



The University of Queensland's Rotary Centre for International Studies in peace and conflict resolution

Paul Harris Seminar

Resolving Conflicts and Building Sustainable Peace in the 21st Century

Saturday 23rd October 2004

Rydges Hotel, Southbank, Brisbane







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Paul Harris Seminar

Welcome to The University of Queensland's very first Paul Harris Seminar. We are delighted that you are able to join us on this important occasion when the first intake of Rotary World Peace Scholars present their research work to a broad audience of Rotarians, academics and others. Our second intake of World Peace Scholars is also with us today and will be acting in various capacities to facilitate today's proceedings

The Rotary Centre for International Studies in peace and conflict resolution at The University of Queensland was established in 1999, after an extensive world-wide search by Rotary International. Rotary wished to initiate a new program that would make a practical contribution to the search for a more peaceful world. Seventy World Peace Scholars attend one of seven Rotary Centres each year to undertake a Masters Degree in peace and conflict resolution.

Here at The University of Queensland, our first intake of peace scholars arrived in February 2003. They have been steadily engaged in their studies and are due to complete their degrees in a few weeks' time.

One important component of their degree program is the Paul Harris Seminar. This seminar was designed as a way to link UQ more closely with Rotarians and as an opportunity for Rotarians to hear first hand about the special work that the peace scholars have been conducting. It is also the University's way of thanking Rotary for its funding of the program and indeed for its enlightened decision to work towards world peace, justice and understanding, values shared by the University and which are reflected in its excellent teaching and research programs in peace and international relations.

As Director of the Centre here, I can say that not only is this a worthy project, but it is one that has enabled us all to benefit from the presence of these wonderful and very able scholars. The establishment of the Rotary Centre has also allowed us to press forward with founding the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, directed by Professor Kevin Clements. Rotary World Peace Scholars thus enjoy access to the resources and activities of this Centre.

I am sure you will enjoy the presentations made by our scholars today and that you will join me in wishing them well as they approach the completion of their studies in Queensland and head out to take their place in building a more peaceful and just world.

Marianne Hanson





The University of Queensland Rotary World Peace Scholars' PAUL HARRIS SEMINAR

Resolving Conflicts & Building Sustainable Peace in the 21st Century Saturday 23rd October 2004 - Rydges Hotel, Southbank, Brisbane

PROGRAM

8 30 - 9 00am	Registration - Welcome Tea and Coffee
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9.00 - 9.05am	Welcome and Introductory Remarks, Associate Professor Stephen Bell, Head,
	School of Political Science and International Studies, UQ
9.05 - 9.15am	Welcome by Professor Linda Rosenman , Executive Dean, Faculty of Social
	and Behavioural Sciences, UQ
9.15 - 9.25am	Report from Dr Marianne Hanson , Director, Rotary Centre for International
	Studies in peace and conflict resolution, UQ
0.05 44.00	

9.25 - 11.00am Session One - Papers presented by Scholars

Chair Brian Adams (US)

<u>Discussant</u> **Noelle DePape** (Canada)

- Path Heang (Cambodia) Impunity and its Affects on Reconciliation in Cambodia
- Sofia Knoechel-Ledberg (Sweden) Chinese Nationalism: A Cause for Concern?
- Matthew Bright (US) Building Just Peace: Post-Conflict Distributive Justice in El Salvador
- 11.00 11.30am Morning Tea
- 11.30 1.00pm Session Two Papers presented by Scholars
 Chair Sanjana Hattotuwa (Sri Lanka) Discussant Colin Spurway (Scotland)
 - Carolyn Fanelli (US) <u>Education during Conflicts:</u> <u>Identifying, Evaluating and Nurturing</u> Community Initiatives
 - Ryan Hendy (Canada) Diamonds: A War's Best Friend? Civil War and Conflict Commodities in West Africa
 - Amy Kay (US) Representations of the HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Africa: The Power of Photography to Create and Break the Silence Surrounding HIV/AIDS
- **1.00 2.00pm** Buffet Lunch at the adjoining Parklands Bar and Grill, Rydges Hotel
- 2.00 3.30pm Session Three Papers presented by Scholars

