of political indifference on Tibet. Yet Tibetans, Kashmiris, Palestinians and those who experience this *constant* state of resistance, are resolved to a universal truth acknowledged by Mao, who is responsible for cultural genocide and the deaths of 1.2 million Tibetans, yet who rightly stated, "wherever there is oppression, there will be resistance."

For more information please visit Amnesty International's call for Urgent Action at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa17/1551/2015/en/>

Karen Collier (Brave Media) is a CPACS graduate and current member of CPACS Council.



Refugee Language Program

by Lesley Carnus

The Refugee Language Program started its first term of 2015 on 28 February. We have continued with a similar timetable to last year with classes on a Saturday and Wednesday. During the first Wednesday class, we received visitors from the Law Faculty at Chuo University, Japan, accompanied by their supervisor Professor Mike Nix. They joined the class for the last section and chatted to the refugees, took part in a short Creative Writing

exercise, then we all shared sushi in the Peace Gallery. Visits and connections such as these have much value from all perspectives. The refugees get to meet young Japanese people who are kind, eager to listen and understand their situation; and the Japanese students get to meet and discuss life with refugees rather than just reading about them in textbooks.

In 2014 we piloted a tutoring scheme with Sydney University Law Students: the SULLS Refugee Language Tutoring Program, which is continuing this year. I will train a group of students who will then meet a refugee once a week for a two hour language session. When the group advertised within their Faculty for volunteers, over 100 students applied. It is very heartening to see that these young students recognise the terrible conditions facing refugees in Australia and want to help in some way. On 5 May I also trained another group of volunteers, who will be working with refugees on an individual basis. Some refugees have so little money they cannot afford to attend classes, others



A student from the Refugee Language Program with a Japanese student from Chuo University (Credit: Lesley Carnus)

have children they need to look after, some have sustained injuries, both physical and psychological that preclude them from attending class, others have language skills at a level where they need additional support from a teacher. All of these tutors will either meet close to the student's home, or pay the fares of their asylum-seeker to come to the city.

As you can imagine, 2015 has been a despairing one for many refugees. We have a large cohort of Iranian refugees in our classes, most of whom are highly educated and cultured young men and women who would make wonderful new citizens of Australia. Foreign Minister Julie Bishop's visit to Iran to request that the government accepts "returned" asylum seekers is a further backward step for the Federal Government as well as a clear contravention of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principle of *non-refoulement*.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) asserts that the "principle of non-refoulement is the cornerstone of asylum and of international refugee law. Following from the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution, as set forth in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this principle reflects the commitment of the international community to ensure to all persons the enjoyment of human rights, including the rights to life, to freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and to liberty and security of person. These and other rights are threatened when a refugee is returned to persecution or danger".

Towards the end of last year, a boat



A Japanese student from Chuo University with a participant of the Refugee Language Program (Credit: Lesley Carnus)

of Tamil asylum seekers was returned to Sri Lanka. They were supposedly screened on board and determined to be non-asylum seekers. Considering that most asylum seekers who arrive by boat take many months, even years, to prove their refugee status to our Immigration Department and law courts, how could anyone judge the status of a person in a few minutes on a boat in the middle of an ocean?

The Federal Government's rejection of the refugees met harsh criticism, with the Tamil Refugee Council claiming that returning refugees to their homeland condemned them to persecution, making them vulnerable to rights abuses such as torture.

The situation for the refugees who study with us is very bleak, but the teachers, tutors and volunteers of the Refugee Language Program all try to make a difference through their generosity and kindness.

As mentioned earlier, one of the key aspects that stops a student coming to class is the cost of fares. If you have a spare Opal card, we'd love to pass it on to one or several of our students. They can be sent to

CPACS, University of Sydney, RLP, Room 110, Mackie Building, Arundel Street Glebe. You may also like to make a gift through the Development Office on 86278818 or download a form from our website: http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/peace_conflict/rlp/index.shtml

Lesley Carnus is the Coordinator of the Refugee Language Program at CPACS.



Looking Beyond Action

by Robert Alexandersson

In times of conflict it is easy to demand some form of action. As humans we tend to encourage someone not only to do something about a given situation, but also to do it quickly. We identify a problem and then we try to fix it. The only problem is that the action we take is not always well thought out. Therefore these actions – no matter how good our intentions – tend to cause problems that we do not anticipate in the long run. This chronicle is a call for thoughtfulness about our measures to prevent conflict and a call for a change of attitude.

Coming from an international relations background, I believe in the ideas of social constructivism. That is, we base our actions on socially constructed realities that are created through our interpretation of the world and our encounters within it. There are no set realities that determine behaviour – such as human nature – and hence we can change the way we reason when making decisions. This is different from the realist tradition that argues humans,

by nature, are power-seeking and therefore will always seek win-lose outcomes.

In today's society, rapid responses to issues are commonplace. It is also common to think about conflicts in terms of interests. But what happens when you connect rapid responses to these interests? With a rapid response it is hard to analyse the long term effect of the action taken. While actions might promote interests in the short run, in the long run problems are created that jeopardise other interests.

Let me give an example of this. In the 1970s the US decided to arm Mujahedeen rebels in Afghanistan. This plan was intended to stop Soviet influence in the region and discourage the spread of communism.

In the short term, these measures were successful in the sense that the communist government in Afghanistan never gained full control over the country. But apart from creating a volatile situation in which Afghans suffered as a consequence of enhanced civil war, it also affected American long term interests. The region developed into a stronghold for terrorism, in which some of the Mujahedeen later used weapons and equipment they received from the US to launch terrorist operations against American interests. Recruitment of terrorist cells is based on anti-Western rhetoric and was arguably made easier by the havoc created by American intervention in the region, leading other, more radical groups to take advantage of the logistics set up to battle the communist groups.

When people lose hope and they see their brothers die in wars, and see

how American soldiers are involved in these deaths - the ideology of terrorism starts to make sense in their eyes. People start to make connections between civil war and American intervention and, to stop war, argue that deterrence is needed. American interference in Afghanistan might have served US interest to begin with, but in the long run it created security concerns that were against future American interests.



