THIRD WORLD STUDIES CENTER

Nonviolence International Southeast Asia

JAPAN FOUNDATION

Regional Conference-Workshop on Disseminating Peace in Southeast Asia

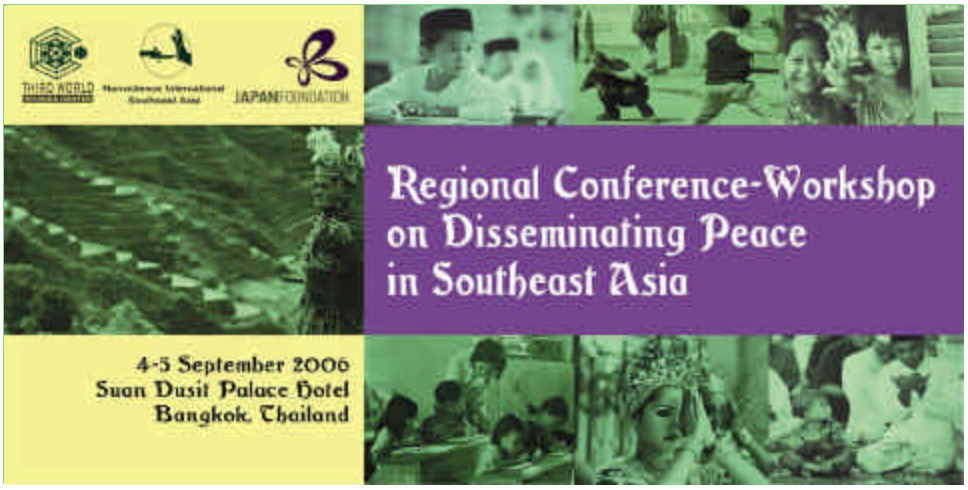
4-5 September 2006
Suan Dusit Palace Hotel
Bangkok, Thailand

Photographs of the conference-workshop participants are by Sharon M. Quinsaat. Royalty-free images in pages 29, 43, and 59 are from Image Source/Corbis.

Conference proceedings transcribed by Pia Bennagen.

Transcribed conference proceedings edited by Zuraida Mae D. Cabilo, Sharon M. Quinsaat, and Trina Joyce M. Sajo

Lay-out by Joel F. Ariate Jr.



REGIONAL CONFERENCE-WORKSHOP ON DISSEMINATING PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The attainment of peace is an ongoing task that is part of the unfinished project of democratization in many parts of the world, especially in Southeast Asia. Broadly, the concept of peace as not merely the absence of conflict, but also the presence of harmony, equity, and justice within and between societies is fast gaining acceptance. "Positive peace" involves the elimination of the root causes of war, violence, and injustice and the conscious effort to build a society which reflects these commitments. Thus, it entails the promotion of a culture of peace in order to dispel the attitudes, emotions and ways of thinking which breed conflicts. In this sense, while peacebuilding is an attempt to develop more just and democratic systems, it is a process that can actually be undertaken even prior to conflict settlement or resolution.

Educational institutions play a big part in molding the minds of the young generation. It is where values such as respect and tolerance for diversity may be learned. Hence, propagating the messages of peace and promoting a culture of nonviolence through education should be encouraged. In implementing peace education through the formal school curriculum, history textbooks become the most accessible source of information to young individuals about their community's collective past. These textbooks largely inform their sense of self and their sense of

belonging to that wider community of people called the nation. Mainstream media is another institution that has a significant role in the formation of collective values. With its omnipresence and capacity to shape and transmit popular culture, media can be used to spread peace messages.

It is in this context that a regional workshop on disseminating peace in Southeast Asia is being organized. The workshop will provide an opportunity for scholars, activists, policymakers, and journalists to share their knowledge and experiences and to eventually cull from these, culturally sensitive approaches to peacebuilding through education and media. The workshop will concentrate on Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, due to their similarities in terms of: (1) the influential role of the military and militarist thinking, (2) process of democratization and state consolidation, and (3) presence of peacebuilding activities, grounded on comparable historical experience. On the other hand, workshop participants will also learn from the distinct experiences that each country may offer due to differences in the existence and activeness of civil society, as well as insurgencies that challenge the state.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the "Regional Conference-Workshop on Disseminating Peace in Southeast Asia" are:

1. To provide a venue where scholars, activists, educators, and journalists in the region can share and consolidate their insights and experiences on how peace messages can be disseminated through formal education and mainstream media in Southeast Asia;
2. To enhance awareness and understanding of different or similar approaches to peacebuilding through the abovementioned channels; and
3. To come up with a comprehensive framework of action for the region.

WORKSHOP DESIGN

The project is a two-day intensive conference-workshop, with five panel sessions and three small-group discussions. The focal point of each session will be the sharing of experiences among the participants, especially on opportunities, problems, and lessons learned. Resource persons will be invited to provide a general idea of the topic and set the parameters of the discussion. Each panel will have a moderator and a rapporteur. The small-group discussions will be a venue to develop a framework of action on peacebuilding through the media and formal education, based on the inputs from the sessions.

PANELS

Peacebuilding in Southeast Asia
This session will provide an overview of the concept of peacebuilding in Southeast Asia and the various activities undertaken by government and nongovernment organizations to attain such. It will try to "map out" the actors and analyze the context for peacebuilding in a multicultural and multiethnic region. While it attempts to provide a regional slant, particular focus is given to Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand.

Media as a Peacebuilding Tool: Prospects for Peace Journalism
As evidenced by the skew or frame of news stories, the media is often used to advance a war agenda. Media coverage of conflicts tends to exaggerate battles and, at the same time, downplay the underlying causes of conflict that is so crucial to peacebuilding. Why media is more predisposed to highlight the wretchedness that goes along with violence rather than the optimism that peace processes create is attributed to the fact that mainstream media are generally profit seeking and predatory, and unfortunately, violence has a huge market. On the other hand, if steadfast in its role, media can provide early warning of potential outbreaks of conflict, monitor human rights violations, and foster stability by providing essential information about humanitarian initiatives. An emerging concept and practice, for instance, is the proactive use of media in conflict situations, where journalists are taking into consideration the capacity of their news accounts to resolve differences and encourage reconciliation, and not just their value in sales and ratings. In effect, journalists not only play the role of observer and documenter of events, but that of a peacebuilder as well. This session will analyze the double-edged role of mainstream media in times of conflict and explore the potential of transforming it into an instrument of peace.

Guide Questions:

1. How has mainstream media covered conflicts and peacebuilding activities in Southeast Asia? How has the public received such kind of reportage?
2. Is the political, economic, and sociocultural environment in Southeast Asia supportive of peace journalism? How can the commercial and predatory character of the media industry affect the prospects for peace journalism?
3. What does media as an instrument of peace entail? Does it mean journalists resolving conflicts or mediating? How could they do this and still maintain objectivity? What responsibilities do journalists bear concerning peace and conflicts?

Integrating Peace Education into the School Curriculum

Peace education is an important aspect in seeking lasting peace as part of a national development agenda. While it hinges on the principle of promoting a culture of nonviolent response to conflict, it depends on social, political, and cultural contexts for it to be appropriate and effective. In Southeast Asia, peace education has been initiated largely as a response to armed conflicts between governments and rebel forces. In the Philippines, in line with the integration of peace education in the formal education curriculum, the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, in partnership with the Department of Education developed new sets of peace education teaching modules for public elementary and secondary schools and trained 669 administrators and teachers representing 317 schools nationwide on such exemplars. A parallel effort is also undertaken by member-schools of the Peace Education Network, although they have not limited themselves to school-based programs. On the other hand, universities and colleges in Thailand are already offering peace and conflict studies as a major or field of specialization, separate from political science, human rights, or international studies. The approach is multidisciplinary with the goal of producing a new generation of peace workers and generating indigenous methods of peacebuilding in multiethnic and multicultural Southeast Asia. This session aims to provide a venue for educators at the primary and secondary levels to discuss the opportunities and problems of integrating peace education into the formal school curriculum.

Guide Questions:

1. Is the political, economic and sociocultural environment in Southeast Asia supportive of peace education in primary and secondary levels? What are the different types of programs currently implemented? What were the outcomes of these initiatives?
2. What are the challenges in integrating peace education into the formal school curriculum? Given this scenario, what should be the key components of peace education programs that are appropriate, feasible, and culturally sensitive?

The Role of History Textbooks in Fostering Peace and Mutual Understanding

Claude Lévi-Strauss asserts that history is never only history of; it is always history for. If textbooks then are erroneous and incomplete, if they foster bigoted views, or privilege one group of people and religion, then present conflict will be justified and perpetuated and new ones will be launched. History in that form tyrannizes the consciousness of individuals and rationalizes inequality and repression. History in this form sabotages the present and imperils the future of a nation. The purpose of this workshop is to assess how Southeast Asia and its peoples are discursively depicted

and reproduced in elementary, high school, and college history textbooks. This assessment will be done with the corollary objective of providing a critique of this very same literature vis-à-vis the precepts of multicultural education that aims to foster peace in a multicultural society. The realizations from this workshop will serve as the stepping stone in offering new histories for the peoples of Southeast Asia. Thus, in the end, even how history is written, taught, appreciated, and ideologically deployed in these countries will be reconfigured.

Guide Questions:

1. Do history textbooks in Southeast Asia contain erroneous and incomplete information which might foster bigoted views, or privileges one group of people and/or religion over the other? Do history textbooks in Southeast Asia give more emphasis on valor acquired in war and other conflicts than on acts that fosters peace and mutual understanding? Is there room for peace and mutual understanding in the pages of history textbooks in Southeast Asia?
2. How do writers and publishers of history textbooks in Southeast Asia define "peace" and "mutual understanding"? Can these concepts be productively used in writing textbooks? What are the theoretical and practical issues that must be taken in consideration if "peace" and "mutual understanding" will be made an integral part of the narratives contained in the history textbooks?
3. Will present writers and publishers of history textbooks in Southeast Asia exert an effort to foster peace and mutual understanding through the textbooks they produce? Who are the actors that can bring about changes in the way history textbooks are written? What will it take for them to succeed?

SMALL-GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Three small-group discussions will be held on the second day of the conference-workshop, wherein the participants will be divided according to profession and expertise. They will be given the task of coming up with a framework of action for the region.

Small-Group Discussion 1
Participants: Primarily media practitioners
Problem: How can the coverage of conflicts and peacebuilding promote the culture of peace?

Small-Group Discussion 2
Participants: Primarily elementary and high school teachers and ministers of education

Problem: How can primary and secondary education in both conflict and non-conflict areas promote the culture of peace?

Small-Group Discussion 3
Participants: Primarily historians and writers and publishers of history textbooks
Problem: How can history textbooks used in elementary, high school, and college promote the culture of peace?

DISSEMINATION

The proceedings of the workshop will be published in the form of a primer, which will be distributed not only to all of the workshop participants, but also to other organizations and individuals involved in the issue: policymakers, media practitioners, elementary and high school teachers and administrators, and history textbooks writers and publishers. This will also be posed in the websites of the organizers for downloading and circulated to relevant listservs or egroups.

ORGANIZERS

Third World Studies Center (TWSC)
The TWSC is an academic research institute based in the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines-Diliman. Its mission is to develop critical, alternative paradigms to promote progressive scholarship and action for change by undertaking pioneering research on issues of national and international concern; creating spaces for discussion and dialogue; publishing original, empirically grounded, and innovative studies; and building a community of activist-scholars and public intellectuals.

Nonviolence International-Southeast Asia (NVI-SEA)
NVI-SEA, based in Bangkok, Thailand promotes nonviolent action and seeks to reduce the use of violence worldwide. It works under the framework that every cultural and religious tradition can discover and employ culturally appropriate nonviolent methods for positive social change and international peace. It assists individuals, organizations, and governments striving to utilize nonviolent methods to bring about changes reflecting the values of justice and human development on personal, social, economic and political levels.

Japan Foundation
The Japan Foundation, which was established in 1972 as a special legal entity to undertake international cultural exchange, became an independent administrative institution on October 1, 2003. It aspires the role of catalyst for international exchange throughout the world, transmitting what is valuable and appealing in Japanese culture empathy and understanding with other peoples around the globe.

OPENING PLENARY

PEACEBUILDING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

MASAAKI OHASHI[1] (DISCUSSANT):

You may have recently read newspaper articles about Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visit to the controversial Yasukuni War Shrine in Tokyo, which he visited last August 15, 2006, the anniversary of the Japanese surrender during World War II. In my university, we call World War II as the Asia-Pacific War and not the Pacific War as the Americans call it. Prime Minister Koizumi emphasized that he came to the Yasukuni shrine to pray for peace. He also dismissed the previous public call to build

[1] **Masaaki Ohashi** is Professor of International Development Studies at Keisen University, Tokyo, Japan. He is deeply involved in Shapla Neer (Citizens' Committee in Japan for Overseas Support, which was founded by a group of young Japanese who went to Bangladesh to help the people after the 1971 liberation war. Currently, he is Vice-Chairperson of Japan NGO (nongovernment organization) Center for International Cooperation or JANIC, the largest NGO network in Japan. He is also a member of the Council of Fellows of the Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives.

a secular national war memorial because Yasukuni shrine is based on Japan's once state religion, Shinto.

The Shinto shrine was founded in 1869, immediately after the Meiji restoration, when the emperor took the power again from the Tokugawa shogunate. It was built for the worship of the spirits, mainly of soldiers who gave up their lives for the sake of Japan, which was then a newly emerging nation-state. With reference to the Asia-Pacific war, this shrine upholds Japanese militarism even today. It honors 2.5 million Japanese soldiers, maybe including so-called war criminals convicted by the International War Military Tribunal for the Far East or the Tokyo Tribunal, who died in the battlefields in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Japan. This created so much emotion that even the previous Japanese emperor has stopped going there because of the inclusion of A-category war criminals as among those honored in the shrine.

We were also surprised to know that some ex-Japanese Imperial soldiers, who originally come from Taiwan, China, and Korea, worshipped there despite strong protests from their survivors and families. The governments of China and Korea have voiced their anger over this visit, which would further strain mutual relations with Japan. Various people and organizations such as trade unions, Christian organizations, liberal citizens' groups as well as other non-Shinto religious groups in Japan strongly protest against Koizumi's repeated visits. Koizumi, however, still enjoys the support of 47 percent of those polled by *Asahi Shimbun*, even after his recent visit to the Yasukuni shrine. He records the second highest popularity rating among a few dozens of prime ministers after World War II. As Koizumi is also in favor of peace and praying in the shrine, we are bound to ask ourselves what the difference is between Koizumi's peace and our peace. That is a very important point we have to seek.

The second problem, which I would like to share with you, is about the national flag and national anthem of Japan. Japan's national flag, the *Hinomaru*, symbolizes the rising sun. The Japanese national anthem, on the other hand, is the *Kimigayo*. It is compulsory for us to salute the national flag and sing this song. For most of us, it might be natural to feel proud of our national flag and our national anthem. In the case of peace lovers such as ourselves, we have been very much hesitant to feel that way about our national anthem. This poses a dilemma because of a national law enacted in 1999, requiring us to salute the flag and sing the anthem. In fact, many people in Japan have neither hoisted the Japanese flag nor sung the *Kimigayo* after World War II. We argued that *Hinomaru* was the symbol of Imperial Japan's invasion of Asia under which countless atrocities took place all over East Asia and Southeast Asia. We feel it is very insensitive to use the very same flag especially in Asia. We also dislike the *Kimigayo* because the song praises the emperor who was the living god at the time of the Shinto religion and the supreme war commander until the end of World War II. Many of us have refused the national flag and the national anthem to express our deep regret about World War II and our vote for peace.

Right now, we are under the regime of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The LDP enacted the national anthem and national flag law, promising in parliamentary discussions that the people would not be forced to salute the flag nor sing the anthem. But, interestingly, the Education Board of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, which has a certain power to decide the content of education under the decentralized system, has required its teachers to hoist the flag and sing the song while standing during official school ceremonies at all Tokyo government schools in the past few years. Several dozens, if not a hundred, of teachers in Tokyo who refused to sing the song or stand up during ceremonies have been disciplined by the authorities. A few of them whom I know have lost their jobs because of this.