 <u>Chair Yoshio Chikamatsu (Japan) Discussant Mariano Griva (Argentina)</u>
 - Francesca Del Mese (UK) The Trouble with Justice: An Analysis of the Demobilisation and Accountability for War Crimes Efforts in Sierra Leone
 - Christian Oakes (US) Cambodia Assistance to Primary Education: A Case History of a Development Project
 - Rebecca Milligan (US) The Roadmap Without Traction: Why the Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Failed to Reach its Destination
- 3.30 4.00pm Afternoon Tea
- **4.00 4.10pm** Reflections on the Rotary World Peace Scholarship Program, **Josephine Manuel** (Philippines)
- 4.10 4.30pm Open Discussion on the Rotary World Peace Scholarship Program
- 4.30 4.45pm Presentation of Certificates to Rotary World Peace Scholars, Class I
- 4.45 4.50pm Vote of Thanks, Matthew Bright
- 4.45 5.00pm Concluding Remarks and Farewell, Dr Marianne Hanson

SPEAKERS AND PRESENTATIONS

Building Just Peace: Post-Conflict Distributive Justice in El Salvador Matthew Bright, United States, District 6440

Matthew began working abroad in 1999 as a Small Business and Municipal Development volunteer with the United States Peace Corps in El Salvador. After 2 years of community development work in rural Apastepeque, he changed roles to help Save the Children alleviate the effects of two major earthquakes, gaining permanent employment in the process. Matthew's next assignment brought him to Afghanistan in July 2001, where he helped manage the distribution of food to 710,000 Afghanis, assisted in the reconstruction of 10 schools, and provided health and nutritional education to the local population. He left Afghanistan in July 2002 and was posted to Malawi, Africa to work on organizational representation and project/proposal writing for Save the Children's emergency drought response there. A Chicago, IL native, Matthew holds a BA in Psychology and Philosophy from Loyola University Chicago. He believes that peace and justice can be achieved through humanitarian action and hopes the Rotary World Peace Scholarship will further assist him to manage humanitarian efforts in complex emergency situations.



ABSTRACT

El Salvador emerged from a brutal civil war in 1992. With international assistance and a decade of comprehensive reform, the country has been described in the literature as a "model of reconciliation after once being associated with death, torture, and destruction" (Orr 2001: 153). However, poverty, violence, and injustice remain indelible features of Salvadoran life, features that were hallmarks of the conflict to begin with. Is El Salvador really a picture of success?

In this paper I argue that peacebuilding approaches should incorporate philosophical values of distributive justice by examining El Salvador's transition to peace. My analysis begins with an evaluation of the different theoretical perspectives on peace, justice, and peacebuilding as they apply to post-conflict settings. I then explore the varying interpretations of justice as retributive, restorative, and distributive, and evaluate the extent to which these interrelated concepts can inform the overall goals of building a 'just' peace in the context of El Salvador. Particular attention is given to the influence liberalism has on both justice and peacebuilding, and how this influence supports the addition of distributive justice concerns into peacebuilding activities. I conclude with some observations on the nature of post-conflict environments and the opportunities they present for countries emerging from civil conflict as well as the international community to achieve lasting peace and justice.