*MPACS Student Robert Alexandersson
(Credit: Robert Alexandersson)*

Similarly, Afghan terrorists' action can be explained through interest. Terrorist groups want to stop American intervention in the region and they are prepared to use any means to achieve this. But does this tactic work in the long run? While terrorism certainly raises

some of the issues in regions from which terrorists operate – as they receive media attention – the commitment to interfere in these situations does not appear to become weaker. It is quite the opposite. Terrorism is viewed by many in the West as the greatest security threat in the world. The international community is developing norms of justifying military intervention in severe conflicts through ideas such as the 'Responsibility to Protect' – which evolved at the same time as new understanding about the complexity of modern security threats was formed. Hence while the 'Responsibility to Protect' concept is mainly associated with the protection of civilians and not directly linked to terrorism per se, it appears that terrorism has done little to prevent this way of thinking.

The problem when you are trying to explain the world through interests is that you miss that these interests are often blurred and incompatible with each other. To see actors as calculating, power-seeking and selfish misses the complexity of the world in which actors operate. Our interests are determined by our culture, our friends, and how other actors respond to our actions. It is impossible to have a full understanding of the world and hence we create our realities based on assumptions. If someone you trust and generally agree with tells you something is important, it is much more likely that you view this as reality, than if someone you mistrust tells you the same thing. Saying that actors are always power-seeking and base their decisions on interests is not only an illusion implying that we always know and understand

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THE CPACS



Dr Wendy Lambourne with doctoral students Scott Hearnden and Nimalan Karthikeyan

CPACS Council members John Hallam and Frank Hutchinson



MPACS graduate Simone Bush and CPACS Council member Roger Wescombe



Dr Ken Macnab celebrates with guests at the 25+ celebration dinner



2015 Student Welcome Lunch in the Posters for Peace Gallery



COMMUNITY



Sydney Peace Foundation staff Juliet Bennet and Lisa Fennis



Dr Leticia Anderson and Dr Annie Herro celebrate Dr Annabel McGoldrick's PhD graduation

Birthday celebrations in the Posters for Peace Gallery



Associate Professor Jake Lynch with new Masters student Pragati Chakma from Bangladesh



CPACS 25+ celebration dinner

interests, it is also self-proclaiming, as it justifies this behaviour as human nature. If everybody assumes that people are power-seeking, people will act accordingly because they know no other truth and because it becomes necessary to stick to this truth in order to avoid being exploited by other actors.

This approach prevents people from thinking long-term. By constantly evaluating other actors as selfish and power-seeking and assuming mistrust, you miss chances of establishing trust. Establishing trust seldom gives any short-term gains but it gives the other actor incentives to treat you well, as that might lead to further benefits in the future. This can occur even if the actor does not understand issues from the perspective of the other group and those affected by the group's actions.

Through this change of attitude I believe the long-term interests of all actors can be better addressed, especially considering that globalisation continues to make encounters with different groups around the world ever more common and important.

Robert Alexandersson holds a Bachelor of International Relations and is currently in his last semester of the MPACS program.



Investigating Diversity, Human Rights and Civil Society in Japan and Australia

by Lynda-ann Blanchard and Mike Nix, Program Coordinators



Participants in the "Investigating Diversity, Human Rights and Civil Society in Japan and Australia" Programme in February 2015 (Credit: Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard)

"Investigating Diversity, Human Rights and Civil Society in Japan and Australia" has been conceived and coordinated as an annual peace education and cultural exchange programme between Chuo University's Law Faculty (Japan) and CPACS, University of Sydney (Australia).

The Australia-Japan Foundation supported the pilot project in February 2014, providing \$14,500 of seed funding to CPACS to initiate the project.

As an exercise in peace praxis, this academic and cultural exchange highlights an approach to human rights and peace education that values student-centred learning and relationship building between academic institutions, civil society organizations and community groups.

According to Chuo University's project coordinator Professor Mike Nix: "The programme is designed

to break with top-down, classroom-based templates for study abroad, exploring instead a praxis for learning about and building peace with justice based on the principles of agency, engagement and dialogue".

Each year, the programme begins with a semester of self-directed, mostly internet-based research by undergraduate student participants at Chuo University, in consultation with their postgraduate student mentors at CPACS. Each Chuo student focuses on an issue in one of the programme's three main areas of study: indigenous rights, refugee and migrant issues, and sexual and gender diversity and equality. The student conducts research on that issue in both Japan and Australia, followed by fieldwork research in Sydney, which requires students to arrange visits to NGOs and interviews with human rights activists and academics.

Starting with four Chuo students visiting Sydney for a week of research for the pilot, the programme has already expanded in its second year to eight participants and two-and-a-half weeks of Sydney-based fieldwork. This year, the students used the Resource Centre at CPACS as a base for fieldwork preparation and review, and gave poster presentations on their research in the Peace Gallery at the end of their stay. CPACS was also the venue for a welcome talk from Director Jake Lynch, as well as for Lyn Riley's Aboriginal Kinship Workshop; a workshop on LGBT Rights from MPACS graduate Benjamin Oh; a get together with students of the Refugee Language Program; and an overview of multicultural and human rights policies in Australia from Sev Ozdowski, President of the Australian Council for Human Rights Education.

We also visited the Nura Gili Centre for Indigenous Programs at the University of New South Wales, for a talk on Turtle Masks in the Torres Straits Islands from Leah Lui-Chivizhe, and the Centre for Community in Auburn. And we were delighted to renew contacts with many of the organizations we had met on the pilot programme: joining the Tribal Warrior Aboriginal Cruise on Sydney Harbour again, stopping off on Clark Island for didgeridoo and dance performances; enjoying the wonderful hospitality and admiring the activism of the Blue Mountains Refugee Support Group; visiting Safdar Ahmed's Refugee Art Project class for young female refugees in Parramatta; and ending our visit to Sydney once again with a transcendent evening at the Lesbian and Gay Mardi Gras.