Fortunately, my school, Keisen University, which is a private and Christian-based school, has no intention to adapt this policy. In Japan, "Christian" usually means refusing all those national symbols. But some people, even in my school, foresee or expect that a day may come when our government, the central government in Tokyo, would reduce the amount of annual subsidies to our schools. We feel that we have been gradually isolated and surrounded. It seems that many people in Japan now prefer to have strong political leaders such as Koizumi and Tokyo governor Shintaro Ishihara, who promote nationalism with religion through the Yasukuni Shrine and national symbols. Prime Minister Koizumi, Governor Ishihara, and Prime Minister Koizumi's most likely successor, Shinzo Abe, are strong advocates of amending our Peace Constitution, especially Article 9, which renounces war as a sovereign right of the nation and prohibits the possession of a military, though we have a very strong self-defense army.

From our point of view, though, the constitution is a wonderful piece. The LDP, however, denounces it, saying it is a product of the United States (US) military domination after World War II. An exception is the land reform introduced by the US in Japan, which the LDP people never denounced nor criticized. They are intentionally selecting which policies are acceptable or not, and we cannot accept those arguments.

The third point I want to share with you is regarding Japanese government assistance or the so-called official development assistance (ODA). Generally, we have to say that a kind of militarization of the Japanese ODA is taking place. The amount of Japanese ODA is approximately USD 9 million in 2004. It is slightly reducing because of economic constraints but it is still the second largest following the US ODA. Asia usually receives about half of Japanese bilateral ODA; of this, Southeast Asia usually receives one-fourth of the half allotted for Asia. In Southeast Asia, Indonesia is the biggest recipient of Japanese ODA.

In general, we believe that any assistance through the Japanese ODA is for the sake of the recipients and not for the Japanese people's own benefit. We would like to make this genuinely humanitarian. On the contrary, our Minister of Foreign Affairs Taro Aso emphasized the need to realize the benefits that the Japanese people can get from the ODA. Based on a statement he gave in January this year, we gather that our

Minister of Foreign Affairs is clearly saying that the ODA must be used for the benefit of Japan in the long term.

This view was criticized by some of our friends in the peace circle. Koshida Kiyokazu, a member of the largest national peace research organization in Japan–the Peace Studies Association of Japan–analyzed the recent change in Japanese ODA. To quote him:

> In Japan, instead of using the opposition to terrorism, the government widely uses the sweet-sounding term, 'consolidation of peace.' Since Japan has a 'Peace Constitution', the 'consolidation of peace' itself is a desirable policy. However, I would like to argue that in most of the countries where Japan has allocated ODA for the 'consolidation of peace,' the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) have also been dispatched to engage in 'humanitarian assistance'… [M]aybe that is the case of Cambodia, which is the first case for us to send our military forces abroad, and East Timor, and recently in Iraq … or logistical support for US military operations.

The government now plans to tie ODA allocations and SDF operations together under the name of 'international peace cooperation'. In addition, "[C]oordination between the SDF and NGOs' [nongovernment organizations] has also been proposed." As NGO activists, if we want to do something in Iraq, we have a more advantageous position to get government subsidies. According to Koshida,

> [F]or more than two decades, Japan's ODA has been described and criticized as being part of a 'trinity' of ODA, investment, and trade. However, a new trinity–ODA, NGO, and the military–is emerging, as Japan becomes much more involved in peacekeeping and emergency operations linked to the War on Terror. As a loyal ally of the United States, Japan has contributed huge amounts of aid for the 'consolidation of peace' operations–and the Japanese government uses the term 'Japan as a whole' to illustrate the idea that Japanese involvement includes enterprises, NGOs, and the Self-Defense Forces.

How NGOs should keep their relations with government is a very critical question. Government has a strong intention to use NGOs as a cheap implementer of its projects and policies, when NGOs are supposed to be civil-society organizations, with a certain distance and independence from government policy.

Today, we are here in Bangkok to deliberate on how to disseminate peace in Southeast Asia. My question is: What kind of peace are we looking for here to disseminate? As mentioned above, there is a light of nationalism, along with national religion, and overall leaning toward a right-politics direction in Japan. The mainstream political leaders, mainly in the LDP, seem to make Japan the arm that would contribute more to peace in the region and the globe. Do we want to disseminate this kind of peace, which the Japanese government is initiating? Certainly not. No one in this globe dislikes peace, but there are always "un-peace" situations

in the globe. I would like to have deeper insights about peace on what kind of peace we all desire.

ALFREDO LUBANG[2] (DISCUSSANT):

A few days ago, twenty-two bombs went off in different parts of Yala in southern Thailand. Authorities were quick to point to the terrorist network operating in southern Thailand, on the assumption that the group is sowing violence in the area. In the Philippines, extrajudicial killings or political killings have targeted individuals linked to the communist insurgency. In East Timor, there was a resurgence of violence over the past few weeks, challenging democratic institutions in the country, with the recent clashes between factions within the military. In Cambodia, post-war reconstruction has been very slow and difficult.

These reports outline some of the underlying and difficult tasks of building peace in the region. For this workshop-conference, I am tasked to do three things: (1) to provide an overview of the concept of peacebuilding in Southeast Asia; (2) to map the various activities taken by both government and nongovernment, local and international, organizations; and (3) to map these actors and analyze the context of peacebuilding in a multicultural and multiethnic region.

Peacebuilding, according to John Paul Lederach, is like constructing a house. If you want to construct a house, first, you have to survey where you will put it up–this is the "context." Second is to have a blueprint of what the house should look like–the "concept." The third aspect concerns the people who would build the house–the "actors" in the peacebuilding process. Finally, it is not enough just to build the house. It has to be maintained.

When we survey the context of where we build our house of peace, we look first at the Southeast Asian region as a whole, which is composed of eleven countries, including East Timor. If you look at these countries, we would see various features of the Southeast Asian region. For instance, you have a small country such as Singapore and a vast country like Indonesia. Income levels also vary; just compare the income of Cambodia to that of Singapore, Brunei, or Malaysia. Second, the region does not have a common language. To borrow a friend's term, we are using the "language of our oppressors." This is something that has to be carefully considered. Third, we host a number of the world's major religions–

[2] **Alfredo Lubang** is Regional Representative of Nonviolence International Southeast Asia based in Bangkok, Thailand. He is a peace advocate and educator who has been heavily involved in disarmament campaigns and in leading trainings and workshops on peace and nonviolence. He is currently a member of the advisory board of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and is one of the co-founders of the South-South Network on Non-State Armed Groups Engagement.

Buddhism predominantly in Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, and Laos; Catholicism in the Philippines and East Timor; and Islam in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei. Fourth, the Southeast Asian region is multiethnic. For instance, based on general knowledge, Indonesia has about 300 ethnic groups and 743 different ethnolinguistic groups. In the Philippines, there are seven or eight major ethnic groups but more than 100 ethnolinguistic groups. In Thailand, there are about thirty ethnic groups, while Cambodia has about twelve ethnic groups.

The fifth characteristic of the region is the history of resistance. The Philippines battled against Spain, America, and Japan. Indonesia fought against Dutch domination; Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia against the French and the Americans. East Timor fought for their independence from Portugal and eventually against Indonesia. Sixth, armed conflicts are prevalent in the region. Protracted armed conflicts exist. The Philippines is battling the Muslim secessionist movement and the communist insurgency. Armed conflict in Burma is a very difficult case, given the military rule in Burma. On the other hand, despite a peace agreement forged with Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement [GAM]), Indonesia is still facing challenges in Ambon, West Papua, and the Malukus. In Thailand, there is a resurgence of the insurgency problem in the south. The seventh feature is the current and post-authoritarian military regimes in the region: post-Polpot in the case of Cambodia, post-Marcos in the Philippines, the current military rule in Burma, and the post-Soeharto regime in Indonesia. Finally, we have processes of democratization happening in the region. This is very crucial in relation to civil-society formations in the region, which vary from country to country. These characteristics provide the context of our peacebuilding work.

I would like to go into two concepts: peace and peacebuilding. Definitions of peace vary. For instance, in a conference I attended a few weeks ago in the Philippines, a Muslim woman defined peace as: "Peace is the time for putting on my make-up. I have been a refugee all my life and I have been uprooted from my community."

It has been said that to understand the concept of peace, which is very subjective, we have to go back to the concept of violence. Academics have referred to violence as direct violence and indirect, or structural, violence. We can also add the cultural aspect of violence. I would like to briefly discuss the first two main types. Direct violence is very clear; an example would be someone being killed or beaten. Response to direct violence can be considered as a means to attain "negative peace" because peace is defined as the absence of violence. Addressing structural violence, on the other hand, will lead to "positive peace" as underlying causes of conflict are dealt with to create positive conditions. Others would refer to this as the justice aspect of peace. Still others view positive peace as encompassing the broad notion of respect for nature, because environmental issues are actually linked with human security and issues of governance. Governance in this sense is tied to structures or elements of accountability and transparency. Some critique this concept for being

the aim of peace and human rights education is to abolish the institution of war or violence

too unrealistic and broadening the whole work of peace, diverting attention away from direct violence.

Indirect violence is the kind of violence that is structurally built-in–poverty, human-rights violations, and patriarchal relations, for instance. Cultural violence, on the other hand, is the production of hatred, fear, and suspicion in terms of symbols of religion, art, and ideology. Cultural symbols such as the flag and the national anthem could be used to legitimize structures propagating violence. The response to this kind of violence is to develop a culture of peace that encompasses different aspects. Ideas of a non-killing society are also introduced.

The aim of peace and human rights education is to abolish the institution of war or violence. To begin with, there should be good educational tools to analyze the cause of violence because some say people do not really commit violence, especially when people rationalize that violence could or should be done against others. There is also the perspective that exposure to violence would lead to violent people or heighten tolerance towards violence. These views have to be examined more carefully.

There are two major perspectives in peacebuilding. The narrow definition of peacebuilding refers to efforts that come *after* a peace agreement has been signed. Work is done *after* the conflict is solved. In another context, for instance in the absence of war, peacebuilding is undertaken under the conflict-prevention framework. This leads to the broader definition of peacebuilding, which encompasses the whole set of approaches, processes, and stages needed to transform conflict towards a more sustainable and peaceful relationship. Under this definition, peacebuilding is engaged in even during times of conflict. The assumption is that peace is not a condition but a dynamic process. Historical changes alter our concepts of peace. Therefore, the definition of peace changes with the struggle. Our actions and approaches should be attuned to that kind of peace that we want to achieve.

When you look at peacebuilding as covering a full range of approaches then, peacebuilding entails developing legal and human-rights institutions, as well as fair and effective governance and dispute-resolution processes and systems. To become effective, peacebuilding activities require careful and participatory planning, coordination of efforts, and sustained commitment by both local actors and donor partners.

With the broader concept of peacebuilding, we now look at the actors involved in peace work in the region. The Third World Studies Center (TWSC) and the University of the Philippines (UP) Center for

Integrative and Development Studies have come up with a Philippine study on peacebuilding work in the Philippines focusing on civil society, from which I draw the following data.

There are different approaches to analyzing peacebuilding actors and their roles. Groups doing peacebuilding work may be classified according to their scope of operations–international, regional, national, and grassroots level. Another way of classifying peacebuilding actors is to look at them based on their perspectives on peacebuilding work. For instance, some look at the system with the perspective that there is nothing wrong with it. They justify and defend the rules of the system and work around it. This approach is usually identified with right-wingers and armed groups who do not want to change the system. On the other end are social movements that campaign to change policies and institutions. Social movements may include those espousing armed struggle to change the existing social order, and those who opt for nonviolent struggles in the region for the purpose of change. These groups have the same goal but use different approaches. Another way of looking at actors is based on their activities–direct intervention in the conflict, addressing the consequences of conflict, and working on the social fabric to bring about peace. Another set of activities involves peace education and developing a culture of peace and other aspects such as gender sensitivity and capacity building. Actors also pursue advanced studies on peace in different universities in the region such as those undertaken by the Notre Dame University and Miriam College in the Philippines, Gadjah Mada University in Indonesia, and Mahidol University in Thailand (involved in human rights education). There are also efforts to develop peace zones in the Philippines and gun-free zones in Cambodia.

The final perspective is really based on transformation with the perspective that peace is dynamic. We want to transform the workings of conflict. We look at the different aspects of transformation–the actors involved in the conflict, the issues beyond sectarian interests, the rules of the game. We also look at structural transformation, especially in terms of structural violence.

Lastly, I would like to discuss the maintenance aspect of peacebuilding work in the region. There really is a need for democratic space to build peace in the region. The lack of democratic space in Burma is one reason why our work there cannot really prosper. There has been much discussion about intra-civil society relations with regard to peace work. Finally, the two aspects that are really important are 1) capacity building of all actors involved in peace work, and 2) the production of activists and advocates within government and within civil society.

EDUARDO C. TADEM (Moderator; Associate Professor, Asian Center, UP-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

It comes as a pleasant surprise that a whole new discourse has risen out of efforts by individuals and groups in presenting the rationale and justification for going into peacebuilding as a subpart of peace studies.

OPEN FORUM

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM (DIRECTOR, TWSC, COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY [CSSP], UP-DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

Peacebuilding is usually associated with US ODA, instead of Japanese ODA. What are the differences or similarities in perspective between US ODA and Japanese ODA, in light of your experience in South Asia?

MASAAKI OHASHI:

The US spends more money on military assistance, but that is not counted as ODA. Furthermore, US military assistance is not always open to the public. Using Koshida's analysis, Japanese ODA now emphasizes human security because the former head of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, now heads the Japan International Cooperation Agency.

Officially, the Japanese government has adopted the concept of human security. It is interesting to note that in the last few years many government officials have been talking about the concept of human security, which may cover direct and structural violence. While the Japanese government is also trying to find its own ways of contributing to peace, the process is not very active. We need some more years to create our own ways of using our ODA to contribute directly to peacebuilding.

As Alfredo mentioned, some Japanese LDP politicians want to create a new mechanism to intervene directly in peace-building processes using some military forces and the army. This has been on the table for the last five years but nothing has been concretized yet. I hope we can succeed somehow in a much favorable and peaceful way, not in the way of Japanese nationalism.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

Actually, the US is now using ODA for peace construction and rehabilitation especially in southern Philippines through a program called Growth with Equity in Mindanao, which is funded by the US Agency for International Development.

THERESA J. LIMPIN (REGIONAL COORDINATOR, ASIA-PACIFIC REGIONAL RESOURCE CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, BANGKOK, THAILAND):

I would like to share some more peace-building initiatives in Southeast Asia. First, we use street theater as a tool for empowerment and for human rights and peace education in the region. Second, peace and human rights education involves psychosocial healing. There are groups in the region, especially those doing development work in Cambodia and Burma that are integrating psychosocial healing in their program. These are mostly psychologists and peace educators who have a background in human rights. Finally, there are many more individuals, groups, and organizations that are engaged in peacebuilding. For instance, paralegal workers in the region are also considered peace and human rights educators.

For us who belong to the network of human rights educators, it is very clear that the end goal of all these concepts, practice, and orientation of human rights is the building of a culture of human rights in society. But where is human rights education in peace studies?

My second question is regarding the national action plan for human rights education of Japan. What are the initiatives or efforts being done to sustain peacebuilding as an integrative function in formal education?

MASAAKI OHASHI:

In Japan, human rights education means human rights protection against discrimination, especially for the Buraku and Ainu people. Human rights is important in our education, especially in the Kansai area. There are human rights violations and modes of discrimination against the Buraku people even today. The discrimination is similar to the untouchables in the Indian caste system. If you talk about human rights education in Japan, it brings to mind human rights violations against the Ainu people or the Korean people who lived in Japan after World War II. In this sense, it is not directly related to peace education.

Peace education is somehow not well accepted by the Ministry of Education. There are about 600 universities in Japan but there are only about less than a dozen universities with courses on peace studies. Universities that have classes or courses on peace studies are located mainly in Hiroshima. Some of these universities are Christian-based. Peace education is not so well accepted in other institutions. Peace is always discussed but not mainly related to human rights education.

ATI NURBAITI (MANAGING EDITOR, *THE JAKARTA POST*, JAKARTA, INDONESIA):

Professor Ohashi mentioned the tendency of the Japanese ODA to involve militarization. Even if Indonesians came to understand this, they would still be very happy to receive Japanese money. Do you, as a peace activist, urge Indonesians to reject the ODA, or are you working towards checking that inclination or tendency of militarization?

MASAAKI OHASHI:

Definitely, I am not requesting you to oppose Japanese ODA. What I am requesting is to examine our voice to democratize or demilitarize Japanese ODA towards goals that are more humanitarian. A problem arises in cases when Japanese ODA, for instance, goes to Burma where human rights violations are very apparent. Because Japanese ODA is humanitarian aid, we cannot stop the operations; otherwise the people will suffer. The problem, however, is that most of the aid is going to the junta government. Due to corruption, most of the Japanese ODA goes to the pockets of these rulers. This is why we campaign to stop giving Japanese ODA to governments that violate human rights and cause armed conflicts. It is a very difficult process.