The Trouble With Justice: An Analysis of the Demobilisation and Accountability for War Crimes Efforts in Sierra Leone Francesca Del Mese, United Kingdom, District 1260

Francesca Del Mese is a practising barrister from London, UK. She won major scholarships to study law for three consecutive years from the *Honourable Society of the Middle Temple* (one of the four 'Inns' that English barristers are obliged to join), as well as being awarded a Blackstone Entrance Exhibition, life membership of the English Bar. She practices from one of the most prominent chambers in the UK that undertakes criminal and human rights work. She has represented in many high-profile cases, in the High Court and Court of Appeal, including protest cases, serious violence, large-scale drug importations, challenges to police brutality and youth crime work. Whilst still a trainee barrister she gained special leave from the Lords to appear in the Court of Appeal in a case she bought herself, challenging the Under-Sheriff of London in relation to human rights and environmental protest. She also attended the House of Lords to assist in the campaign for



Bob Geldof's Band Aid land in Ethiopia, where lawyers successfully prevented the displacement of over 300,000 people from their homeland by a multi-national organisation. She has lectured on human rights to practising lawyers as part of the continuing professional education scheme, as well as to university students in the UK.

In 2003 Francesca travelled to East Timor twice, where she spent time with the UN Serious Crimes Unit assisting in the preparation of indictments against crimes against humanity suspects. In November 2004 she travelled to Sierra Leone in West Africa, where she worked in the hybrid UN Special Court for Sierra Leone. She spent time as the only international lawyer present dealing with one of the 9 suspects in custody, investigating and preparing the case for trial. She spent time in the high security prison and interviewing Sierra Leonean suspects and potential witnesses. Francesca is British / Italian and has travelled extensively, as well as having undertaken a great deal of voluntary work. This includes having worked with gypsies and former prisoners in Eastern Europe, working with people with severe mental and physical handicaps, and organising holidays for young adults from underprivileged backgrounds.

Upon graduating, Francesca will work in the arena of international transitional justice, namely representing in war crimes trials, and strengthening accountability for war crimes mechanisms. She will be deployed to a destination as yet to be determined by her new employers the British Government / the OSCE (either the Sudan or the Balkans). She may also return to represent in the trials in Sierra Leone early next year.

ABSTRACT

Arms dealers in Italy, corrupt leaders, child soldiers, greed for diamonds and 'bush-wives'.....These are some of the problems that both the world and demobilisation workers in Sierra Leone had to face when attempting to break the battalion spirit and disarm thousands of men and women whose only way of life was fighting. The aim of the Demilitarisation, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) project was restorative in nature, in that it facilitated the absorption of former soldiers back into society, despite the fact that many of them are guilty of butchery of the worse kind.

Perhaps on a contradictory, more punitive note, the Special Court for Sierra Leone began its first trial of Civil Defence Force suspects on 3rd June 2004, and is also due to try indictees from the notorious Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and African Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) later this year. The Special Court is mandated to prosecute 'those that bear the greatest responsibility' for the atrocious crimes committed since 1996, yet Charles Taylor, ex-president of Liberia and arms and illicit diamonds dealer, as well as founder of the RUF, lives in exile in a villa in Nigeria. Similarly, Foday Sankoh, leader of the RUF, died in custody after becoming senile, Sam 'Mosquito' Bockarie, Field Commander of the RUF, died fighting as a mercenary in Liberia, and the whereabouts of the AFRC leader Johnny Paul Koroma is unknown. Without these major strategists and instigators of the violence in Sierra Leone being present, just how successful can the Special Court for Sierra Leone be in fulfilling its mandate?

This presentation makes no apology for assessing what may at first appear to be two distinct and separate post-conflict, peace-building initiatives. Both the Special Court and the DDR projects have had to face enormous obstacles and difficulties in carrying out their work, largely because in essence they are dealing with the same core groups, cultural and anthropological history as each other. If one initiative collapses, the other will not be able to take place. This presentation will not offer answers to the compound and complex issues that surround the peace-building process in Sierra Leone, rather it will assess the relative successes and failures of each scheme, and how they may, or could be improved in future.