In between all that, the students made fieldwork visits to the Muslim Women's Association, a Wiradjuri language class for elders at the Wyanga Aboriginal Aged Care Centre in Redfern, South East Sydney Multicultural Health Service, Domestic Violence New South Wales, Bangarra Dance Theatre, Settlement Services International in Parramatta, and Aboriginal Legal Services also in Redfern, amongst other cultural, civil society and activist organisations. And we even managed to fit in an idyllic day away up the coast at Coasters Retreat hanging out with the wallabies and monitor lizards, at the holiday house of Marty Morrison, one of our extremely generous homestay hosts.

The shifts and developments in the students' research interests and questions this year give a sense of the kind of learning, engagement and relationship-building the programme can support. For example, Atsuko Fujikake's research began

with a focus on migrants learning the main language of their host country but shifted through insights gained in her fieldwork to the need for mother tongue, or community language, education in migrant communities, alongside a greater recognition of the importance of diversity for multiculturalism.

Through meetings with asylum seekers for her research on Alternatives to Detention for Asylum Seekers, Chikako Katsuno came to see refugees as talented people who can also contribute to Australian and Japanese society, not just receive support. Hitomi Kuroiwa's visits to Aboriginal Legal Services, and especially hearing elders at the Tribal Warrior mentoring programme talk about the importance for them of taking charge again, after two centuries of dispossession, of the care of their own youth, led her to conclude that what is needed for reconciliation is trust, Indigenous people taking control back over their lives, and not



Participants in the "Investigating Diversity, Human Rights and Civil Society in Japan and Australia" Programme in February 2015 (Credit: Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard)



Japan-Australia program participants in the Posters for Peace Gallery at CPACS
(Credit: Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard)

trying to make Indigenous lore into law.

Chiharu Ishigaki started her research with an interest in the role of law in the promotion and maintenance of traditional indigenous cultures but came to see young people's interweaving of their indigenous cultural inheritance with hip-hop, reggae, rap and contemporary dance as much more effective in the contemporary revitalization of indigenous cultural practices. Although Kazunari Tanimura couldn't find from his fieldwork on language revival in Australia an innovative way to resuscitate the Ainu language in Japan, he left Sydney feeling he had "noticed the importance of language learning itself and made relationships with some Aboriginal language activities [and now wanted] to become a bridge between language activists in Japan and those in Australia". Finally, Haruko Mogami realised that building multicultural society, like building peace, is not the creation of

harmony but a process of dealing with conflicts and tensions in an inclusive, nonviolent way.

A number of questions were raised by the pilot about how to implement the principles of *agency*, *engagement* and *dialogue* and reflection on these has been the basis for the development of the project. We have realized, for instance, that there is a recurrent tension between agency and the reflection that is needed for students to make sense of all the fieldwork activity and transform their understanding of issues as a result of what they have seen and heard. With individual interviews, as well as group fieldwork activities during a limited time, students need time to review and discuss their learning. This year we attempted to build more time into the programme for reflection but the students' enthusiasm for setting up fieldwork encounters once again jostled with the need for

time to put things into a critical perspective. One innovation this year that created a reflexive and dialogical final space for students to make sense of their research was having poster presentations at the end of the programme: with the making of the posters helping students to organise their understandings visually; and, with conversations around the posters enabling a collective thinking-through of issues that would not have occurred with orthodox powerpoint presentations.

We have also learnt that for students to be ready to really engage with the people they meet during fieldwork, not just to interview and gather information from them, requires the integrated development of:

- i) *knowledge* about their issue, the organizations they visit, and Australian society,
- ii) *relationships* with partners at CPACS and the organizations and activists we visit in fieldwork and
- iii) *language and literacy* for doing fieldwork effectively in English (an under-emphasized component in the pilot).

Students need to build knowledge about their issue in Japan that is of real interest to professionals and activists in Australia to enable a genuine exchange of information and dialogue to happen. More than that perhaps, though, the building of relationships, and the sharing of stories that necessarily goes with that, is more important to the research process in this programme than any of the more orthodox protocols of social science research. Importantly, relationships established during the pilot project—with

academics and community leaders as well as non-governmental and civil society organizations—developed further in this year’s exchange programme. Indeed, we wish to thank our ongoing collaborators on this project for sharing their experiences, wisdom and friendship: The Blue Mountains Refugee Support Group (Katoomba); The Tribal Warrior Corporation (Redfern); Auburn Centre for Community (Auburn); The Refugee Art Project (Parramatta); The Refugee Language Program (CPACS); the Nura Gili Centre for Indigenous Programs (UNSW); The Queer Theory Conference (Seymour Centre); Settlement Services International (Parramatta); Amnesty International (NSW); Red Cross International (Sydney); and, all the other organizations and people involved in the fieldwork who contributed their time to the programme.

The project also owes sincere gratitude to our insightful guest speakers in 2015: Lyn Riley (University of Sydney), Sev Ozdowski (University of Western Sydney), Leo Tanoi (Powerhouse Museum), Leah Lui-Chivizhe (University of NSW) and Ben Oh (CPACS); and supportive peer mentors Ben Oh, Mujib Abid and Vivianna Rodriguez Carreon.

The overwhelming generosity and kindness provided by our CPACS homestay hosts Marty Morison, Jane Fulton and Ben Oh, in welcoming our colleagues from Japan and into their homes and lives, was a gift for the 2015 programme. As the students and homestay hosts reflected:

“It is interesting for me to experience homestays [and] I could learn what to do for [my] host mother and other students... Also, I enjoyed din-

ner with supporters and refugees in the Blue Mountains.” (Ms. Chiharu Ishigaki)

“[E]veryone enjoyed Mardi Gras, I thought, and I felt Australia was changed [by] this parade...[also the] homestay environment was great as the [hosts] were very kind and helpful.” (Ms Ai Nagai)

“Our three students were delightful. We so enjoyed their stay and participating in homely activities such as group meals and learning about the best miso soup and green tea! ... [A]nd [we] learned so much by participating in the Aboriginal Kinship workshop and group visit to Clark Island hosted by Aboriginal traditional owners:

[http: www.nationalparks.nsw.gov.au/sydney-harbour-national-park/clark-island/picnic-bbq]” (Jane Fulton)

Dr Lynda-ann Blanchard is a CPACS Honorary Associate and Professor Mike Nix works in the Faculty of Law at Chuo University, Japan.