We want to make the Japanese ODA more humanitarian. After the end of the Cold War, we thought that Japanese or international aid would be more humanitarian. In the past, it was a more strategic aid to enhance the Western world. After World War II, we saw that we could enjoy more freedom to mainstream those humanitarian activities, but we have failed, especially after 9/11.

I would like to say that Japanese ODA should be more democratized. It should listen to the voice of the people or the recipient countries, and encourage participation.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

I understand that Japanese ODA to Mindanao right now is part of an understanding with the US. Japan acts as a buffer between the Americans and the Muslim rebels in Mindanao because Japanese assistance would be more acceptable for the Muslim rebels or former rebels rather than direct American presence in Mindanao.

Japanese ODA should be more democratized, it should listen to the voice of the people or the recipient countries, and encourage participation

JAIME B. VENERACION (PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, CSSP, UP-DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

I noticed that Alfredo's presentation cited a lot of differences among Southeast Asian countries. But did you reflect on similarities? Some of these similarities include Southeast Asians as rice-eaters. The region is tropical. And if we reflect on culture as an adaptation to an environment, then I suppose the basic culture of Southeast Asia is sea-based,

maritime, and tropical. If we venture deeper into history, we would find that before the entry of Hindu Buddhism as well as Islam and Catholicism, the base culture, which we call Austronesian, would make this region something like a culture zone, which is different from East Asia, for example. You emphasized that we have a lot of languages when, in fact, if we really analyze the history of these languages, they all belong to the Austronesian family.

ALFREDO LUBANG:

There is the popular view of really focusing on the commonalities in the region. I think this is what the formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was about; they wanted to come up with the ASEAN identity. It is good to go back to our history as a people, as Asians, because we have much to gain from looking at the commonalities.

SHARON M. QUINSAAT (University Researcher, TWSC, CSSP, UP-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

I wonder if it is helpful for us to limit or couch the discourse on peace-building initiatives and efforts in the region, and concepts like human security, human development, and human rights in the language of the United Nations (UN). Professor Ohashi's question on what we mean by "peace" in the Asian region particularly struck me, calling to mind what Mahathir Mohamad said that you really cannot have universal human rights because there is something peculiar with Southeast Asia politically, historically, and socioculturally (not that I agree with it). I am just wondering if peacebuilding in Southeast Asia should be limited to what the UN has introduced as concepts or discourses that should guide the efforts especially with ODA, and peace education, among other things.

ANTOINETTE RAQUIZA (PhD Student, City University of New York, USA):

I am a firm believer in the universality of human rights. That starts on the level of the individual. At the same time, I do agree that there is such a thing as community or communal rights. Southeast Asia is also identified with Asian values; there are debates surrounding that notion. I would be very careful in identifying a specific and a very distinct regional or sub-regional cultural value that does not actually confront, or at least represent the debate on the Asian values school of thought.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

That is really something to think about, especially in the Asian context where histories and traditions are very different from the West. If we go back in history, there are pre-colonial and indigenous systems of resolving

conflicts. Some of them are not so agreeable, but perhaps these can be taken into consideration in resolving conflicts among and within tribal groups, which are different from what has been established as international standards.

SOTH PLAI NGARM (Executive Director, Alliance for Conflict Transformation, Phnom Penh, Cambodia):

In relation to the implementation of ODA in Cambodia, it has limited the role of civil society in such as way that an NGO cannot access assistance unless they have a memorandum of understanding with the government. Somehow, the process is synchronized with the government's policy. This kind of struggle is still going on, considering how peacebuilding is progressing.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

I understand that a miniscule part of the Japanese ODA goes directly to NGOs. There are two parts of Japanese ODA funding for NGOs. One part is, as you pointed out, coursed through government—maybe that defeats the purpose of directly supporting civil society. Another route bypasses government and goes directly to NGOs. This is usually done through the respective Japanese embassies.

DIAH HARIANTI (Head of Curriculum Center, Office of National Education Research and Development, Jakarta, Indonesia):

With respect to the concept of violence, your examples are violence between a regime or a government and their people. How about the concept of violence between ethnic groups or violence between religions? Do we have the same or different view and treatment of violence in this context? This kind of violence happens in Indonesia.

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM:

In the Philippines, we also have political assassinations done by private individuals to other individuals like the killing of journalists or political enemies. Is this rampant in the region, or is this case unique for the Philippines?

In Muslim Mindanao, they have the tribal wars or *rido* where you have sultanates fighting or killing each other and resolving their conflicts through violence. The state does not have anything to do with this.

ALFREDO LUBANG:

I put religion and ideology under the cultural aspects of violence, given the fact that cultural or religious elements or symbols in some way legitimize the structural form. For example, authoritarian or militaristic tendencies are governed by hierarchical structures, wherein you have relations such as that of the boss and the servant or that of the professor and the student. This kind of structure is also embedded in religion. When an *ulama* (community of learned men in religious matters) speaks, we listen. When someone in power speaks, the citizens follow. It is different because it has been condoned by cultural norms. The cultural structure of Islam, for instance, treats women in a particular way and may have the tendency to feed the structures for violence.

Another example involves the cartoons depicting Mohammad, which might not fall under direct violence or indirect structural violence, because of its symbolic nature. Media in Denmark projected Mohammad in a cartoon, which was found to be very offensive. This led to direct violence and legitimized the actions of hatred in many parts of the world.

nationalism is used to legitimize violence between ethnic groups

Nationalism is used to legitimize violence between ethnic groups. To cite an example in the Philippines, when I say, "I am proud to be Mindanaoan" or "I am proud to be Moro," we have to defend the Moroland in any form, whether through armed struggle or nonviolent means. In another case, ethnic groups from West Papua are proud of their identity, and that is being used to legitimize the use of violence to defend their identity. In the context of Burma, the Karen people are actually pushed to arm themselves and fight because the junta is suppressing and repressing them. The armed struggle is more visible than nonviolence.

With regard to political killings, it is rampant not just in the Philippines but also in southern Thailand and in Burma. Those in Thailand and Burma, however, are not reported. This does not mean that there is peace and harmony though. It just means that the state is able to control its instruments of violence. The state is in control of sowing fear in the region that even the media cannot speak openly. Even fact-finding missions in southern Thailand and Burma have difficulty working in the region. In terms of *rido* (clan war), I think Indonesia and the Philippines have more or less similar experiences.

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM:

Political killings show how weak the state is because it cannot control these assassinations being done by private individuals against private individuals. It also signifies a breakdown of society because the state cannot control the situation. Political killings show the strong side and the weak side of the state.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

There is a wide perception that the killings of people from the opposition in the Philippines is actually done by government; if not directly, at least indirectly through encouragements and pronouncements of the government.

ANDREAS HARSONO (DIRECTOR, PANTAU FOUNDATION, JAKARTA, INDONESIA):

There is a book recently published in the US by Rand Corporation, which is a think-tank closely related to the Pentagon. This is written jointly by Angel Rabasa, a Harvard scholar, and John Haseman, who was a US military attaché to Indonesia in the 1990s. They have a rather bleak scenario for Indonesia in trying to predict six scenarios of Indonesia in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

If we want to talk of peace in Southeast Asia, we need to talk about peace in Southeast Asia's biggest country that has more than 500 ethnolinguistic groups and has many ethnic groups saying they are being colonized by Indonesia. The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) says that Indonesia is the pseudonym of Bangsajawa (Nation Java). The Papuans say that the Indonesian government under both Soekarno and Soeharto manipulated the UN referendum in Papua in 1969. Meanwhile, there is a huge and massive manipulation of Indonesia's history that rationalizes the conduct of violence and the defense of the so-called Indonesian nationalism, which we call the integrated and territorial-based Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (Unitarian State of the Republic of Indonesia [NKRI]).

This book says that there are six scenarios that might create destabilization in Southeast Asia. The first, and best scenario, is that Indonesia's democracy is going to be a consolidated democracy wherein the state can function efficiently. Public education would be on the rise and media freedom would be exercised more fully.

This is the most unlikely scenario for Indonesia because even today, the newsroom of the newspaper controlled by Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), the *National Journal*, proclaimed that

the official enemy of SBY is Vice President Jusuf Kalla. The vice president controls the biggest votes in the parliament, as his party won more votes than the president's party did. Vice President Kalla, who is Bugis, has also shown interest in running for the presidency in 2009. The Buginese is the group that negotiated with the GAM a year ago in Helsinki, Finland because the Acehnese did not want to negotiate with anyone from Indonesia's main ethnic group, the Javanese. The president is also not able to exercise control, for example, of his coordinating minister on welfare, Aburizal Bakrie, whose company caused an outburst of mudflow that affected five villages when it dug an oil mine in Eastern Java. This makes the scenario of democratic consolidation in Indonesia very unlikely.

The second scenario depicts Indonesia as a messy state because the president cannot control his vice president and the vice president cannot control the coordinating ministers. As a result, everyone goes his own way. Aside from this, there are so many warlords and human rights abuses in Aceh and West Papua are so massive right now. Minahasa in northern Sulawesi still has the historical trauma brought about by the killing of 30,000 Minahasans by the Indonesian government. This is a very likely scenario as it is taking place in Indonesia right now.

The third scenario is radical Islam. There are a number of Islamic groups–several political parties and radical Muslim groups–that are trying to seep through the power structure right now. There are more than thirty districts in Indonesia, which currently implement the *shari'a* (Koran-based Islamic code of law) officially. The *shari'a* is a good law as it tries to ban alcohol or prohibit prostitution, but it is also used to impose restrictions on women, among other things. This scenario in Indonesia is quite likely to happen.

The fourth scenario is an uncontrolled, autonomous program, which involves the creation of tax havens that will breed corruption, which is going on right now.

The fifth scenario is trying to radically change the nature of the Indonesian state by transforming it into a federation. Indonesia used to be a federation for only eight months in 1950, which became the basis of the Dutch agreement to hand over power to Indonesia, as opposed to the unitarian, highly centralized political system of Indonesia at present. So, the fifth scenario is very unlikely because we are going to change the borders of every province and every district, which is going to be a very radical change. It is also quite unlikely because of the mindset of public education, the media, and the school curriculum.

The sixth and last scenario is the disintegration of Indonesia. Many people within GAM tell me openly and directly that this peace agreement is only a stepping stone for independence. They want to see how Jakarta, which they call Java, will react. In Java itself, many people are suspicious of GAM and they agree that the peace agreement is just for a temporary ceasefire. Meanwhile, in Papua, they say that they want to be separated from Indonesia and they believe that they will be independent. This scenario is both likely and unlikely because of international interest. Australia has responded to the obvious disintegration and destabilization

of its neighboring countries with a pronouncement of its prime minister, John Howard, that Australian army members will be increased by 2,600 personnel every year over the next ten years. The US will not be happy to see Indonesia disintegrate, and Japan is hesitant to see the Strait of Malacca controlled by Islamic Aceh. At present, Indonesia more or less controls the strait where international trade takes place. If Aceh, Medan, and southern Sumatra become independent, several states will then have control over the strait.

This scenario is likely but also unlikely because of international political relations. The US will not be happy if they see Indonesia disintegrating because Indonesia could more or less control the Strait of Malacca. China is also not interested because a lot of energy consumption for China comes from the Middle East and Russia and goes through this channel. You have to remember that most international trade takes place on water and not by planes.

MASAAKI OHASHI:

Another problem we face has to do with military expenses in Japan. Japan's ODA amounts to about USD 9 to 10 billion per year. But our military expenditure, including money spent to assist the US army, is three times more than this. From our point of view, it would be more helpful if the money used for military expenses can be changed to humanitarian assistance both within and beyond Japan.

I very much appreciate the so-called Bangkok agreement among ASEAN countries that prohibits them from creating a nuclear bomb, which means you do not spend money to develop nuclear explosives, but instead use that money for other purposes. If you want to talk about peace dissemination, how you do see military expenditures in your own country, which often cause human right violations? Because we are saying that instead of increasing the tax or decreasing ODA to other countries, we should decrease our military expenses. This is a feeling many people share but do not say.

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO (Deputy Director, TWSC, CSSP, UP-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

I would just like to reiterate that although we have similarities as peoples in the Southeast Asian region, it has to be pointed out that these similarities have been not only obscured but also distorted by the process of colonization and, later on, under elite domination. This process of obscuring similarities, or imposing upon us how we are similar as a people, makes

us forget the importance of recognizing how we are also different in many ways. The process of colonization and elite domination facilitated intolerance when these differences become more salient.

In connection with the question raised by Sharon earlier, would it not be simpler to use the vocabulary, for example, of the UN regarding human rights in our discussion? We may criticize the existing vocabulary so we may be able to construct an alternative one. Although I also personally agree with what Antonette said earlier about human rights being universal, the definition of human rights should be recognized also as contested. While we may not be able to go into the details, I hope we may be able to highlight through the discussions the contested definitions of the existing vocabulary we use.

I agree that we should challenge heightened militarization and the type and amount of money being poured into this kind of activity by our respective governments. Why not re-channel, for example, funds for military build-up into funding peace education efforts and reproduction of history textbooks that promote tolerance, understanding, as well as humility so as not to promote violence.

HILMAR FARID (Researcher, Indonesian Institute for Social History, Jakarta, Indonesia):

The military expenditure of Indonesia is surprisingly very low, so we have to take into account the business sector instead of the official budget. These businesses are involved in arms trade and other enterprises such as hotels, travel bureaus, and even logging companies.

THERESA J. LIMPIN:

In the Philippines, any increase in the military budget is actually intended to address internal conflict rather than external security or strategic concerns. In that sense, it actually lends itself to human rights violations.

SOTH PLAI NGARM:

I think we have the same situation as in the Philippines. Our government spends about 40 percent of the national budget just for military expenses, basically, to deal with internal issues. There is some pattern with respect to social issues where the government is willing to repay corruption money to social services instead of punishing the corrupt general. They also try to be very careful to disengage the military from politics.

EKRAJ SABUR (Course Coordinator, School of Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation, Asian Muslim Action Network, Thailand):

We also have to look at the attitude of the people in the country. For instance, right now there is a proliferation of arms and weapons in the southern part of the country. It seems that the majority of the people

agree that the government should try to put enough effort to ensure the security of the people in the southern part of the country by sending more troops, and making sure that there is sufficient number of arms that the civilians in the area can have to protect themselves. There is the tendency and the attitude of the people that affect and support the proliferation of arms by the government.

AMNACHE (OFFICE OF THE BASIC EDUCATION COMMISSION, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, BANGKOK, THAILAND)**:**

Southern Thailand is a crisis area. We would like to focus on the children to enforce mechanisms so that Muslims and Buddhists can coexist with one another.

ALFREDO LUBANG:

We also have to consider that the context of conflicts in the region is the global war on terrorism. It is very much felt in the region, given the fact that governments are now more on the preemptive rather than preventive mode. This weakens institutions in the sense that if they see that there is a threat, they can just do anything as manifested in southern Thailand with the creation of an emergency rule.

Another aspect is the context of corporate-led globalization that has been happening in the region, which is undermining the sovereignty of the states. A clear example is the case of Singapore buying the telecommunications company in Thailand, which sparked much hatred and instability in Thailand and contributed to the dynamics of conflict in the region.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

In the context of the Vietnam War, one of our slogans then was "No peace with US imperialism." In other words, part of that discourse was to proclaim that peace is something that you have to fight and struggle for; that you cannot just attain peace by being peaceful. This leads to the view of a just war. I wonder how the idea that in order to attain peace one must fight for peace and struggle for peace, which was popular in 1960s and the 1970s, is part of discussions among peace advocates today?

THERESA J. LIMPIN:

I have met some former members of the Communist Party of Thailand and some of them are now technocrats and bureaucrats. Some are now in the National Human Rights Commission while some are still in the

human-rights movements. These people, who were wont to calls like "Down with imperialism!" before, are now violators of human rights. When we speak of peace and human rights in the context of democracy, we also need to see how they are practicing human rights, now that they work in a different structure, such as the technocracy or bureaucracy. The same may be said in Vietnam and in Laos.