Education during Conflicts: Identifying, Evaluating and Nurturing Community Initiatives

Carolyn Fanelli, United States, District 7710

Carolyn grew up outside of Boston, Massachusetts. She completed her undergraduate degree in Public Policy Studies with a minor in Chinese at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. With the first of two consecutive Hart Fellowships, Carolyn worked in Washington, DC, as an advocate for federal policies and legislation that would meet the needs of refugees and asylum-seekers. The second fellowship brought her to a global education museum in Raleigh, North Carolina, where she developed innovative exhibits and educational programmes aimed at increasing young people's global awareness. Carolyn then worked in the communications department of a teacher-exchange programme, promoting the many ways international teachers broaden students' experience. She believes that education has a profound role to play in the creation of a global culture of peace. Her career goals are to help integrate peace education into curricula around the world, and to assist post-conflict societies in the reconstruction of their education systems.



ABSTRACT

War has a devastating impact on education systems, and the challenges of maintaining education during a conflict are great. Yet amidst these challenges, community members often find ways to maintain, re-establish and create educational opportunities for children. This paper highlights their efforts and argues that United Nations agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) must more effectively integrate the identification, evaluation and nurturing of community education initiatives into the development and implementation of "emergency education" programmes.

My paper first outlines the core principles of emergency education and grounds these principles in three constituent discourses – child rights, human security and peacebuilding. I then utilise field guides, strategy statements and practitioner reports to highlight shared understandings about how organisations should operationalise emergency education principles. I identify two key tensions in this literature, explain why they are problematic, and argue that one way to resolve these tensions is to create more robust procedures for the identification, evaluation and nurturing of community education initiatives during conflict. Drawing upon the principles of emergency education, I suggest ways in which such procedures could be designed. Without such reforms, efforts to embrace community participation in emergency education may generate outcomes contrary to emergency education principles, or, conversely, initiatives striving to respect these principles may be compelled to marginalise community participation. Neither outcome is ideal.

Impunity and its Affects on Reconciliation in Cambodia Path Heang, Cambodia, District 3350

As a child of the Khmer Rouge era (1975-79) during which some two million Cambodian people perished, Path Heang lived through decades of internal armed conflict. In the past 15 years he has dedicated his career to peaceful community development in Cambodia. Path has worked with such diverse groups as the Cambodian government, United Nations Development Program, International Labour Organization, Australian Catholic Relief, American Friends Service Committee, German Technical Cooperation, Oxfam, and Working Group for Weapons Reduction. He has contributed to a number of publications and addressed various international conferences, including two UN conferences in New York, USA. He has a degree in education from the Royal University of Phnom Penh. After completing his graduate studies, Path plans to return to Cambodia to resume his development work with particular focus on policy issues.



<u>ABSTRACT</u>

Post-conflict societies usually have one thing in common, that is a choice between peace and justice. Pursuing both of them will risk a relapse. Striving to restore peace will have to compromise the justice. How can then a post-conflict society move on to reconcile various antagonists without addressing justice issues of mass atrocities? Can reconciliation be achieved in the face of on-going impunity?

Cambodia is one of a few countries that suffered the world's worst genocide in the 20th century. Three decades of armed conflict has devastated the country nearly completely. The Khmer Rouge alone is responsible for about 2 million deaths, yet justice is not administered. Efforts to restore peace and reconcile in the face of overwhelming war's legacies are hampered by prevailing culture of impunity.

This paper examines impunity and its affects on reconciliation efforts in Cambodia. It provides an overview of a culture of impunity in Cambodia - including a historical background, factors contributing to impunity, and case studies. It also touches on national and international legal frameworks established to curb impunity. Finally, the paper seeks to explain how impunity restrains reconciliation efforts in Cambodia. An analytical framework is used to simplify the discussion in this section.

This paper argues that sustainable peace and reconciliation cannot be achieved without justice, especially only if impunity is ended.