What Myanmar Conflicts Tell Us About China's Treatment of Refugees

by Boyu Fan

Armed conflicts in the northern Myanmar region of Kokang earlier this year have made tens of thousands of people flee across the border into China and become refugees. The case of the Kokang refugees shows that, despite the posi-

tive changes made on refugee law in recent years, China’s treatment of refugees still needs to be improved.

The conflicts began in Laukkai, the capital of the Kokang self-administered zone which is near Myanmar's border with China. Fighting started when Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA) rebel forces led by the notorious warlord Peng Jiasheng tried to retake Kokang, which they had controlled until their defeat to the government forces in 2009. It is estimated that 200,000 people have lost their homes since the beginning of the conflicts. The vast majority of people living in Kokang are Chinese-Burmese. Many of them have become Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Myanmar due to the conflicts. More have fled across the border into China, due to the geographical and cultural closeness.

China has so far declined all requests for observation and monitoring from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Foreign reporters’ access to the border regions is also limited. Temporary camps have been set up by the state-run Red Cross Society of China to help the refugees but the condition of the camps is abominable. Access to running water and electricity is nearly impossible and extended families with more than a dozen people including octogenarians and children are often assigned into one lodging. The amount of resources allocated for refugees is not clear.

With the Chinese government censoring news reports within China and blocking foreign reporters from entering nearby regions, the real living conditions for refugees remain

mysterious. Contradicting news stories are coming from all directions. State media reports that the Yunnan provincial government has provided humanitarian assistance and settled as many as 100,000 refugees. But a volunteer working at the refugee camps told me that local government is turning refugees away by tightening border control to stop them going into the Chinese side. And there are others reporting that thousands of refugees have received a deadline to return to Myanmar. It seems there is a split of opinion between the central and the local government on whether to accommodate refugees.

Several years ago I visited Zhenkang, a Chinese town that sits right across the border with Myanmar when I was an undergraduate student of anthropology doing fieldwork in Yunnan Province. I was able to easily go across the border from Zhenkang into Kokang. Laukai was just about 10 kilometres from there. Except for a few street signs in Burmese, there was little suggestion this was a Burmese town instead of a Chinese one. It is heart aching to hear that all those people who were living in Kokang peacefully now have to abandon their homes and businesses. I wonder what fate the refugees will face in China given the country's capricious attitude toward refugees.

China's capricious attitude can be seen in two cases. The first one is its acceptance of over 260,000 Indochinese refugees during Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia. The government and the UNHCR agreed to the project for assistance to Indochinese refugees in China in 1979. China then became the 2nd largest host country for Indochinese refugees in terms of number of refugees re-



Refugees line up for food at a monastery functioning as a refugee camp in Lashio, 16 February 2015 (Credit: China Daily)

ceived. The total funds allocated by the Chinese government for the Indochinese refugees over the past two decades amount to nearly one billion US dollars. The UNHCR also provided more than \$90 million worth of aid projects to China. In 2006, China's protection of these refugees under the policy of "equal treatment, non-discrimination, equal remuneration for equal work" was described by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, António Guterres, as "one of the most successful integration programmes in the world."

The other case, however, demonstrates China's astonishingly poor treatment toward refugees. Until the mid-1990s, the Chinese government was relatively lenient towards the North Korean defectors who escaped the country and went to China. Although it did not provide any assistance, it also did not actively capture and repatriate defectors unless this was specifically

requested by the North Korean government. However, the attitude of the Chinese government changed when famine in North Korea forced thousands of people across the border in the late 1990s. Nowadays, China refuses to grant refugee status to any North Korean defectors and claims that they are illegal economic migrants. The Chinese authorities arrest and deport hundreds of defectors back to North Korea every year. Human rights activists have reported that those repatriated face harsh punishment including torture and imprisonment in labour camps in North Korea.

Changes regarding China's refugee policy happened when the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress enacted the new Exit-Entry Administration Law on June 30, 2012. The new law allows asylum seekers to stay in China while applying for refugee status. This was considered an improvement compared to the 1985 version of the law which

only allowed those who had already received refugee status to reside in China, but at the same time banned overseas applications. The new law seems to be guaranteeing refugees' human rights. It is also a sign of China fulfilling its international obligations. However, the treatment facing Kokang refugees has proved that the new law has little effect. By forcing some of the Kokang refugees back to Myanmar, the government is violating the 'non-refoulement' principle set out by the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.

China's capricious attitude toward refugees implies that its refugee policy is dictated neither by international treaties nor by its domestic legislation, but by other factors. In the case of the Kokang refugees, the MNDA rebel forces' ethnicity is a sensitive issue for China. China's involvement might be spun by the Burmese nationalists as China violating its long-held policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. In fact, Burmese officials have accused the Chinese of training and assisting the rebels, which China denied entirely. The last thing China wants to do is to get involved in a conflict which has an ethnic basis, when billions of Chinese money has been invested into infrastructures in Myanmar. China's preference is clear: it puts political, economic and strategic interests above human rights. It does not want to risk its strategic relationship with North Korea for defectors just as it does not want to risk its investments in Myanmar for refugees.

There is no doubt that at least some Kokang refugees are getting assistance from Chinese governmental agencies. But the lack of a coherent

refugee policy suggests that there is much space for improvement. As a country that has ratified both the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, China should do more to help refugees. The condition of the camps should be improved. Foreign aid agencies should be allowed to help. A specialised refugee court should be established so that refugees can apply for judicial review, even if their first application is rejected by the government. If China really wants to become a responsible country, it should implement a refugee policy that matches its economic status.