HILMAR FARID:

Is there a success story of peace initiatives that involved armed groups? I have been working in East Timor and did human-rights education, peace education, and discussions with former guerrillas and clandestine activists. It seems, at the beginning, that it worked. They were interested because the human rights discourse was a way for the East Timorese–at that time under occupation–to bring their cause to the surface. But after independence, they seemed to be not so interested in peace or human rights anymore. When they became part of the system, they became the perpetrators of violence, as Theresa said. You have identified armed groups as potential actors in peace initiatives. But is there really a success story of people getting involved in peace processes? What I understand is that "negative peace" always happens. Is there a way of getting beyond that point?

ALFREDO LUBANG:

We recognize nonstate armed groups and rebel groups in engaging them to embrace human rights principles and international humanitarian law. We could cite certain rebel groups in the Philippines, in Burma, or in Indonesia who have embraced principles of developing child protection regimes inside their areas of operation. For example, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the communist New People's Army (NPA) in the Philippines would say, "We do not have child soldiers." Burmese groups also say "No to child soldiers." These are efforts of engaging armed groups to develop these kinds of policies inside their own structures because in the future, they would become part of the state, if they are successful. We make them part of the solution because they are part of the problem and they have to be involved.

One concrete example that I could cite is our work on engaging them to ban landmines. We were able to engage different rebel groups in Africa, Latin America, and Asia for them to declare that they will not use landmines in their warfare. This is just one success story. The rebel groups themselves believe that international humanitarian norms should be practiced within their structures. This becomes important to them because they have to show that their struggles are legitimate. Agreements may be signed such as the case of the NPA in signing the agreement with the government on the respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. The problem, however, arises in the implementation of the agreement.

SOTH PLAI NGARM:

We have mentioned a lot about ethnicity in terms of identities but there is an emerging identity after conflicts. For instance, the Cold War has created a certain clear identity, which is now addressed through economic front. Will this bring about concrete healing and make peace sustainable? Should identities be brought into the discussion as well?

ANTOINETTE RAQUIZA:

We have talked about identity politics, which would actually include gender and ethnicity. The question really is the politicization of ethnic identities and, to the most extreme, the militarization or militarism that comes in once ethnicity has been politicized. With the Southeast Asian region, the state was created as a function of colonial rule. You have Western colonial powers coming in, dividing the regions, and building the state based on their own Western external needs. In that case, ethnic identity politics have arisen. It may be artificial, but historically, certain countries or nation-states have actually emerged through the decades.

The issue of a nation-state is not that easy to ignore. There is a lot of ethnic conflict but the question does not necessarily have to be on differences but how we actually resolve it.

I would also be very wary about religion. For instance, there have been criticisms or points about the authoritarian part of Islam or radical Islam. But in truth, even Catholicism has been identified with authoritarian tendencies. For instance, the Iberian culture has been used to justify authoritarianism in Latin America at a particular point in time. Now the Islamic religion has become the scapegoat of elites that have used religion as a way to actually gain political power. What is important when we talk about education is to actually strip or unpack the concept of ethnicity and differences where can we draw the democratic institutions and democratic traditions based on our own experiences. Second, how has ethnicity been used to actually pursue political power? That is when ethnicity becomes politicized and when it reaches a point when it becomes a vicious cycle of violence.

There is a discourse between social constructivism and primordialism when

the question really is the politicization of ethnic identities and, to the most extreme, the militarization or militarism that comes in once ethnicity has been politicized

we talk about education and culture in defining our ethnicity and identity. Primordialism is "I am from a certain region and this is my basic nature to be different from everybody else" vis-à-vis culture as being socially constructed, wherein society itself actually creates identities, institutions, and norms.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

For that matter, where does ethnicity end and racism begin? In relation to the state and ethnic groups, it is relevant to recall that most of the states in Southeast Asia are artificial creations. State boundaries have been arbitrarily imposed without regard to the different ethnic groups. One of the most telling examples is the case of Laos where most Laosians live in northeast Thailand. There are more Laosians in northeast Thailand than in Laos itself. In that case, Southeast Asia as a region in itself is also an artificial creation. There was no concept of Southeast Asia in the 19th century. It came about as a concept only because of the Second World War. Southeast Asia is seen as simply being east of India and south of China. That is how the term "Southeast Asia" came about.

DIANA SAROSI (Research Advocacy Coordinator, Nonviolence International Southeast Asia, Thailand):

I would like to go back to the debate on the United Nations language. Josephine has stressed how important it is in this workshop to criticize the vocabulary being used in the peace debate. But I do not think that really goes far enough. We have to keep in mind that peacebuilding is really an enterprise. It is not only a profit-making enterprise but it is also a violence instigator. The way the structures are set up are the same as back in colonial times, where NGOs as peace workers are exploited and used as scapegoats. Language is like a curtain masking their violent agenda throughout the rest of the world. I think that is where the debate has to start before we attack the language.

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO:

There are very real and material structures that we need to contend with. It is also worthwhile to look at things that are less visible but are equally contributing to a culture of violence. The problem happens when our differences are made justifications for violence.

In my classes in sociology, I always tell my students that there is a myth promoted by our elite and by our colonizers that the reason why we are into violent conflicts with one another at present is because we are different–in religion, language, ethnicity, and maybe identity–when actually, the conflict is rooted, for example, on resources, like land. It obscures the real roots of the problems when we could, as people, tolerate, respect, and with all humility, embrace our differences without necessarily killing one another for being different.

PLENARY I

MEDIA AS A PEACEBUILDING TOOL: PROSPECTS FOR PEACE JOURNALISM

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN[1] (DISCUSSANT):

I have to say at the beginning that I am not a peace journalist. I attack my government by all nonviolent means. I do not do anything related to peace journalism at all. Ten years ago, Dr. Chaiwat Satha-Anand, who was instrumental in putting together the National Reconciliation Commission Report, thought I was a peace journalist. Since then, I felt a huge sense of duty. I believe journalists today are no longer watchdogs because there are more expectations from them. For example, one of the latest concerns is that journalists must help eradicate poverty.

Peace journalism, I think, is the most important area that journalists have not done anything about at all. From my perspective, one of the

[1] **Kavi Chongkittavorn** is Executive Editor of the Bangkok-based English newspaper, *The Nation*. He is Chairman and Founder of the Southeast Asian Press Alliance, a nonprofit and nongovernmental organization campaigning for genuine press freedom in Southeast Asia. He is a veteran journalist with more than twenty-five years of experience in the area of foreign affairs, specifically in Southeast Asia.

reasons is that we are used to a media that is so sensational, a media that is used to advance a war agenda. If you have read the Thai newspapers in the past few days, they report that southern Thailand is at war. The papers seem to suggest that all violence is justifiable.

We live in a country where media tend to exaggerate battles; that poses a difficulty. Thailand happens to experience war throughout its borders: Thai-Burma conflict; Thai-Laos conflict, which is a famous Central Intelligence Agency operation; the fourteen-year Thai-Cambodia conflict; and the Thai-Malaysia border conflict. We also have the Chinese Communist Party to contend with, not to mention the existing problem in southern Thailand.

To say that media exaggerate battles and war is a very bold statement. I am a journalist and I am blaming my colleagues for such crimes. In fact, we know that we somewhat fuel the battles. From my experience as a journalist covering the Cambodian conflicts and the latest southern conflicts, we always report what is going on without trying to understand the causes of the situation. We follow the figures given out by the police and security officials without exploring fundamental issues like the roots of the conflict, which is very crucial to peacebuilding.

the little contribution that journalists can offer in a conflict situation is to understand the conflict and go beyond our daily routine

For me, the little contribution that journalists can offer in a conflict situation is to understand the conflict and go beyond our daily routine. In conflicts like in southern Thailand, which started in 2004, I do not think any journalist will sit down and try to look at it in a rational and mature way. Journalists tend to wait for information to be fed to them by the government. I think that is one of the dilemmas.

Second, the nature of conflicts in Southeast Asia is different from those in Africa. We do not have a kind of weak state as they do in Africa; our states are very strong–they inflict pain and violence on the minority. For example, we have a very strong Thai state, which uses all forces in the south. In this kind of situation, journalists cannot contribute much because state-owned media will play a more important role. In a conflict situation, the state-owned media would do more of the reporting. The good thing is that state media can probably, in certain cases, try to rationalize and try to avoid sensationalism. I think the state-owned media can sometimes be useful in this case because we are not dealing with a situation where there is a weak state. In the case of Burma, which we can consider as a failed state, the regime is very strong and lasted long amidst all kinds of pressure because there is hardly any public

reports on conflicts are always one-sided, it is always framed as "we" against "them"–"we" referring to the majority, and "them" to the enemy

scrutiny. The nature of the conflicts also dictates how we journalists report.

As regards the coverage of conflicts and peacebuilding activities by mainstream media in Southeast Asia reports on conflicts are always one-sided in the case of Thailand. It is always framed as "we" against "them"–"we" referring to the majority, and "them" to the enemy, those in the south. It is a very polarized view. I do not know whether the same situation occurs in other countries like the Philippines, where you have conflicts in the outlying areas such as those with the Moros and the communist insurgency. In the case of Thailand, it is always this kind of reportage, which I think has contributed to the deepening of the crisis in southern Thailand. The crisis in the south also provides journalists with some good lessons because they realize that reports on the day-to-day events are no longer sufficient. The more he or she reports, the more one-dimensional and narrow-minded the journalist becomes. For example, certain journalists are now so focused on the conflict that they look into the bomb-making technique as the way to understand the evolution of the conflict in the south. I think this is the wrong path to pursue. Instead, they should look at the historical and ethnoreligious background of the conflict, as this would give more explanation about the situation in Thailand.

As a journalist born and raised in Thailand, I think journalists need to be educated in a different way. Thailand has about eighty-eight institutions that teach journalism. However, there are no classes that relate journalism to peacebuilding, nor are there lectures on peace journalism. Journalism classes teach us how to market ourselves–how to be a public relations person, how to be a criminal reporter, or how to be an investigative reporter. To be a peace journalist you must have a very thorough knowledge of all aspects of the conflicts that you cover. You could be a "peace breaker" instead of a peacebuilder if you miss one part of the jigsaw puzzle. Expectations are very high, making the work extremely difficult.

Many people think that training is only for rookies, but in my opinion journalists in Southeast Asian countries need continuous training. I have undergone several trainings because I know nothing about, for example, the national trials on the Khmer Rouge. I underwent training to understand the nature of international criminal courts so that next year, when the Khmer Rouge trials start in Cambodia, I would be able to write the

editorials for my newspaper with clarity. Trainings on issues that are very transnational, such as those involving human smuggling, ethnic and religious conflicts, and even national disasters like tsunami, are very important. When the tsunami struck Thailand, for instance, nobody knew about the word "tsunami"; we only know it as high wave. No Thai journalist really understood the impact and repercussion brought about by the tsunami. As a consequence, many countries including the United States decided to give very low amount of assistance because the first report that came out of Thailand on the morning of December 26, 2004 gave a low estimate on the impact of the tsunami. When the impact is of this magnitude, journalists need to undergo training. In another instance, such as the case of the avian flu, journalists knew next to nothing when they reported it. They just repeated what the government told them, but they do not understand the nature of the disease.

I think it is important for journalists to undergo training if they are to play the role of a watchdog that really understands the facts and reports them correctly. As you can see, we have not yet reached the level wherein we report, then witness, and, lastly, help in building peace. I think the first two objectives are important and have to be fulfilled first before we can move towards the peacebuilding stage.

Finally, I think journalists in the region are not very regional. We journalists do not communicate and work together. There have been some attempts to have regional journalists to collaborate on common issues or topics. For example, a topic like money laundering is not only restricted to Thailand; money laundering has bases in Cambodia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. They are interconnected. I think we need to have a strong regional linkage, in which journalists share common concerns and thus can work collaboratively. Otherwise, journalists can contribute very little in reporting issues of regional scale.

EKRAJ SABUR (Course Coordinator, School of Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation, Asian Muslim Action Network, Bangkok, Thailand):

As you mentioned, one of the problems faced by journalists today is not reporting the underlying causes of conflicts. I personally feel that truth is one of the answers to the conflicts. It is unfortunate that, nowadays, not many journalists or media organizations are trying to discuss the root causes of conflicts.

The presentation focused on mainstream media but I am quite interested to ask whether it is possible for the people at the grassroots level to allow their voice or opinions to be heard by the public and also the decisionmakers in their country. If

possible, can you suggest practical strategies? In southern Thailand now, and I believe in other conflict areas, the people know many things about the situation. The problem is that they have this sense of insecurity. How do we ensure that they feel secure and able to create spaces where they can talk about their own rights?

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

If you want to pursue journalism from the grassroots, one thing you have to do is to stay away from mainstream media. You cannot expect anything from mainstream media, given all the symptoms that I have revealed, because mainstream media has different interests. If you are from the south, and you want to create public awareness on the situation, you must come out with the community media, which is something you can learn from the Philippines. In Southeast Asia, the Philippines is the land of community newspapers.

In Southern Thailand, you need an indigenous voice that can talk about the issue and raise it to the level of national politics. Currently, Thailand has about 1,200 regional community newspapers. Some of them come out regularly. We have newspapers published on the day of the lottery results. That dictates the publication of the newspaper. You need to create your own voice within your own vicinity; in this case, southern Thailand. I was so surprised that one of the leading community newspapers in Songkhla was not able to tackle the issue related to the south and bring about the real report from the area. Instead, most of the reports from the south were done by journalists sent from Bangkok. So, the view reflects Bangkok values. I think the best way is to come up with a community media. I think that you can get support for that, whether it is in Thai or in another language. Following the report of the National Reconciliation Commission, there will be support in the future for local voice. And then, you slowly build up that space. Otherwise, you only have the national papers, which dictate the direction of the news, for good or for worse.

in Southeast Asia, the Philippines is the land of community newspapers

To illustrate, every day two million copies of Thai papers are being sold in Thailand. This includes English, Chinese, and Thai. But one million copies belong to mass circulation *Thairath*. When *Thairath* makes a mistake, half of the readers read mistaken reports. And *Thairath* makes a lot of mistakes every day, repeatedly. *Thairath* was the only paper that first came out and reported that one of the recommendations of the National Reconciliation Commission was to use Malay as the second official language. This was a fraud and a big mistake because the report

of the National Reconciliation Commission stated clearly that *Bahasa-Malayu* will be used as a working language. The *Thai Rath* misinterpreted the information, and in so doing killed the whole recommendation contained in that report, which forty-nine or fifty-two members of the National Reconciliation Commission spent almost a year to draft. It took only one columnist to destroy the recommendation. Subsequent efforts to change this proved to be futile because nobody listened and the damage has been done.

These are very concrete examples that show why you need to build up the local voice. You may also have community radio, especially if you have a nonrestrictive government. We can talk about proper arrangements of community radio as mandated in the constitution, so that the local voice can be brought in. You can also have community newspapers.

EDUARDO C. TADEM (Moderator; Associate Professor, Asian Center, University of the Philippines [UP]-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

I am sure building community newspapers is a very welcome suggestion. There are caveats to it, of course, as in the Philippines, where community journalists who are most vulnerable to retaliation from interest groups. Most Filipino journalists who are killed are those based in the communities, whereas the Manila-based journalists are not touched even if they expose anomalies left and right.

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

In Thailand, we have about nineteen national newspapers and they reflect the national agenda. A lot tends to go unreported. These papers ignore issues of local significance, or misinterpreted them. Thus, community newspapers are something new in the country. I think the structures of community newspapers in Thailand and in the Philippines are different.

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM (Director, Third World Studies Center [TWSC], College of Social Sciences and Philosophy [CSSP], UP-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

I want to ask further about the training of journalists. In the Philippines, newspapers do not want to spend money to train their journalists. The same can be said about television. I was wondering how much newspapers invest in the training of journalists in Thailand.

The issue of low pay also comes in. It seems that journalism is a very hazardous job, but financially it is not quite rewarding.

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

I think trainings can be done in two ways. There are trainings that we initiate ourselves within the country, and there are trainings abroad for which we receive funding. These two different trainings have different objectives and different criteria. I prefer training carried out using our own resources and within our own organizations, if not by other papers or from neighboring countries, rather than from America or Europe.

Certainly, journalists in the Philippines and Thailand share many similarities. The number one issue they share is low pay. Also, both country provide very low-paying jobs. In Thailand, you have a fixed salary of about USD 70 every month, nothing more. This is still the norm. Thus, after 1997 Thai journalists have to take on many jobs. You have journalists doing their regular job during the day, and having a job at night such as selling second-hand things–souvenirs, cars, etc.–to raise their incomes.