<u>Diamonds: A War's Best Friend?</u> <u>Civil War and Conflict Commoditiesin West Africa</u> Ryan Hendy, Canada, District 6400

Ryan Hendy is currently on leave from the Federal Government of Canada to pursue the Rotary Peace Scholarship. He shall return shortly to his posting as a Liaison Officer with Canada's federal anti-money laundering and anti-terrorist financing agency called The Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada (FINTRAC). As a Canadian Army Reservist of twelve years, Ryan was deployed to Bosnia Herzegovina as a NATO peacekeeper in 1998, where his duties included the enforcement of the Dayton Accord. Other past activities include volunteer work as a Legislative Assistant for a Member of Parliament at the Canadian House of Commons between 1994 and 1997 as well as volunteer work as Assistant to the Chief of Protocol for the Organisation of American states in 2000. As a requirement of the Rotary World Peace Scholarship, Ryan recently completed a 5-week internship in Sierra Leone with the United Nations Assistance Mission to Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) where he supported the missions' Office of Public Information.



Originally from Windsor, Ontario, Canada, Ryan graduated from the University of Ottawa, Canada with a Baccalaureate of Social Sciences, Concentration Criminology in 1997. As a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar to the United Kingdom, Ryan also received a Masters Degree of Strategic Studies from the Scottish Centre for International Security at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. Ryan's future aspirations include work within Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, United Nations Field Missions and ultimately, within the decision making ranks of the United Nation's Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

ABSTRACT

While political, ethnic, religious and varied grievance-related considerations have provided some explanatory power behind what motivates and fuels contemporary civil war, such conventional approaches may fall short of providing an adequate analysis. An emerging discourse that points toward rational economic calculation as a vital contributor to some of today's most brutal

insurgencies is providing fresh insight into the intricate links between the intractably violent experience of West Africa and the global trade in rough and polished diamonds.

Within the context of such discourse, this paper examines the impact that the global diamond industry has had on the death, displacement and mutilation of millions within the West African region. As well, such a relationship has broader implications on global security with respect to the financing of terrorist activity and the increasing demands of the international community's capacity to manage regional conflict. This paper will also stress that prescriptive measures must not overlook the intrinsic role that 'conflict diamonds' play in West African atrocities.

While the global diamond trade requires more responsible, robust government and industry initiatives, future constructive outcomes will be contingent on nuanced regional approaches that seek to incorporate into peacebuilding frameworks the severing of links between West Africa's highly sought after natural resources and illicit contraband-related global trading networks.

Representations of the HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Africa: The Power of Photography to Create and Break the Silence Surrounding HIV/AIDS Amy Kay, USA, District 7600

Amy recently worked with the United Nations Development Program's new HIV/AIDS Regional Program in the Arab States, working in a team developing projects focused on gender issues and media outreach in the Middle East/North Africa region. She also worked on community HIV/AIDS education with grassroots AIDS orphans organization, Hope for Children, based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Amy studied Arabic in 2000 at the American University in Cairo as a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar. During that time, she worked for Egypt's National Council for Women as a media consultant and later as a managing editor for IBA Media Group in Cairo. Amy continues to focus on HIV/AIDS during her last semester of research, concentrating on issues related to representation and human rights. When finished with her Masters degree in Peace and Conflict Resolution at the University of Queensland, Amy would like to continue work related to HIV/AIDS.



ABSTRACT

HIV/AIDS is a social, cultural and political phenomenon that has created an 'epidemic of signification.' This paper explores debates surrounding this epidemic and the power of its representations. It focuses on HIV/AIDS representation via methods of photography that create images about 'AIDS in Africa'. By focusing on discursive representations of HIV/AIDS, I aimed to understand how particular versions of the 'truth about AIDS' are produced and perpetuated. This raises questions about power and representation, including the political and cultural work HIV/AIDS representation does in different contexts. Through a critical inquiry of different representations of HIV/AIDS via photography spanning mass and community media efforts, this research will contribute to understanding how different forms of representation affect the public, including those living with HIVAIDS and related stigma. This includes creating 'the other' in HIV/AIDS discourse and representation, as well as 'breaking the silence' about HIV/AIDS.