Boyu Fan is a student in the Master of Human Rights and Democratisation (Asia-Pacific) program.



Bearing the Cross of Religion: the Subservience of Women's Rights to Catholic Doctrines

A review of the toothless Philippine Reproductive Health Law

by Paula Deveraturda

"Almost any sect, cult, or religion will legislate its creed into law if it acquires the political power to do so."

Robert A. Heinlein

Never has an issue divided Philippine society as much as the formulation of its Reproductive Health (RH) Law. Pending as a legislative bill for fourteen years, debates occurred everywhere – schools, work-

place, and streets. The call for its non-passage even merited its own prayer, which was recited in every Roman Catholic mass in the country.

The turning point came when it was finally signed into law in December 2012. Upon the Supreme Court's April 2014 declaration that the RH law was constitutional, the jubilation of women's rights advocates signalled a belief that the battle had finally been won against a hegemonic religious system. The victory was also seen as the state's long-overdue compliance with its obligations under the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).



A Catholic nun wearing an anti-Reproductive Health (RH) ribbon (Credit: Radio Australia)

But is the Philippine Reproductive Health Law everything that it purports to be?

The RH Law neither protects women's rights nor complies with the state's obligation under CEDAW. It is a watered down version of the original bill, rendered toothless by pressure exerted by alleged "pro-life" Catholic groups upon the government.

As a state policy, the government committed in the 1987 Philippine Constitution to the fundamental equality of men and women. It expressly recognised the role of women in nation building, as well as the state's responsibility to equally protect the life of the mother and that of the unborn. Despite these proclamations however, the institutionalisation of adequate health services catering to women's reproductive choices remained an elusive dream. While this may be attributed to several factors, the most significant was the very vocal opposition of the Philippine Roman Catholic Church.

According to the Family Health Survey, 221 women die for every 100,000 live births recorded every year as of 2013 – an increase from 162 in early 2000. Around 200,000 unplanned teenage pregnancies were also recorded. A Philippine National Statistics Office study found that 44% of pregnancies in families living below the poverty line are unplanned. Women from this group prefer to avoid pregnancy, but due to a lack of information or access, at least 41% of them do not use contraception. Amnesty International has also stated that the hostility against contraceptive methods in the Philippines has resulted in 4,500 deaths due to pregnancy complications, 800,000 unplanned births, and 475,000 illegal abortions every year.

RH Law advocates argued that proper legislation was the solution. In its original form, the law was a significant step - its main goals were gender equality, women's empowerment as a health and human rights concern, and universal access to medically-safe, effective, legal, affordable *non-abortifacient* and quality reproductive health care services

and supplies. It sought the absolute promotion of life by eradicating discriminatory practices that infringe on a person's right to reproductive health.

The law's passage also amounted to the express recognition of the state's obligation under Article 12 of the CEDAW, thereby allowing women to make their own reproductive choices. Morally, it was supposed to foster an environment where reproductive issues are open-

declared constitutional, the reactions were unprecedented – people took to the streets to celebrate a claimed victory against religion, while church leaders took to the pulpit to say that the state succumbed to immorality, and therefore needed more prayers.

But was it really worth the extreme reactions? *Not really*. In the 106-page decision of the Philippine Supreme Court case of *Imbong v Ochoa*, the RH law was specifically



Supporters of the Reproductive Health Bill opposite Priests and members of various religious groups outside the Batasan complex in Quezon City (Credit: Boy Santos)

ly addressed, with the hope that this would result in the prevention of maternal deaths, unplanned pregnancies, and unsafe abortions. The indefinite suspension of the law's effectivity after its passage in 2012 was a great setback. The oral arguments conducted in the months leading to the Supreme Court's April 2014 decision reflected the tension between human rights discourse and a hegemonic cultural mindset heavily underpinned by religion. When the law was finally

declared "*not unconstitutional*" except for eight provisions. The Court agreed with the pro-RH advocates that it was valid for the government to provide Filipinos with access and information to modern family planning methods. It was particularly intended at benefitting the poor and marginalised; the law makes it mandatory for health providers to provide access and information on all modern methods, supplies, and services pertaining to family planning. The decision acknowledged that the

law was meant to fortify existing laws on women's rights. The victory ended there. The decision used the position of Catholic groups when it defined "conception". According to anti-RH advocates, the law allows the use of contraceptives to prevent a fertilised ovum from implantation in the womb. Arguing that life begins at fertilisation, the law then necessarily allows for abortion. The Court ruled that while it shall not make any determination as to when life begins, any provision that infringes on the right to life, or renders useless the protection afforded from conception, shall be stricken down as unconstitutional. It declared that it is state policy to protect the fertilised ovum and to afford it "safe travel to the uterus for implantation".

This is extremely problematic. If the determining factors are fertilisation and implantation, then any act, method, supply, or service meant to prevent either shall be construed as abortion. This means that no access will be allowed. Worse, the provisions mandating health professionals – whether from the public or private sector, regardless of religious affiliation - to use or prescribe any contraceptive, procedure, or device, as well as to refer patients seeking information to other health providers – were struck down as unconstitutional as they would compel "pro-life" medical practitioners to violate their religious beliefs.

The Court also held that it is unconstitutional to give absolute authority to the spouse who would undergo the procedure (usually the woman) to decide what he or she deems best for her body in terms of family planning. This is apparently in agreement with the Catholic Church, i.e. to allow the woman to make the sole

decision when it comes to her reproductive health would endanger the institution of marriage. And here lies the problem – in a country where 80% of the population is Catholic, it is highly probable that medical practitioners are going to invoke religion as a reason for turning away a woman in need. The law is essentially a useless piece of paper that cannot be used to invoke the exercise of a woman's reproductive health rights.