Training within the organization is most difficult because media proprietors in Thailand are very selfish, including my paper. Trainings are not systematic. Journalists practically have to learn the ropes on their own. Of late, we were trained to write in Thai language the correct way. But to receive training on issues such as peace journalism, how to understand conflicts in southern Thailand, how to be a good journalist writing about environment or HIV [human immunodeficiency virus], I think, is extremely difficult.

The low pay for journalists is another matter. Newspaper proprietors do not pay attention to their workers because they view journalists as a privileged class, which is a very narrow view. In the Philippines and in Indonesia, I believe journalists have a social mission. In Thailand, journalists want to write about how to improve society, and as consequence we tend to topple governments. That explains why Thailand, for example, does not have a journalists' union, although National Federation of Journalists tried to help us set up one. Journalists do not form a union–except *The Bangkok Post*, which has a union set up by a foreigner–because our culture believes that they have to work hard and get low pay. If the journalist cannot handle that, he will have to get a brown envelop somewhere to try to make ends meet. This is exacerbated by the fact that journalists do not get much respect from other professions or even the public, partly because Thai journalism began with criminal reporting 150 years ago.

LORETA N. CASTRO (Director, Center for Peace Education, Miriam College, Quezon City, Philippines):

I would like to offer a piece of information about training on peace journalism. A year ago, a German woman by the name of Antonia Koop, who is a friend of many peace advocates in the Philippines, gave us this idea of establishing a peace and conflict journalism network. Last year, she has helped conduct two trainings for journalists and for students of journalism.

I think this is a sign of hope for even budding journalists or students, who are thinking of going into this career, to learn more about the field.

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

I strongly believe peace journalism should take off from now on. For a long time, we have been trying to find a solution to southern Thailand. Gradually, following the report of the National Reconciliation Commission, we have read with much interest some of the recommendations, such as the non-use of force and interfaith dialogue. The first time I encountered peace journalism was through a Norwegian peace activist, Johan Galtung, who is a key professor of Dr. Chaiwat Satha-Anand. I want others to exercise utmost care when they write, in the same way that I am always aware of my writing and how it would affect others. Oftentimes, when journalists write about the conflict situation from afar, a lot of mistakes could occur.

SOTH PLAI NGARM (EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ALLIANCE FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION, PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA):

I believe that during times of conflict, it is hard for the journalist to provide accurate news because it is somehow likely to provoke more conflict. During conflict, what should be the best intervention from journalists for building peace?

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

You could do two things. There is a lot of literature these days about how free media completely worsened the whole situation of conflicts, such as what is currently happening in Iraq. A lot of literature came out saying that too much freedom for journalists in conflict situations accelerates or worsens the conflict. It just adds more fuel to the fire.

I think it is important that in a specific conflict, you need a controlled environment. For example, there has been a suggestion (not that I agree with it) that there should be some control on the report over a really fluid conflict situation. This suggestion was brought up by a research study on the Iraq situation. In the case of Thailand, what is going on now through the news network initiated by the journalists' association is a good one; at least, the reportage is accurate. Before that, hundreds of journalists went into conflict areas, talk to ten different people, and come out with a hundred and two reports. In conflict situations, the media–in this case the Thai journalists' organization, helped, which is very good.

I think full freedom and access to information are important, but access to information alone is not. Most of the time, verification of

information related to conflict is not carried out. The reports of Thailand in the first two or three years during heavy fighting since 2003 were just full of mistakes because seven or eight of my reporters talked to different persons. They wrote the report as if they were writing about different conflicts because they talked to different people with different perspectives. In the case of the Thai journalists' association, it was good because there is a center, a definitive perspective.

ATI NURBAITI (MANAGING EDITOR, *THE JAKARTA POST*, JAKARTA, INDONESIA):

I know we often feel like losing hope with mainstream media. Engaging journalists from mainstream media always entails a lot of hard work. The reason is that the public, which is mainstream media's audience, is the same public that politicians cater too.

My organization, the Alliance of Independent Journalists, has done a number of workshops on peace journalism, engaging correspondents in different areas. But I think we have tried less to expose the journalists of mainstream media, including television, which has the strongest influence. This explains why in many countries, including Indonesia, the urban population of the capital would more or less support the position of governments towards so-called rebel movements, without looking into the causes of these movements. That view comes from their access to mainstream media, so I think we should engage the mainstream media in exposing them to peace journalism.

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

Oftentimes, the mainstream media, particularly television, propagate government's views. Journalists who take the so-called politically correct view, for example, in television would call on people to be more patriotic. The Prime Minister condemns English language journalists like me, saying that foreign language journalists are not patriotic because we write in English and therefore we expose our country to foreign scrutiny. That kind of mental frame really worsened the situation.

It is sad that television, radio, and print journalists in our country who have a limited access to audiences have not yet embraced professionalism, let alone the philosophy of peace journalism, such as the simple task of reporting objectively, if there is such a thing, of a particular situation.

THERESA J. LIMPIN (Regional Coordinator, Asia-Pacific Regional Resource Center for Human Rights Education, Bangkok, Thailand):

We also need to be reminded that in the print media, the use of graphics or photos also add violence and insensitivity to human rights. For example, in the front page you will see trafficked children and women, or child soldiers, with all their faces exposed. There are ethical guidelines right now to be sensitive to the vulnerabilities and security of the victims. Second, there are studies in the past indicating that daily exposure to photos about war and other gory things adds to callousness of people in taking an action for change.

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

That feature is not yet embedded in Thai journalism because *Thai Rath*, the largest mass circulation newspaper, still uses grotesque photos as a selling point. There is also something wrong with Thai readers because there is a rise in circulation when you have gruesome pictures.

SOTH PLAI NGARM:

I agree to some extent that a unification of perspectives of journalists is needed. However, are there any ways to shield this from manipulation?

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

This is the dilemma because in a conflict situation, it is important to go all out in support of multiple voices. But you must do that on the condition that the state is a strong state. If advocacy of free media is done in a weak state or in a fluid environment, such pluralism can further deepen the conflict. Of course, various sources of information are always good. People should have access to different modes of information. This applies only in an environment that is not a failed state. Now, there are arguments coming out that there is a need to control, but not censor media. You have to make a distinction so as not to worsen the ongoing conflict, especially in a country that is ethnically multicultural.

DECIANA SPECKMAN (Project Coordinator, The Amana Media Initiative, Bangkok, Thailand):

We publish a monthly newsletter and also run a website to promote positive Muslim initiatives in the Asian region. We have about 1,200 members around Asia now who receive this publication. We hope to grow and become an independent source

of news for Muslims living in Asia. In addition, we have a workshop coming up in Jakarta on media for peace.

ANDREAS HARSONO (DIRECTOR, PANTAU FOUNDATION, JAKARTA, INDONESIA):

With regards media and violence in Jakarta, the temporary conclusion is very negative. We have to understand that the Indonesian media gained its relative press freedom only six years ago, after the fall of Soeharto. Before that it was heavy censorship, heavy government propaganda, not only under Soeharto but also under Soekarno and the previous prime ministers before Soekarno. Today, from the 250-something newspapers during Soeharto's time, we have 1,000 newspapers. We only had six television stations during the same period, which now increased to more than 70 television stations throughout the country. In the past, we only had 3,000 journalists; now we have more than 30,000 journalists, mostly untrained and underpaid. Interestingly, 95 percent of media ownership throughout Indonesia–from Aceh to Papua–is controlled by media owners in Jakarta that it is heavily centralized.

The future is bleak for media in Indonesia. We can have *Rakyat Aceh* daily in Banda Aceh, which is owned by the Tempo Jawa Pos Group in Jakarta. We can have *Serambi Indonesia* also in Aceh, which is owned by the Kompas Gramedia Group in Jakarta. We can have the Tempo Group-owned *Cendrawasih Pos* in Papua. The Tempo Java Post Group has 160 newspapers throughout the country and *Kompas* as well. *MNC*, another big media giant, controls three national television networks. *The Jakarta Post* used to be as repressive as the other newspapers in suppressing dissent. *Kompas* helped to create the reasoning to suppress the communists.

Tempo had to suppress the East Timorese struggle. One *Tempo* journalist in Aceh used to work for the military. In 1978, a *Tempo* journalist revealed the headquarters of Hasan di Tiro. Three days after he left the camp, it was attacked by the Indonesian army. That *Tempo* journalist was tried in absentia by the Free Aceh Movement and sentenced to death because he revealed the whereabouts of the camp.

Indeed, the history of journalists in Indonesia is very bloody. We are as repressive as the military in suppressing diversities.

ATI NURBAITI:

Have you seen fairly good results from community media?

KAVI CHONGKITTAVORN:

I believe there are many examples of this in the Philippines. I was told many times that some community newspapers in Mindanao have done a good job. I tried to find an example in the case of Thailand but there is none. Thai journalism is working towards a good model.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

It is true that there is a relatively more vibrant network not only of community newspapers but also of journalists–individual freelance journalists–who organized themselves into a Mindanao-wide network of journalists. Each of them belongs to mainstream media who are correspondents in Mindanao, or they belong to community newspapers in Mindanao. The important thing is that these individuals have banded together and organized themselves as some kind of a union, if you like, and they set high standards of journalism among themselves. They also offer some form of protection because, as I pointed out earlier, it is the journalists who are based outside Manila who are the ones targeted by terror groups from the state, from the local elites and big business communities, as well as criminal syndicates and corrupt officials, for retaliation. I would say that they relatively are a success story. The most important thing is that they have been able to get the news within and outside Mindanao, and into the international information network.

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM:

Some of my respondents for a research project on peacebuilding in Muslim Mindanao were media people who are part of a network that show an understanding of the history of the conflict. They made a pact on matters such as not just to show statistics like body counts of the military and rebel groups, or avoid stereotyping terrorists as Muslims. There is really a conscious effort with regard to confronting such issues.

I also noticed that the ones who think this way are people who come from social movements, particularly the Left movement in Mindanao. A lot of them have the perspective of a progressive. Their trained consciousness comes from their background as social movement players. Because they come from social movements, they are not only with the media. They also link up with nongovernment organizations (NGOs) to enlarge the network in projecting the significance of the issue of ethnicity. I think much of the progressive writers with this consciousness come from social movements.

EKRAJ SABUR:

You mentioned a while ago the protection of the rights of journalists in a conflict zone, especially those who are vulnerable to retaliation. Can you give a concrete example of how the community-based media can be a means to protect the rights of journalists, as well as the sources of information like the villagers or the people in the conflict areas? How do you ensure the security of people then?

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

I think the most important protection for journalists in the case of Mindanao is to be able to quickly get the information across if someone

is missing or if someone is being threatened with death threats through letters or phone calls, so these can be immediately publicized. They are able to do that because of their wide network of contacts in Manila, as well as in the international press. Sometimes this acts as a deterrent to those who threaten their lives. They also provide legal help. Lawyers are on call and they organize such a system of legal assistance. They also maintain contacts with the military in the sense that if anyone is missing, they immediately send delegations to military camps to look for these persons or journalists, or publicize the disappearance.

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, TWSC, CSSP, UP-DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

Since we are talking about the role of the media in peacebuilding, what struck me most among current efforts in Mindanao is that local media institutions and individual media practitioners are now linking up with those that are based in Manila. These links are established not only in covering conflict and peace situations in Mindanao, but also in actually engaging in peacebuilding activities. For example, in what has come to be known as the Buliok offensive in 2001, the people from the community linked not only with NGOs but also with media practitioners at the local and national levels to form a coalition called *Bantay* (Monitor) Ceasefire to ensure that ceasefire between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the military would be respected.

Another point that I would like to make is that training the media is not only through formal and nonformal efforts of media institutions, but also through their actual work in the field. Being part of what they do, in terms of negative and positive peacebuilding, is an opportunity for them to know more about the conflict.

PLENARY 2

INTEGRATING PEACE EDUCATION INTO THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

LORETA N. CASTRO[1] (DISCUSSANT):

I changed my title to "Waging Peace through Our Schools" because I would like to highlight the idea that it is more effective for us to take a school-based approach rather than to integrate peace education in the curriculum. In other words, what we want to do is build a culture of peace within and outside the school.

My presentation is on the experience of Miriam College and the Center for Peace Education. What I would like to do

[1]**Loreta N. Castro** is the Director of the Center for Peace Education of Miriam College in Quezon City, Philippines. Her center has collaborated with both government agencies and civil-society organizations in efforts to promote the advocacy of nonviolence, justice, and other peace values mainly through education and training activities. She is also the coordinator of a local peace education network; secretary of the Philippine Council for Peace and Global Education, a member of the International Advisory Committee of the Global Campaign for Peace Education; and a member of the Executive Committee of Pax Christi International. She teaches at the Departments of International Studies and Education of Miriam College.

peace education as education that builds awareness, concern, and action in response to direct, structural, and other forms of violence in our society toward nonviolence, justice, and environmental care

is to take you to a step-by-step journey, in the hope that this would serve as an inspiration to other educational institutions as to what can be done through, and even beyond our school system.

There are three major things that I will discuss. One is a very quick description of the challenges to peace in the Philippines. Another is peace education as a response. Finally, I will talk about two approaches: the first is on strengthening the school's peace education thrust. This is based on the belief that we have to begin with our own institution first before we could be effective agents outside. The second category has to do with forging various partnerships to promote peace and peace education in the larger society.

We have protracted armed conflicts in the Philippines. One is with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the other with the Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army-National Democratic Front (CPP-NPA-NDF). We are aware of the costs of these wars in terms of human and material casualties and environmental degradation. Other than the specter of warfare, perhaps the most important challenge that continues to haunt us in this century is the problem of poverty and gross disparities between the rich and the poor. It is a situation that constitutes a great threat to peace. In 1994, the National Unification Commission in the Philippines declared that poverty, injustice, and poor governance are the roots of armed conflict.

How then can we make peace and nonviolence the spirit of this century? This is a very big question but I would like to say that education is one of the pathways through which we can build this atmosphere—to wage peace through our schools. Schools can serve as agents of change through active peace advocacy and solidarity with kindred institutions and groups.

We define peace education as education that builds awareness, concern, and action in response to direct, structural, and other forms of violence in our society toward nonviolence, justice, and environmental care. We would like to address three important dimensions: cognitive, affective, and active. Cognitive has to do with awareness and understanding, affective with feelings and emotions, and action with

behavioral change. If action does not happen, education is incomplete. Behavioral change is therefore a measure of success in peace education.

What do we want learners to understand? Among these would be forms of violence, roots of conflict, and alternatives. In building concern, what do we want to cultivate? Some of these emotions would be empathy and compassion, as well as a positive vision of the future and social responsibility. In doing this, we can make use of the ideas and lives of peace and justice advocates. Finally, we encourage action through personal change, or making learners re-examine their own mindsets, attitudes, lifestyles, and behavior; and through advocacy.

Earlier, there was a question on the relationship between human rights and peace education. I would like to emphasize that peace education is a very broad field and thus has many branches. If we would liken it to a river, it has a lot of tributaries. For instance, we hear of education for disarmament, conflict resolution, human rights, anti-crime, and anti-discrimination. All of these are streams or strands of peace education. This comprehensive understanding of peace education also flows from our expansive notion of peace itself. Peace is both the absence of violence and the presence of certain conditions of well-being, both human and ecological.

Why do we educate for peace? First, it is an ethical imperative to uphold core moral principles such as the value of life and the principles of love and human dignity. Second, it is a practical alternative because we need to build a critical mass of people who will reject war and claim their right to true human security.

What are some peace education themes that need to be addressed? One is unity of the human family. Despite the diversity in ethnicity, religion, and culture, we are really one in our humanity. Although it is the major faith traditions that have tried to put forward the idea that all humans are brothers and sisters, it captures the essence of having a common home, which is planet Earth, a common future, and a common destiny. The second theme is that of human worth and dignity from which flows respect for human rights and fundamental freedom including gender equality.

Another theme is nonviolence, which includes the appreciation of human life and the development of skills for nonviolent conflict resolution and conflict transformation. The principle of nonviolence does not mean that physically nonviolent action is enough. It is the use of positive techniques, such as taking the initiative when it is needed and appealing to the conscience of the other party to bring more harmony between and among parties. A fourth theme is tolerance, particularly respect for diversity to combat racism, ethnocentrism, and sexism; and rejection of a sense of superiority over others. There is also economic justice, which means support for the equitable distribution of wealth and resources that include genuine land reform, progressive taxation, and labor bargaining.

Finally, we also want to teach environmental care or taking into account the future generations when using the earth's resources. This is

best captured by the slogan, "reduce, re-use, recycle, repair, and refuse." You can refuse whatever it is you need not use.