Rising Chinese Nationalism: A Cause for Concern? Sofia Knöchel Ledberg, Sweden, District 2350

Sofia is a graduate student in the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, Sweden. She completed her undergraduate degree in Chinese Studies, Social Anthropology and Development Studies at Stockholm University and School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. Sofia has also studied at the Beijing College of Economics, China. Her primary area of interest is Northeast Asia, especially the People's Republic of China. After completing her Masters degree, Sofia is expected to take up a position within the Program for Silk Road Studies, the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University. The Department is conducting research in areas such as Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management in Northeast Asia and Narcotics and Organised Crime in Central and Northeast Asia. Sofia will be involved in a research project on nationalism and China's foreign policy.



ABSTRACT

Nationalism is a contested political ideology that has proved to have both positive and negative functions, depending on how it is applied. Nationalism often serves a highly important psychological role by providing people with a sense of belonging. However, nationalism can also be a source of instability and conflict, both within and between states. Indeed, nationalism, especially in its ethnic form, plays an important and often devastating role in many of today's ongoing intrastate conflicts. Moreover, the history of international relations clearly illustrates the potential danger of nationalism in interstate relations, especially when embraced by states that are increasing their regional or global power, like Wilhelmine Germany or Japan during the Meiji Restoration. Some scholars go so far as to argue that nationalism will be a contributing factor in all interstate conflicts in the post-Cold war era. Since although

'[n]ationalism may present itself as a reasonable, legitimate ideology...it very soon lapses into other forms of political thinking – xenophobia, hatred of foreigners and foreign countries, chauvinism, an aggressive approach to foreigners and foreign countries, militarism, the use of force to resolve problems, imperialism, the desire to create empires that subject other people.'

After the end of the Cold War, nationalism and nationalist sentiments have seen a revival in many states worldwide. In the People's Republic of China (PRC), the rapid decay of Communist ideology and the declining role of Marxism-Leninism as a uniting force has increased the importance of nationalism as a tool to keep the vast state together. However, nationalist sentiments are not confined to the domestic realm, but have also become a more obvious force in Chinese foreign policy. As China's trade and overall interaction with the international community has increased, Beijing has adopted a more assertive and self-confident foreign policy in which nationalism plays an important role. This tendency is concurrent with an outspoken Chinese desire to resume a more powerful and, in the Chinese view, more appropriate position in world affairs. It is thus hardly surprising that the present revival of Chinese nationalism has given rise to concern among both Asian and Western states.

The overall aims of this paper are to analyze how nationalism is to be understood and defined in a Chinese context and how this phenomenon has changed over time. Noting China's importance for regional and global stability, this study will also investigate how nationalism affects China's foreign policy and who its most fierce advocates are. Enhanced understanding of the link between nationalism and foreign policy hopefully leads to better interpretations of, and reactions to, such policies. A deeper understanding of nationalism's role in the political decision-making process will also facilitate the development of measures aimed to increase transparency in interstate relations. It can also serve to raise the awareness of foreign policymakers as to how their policies are received abroad. This transparency and awareness is required to avoid provocative behavior and enhance the prospects for regional cooperation in Northeast Asia and elsewhere.

¹ Fred Halliday, 'Nationalism', in John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds.), 2001, *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, p. 451. (Emphasis in original)

The Roadmap Without Traction: Why the Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Failed to Reach its Destination Rebecca Milligan, United States, District 6310

To work towards the protection of human rights, safeguard the wellbeing of refugees and find lasting solutions to their plight are the cardinal points around which Rebecca intends to plan her career. The experiences she has had in the past few years have done much to solidify this conviction and aspiration. Rebecca was a Fulbright Scholar (2000-2001) in Russia, where she documented the plight of displaced Chechens fleeing the war in Chechenya. In Russia, she also assisted the Red Cross Center for Refugees by interviewing asylum seekers from Afghanistan. She then worked for Human Rights Watch in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, where she assisted the organization in the documentation of torture, arbitrary detention and religious persecution. Most recently, she processed claims for refugee status at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Cairo, Egypt in 2004. Additionally, she has worked on a prison reform project, at a Holocaust Memorial Museum and as a labor union organizer. Rebecca holds a Bachelor's Degree from the Honors Program at the University of Michigan with Highest Honors and a Master' Degree from the European University at St. Petersburg (Russia) with Distinction. She speaks German, Russian, Uzbek and Arabic.