The Philippine government's commitments are clearly shaped by society, not the other way around. This can be gleaned from the asymptotic relationship of RH arguments: the pro-abortion camp uses science and figures, while the anti-abortion camp uses church doctrines. The government's obligations begin and end at the lines drawn by a moral hegemony and political priorities, which never quite meet. This tension between "democratic rights" and "morality" resulted in no legal recognition of women's reproductive rights, because to allow otherwise would contradict a cultural mindset heavily underpinned by Catholicism.

As it stands, the state provides the bare legal minimum, but there is no outright and full recognition of women's reproductive health rights. The compromise made by the Supreme Court shows that religion still has a strong hold over policy making and governmental priorities. This is an alarming situation given the claims made that the Philippines is making headway when it comes to the protection and respect of women's rights.

The RH law is an empty gesture. Perhaps in the near future an open-

ness to promulgate a real law meant to uphold reproductive health may be conjured. Until then, Filipinas will just have to risk hell and continue to suffer from both legal and social persecution for exercising something inherent in every human person – the right to choose.

Lest it be forgotten, said right should never know any religion.

Paula Deveraturda is a graduate of the University of Sydney's MHRD (Master of Human Rights and Democratisation - Asia Pacific) program.



Learning through the Journey of Community: The 'Learning Journey' of the United Nations Association of Australia – NSW Community Project

An insight by Lindsay Mell based on current and past communal research

How can we learn what we need to sustain a deeper sense of community? What might be the qualities we need to cultivate to situate our sense of community in the more particular context of our experience and relationships?

Throughout this brief insight, how we interpret our relational experience through the vital dimensions of moral and active imagination, together with our sense of aesthetic appreciation, equity and equanimity, are considered through the context of what would seem to be our collective 'Learning Journey'.

Someone once noted: 'Those who fail to learn from the mistakes of history are destined to repeat them.' This may be a fairly basic version, but is the essence of the original statement. Who made this statement? You might be surprised to learn it was George Santayana (1863-1952), and then promptly ask: who was George Santayana? Well, more from 'George' later – I like to call him 'The Forgotten Philosopher'. Generic values and principles need to be integrated and blended into a cohesive consistent continuous synthesis. Thus these essential elements acquire meaning and significance through the emergence of a continuous comprehensive universal 'ethos'.

Among the particularly prevalent principles of contemporary social theory is the thematic foundation of 'hermeneutics' – or approximately the process of 'interpretation'. The pivotal method concerned here could be cited as 'the quest for meaning' – that primal sense of longing and anticipation through which we each and all seek to become aware of our circumstances.

So as to flexibly carry forward this quest, essentially a sense of belonging is required, as well as simply 'longing' in itself. However, to 'belong' is to appreciate how each facet of ourselves and others – and the 'meaning' of these in our lives – relates to the whole of life. Essentially, we seek out the 'significance' of what is there in life– its place and relationship to the whole.

Inevitably, what tends to synchronously form from this is a quality of 'resonance' ... blending into a kind of fluid interactivity. At those times when this evident confluence is broached, and whenever human rela-

tionships are involved and/or implied, can epitomise an authentic 'sense of community' collectively. Throughout the inevitable 'Learning Journey' of our human relationship experience we recognise these foregoing elements as epitomised through values, principles, and attributes. Yet rarely are these considered as a whole process of interpretive transition, such that their meaning à significance à rele-



Lindsay Mell delivers his seminar paper brief at the International Association for Volunteer Effort 23rd World Volunteer Conference in 2014 (Credit: Lindsay Mell)

vance à resonance would form a dynamic experiential relational integrative process.

When human connection and interactivity is evident from inception, such relational connection emanates from a source of self-evident attraction – a kind of 'affinity' through relational connectivity. Feeling then infuses this situation, it seems, through a form of consensual and mutual affinity, probably optimally considered as 'affection'.

Where affection is more especially and predominantly mutual it culminates in the phenomenon of intimacy – a deeper more profound aspect of affection and affinity. Thus affinity and affection become active through mutual consolidation, together with the dynamic 'affiliation' to pursue these elements.

Where there is apparent mutual affiliation, based on profound feeling or emotion through affinity and affection, intimacy and/or sensitivity can be realised. All of which can culminate in the reality of 'appreciation'. Because such wherewithal enables us to discern and ascertain comprehensively the situation of others through these dimensional qualities, or perceptual domains. Consequently, a further ethical synthesis, or ethos, becomes palpable, around the core values and principles of Affinity à Affection (hence intimacy) à Affiliation à Appreciation, as a continuous consistent process formed around a dynamic Sense of Purpose. Such imaginative appreciation seems acutely expressed by the legendary conflict transformation theorist, John Paul Lederach:

'We must envision our work as a creative act, more akin to the artistic endeavour than the technical process. This never negates skill and technique. But it does suggest that the wellspring ... lies in our moral imagination, which I will define as the capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth to that which does not yet exist'.

The vibrant element of moral imagination conveys a sense of profound vital discourse and dialogue. Correspondingly, pioneer psychoanalyst/

theorist, Carl Jung, advanced a process he called 'active imagination':

'... when you concentrate on a mental picture, it begins to stir, the image becomes enriched by details, it moves and develops. Each time naturally you mistrust it and have the idea you just made it up ... But you have to overcome th[is, as] it is not true'.

Ultimately, awareness and realisation cannot remain fixed in imagination if they are to resonate throughout our everyday experience, and be thoroughly appreciated. Such an outcome requires a sense of personal commitment, or solidarity, from those concerned, based on the assurance of imaginal authenticity and integrity, which can be shared to become a mutual collective process. All of this is inevitably about how adequately we have 'learned' throughout life.

So we are thus back with the original thesis of George Santayana, who encouraged each and all of us to intrepidly explore our destiny, personally and collectively:

'While we think we can change the drama of history, and of our own lives, we are not awed by our destiny'.

The perennial facets of affinity à affection à affiliation à appreciation are the primary dimensional elements of the continuous Deep Friendship tribute studies which form and inform much of our Community Project research.