We think of peace action not just in terms of going to rallies or demonstrations that call for peace. For us, any activity that tries to seek change in the human condition is peace action. Any act of love, especially for those who are not your family members, is peace action. In this regard, I would like to share with you the various approaches to peace education that we have undertaken. First is on strengthening the school's peace education thrust through the formation of a Peace Core Group. We are actually careful to use this term because when you are in a core, it means that there are people in the margins. When we had the Center for Peace Education (CPE), we now call ourselves CPE associates. The CPE started only in 1997. But prior to the establishment of the physical center, we already had initiatives. For instance, before 1997, we thought of making a proposal to the school administration to make Miriam College a zone of peace. We made a pledge–a declaration–that we, as members of the community, whether students or teachers will strive for peace within ourselves, foster caring relationships among ourselves and with Mother Earth, persevere in our efforts to look for creative and constructive ways of resolving conflicts, try to live simply so we do not deprive others including those yet to be born of their means to live with human dignity, and engage in peace action and activities of social concern.

We have started with homegrown faculty training on both the content of pedagogy of peace education. What we did in our associates' group is to assign ourselves various topics, do research, and share what we have gathered. This allowed us to have a common understanding of what we wanted to do and what we wanted other faculty members to learn from us.

You might wonder, why start with faculty training? I really believe this is the most important step that needs to be taken. You may have all the materials in the world, you may have developed a great syllabus, but if the teacher is not touched, peace education will not succeed. The next is actual curriculum integration. We started with the integration of perspectives and ideas on peace in various subjects, particularly social studies and religion. Because Miriam College is a faith-based school, students and teachers lent themselves easily to the integration process. We also had the opportunity to initiate separate subjects because of supportive administrators. For instance, social studies in the seventh grade became a peace education subject.

At the college level, we were able to introduce major subjects in the different departments like Introduction to Peace Studies in the International Studies Program; Education for Peace, Gender Equality, and the Environment in the Education Program; and Education for Peace at the Graduate School. We have also tried to include peace education in the Communication Arts Department by conducting seminars on peace journalism.

Starting next year, we will offer a minor in Peace Studies under the International Studies Program with the following subjects: Introduction

to Peace Studies, Global and Local Peace Issues, International Peace and Security, Theory and Practice of Nonviolence, Conflict Prevention and Transformation, and International Humanitarian Issues. What about a major in Peace Studies? The reason is that there is no "market" for such in the Philippines. Notre Dame University and Bicol University are offering Master of Arts (MA) in Peace Studies and MA Peace Education respectively and they have difficulty getting enrollees. We think that the way to go is to bring peace education in the elementary and secondary levels and try to incorporate it into the existing programs. Maybe we are not yet ready for a degree in peace studies in the Philippines, based on the experience of Miriam College and the ones I mentioned.

I also want to share with you Miriam College's co-curricular program for student development, which I think is a good vehicle for peace education. This refers to activities that are related to the curriculum but are not formal in a way that no classes or courses are involved. In our case, the establishment of a student peace organization was very helpful because it became like the CPE's student arm. It was also one way of developing new generation of peace advocates. When students get involved in a peace organization and become exposed to various issues on peace and conflict, they carry on this learning experience hopefully in their careers.

Efforts were also undertaken to make peace education part of homeroom. I would like to encourage other schools to do the same. In the Philippines, the homeroom period is where the faculty advisers meet with the students and remind them of rules, housekeeping, etc. We thought of taking advantage of this by conducting training in conflict management and resolution and peer mediation. We now have this in both grade school and high school as well as in the different departments in college.

For the past fifteen years, we have celebrated annually the International Day of Peace. We used to do it every third Tuesday of September but now it has a fixed date, which is September 21st. Activities to commemorate this day range from concerts to exhibits. Others include poster- or bannermaking. It is part of developing a culture of peace. Postermaking was an activity in the grade school where the students were asked to make posters on the theme "No War Toys this Christmas." In high school home economics classes, the students made peace quilts. In the college level, students engaged in bannermaking. During the 2005 International Day of Peace, students were encouraged to make pinwheels, which were planted in a central part of our campus. The idea is to come up with a public art exhibit called "Pinwheels for Peace."

In addition, a peer mediation source book and a peer education teacher-training manual were developed by some faculty members for our own use. We also have a textbook entitled "Toward a Peaceful World," written in Filipino. Eventually, we shared these materials with other institutions.

We have also encouraged various forms of peace advocacy–lobbying, signature campaigns, rallies and demonstrations, presenting position papers to authorities, and integration with marginalized sectors of society–in collaboration with other centers at Miriam College, such as the Women and Gender Institute and Social Action Office.

Our goal is a "Total School Approach" which is illustrated by the diagram. On top is a peace-oriented curriculum content. But we also encourage cooperative and dialogical teaching-learning methods, a peace-oriented co-curricular program, peace-related materials, enrichment programs for staff and teachers on peace and conflict resolution, participative structures and caring relationships, and activities of social concern or peace action.

As I mentioned earlier, it is also important to engage in various partnerships to promote peace and peace education in the larger society. The CPE conducted trainors' trainings for school administrators and faculty, with educational associations for private schools and with the Department of Education for public schools. We also trained Muslim and Christian teacher-educators on the "Spiritual and Ethical Foundations of Peace Education," in collaboration with the Peace Education Centers Network in the Philippines, the United States of America, Lebanon, and Japan. Training of other sectors like government workers, street gang members, military and police officers, out-of-school youth, urban poor

mothers, etc. on conflict management and other peace education issues is also important. We have also worked with the Teachers College of Columbia University to organize international and multicultural learning opportunities such as the International Institute on Peace Education held in Miriam College in 2002. We also organized youth conferences such as the 2003 National Youth Conference on the Culture of Peace with the theme, "Building Bridges of Tolerance and Solidarity," attended by Christian, Muslim, and indigenous youth, with the help of Pax Christi student organization and members of the Peace Education Network. I remember that we have had representatives from Abra to Zamboanga.

We are also cooperating with other networks in promoting the following campaigns: campaign against small arms through the Philippine Action Network on Small Arms, in which the CPE helped in the Million Faces Petition and lobbying in Congress to support the Arms Trade Treaty; interfaith understanding with the Peacemakers Circle; pushing for the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) through Sulong CARHRIHL; mainstreaming peace education through the Peace Education Network and the Hague Appeal for Peace Global Campaign for Peace Education; and raising funds for Mindanao war victims with the Mindanao Solidarity Network. We also started a twining project with a school attended by Muslims in a conflict area in Mindanao–the Rajah Muda High School in Pikit, Cotabato. The school was bombed and when we started the project, one of the first things that we tried to do was to help them rebuild their school. This project is now two years old.

To conclude, let me just read something I borrowed from the slogan of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2000, the International Year of the Culture of Peace: "These are the things we do to help build a culture of peace in our school…and beyond. We recognize that the problems that relate to peace may seem insurmountable, but they are not. We invite you to plant the seeds of peace, within yourself and in your various spheres. Peace is in our hands."

EDUARDO C. TADEM (Moderator; Associate Professor, Asian Center, University of the Philippines [UP]-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

Thank you very much, Dr. Loreta Castro, for a very interesting presentation. The effort of your college to integrate peace education into the school curriculum is quite laudable. I do not know if there is any connection between your success and the fact that Miriam College is predominantly composed of women. Perhaps there is.

SOCORRO A. PILOR (Director, Instructional Materials Council Secretariat, Department of Education, Manila, Philippines):

I would like to acknowledge the contribution that our speaker provided the Department of Education. She was the coordinator of the review team for "Values Education for the Filipinos," which is a set of materials that serve as guidelines for our teachers in trying to develop positive values as part of the curricula in the elementary and secondary level. The Department of Education came up with these guidelines immediately after the People Power Revolution in 1986. These consist of looking into the development of the human person, committed to the building of a just and humane society and an independent and democratic nation. The conceptual framework is based on understanding the philosophy of the human person as an individual and as a member of the society. He or she is also multidimensional. Based on the framework, we have identified certain values that need to be developed in young people while they are in school. These include, among others, peace and justice and health and harmony with nature. These values are similar to what Professor Castro has mentioned regarding environment, sustainable human development, nationalism and globalism, love and goodness, truth and tolerance, and global spirituality. These are the core ideals that are included in values education, which is a subject being taught in school. At the elementary level, we call it good manners and right conduct.

Although the department is guided with this framework, we feel that somehow we are not able to go down and implement it. One of the problems has to do with communication dissemination. In order for a project to be successful, it has to be understood very well by the teachers. Perhaps because of the geographical nature of the Philippines, it is hard for information to reach far-flung areas. The Department of Education has an organizational system with national and regional divisions and districts in schools, but we are still having difficulty. Although there are efforts to train teachers along this line, not all teachers are educated. We train trainors, who will train teachers in turn, but still,

the conceptual framework is based on understanding the philosophy of the human person as an individual and as a member of the society

there are some who could not be reached. This is one of the concerns that I would like also to bring to the other participants from other countries. If you have recommendations regarding how we could go to scale in programs like these and how we can sustain them, I would really appreciate it.

DIAH HARIANTI (Head of Curriculum Center, Office of National Education Research and Development, Jakarta, Indonesia):

In Indonesia, there is a new curriculum that the schools themselves have developed inspite of the national standards that the Ministry of Education has set. This curriculum consists of several subjects. The main subject is called "civil education," which is mostly about peace and human rights.

When schools develop their own curriculum, we suggest a model on how to create their subjects in the daily program and on several competencies where they can use different methods that work best for the students. In addition, the national standard that we have allows schools to choose their own subjects according to their own needs. For instance, in Ambon, where there are a lot of ethnic and religious conflicts, schools can develop local content that emphasizes peace education. They can concentrate on their own concerns.

In line with the focus on peace education, we also encourage innovations in teaching. For example, we support convening pupils in small groups and assigning projects. We also promote the use of visual aids in teaching different cultures.

SARINTHORN SAITTAGAROON (Office of the Basic Education Commission, Ministry of Education, Bangkok, Thailand):

The Thai curriculum does not exactly have peace education. In social studies, however we have ethics and values education. We would like students to behave like good citizens according to the Thai culture, tradition, and law so that they can live peacefully with other people and be part of an international community. With this view in mind, we use a standard-based system wherein the schools can select and use content based on what the schools decide as the needs of the students.

JUWITA TRISNAYATI (Program Pendidikan Damai [Peace Education Program], Banda Aceh, Indonesia) [Translated from Bahasa Indonesia by Ati Nurbaiti]:

Peace Education Program works with Nonviolence International Southeast Asia. We have produced two books—*Education for Peace: The Perspective*

of the ulamas (religious scholars) and *Input for Schools for Teaching Religion*. The material for the curriculum is based on discussions with *ulamas* at the local level. Among their methods are learning by doing, thinking for reviving, and playing for learning.

ATI NURBAITI (MANAGING EDITOR, *THE JAKARTA POST*, JAKARTA, INDONESIA):

A very important question was raised this morning: what kind of peace do we want to disseminate? Ms. Castro's presentation addressed this question. In the Miriam College curricula, nonviolence is seen as a key component. I am saying this because I am a peace studies graduate from a Western institution and the principle of nonviolence did not really figure significantly in my education. I want to highlight that fact because I believe that this is Asia's contribution to peace studies.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

One of the main goals of peace education, at least the kind of peace education that we do, is really to delegitimize war as a means of conflict resolution. When we train teachers, almost half of the group would say it is impossible to delegitimize war. It is impossible to think of a time when war will not be used. I would always remind the group about the institution of slavery. Slavery was a legitimate institution until the mid-nineteenth century, when people began to think that it was wrong, illegitimate, and that it should end. That was the idea of peace education then.

What we want really is to build a critical mass of people who will begin to think that war is not a legitimate way of solving conflicts because of all its costs. Once, even the Catholic Church believed in the just war. But within the church, the idea of a just war is being questioned because of the lethality of weapons at this time. Going to war or having armed conflict has to be avoided as much as possible.

THERESA J. LIMPIN (REGIONAL COORDINATOR, ASIA-PACIFIC REGIONAL RESOURCE CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, BANGKOK, THAILAND):

To answer the question on sustainability of peace education, I would like to inform everyone that 1995-2004 was declared the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education. The Philippines, Indonesia, and Japan actually had national action plans for human rights education. At that time, it was relatively easy to integrate peace education into the school curriculum. The problem was that there was no budget for human rights education, although teachers' training programs were proliferating.

One of the lessons that we can deduce from this experience is that we should not always start big. We could try pilot projects. Thailand is still in the process of having a national action plan for human rights education. In my understanding though, the plan is stuck with the judicial system. There is also an attempt to develop standards at the international

level, such as the United Nations World Program for Human Rights Education 2005-2007. It focuses on formal education from the primary to the college levels.

A lot of universities in the region are now offering human rights education. One of them is Mahidol University in Thailand. These are welcome initiatives that have to be developed. Thus, my questions are: how do you prepare universities or schools for peace studies? What are the indicators that a school is already prepared for peace and human rights education? What are the preparations needed?

LORETA N. CASTRO:

I have to be clear about your question. Is it a question of how to assess or evaluate?

THERESA J. LIMPIN:

Yes, an indicator that we could use to say that a school is ready for peace studies. In your experience with Miriam College, what were the criteria?

LORETA N. CASTRO:

It was a step-by-step process; it did not materialize overnight. First, I had this idea how wonderful it would be if my school could do something along peace education. I looked for people in Miriam College who are kindred spirits, those who think and feel the same way about peace education. We started with small meetings like a study group. When we felt we knew enough about peace education, we made a proposal to the administration. That was how the idea of declaring the school "a zone of peace" came about. And it eventually snowballed.

How do we know if we are succeeding? The study entitled *Peace Education Initiatives* that Josephine was talking about earlier helped. The evaluation part had to do with asking students who went through peace-focused courses and training on conflict resolution and peer mediation if they notice changes within themselves. Some of the questions were: Did you see your views on armed conflict change? If there is any change, what was it? It was very difficult to interpret the data because of these open-ended questions. It was very telling nonetheless. They really brought out their feelings. I do not regret that we did not have multiple-choice answers. More than ninety percent of the respondents said that they saw a change in themselves, as far as their attitudes were concerned on the different issues that we posed.

SARINYA SOPHIA (National Programme Officer in Asia and the Pacific, UNESCO, Bangkok, Thailand):

We in UNESCO believe that since war begins in the minds of men, it is also in the minds of men that defense of peace must be constructed. Thus, we started this peace education program in the Mekong region. From experience, we found that it is not enough to just put the terms related to peace and human rights in the curriculum. The students were actually passive and they just go through the subjects because they are required to do so.

From March 12 to 16, 2007, UNESCO will hold a teachers' training-workshop on peace education. We will invite experts to share their experiences on attempts to integrate peace into the mainstream school curriculum. The lessons learned from the workshop will then be used to revise or develop whatever program they have. In 2008, we will invite them again for feedback, and to hopefully come up with guidelines or framework for teaching peace. We will distribute this in the Asia-Pacific region by 2010, the end of the International Decade for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence.

MASAAKI OHASHI (Associate Professor of Development Studies, Keisen University, Tokyo, Japan):

Keisen University is actually doing something similar with Miriam College.

The question of what kind of peace do we want to educate our students really struck me, especially if we teach this in the context of religion. Buddhism is said to be more "peaceful" than other religions, while Islam is militant. Actually, in Sri Lanka, certain Buddhists Mongols are belligerent with the Muslims. This kind of attitude is very much prevalent. How is the demystification of religion done in Christian universities? How do you enlighten the students on the relationship between religion and war? I am asking because many of the students in my university believe that there is a peace studies program simply because it is a Christian institution of higher education.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

That is a very good question and I am glad that you raised it. I think what is important is that when we do peace education or we start teaching peace, we must begin with the rationale. Because when you discuss peace education as a practical necessity, then you do not have to connect it with any particular religion.

It is also important for us to look at it as an ethical imperative. In my opinion, we should never feel the need to apologize that we are coming from a Christian perspective. That does not mean we exclude other religions. Actually, all world religions speak of the same principles and yearnings. The concept that peace or peace education as a moral obligation can be found in all faith traditions. The struggle for peace is a commonality across religions. And when it becomes a source of conflict, it is because of how the religious and political leaders have interpreted these principles.