Rebecca is convinced that a respect for human rights is an integral part of achieving sustainable peace and she looks forward to continuing work towards this goal upon graduation. She hopes to put her Arabic language skills to use through assisting the International Committee Of The Red Cross (ICRC) in Hebron in its efforts to monitor the respect of international humanitarian law in the West Bank in the first half of 2005. Beginning in August of 2005, she intends to expand further on her experiences as a Rotary World Peace Scholar in the field of human rights by training Burmese refugees in human rights advocacy for Earth Rights International in Chiangmai, Thailand.

<u>ABSTRACT</u>

In the last half century, the Arab-Israeli conflict has led the Middle East into six major wars and cost thousands of lives. It has created more than two million Palestinian refugees and left Israelis in a perpetual state of fear that terrorism can claim the lives of innocent civilians in any night-club, on any bus, in any restaurant at any time. Moreover, this enduring conflict has diverted billions of dollars from productive investments to the purchase of armaments and has blocked regional cooperation for economic development that would have permitted a more effective use of national resources.

In the last half century, numerous efforts have also been made to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A Performance–Based Roadmap To A Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict is the most recent plan for Israeli-Palestinian Peace endorsed (at least rhetorically) by both sides. The authors of the Roadmap For Peace had high hopes that its declared destination of 'a final and comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by 2005' was an achievable and realistic goal. Yet, as the 2005 deadline rapidly approaches, peace in the Middle East remains more elusive than ever. September 29th marked the 4th year anniversary of the intifada and early October witnessed the death of 32 civilians in connection with triple attacks carried out in the Sinai resort region and the continued construction of a security barrier that snakes deep into the West Bank violating the rights of Palestinians in its wake.

This paper argues that the Roadmap for Peace has failed to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict because the following conditions necessary for successful mediation of international conflicts have not been met: symmetry between negotiation partners; mutual recognition that the conflict cannot be resolved through military means (stalemate); a window of opportunity often resulting from a change in the conflict environment (ripeness); concentration on issues amenable to mediation; and the provision of incentives that encourage settlement.

The continued search for elusive Arab-Israeli peace since 1948 shows that conditions may not always be conducive for mediation to succeed. I suggest that the successful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is contingent on the following: the even distribution of power among enduring rivals; an acknowledgement that peace is an absolute necessity for the situation both politically and economically to improve; and a strong mediator that can encourage compliance through economic incentives and security guarantees.

Cambodia Assistance to Primary Education: A Case History of a Development Project Christian Oakes, United States, District 6970

Christian has witnessed firsthand the devastating effects that armed conflict and natural disaster can have on communities. Christian has served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Gabon, Central Africa, where he helped build low-cost shelters. He rebuilt hurricane-damaged homes in Antigua as a member of Crisis Corps. Christian supervised the construction of 47 school buildings as part of an NGO project in Cambodia. A graduate of the University of Florida with a degree in construction management, Christian and his wife, Rosemary Berkeley, a writer, currently make their home in Neptune Beach, Florida. After Christian completes his studies at the University of Queensland, he looks forward to putting his degree to work in the developing world.



ABSTRACT

In 1996, a group of three nongovernmental organizations based in the US began a USAID-funded project in Cambodia aimed at improving the quality of primary education in that country still recovering from one of the most horrific recent histories of any country in the world. The program was called Cambodia Assistance to Primary Education (CAPE) and was tasked with a number of ambitious goals to be pursued over five years. In 1997, a coup brought CAPE to an abrupt end.

This paper will examine the motivation for and design of the project, the success and failures of CAPE during its completed year, and how other efforts to improve primary education in Cambodia have been affected by CAPE.