We can attest to a genuine realisation of 'equity' through the experiential process. Equity can be construed as a shorter version of 'equanimity' derivationally – that curious blend of diverse elements which culminates in consistent co-

hesive synthesis. Consequently, we of the UNAA (NSW) Community Project group many years ago dubbed our quest 'Equanimity Mate!' This is the home tag line of our soon to be forthcoming website, announced on 19 September 2014 at the World Volunteer Conference of the International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE). While, in fond celebration of the modest greatness of George Santayana, in September 2014 we launched a 'Santayana Society' Dialogue Initiative, at this same event.

As a reflection on the Santayana quote about the lessons of history, our lives are further inevitably situated in the aesthetic dimension of experience, and would have impoverished sustenance, coherence and continuity without this. So, what comprises this personal element of experience?

Well, for instance, evident throughout the successive editions of our UNAA – NSW Growing Community – Living Together Community Project Journal are the contributions of our CPACS Panel Session collaborators, particularly Former Director of UNESCO for the Australia/ Pacific Region and Wollongong University Emeritus Professor of Sociology, Stephen Hill AM, Margaret Bell AM, Professors Peter King and Frank Hutchinson, along with the generously shared interview and session insights of activists Drs Anne Noonan and Marty Branagan, Paul Duffill and Martyn King, and authors Glenn Martin, Rosalind Brenner and Marc Marusic, to reveal just a few of those who have contributed substantially to our earnest project endeavours recently.

Santayana maintained the personal dimension mattered in the most 'essential' sense. 'The dependence of the degrees of beauty upon our nature is perceived, while the dependence of its essence upon our nature is still ignored,' he declared. The greater problem thereby implied is that we can tend to become distracted from a comprehensive appreciation and resonance of how our lives connect with, and are deftly interwoven into, the greater context of life.

Thus what we seem to be missing universally, from the perspective of our humanity, is deep enough awareness and realisation of what is really 'profound', to sustain us throughout the continuity of our lives, personally and collectively. Because the 'awe' of 'our destiny' is so 'profound' as to elude our 'appreciation' of it:

'When there is real profundity – when the living core of things is most firmly grasped – there will accordingly be felt inadequacy of expression' – George Santayana.

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CPACS and Human Survival: the Next 25 Years

by Peter King

This paper is a re-edited version of scripted remarks delivered at the 1st Session of the CPACS 25+ Anniversary Forum on Wednesday February 25 2015, in the Woolley Common Room, University of Sydney.

I'm here to introduce and celebrate four speakers who had weighty roles in the gestation of CPACS from 1985 to its launch in 1988 and its early flourishing after that – Stuart Rees, Keith Suter, Mary Lane and Roger Wescombe. I also want to venture on a short trip down memory lane and one memory hole that was a particular issue of concern to the early CPACS: nuclear mega-death. Whether it be brought about by accident or design, misperception or miscalculation, malevolence or malware, or the baneful influence of post-1945 strategic studies.

Beyond Deterrence was a memorable seminar series staged by the infant CPACS. It gave its name to our first substantial publication launched in 1989, anonymously edited by Gordon Rodley and used fruitfully as a set text in the Government Department for a couple of years.

Contributors to the book included Peter Hayes, who was lecturing on Peace Studies in the Government Department at the time, and brought Nautilus Pacific Research and its extensive nuclear archive from Boston to Sydney at CPACS' invitation. Peter returned to the US (Berkeley) but Nautilus later resurfaced at RMIT University in Melbourne, where Peter continued to be a leading authority on North Korea and its turbulent and partly abortive efforts to go nuclear. Similarly, Richard Tanter who was recruited to Nautilus from Japan, has made a great contribution to our current understanding of the US strategic communication bases in Australia, as well as North East Asian strategic nuclear issues.

In losing Nautilus, Sydney University and CPACS may have missed an opportunity to do much more about

nuclear or anti-nuclear peace – the most important issue on the planet – and one where official Australia rates very badly, of course. But the challenge is still there.

The much upgraded American intel and communication bases, Pine Gap and Geraldton in particular, now make Australia complicit in the horrific and highly counterproductive US practice of drone assassination, but also in the spectacularly more horrific and absurd American preparation of planetary death and human extinction by nuclear weaponry and nuclear winter. And it is still being prepared in the name of that pretext for atrocity, which we at CPACS targeted in our book of 1989 – the theory of nuclear deterrence including the ultimate absurdity and danger, nuclear pre-emption. (“I won't strike first unless you do.”) So much for our cherished American partner in “extended deterrence”.

Australia was convulsed by the Indonesian government's intention to execute two of the Bali Nine Australians on death row for drug smuggling. May I point out that we are not (yet) convulsed enough about the fact that we here at this forum, and all of us everywhere else on the planet, are also on death row Nuclear Death Row, and have been since the 1950s?

We are on the death list of those nuclear powers – at least two, possibly six more – which are capable of triggering a nuclear winter and a global famine lasting decades. We have no right of appeal (save through global civil society and about 150 non-nuclear governments); no way of knowing our death date, and probably no one to

mourn or bury or cremate (!) us after the lucky ones, the non-survivors, have been irradiated, burned, buried or crushed to death in the first minutes and hours of Armageddon, nuclear style. We'll have no heirs, no heirlooms; no more art; no science; no memory; no history, and no CPACS...

Oblivion, in a word, is what we'll have. And war itself - and also human death - will have ceased to recur. “Nuclear war” is an oxymoron - a war is supposed to have aims and preferred outcomes, winners and losers. A “nuclear war” with more than a couple of hundred warheads in play will have none of these.

The End of Days issue, now more plainly in view than ever but still subject to denial, indifference and ignorance on an industrial scale, can and must energise the movement towards a treaty banning nuclear weapons and legislating total nuclear disarmament in the face of denial and obstruction by the nine nuclear powers.