But if you look at the scriptures of different religions, they are talking generally about the same precepts. For example, the ethic of reciprocity or Golden Rule that we teach our children–"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you"–is found in virtually all major religions and cultures. It is the most essential basis for the modern concept of human rights. What I am saying is that it is just really a matter of rediscovering all of these things across different faith traditions. Why do we want to do peace education in the first place? We should be able to know the justification for this endeavor.

I also have a suggestion about the pedagogy or process. When we teach a subject in the university, sometimes we lecture for one and a half hours and that is it. This is not the way to do peace education. *How* we teach is as important as *what* we teach. When we teach things like democratic participation, it should be taught primarily as a process.

I want to introduce you to the valuing process that we use to teach peace. In peace education, we also call it a peaceable teaching learning process. Essentially, it is about addressing the three dimensions I mentioned earlier–cognitive, affective, and action. When you lecture, it is really just the cognitive part that you are dealing with. That is only partly effective, especially for high school students. As an educator, you have to touch their hearts.

how we teach is as important as what we teach

I have samples of lessons that you can look at. One is on violence as a human nature. The other one is challenging prejudices and stereotypes. Those belong to the cognitive development aspect. At the same time, I have lessons on questions or issues that make them look at their own feelings. What is it that they value? These lessons always end with some encouragement or invitation to action. We think that this strategy brings more chances for attitudinal and behavioral change on the part of the learners. We do not want the students to just parrot us. In a class, lectures should be minimal to allow students to give their piece.

Let us take the issue of death penalty as example. At the beginning of my class, practically three-fourths of my students said, "We are for death penalty to deter crime." But we went through the whole process of lectures, discussions, etc. And as a teacher, you can give your own stand but not impose on them. Invite them to think about it and where it will lead them as far as their thinking of the issues are concerned.

ANTOINETTE RAQUIZA (Graduate Student, City University of New York, USA):

One of the things that I am thinking is on faith-based peace education vis-à-vis secularism. When we talk about forms of governance, a lot of peace advocates would also say that a secular form of government is one way to go in order to avoid religious or ethnic conflicts. Therefore, how do we deal with secularism as a value or doctrine in peace?

Loreta Castro has mentioned about giving peace education to the military and police personnel. When we evaluate the impact of peace education and peace itself, we are looking at it as a middle-class value. I would be very much interested to find out the assessment vis-à-vis the direct participants to conflicts or those in conflict-stricken areas.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

Regarding secularism, I think it is best if we put the human being at the center, rather than religion and ethnicity. The highest priority, therefore, is to treat a person that way he or she should be because he or she is a human, not because of the god he or she worships. Freedom of belief is part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. States should respect that.

We have had no formal assessment of peace education's impact on the military or the police. We know that we should have one, but we have concentrated on educators and the young people. We also have to slowly reach out to others, such as future priests, parents, etc. We have not gotten hold of the generals, only middle-ranking officials. The generals are important because although they are not really engaged in combat, they are the ones calling the shots.

Lao Tzu once said, "You begin a journey of a thousand miles with a first step." We have to start somewhere and never lose hope.

SOTH PLAI NGARM (Executive Director, Alliance for Conflict Transformation, Phnom Penh, Cambodia):

I would like to comment on the sustainability of peace efforts. I think John Paul Lederach has worked on this, on the concept of a critical mass. Based on our experience, peace can sometimes transform into conflict and vice versa. Sometimes, those who are peaceful get fed up and go to war, while those who are involved in violence realize that it is wrong and turn to peace. We are in a cosmic world struggling for balance. Peace education should produce a group of people who will continuously critically question war and peace. My belief is that peace is relational; it is not static. If we want to sustain peace efforts, we should strike some form of balance.

ATI NURBAITI:

What I know from my children and my friends is that in middle-class schools in Indonesia, teaching Islam is not directly advocating violence but saying indirectly that our religion is best. My friend, a Kafir, did not want her child to continue education at a school where the teacher says, "Don't go and play at your Christian friend's house." In class, they talk about the war in the Middle East with so much emotion and advocate only one side because they are fellow Muslims.

There is a lot of American money coming in to improve the curriculum of Islamic boarding schools in the villages. We should look into these middle-class schools in fairly peaceful areas, so that the kind of education they have can hopefully be improved.

PLENARY 3

THE ROLE OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN FOSTERING PEACE AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

HILMAR FARID[1] (DISCUSSANT):

I hope you have the energy to discuss the subject that I thought was really boring in high school–history. What else could be more uninteresting for a high school student than reading history textbooks?

Let me begin with a number of controversies that caused diplomatic tensions in the last few years. The first is the publication of the *New History Textbook* in Japan in 2001. It provoked reactions from North and South Korea, China and some other Southeast Asian countries, and tarnished diplomatic relations between the countries. There were huge demonstrations against the publication of the book in

[1] **Hilmar Farid** is a researcher for the Indonesian Institute for Social History in Jakarta. His current research is focused on Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Indonesian historiography. He has presented papers on rethinking Indonesian history and the historical imagination of the Indonesian left movement in various conferences and workshops. He graduated with a degree in history from the University of Indonesia.

most textbooks employ the notion that "the way things are told are simply the way things were"–the claim to truth

China and Korea. Stories about these protests and comments made by a foreign minister hit the front page of several newspapers. It was a very big issue. Around the same time, a 12-page textbook for fourth graders was published in Burma, describing Thais as "servile and lazy" people. On the other hand, Thai history textbooks also treated neighboring countries quite unfairly, describing them as historical enemies and hostile to the Thai nation. In Indonesian textbooks today you would still find a very coarse description about Timorese, as a bunch of unruly people who need assistance "from the outside" to become civilized.

Those are just some examples in which history is actually more than just teaching about the past to children. History has been a very political issue. Thus, if we are to discuss the role of history textbooks in fostering peace and mutual understanding, we should go beyond the diplomatic rows and look at history textbooks in a "time of peace."

We are all aware of the significance of history textbooks. They play an important role in the formation of national identity, as instruments of socialization in the formative years of an individual. Most textbooks employ the notion that "the way things are told are simply the way things were"–the claim to truth. They contain political and ideological ideas of the dominant groups. I will not elaborate on this; I will go straight to the content of these textbooks.

The first issue is on the construction of "nationhood" and national identity. It is very interesting if you look at the way history textbooks describe the history of nations because they are actually histories of states and state power, not so much about nations or the people but the big men. I emphasize the word "men" because they always gain more attention than women. If there are women in history textbooks, they are usually portrayed as having male-identified characteristics. Gabriela Silang, the first Filipino woman to lead a revolt during the Spanish colonization of the Philippines, is a powerful heroine in a "macho" way–a fighter.

In the construction of nationhood, one important feature is the imposition of patriotic values. Here, you always have stories about war between nations. We should actually read that as war between states and their power holders. War is also treated as something natural–to defend sovereignty and territory. The message here is that it is okay and actually good to kill people if it is in the defense of your nation.

Another feature here is the tyranny of national history. Particular regions, or ethnic groups, or social groups or individuals are selected at

the expense of others to represent the nation. It also involves the glorification of war and conquest, which in some cases result to racial and ethnic prejudice and superiority. Take the example of Thai history textbooks, where King Nareswan is supposed to have beheaded the king of Cambodia, and at his feet was his blood. This particular act is seen as representing something good. This is the way a real king, a leader of the nation, protects or defends his nation or brings the nation to glory. On the other hand, you have humiliating images of Prince Anuwong of Vientianne, leader of the revolt in the 1820s, who was caged and paraded before his eventual execution.

To say 'the tyranny of national history' is not right. We also have to consider that local history is not really the best alternative. Local history could be just as oppressive. For example, in 1995, there was a thesis published about Thao Suranari, which argues that she is a heroine, while also questioning her real existence. The study created a furor among the villagers because they thought it was an insult to question a sacred figure in the history. Decentralization of history could be a double-edged sword.

How we perceive others, or how textbooks in particular countries portray their neighbors, is also important in our discussion of peace

There is also the silence of history textbooks on authoritarian regimes and past human rights abuses. The Philippines, Cambodia, and Indonesia, share the same characteristics here. It involves selection and de-selection of events. Khmer Rouge, for example, is missing in Cambodian history textbooks, at least until 2000. It is not because the Cambodians wanted to, but because of the Paris Accord. International forces also did not want school children to be exposed to that particular episode. In Indonesia, there is no mention of gross human rights violations committed by the army in East Timor, Aceh, and Papua. The mass killings of 1965-66 are described as "clashes between conflicting parties." But there was a slight change in 1999, after the fall of Soeharto, when many high school teachers began to question the official version of history, particularly about the 1965 and 1966 violence. Related to this silence is the valorization of 'economic growth' at the expense of social justice and human rights. "(Despite) Soeharto's bad records of corruption and human rights (after 1999), he had brought the country to modernity." This is the line that you will often find in history textbooks. The New Order of Indonesia was a real success.

How we perceive others, or how textbooks in particular countries portray their neighbors, is also important in our discussion of peace.

There was a research undertaken in 2001 about human rights education in Asian schools. I find the results very interesting. The research reveals that human rights and peace advocates best known to first year high school social studies students in the Philippines are Mother Theresa, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Nelson Mandela. More than forty percent of the students know these figures. But only less than twenty percent know Aung San Suu Kyi. In my history class in an arts academy, which is not particularly concerned with history or social studies in general, there is almost no knowledge of what is happening in other Southeast Asian countries. In the 1990s, the students thought that Ferdinand Marcos was still the president of the Philippines.

This is an issue that I want to deal with at the end of my presentation: hegemony is actually never total. There is a place for resistance, but also ignorance. Unfortunately, ignorance is the rule right now. Students do not even know about peace and human rights issues in their own countries.

How are others described in these textbooks? Indonesia was hostile to the formation of Malaysia before 1965. There was a campaign called Ganjang Malaysia ("Crush Malaysia") because Soekarno at that time thought that Malaysia was just a creation of the British Empire–a puppet, not a real independent, state. The campaign entered the public school system. Children at that time were required to attend these mass meetings and gatherings where President Sukarno made his speeches. But it failed to be recorded in textbooks. Interestingly, the "Crush Malaysia" campaign disappeared under the New Order because Soeharto was for the formation of Malaysia. It was also considered a "communist thing".

What I would like to stress here is that attitude towards neighboring countries or other people somehow reflects the internal situation or problems. In Indonesian textbooks based on the 1994 curriculum, there are lengthy discussions of other countries: Cambodia, the two Gulf Wars, the question of Palestine, apartheid in South Africa, and detailed information on the Non-Aligned Movement, the Association of Southeast Asian nations, and other international formations which Indonesia is a member. Surprisingly for me, the textbooks were very critical of the United States (US) and the role that oil played in the two Gulf Wars.

My tentative conclusion regarding Indonesian history textbooks is a little confused; I cannot find a single definitive narrative. If they are consistent about toeing the anti-communist line and being critical of social movements, why would they publish a chapter that is critical of the Gulf War? They might as well delete it. Why do they have to teach things that may encourage students to have critical thinking? In some ways, these history textbooks are confused as well. I expect friends from the Philippines with us now to describe what textbooks in the Philippines say about Sabah, for example, as a problem back in the 1970s.

I now move on to discuss the politics of production and consumption. In many countries, textbooks are commodities. Publication of school textbooks is a lucrative business, and it is argued that they are published

for economic rather than ideological reasons. Textbooks sales in the US now amount to USD 2.5 billion a year. In Russia, a leading figure of a publishing house was killed by the Russian mafia allegedly because the latter wanted to control the business. Hence, when it comes to thinking of alternatives, we should not overlook this aspect. If we want to produce alternative textbooks, we have to think about the political economy dimension.

State plays a very important role. In Japan–and I think this is also true for most countries–publishers are required to submit their text manuscripts to the Ministry of Education. I do not know the process, but it is quite clear that if you have enough money, you can get authorization from the ministry.

How are these textbooks read by students? As I have said before, hegemony is apparently never total. I remember in high school, I never read my history textbook. In a way, I was not indoctrinated. But ignorance is not a simple thing. This is a serious issue because, if you are "empty," you will easily refer to whatever you hear most, either from television or from your parents. You will pick up values that are not taught in history textbooks, but those that you learn from other people. In relation to this, I would also like to underscore the general decline of interest in history especially among high school students. In Indonesia, it is quite clear. Hours of history teaching is reduced. Nobody protested about that except history teachers because they will get less money. In general, there was no reaction such as, "We need history. We want history. We want to know more about history."

The last part of my presentation is about alternatives. First, related to the controversies surrounding histories and diplomacy is the idea of publishing joint history textbooks in war and conflict situations. The basic idea is to bridge and share narratives. We should start with knowing what other people think about us and slowly move towards building a common narrative. This is very difficult, but I can give you some examples. Last year, there was a book published by a committee with members from China, Korea, and Japan called *History to Open the Future*. It carries themes that are relevant to our discussion now: youth exchange between the three countries, anti-war movements and civic movements, and reconciliation and peace in Asia. Another example is *Chega!*, which means enough in Portuguese. It is the report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor, which is divided into six or seven volumes.

publication of school textbooks is a lucrative business, and it is argued that they are published for economic rather than ideological reasons

the challenge, therefore, is how to make peace and all these good initiatives a common thing for ordinary people

There was a plan to publish it in Asia and discussions are now going on about the possibility of introducing these volumes, or at least a summary, in schools. This is a good way to disseminate what East Timorese think about the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and to allow Indonesian students to understand this.

In Europe, French and German high school students will use the same history textbook next year. The reason, I think, is more diplomatic: to strengthen ties between the two states, rather than to build people-to-people understanding. "We have lived through centuries of bitterness between us, we are now seizing the opportunity to make it the bond that unites us," said the French Minister of National Education. In the Middle East, Israel and Palestine have similar initiatives. There is a group that call themselves New Israeli Historians who are now taking up narratives from the victims of the conflict and include them in Israeli history textbooks.

What about history textbooks with peace and human rights narratives? I think what we need is a different conception of heroes. What kind of events should we include in history textbooks? I had a long discussion with a peace activist who wrote a very great book about Gandhi and the Great Salt March back in 1930. But the narrative, in my opinion, is very conservative; it treats the event as a heroic act. My interpretation is that the book means one needs to be brave and sacrifice so much to become a person like Gandhi. In a sense, peace is not something for normal people. The challenge, therefore, is how to make peace and all these good initiatives a common thing for ordinary people. If we still stick to this superman or superwoman kind of history, we will continue to confront the same problems over and over again.

Textbooks should also encourage different interpretations of historical events. This is a very delicate issue; I had debates with teachers about this. Is it possible, or is it even allowed, to let students decide which interpretation is right? This also touches on the issue of pedagogy. If we say, "It's good for students to have critical understanding," the impact on education in general would be very big.

The issue is not confined to textbooks. How is history taught in Indonesian public schools? The current practice involves rote learning and repetitive reading. How is learning assessed? Students are made to take multiple choice examinations. These are the dominant teaching methods. If you teach history in a way that students can actually think for themselves, it will affect the other courses. In fact, the whole education system will be affected by a different approach.

Finally, I would like to talk about media, particularly movies and the Internet. I think in Thailand, the film industry produces a lot of movies with historical settings. They are not really historical in a sense that they rely on research, but they are built on images about history, which I think are very important in forming national identities. Indonesia is also full of these cheap movies supposedly describing society in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. These movies basically sell the idea that the ancient Javanese kings are great and the rest of the people are losers. Televised historical drama and movies should be carefully reconsidered.

EDUARDO C. TADEM (Moderator; Associate Professor, Asian Center, University of the Philippines [UP]-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

Thank you, Hilmar, for that very critical discussion on how states have distorted histories for the narrow interests of the elite and powerful. We are lucky to have with us Filipino and Thai historians. We should also hear there perspectives based on their own countries.

JAIME B. VENERACION (Professor, Department of History, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy [CSSP], UP-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

The speaker began by saying that history is a boring subject. I think this is wild accusation and I refuse to believe it. I've heard this before and my reaction has always been: "Oh, really? So, math and physics are not boring?" Actually, knowledge is boring. Because if you study the behavior of the students, they are as bored with math as they are with history.

I think we all know that history textbooks have this theme of nation-building. What then is the alternative? I was telling Mr. Ohashi earlier that in California, where I stayed for about three months as an exchange scholar, I learned that they have a program in high school where students who belong to minority groups are required to study the history of the country where their parents came from. The reason for this is that most children of minority who indulge in gangs and violence were found to be not really proud of themselves. They hardly have knowledge of their roots. They create gangs in order to create some sort of integrity and self-respect. The school board in California thought that the best way to nurture children to have pride and integrity is to enable them to discover the history of their country of origin. I think they were quite successful in this because after introducing Philippine history for Filipinos or Vietnamese history for Vietnamese, they found out that the children more or less became conscious of themselves. What I am saying is that there are ways

by which history can be mobilized in order to create self-respect among the children.