The risk of human-induced mass global species extinction was a main inspiration for the launch of the Human Survival Project (HSP) at CPACS in 2012. We announced a focus on the outrageously high alert nuclear weapon status obtaining in Russia and the US – Armageddon starting in half an hour after a few minutes of high-level consultation. So we at the HSP are ready to help lift everyone's game on the anti-nuclear front. Certainly in 2015 the breezes of change in global anti-nuclear consciousness do seem to be swirling again as they did in the eighties, and we should exploit this. Chief evidence is the enthusiasm for change generated by a rapid succes-

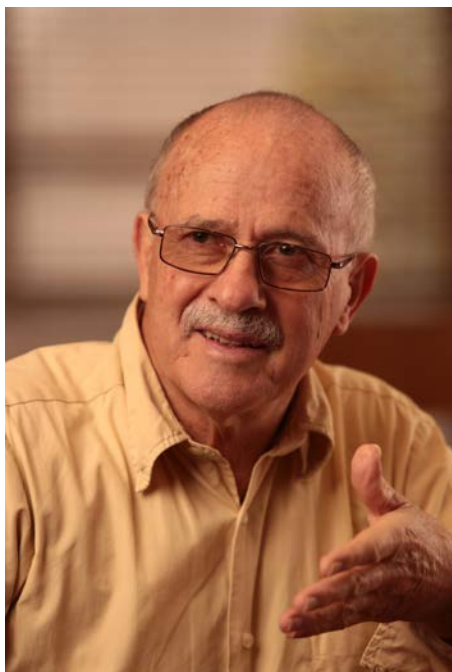
sion of three international conferences since 2013 on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons, from Oslo to Vienna via Nayarit, Mexico.

Here at Sydney University we don't have the Nautilus Institute but we do have John Hallam, who has brought experience from decades of effective anti-nuclear activism to the HSP and to CPACS. He is a highly plausible claimant for the title of activist game shifter at the UN and in anti-nuclear and Non Proliferation Treaty politics generally. I heard former Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans pay a glowing impromptu tribute to him on these lines in April 2013 at the *Palais des Nations*, Geneva, during the annual Prepcom (Preparatory Committee) meeting for the next Revcon (Review Conference) of the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty. That Revcon was held in New York in May this year with John convening once again a civil society panel on accidental Armageddon.

We also have other activists of distinction from Australia, New Zealand, the US and Europe strongly with us in the Human Survival Project, (at least according to our web page) not to mention our very own HSP patron, Helen Caldicott. It was Helen who once – being the fine paediatrician she is – held Ronald Reagan's trembling hand in the White House while she patiently explained for an hour and a quarter that his hawkish advisers had led him astray on matters nuclear. The result, as she quite plausibly claims, was the Reykjavik summit, when Gorbachev and Reagan got as close to all-out nuclear peace in 1986 as their two countries got to all-out nuclear war in 1962 and 1983 when, on both occasions, a single heroic mid-

level Soviet Russian military officer saved the planet from self-destruction.

Can we reprise Helen's moment? Helen herself is still trying. I think CPACS should stand ready and be willing to do more, much more, on this front. Given the imminent likelihood of planetary megadeath as things stand, how can our University – or any university – *not* have courses and research programs that



Peter King (Credit: Peter King)

meditate, speculate and cogitate on the meaning and broad philosophical, moral and political implications of the potential sudden death of almost everything Earthly – millions of species as well as us, and the Earth itself a smoking, shattered, climatically crazy and radioactive ruin and desert, possibly until the death of the sun?

Let us at CPACS contemplate in the fullness of time a name change for our much loved Centre. I for one would be ready to surrender the

CPACS name which I recommended to our interim council back in the days of our birth. Here, I want to give you a less euphonious and acronymically suggestive – but more telling name for the long run-which we must all endeavour to make longer, of course. (In the short run we *could* all be dead as JM Keynes himself would undoubtedly concede, if living.)

I give you not "See Pax", CPACS, for the long run, but "Seepsas", CPCAHS, the Sydney University Centre for Peace, Conflict and Human Survival Studies.

Make what CPACS will of the name, let us all take the issue to heart. If you think you can't, let me channel Oliver Cromwell in his letter to the Church of Scotland, dated 1650: "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, [substitute here Moses, Mahomet or Dawkins, according to taste] think it possible you may be mistaken."

Peter King was Foundation President of CPACS in 1988 and is co-convenor of its West Papua Project and Human Survival Project.





To Speak or Not To Speak

by Yang Yu

(This poem was dedicated to the 2014 Sydney Democracy Festival at the University of Sydney)

To speak, or not to speak?
To speak, or not to speak? That is the question -
Whether it is stronger for our soul to suffer, to succumb, to be silent
For the sheer profanity unleashed by a perverse political fortune,
Or to be armed and to overwhelm the mist of bloody darkness,
Once, and for all? To win, to prevail -
No more - and by a war cry to say we conclude
The millennia of oppression and discrimination
That our soul is subject to - verily a consummation
Wished with enthusiasm! To win, to prevail.

To speak, or not to speak? That is the question -
To prevail, perchance to the dangers - and there's the catch,
For in that victory what chaos may precede
Gives us pause. There's the fear
That wreaks havoc eerily long
For who could withstand the whips and scorns of tyranny
The constant surveillance and privacy abuse,
The gestapo's bashes on the door at night,
The epidemic of apathy and cynicism, the law's inertia,
The propaganda of bureaus, and the endless tortures
That we the humbled subjects are about to withstand, to overcome?
In the end, a trip to the undiscovered realm of death
Where no explorer ever returns, perishes our thought
To withstand, to overcome.

To speak, or not to speak? That is the question -
Conscience makes cowards of us all
However glorious our dreams might be
However equal our society could become
The torrent of our speeches always turned awry
And the name of action lost.
No more - and by a war cry to say I conclude
The millennia of oppression and discrimination
That our soul is subject to - verily a consummation
Wished with enthusiasm! To win, to prevail.
And be all the sins foregone remembered

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