Unfortunately, there are structural reasons why textbooks cannot be the instruments that would instill pride and self-respect. For example, in the Philippines, the Department of Education (DepEd) lines up a set of minimum learning skills and competencies or MLCs. I wrote a textbook in the 1980s and it was published in both English and Filipino. It never passed the DepEd school board. There are several reasons for this. As Hilmar said, on the level production and consumption, you have to deal with a bureaucracy that delimits the capacity of the writer to come up with a good narrative of the country's history. In the Philippines, they adopted what they call the conceptual approach. Textbook writers and DepEd would divide the book into different sections: tradition, social change, and leadership. Lapu-Lapu, Bonifacio, and Marcos would be treated in one chapter under the theme of leadership. Who will not be bored by this? There is no historical context on how the different leaders rose to their status because those who developed these textbooks were concerned only with satisfying the concept of leadership. This is also true in the case of social change. The concept is treated as if it occurs without taking into account tradition and leadership. Textbooks and textbook production have certain limitations.

in its present form, the textbook is not sufficient to provide a coherent narrative and incorporate shared narratives

Hilmar mentioned shared narratives in his presentation. But given the limited number of pages in a textbook, is it possible to integrate all of these? One of the latest instructional materials made for history teaching is an interactive CD-ROM, which I think is a good supplement or even an alternative to a textbook. By providing active, clickable links, for instance, on guerilla groups, students will find more details on various concepts or issues. Even the narratives that you mentioned can be incorporated as links. The writings of Rizal, for example, when appropriate to a certain topic, can be accessed by students. If the student want to learn it in English,he simply clicks on the English version. In its present form, the textbook is not sufficient to provide a coherent narrative and incorporate shared narratives.

THANET APHORNSUVAN (ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS, THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY, BANGKOK, THAILAND):

I would like to congratulate Hilmar for his presentation. I would like to add to the list of problems created by the so-called Thai textbook. I remember

this because the thesis that was mentioned was from our department. In fact, the author was my former student. It became a very political issue. When the book was published, the local politicians in the provinces used it to incite protest as a way to further their political control of their respective areas. The book really instigated demonstration because the figure that the thesis is questioning came from the common people. The book tried to point out that the monument–to honor this heroine–was erected because of the coup d'état in 1932 which overthrew the monarchy. After a couple of years, the Northeastern Army staged another insurrection against the first democratic government. This was when the government thought, "Okay, we have to build something to unify the Northeastern province with Bangkok." Thao Suranari was chosen to be the figure of the first common monument. So, actually, this shrine was to show the positive side of modern politics with a real national hero, not a "king-hero" like in the past. You see, here in Thailand, once a monument is constructed, it becomes like a holy place of worship for Buddhism, Hinduism, and local animism. The thesis said that if it serves like a local deity, then it is fine. You can say anything about it. You can even make up a story behind it. But the story of Thao Suranari was used by the national government to make it as sort of the discourse of nationalism in Thailand.

How can textbooks forge peace and mutual understanding? I think the problem with all of these national textbooks is its approach of history–that is, the formation of the nation-state. Once the discourse has been narrated, it has to stick with one ideology. One nation first, and then you can be nice to your friend or neighbor afterwards. You cannot love nor admire your friend more than your nation. The nation has to be the first–always.

In order to get out of this mindset, we have to treat the Laosians or the Burmese better. Maybe there is an alternative to this nation-state discourse or narration. For example, we can start by examining certain histories and looking at the physical or geographical dimension. Perhaps we can examine the formation of the Mekong River and then go into all the countries that originate out of this body of water. Let us forget about the national boundaries and just deal with the people as they were.

Then Islam came, Hinduism, colonialism, de-colonization, etc. Maybe we should redo history altogether. Historians and social scientists in the region should meet and talk more often so that we can come up with a Southeast Asian approach to teaching our national histories. We need a lot of sharing, information exchange and cooperation. It is hard enough that we do not have a common language. In Europe, if you know French or English, you can do a research for the whole European Union.

JAIME B. VENERACION:

In 1995, Brunei hosted a conference on national and local histories. The conference proceedings was published into a book, edited by Putu Davies. All the Southeast Asian historians were represented in that conference and a resolution was to make a common framework by which the national histories of the different countries would be discussed and

presented. For example, one of the recommendations was to give emphasis on what we call "deep history"–the history of these nations before the coming of Hindu Buddism, Islam, and Christianity. This is a shared history among Southeast Asian nations. Unfortunately, this has not been replicated yet. Perhaps what we can do is to make a follow up of such a conference.

SOCORRO A. PILOR (DIRECTOR, INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS COUNCIL SECRETARIAT, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, MANILA, PHILIPPINES):

This is in addition to the explanation of Professor Veneracion regarding how textbooks are developed in our country. In high school, history textbooks are guided by specific competencies for each year level. For example, freshmen students deal with the history of the Philippines. In their second year, Asian history is taught. World history is taught in third year, economics in senior year. While we have these core competencies, I think what is missing are the linkages between these concepts. They are dealt with as if they are discrete concepts or neat categorizations that are not connected to each other. That is why students lack interest in history. When I was in high school and even in college, I did not like history because I did not see the connection of events and people we were studying to present situation.

THERESA J. LIMPIN (REGIONAL COORDINATOR,ASIA-PACIFIC REGIONAL RESOURCE CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, BANGKOK, THAILAND):

One issue we should consider pertains to writers of our history textbooks. In some countries in Southeast Asia, there are very few books written from the perspective of nationalist historians.

Another challenge is to do more studies that unearth our histories from various perspectives. There is really no single history. The more we listen to or read different narratives, the better we understand ourselves.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

There is actually a dispute between autonomous history and national history. Those who advocate the former, such as Anthony Reid, think that nationalist historians are passé, that nation-states are no longer in the agenda, assuming that nation-states have already been created. On the other side, you have historians like Reynaldo Ileto who think that national history is still a viable history because remnants of colonialism are still present and have to be dealt with. The two had a face-to-face debate in the National University of Singapore a couple of years ago. They were arguing over which is the more relevant kind of history.

SOTH PLAI NGARM (Executive Director, Alliance for Conflict Transformation, Phnom Penh, Cambodia):

If we talk about the role of history in peacebuilding, we have to discuss the role of memory. We tend to select things that we ought to remember. I think we should discuss this further. I also like the idea of continuing dialogues because if we find the national situation difficult regarding history textbooks, perhaps we can collectively come up with a regional response.

SOCORRO A. PILOR:

I have also observed that not everything is being documented. Who is recording what? Maybe the journalists can come in also by giving space to other voices, especially ordinary people who are also making history.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

You mean something like a history from below? I think this is a very prominent trend among historians.

ATI NURBAITI (Managing Editor, *The Jakarta Post*, Jakarta, Indonesia):

I have heard quite a number of radical proposals here. But I would like to speak as an ordinary person. I cannot imagine studying history in high school without the national boundaries or teaching history like the Great Salt March without sounding heroic. This is not easy for me to imagine. I am one of those students who slept off history class. What is simple enough for me to understand is to try and go back to the experiment of letting students be exposed to different versions of history. In Indonesia, that was too radical for the government, which is why it recently revoked the textbooks that gave different versions of historical events. But I support this initiative; I think that would help students stay awake in history class.

ANDREAS HARSONO (Director, Pantau Foundation, Jakarta, Indonesia):

I am working on a research right now about the myth of nationalism in Indonesia which allows me to travel to seven major regions in Indonesia. One of the sites of my fieldwork is in Sumatra, as the study looks into Aceh history. Another is Borneo to look into the killings of the Madurese ethnic group. About 6,500 Madurese were beheaded over the last five years. The third is Minahasa, a region in the province of North Sulawesi; then Sangir and Talaut

Islands, which are close to southern Philippines. Another is Java, to focus on the communist movement; then Papua, the Malukus, and finally, East Timor.

Every time I travel outside of the main island of Java, I interview people who have questions about Indonesian national textbooks. In Minahasa, for instance, I met with intellectuals who question why our history is always based on the island of Java. Why do people talk about Sukarno? The textbooks never discuss the Minahasans, the Papuans, or the Timorese, as if they never existed. If they are mentioned, it is always in the context of rebellion. So if there is a topic on Aceh, it is always about the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement) or Muslim fundamentalists.

There is always the question of perspective in history textbooks. But despite all of the central government's propaganda in our history textbooks, the myth is still alive about Kaharmusaka or Delpre. You can ask Juwita later about it. Delpre is a hero in Aceh, but he is a rebel from a Javanese point of view. If you go to Manado, Promesta is a hero fighting against imperialism.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

There seems to be a growing sentiment to dissociate the writing of textbooks from the nation-state paradigm in order to make it workable or even relevant to the different groups, given the multiethnic character of Southeast Asian societies.

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, THIRD WORLD STUDIES CENTER [TWSC], CSSP, UP-DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

One of the emerging themes about peacebuilding is the effort to build solidarities. History, the way I understand it, is an effective channel for communication, not only among us, but between generations.

One important idea emerging from the discussion is that solidarity based on nationalism is only one among the many. A conversation about history is one important channel through which we can achieve such solidarity. This goes back also to the importance of history as a tool to transform institutions. History, for me, is not only talking about facts, events, or people, but also about the emergence of real and material institutions of oppression, domination, war, and injustice.

MASAAKI OHASHI:

I missed the point which Hilmar mentioned about the Japan-China-Korea joint textbook committee. What was the conclusion? What is your evaluation of that?

HILMAR FARID:

Frankly speaking, I have not seen the book so I cannot give my comments. I just read the news about it. I used this as an example to demonstrate that it is possible to jointly publish a history textbook among nations that supposedly were in conflict or had problems in the past.

ANTOINETTE RAQUIZA (PhD Student, City University of New York, USA):

The story of state-building has largely been about repressing different ethnicities, peoples, or communities. I agree that there is a need to dissociate the writing of history textbooks from nation-building. At the same time, we must also critically discuss the process of state-building because it is where we find the oppression of the different ethnic identities. This way, we can demystify a lot of what we have been fed in the so-called mainstream or institutionalized history that we all grew up with.

HILMAR FARID:

National history in Indonesia is the history of the state. There is confusion between the two concepts and I think it is very important to separate the two in historical discourse. Commenting on what previous speakers have said about the idea of abandoning national history all together, my suggestion is–and this is based on my experience–to start from something real and concrete that children can grasp, like the history of families, and then extend to communities. I have not reached that point yet. There is no textbook that could handle such an approach.

Producing textbooks is one thing but creating a better understanding of history is something different. Before we can talk about reforming textbooks, we need to look at the way history is taught in schools. How can you have diverse views of history when you have multiple-choice or fill-in-the-blanks type of examination? I have actually proposed this–different versions of history. But teachers have asked me, "If you say now that you

the story of state-building has largely been about repressing different ethnicities, peoples, or communities... there is a need to dissociate the writing of history textbooks from nation-building

How can you have diverse views of history when you have multiple-choice or fill-in-the-blanks type of examination?

have to introduce diverse views of historical events, how do we measure if they actually learned something? We are teaching three to five classes with fifty to sixty students and we do not have the luxury to administer and check essay-type examinations." There is a practical issue here, and you cannot really find a perfect solution to it.

I agree that there are alternatives to textbooks such as Internet and CD-ROM. The hypertext approach is very helpful because it allows multiple versions to appear simultaneously in the screen. But there are still gaps in the school system; these problems have to be resolved.

ANTOINETTE RAQUIZA :

One of the things that I also want to stress is the importance of going back to primary data. I have done some research and I realize that sometimes history is just plain hearsay. If a textbook writer is lazy, he can just take whatever other authors have said. But when you go back to primary data, you actually find the answers that you were looking for, and things are not the way that you have received them at the consumption stage. Because we rely so much on secondary data, we lose so much of the richness of how things actually evolve. If we want to talk about the history of Mindanao or the Moro people, for us to be even critical of the term "Moro" itself, we need to go back to where that concept originated, where that identity came from, and who first mentioned "Moro." Unfortunately, the idea of the "Moro" came from the United States.

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO:

I support what Antonette has just said about going back to primary sources of data. But I also want to point out that as we dig up the facts, maybe we end up with the possibility of hating ourselves. I always tell my students that the past does not speak for itself. History is not just about getting the facts right. It is also about building or offering a narrative about ourselves and the next generation.

HILMAR FARID:

Building narratives is actually the key issue here. If we talk about textbook production, we always think in terms of creating or transmitting knowledge. We have to keep this in mind if we want to relate teaching history to peace issues.

THANET APHORNSUVAN:

Let us look at national histories. In the case of Thailand, I think we have quite a clear distinction between the so-called traditional historiography, which is based on royal chronicles, and the creation of knowledge of the past that leans toward the scientific and positivist approach. The former is used as the mainstream basis for Thai history. A radical solution, therefore, is to make history as literature and not a positive science. The idea of history as fact or truth is a nineteenth-century invention from modern historians in the European. If you go to primary sources, you end up being hurt, especially if you do not like what you find.

ANTOINETTE RAQUIZA :

I do not understand how you can hate yourself if you go back to how it all began. I think a way to understand yourself and your limitations is to go back to your roots.

THANET APHORNSUVAN:

Yes, I agree, only if we can objectively see all the facts. But history is being used by politicians. As a political tool, history can actually become the worst instrument. Maybe we can tell history as literature for the pleasure of reading, learning, or teaching. If you are going to think highly of a king or a particular hero, then go ahead. It is the same as admiring a character in a novel or a Hollywood actor.

I think the problem is with our own realm of imagination. We want to stick to something that belongs to us, something not quite objective or remote from everyday experience. Let us make history writing less scientific.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

That is a very interesting suggestion–to write history as literature.

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM (DIRECTOR, TWSC, CSSP, UP-DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

One of the major factors also in history writing is inadequate resources. We know that there are a lot of funding agencies now that look at alternative histories. For example, there is one based in the Netherlands called Sephis or the South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development. It offers grants for histories articulated by ordinary people for instance during the Martial Law. In other words, there is that recognition for other approaches to history.

JAIME B. VENERACION:

There is a difference between discussing history and discussing history textbooks. In the discipline of history, we have all those kinds–oral, local, history from below, etc. They have different methods and therefore have dissimilar conclusions or interpretations. Historiography or the whole discipline of history covers everything that you have suggested. But history as a textbook is the problem being discussed right now. Let us also not forget that we are talking about history textbooks for students barely in their teens.

CLOSING PLENARY

WORKSHOP OUTCOMES

EDUARDO C. TADEM (MODERATOR; ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, ASIAN CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES [UP]-DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

Before we move on to the workshops, I would like to first provide you with a summary of yesterday's discussion. The first plenary was on peacebuilding in Southeast Asia and our discussants were Masaaki Ohashi and Alfredo Lubang. This session provided an overview of the concept of peacebuilding in Southeast Asia. It focused largely on discussing the context for peacebuilding in a multicultural and multiethnic region.

In Professor Ohashi's discussion of the changing nature of policies on peace in Japan, he talked about the increased militarization of Japanese official development assistance or ODA. ODA has been a charity-based investment. In the past, this was mostly for humanitarian assistance. Recently, this has been geared towards peacekeeping and logistical

support for military forces under the rubric of the global war on terror. In development assistance, nongovernmental organizations have been tapped as cheap implementers.

Alfredo Lubang's overview of the peacebuilding process uses Lederach's "Building a House" model to map out the different phases of peacebuilding. The steps in the peace-building process are as follows: First, there is a need to survey the context. Second, the blueprint or the concept should be developed. The next step is to identify the construction workers, or the actors. The final step is to come up with a plan for maintenance.

Various points were raised during the open discussion. One comment raised pertains to peace and peacebuilding efforts being couched and limited to the language of the United Nations, mainly through its conceptual frameworks such as human security. There is a need to criticize the existing vocabulary, particularly in reference to a more sub-regional approach to peacebuilding. It was also emphasized that a debate on so-called Asian values is necessary.

Caution should be exercised in the use of ethnicity and religion in peacebuilding efforts as these have been, more often than not, manipulated by the state, particularly the elites, to advance their interests, which has often led to violence and conflict situations. There has also been widespread politicization of identity.

While Southeast Asia as a region is culturally diverse, commonalities could also be found. But such commonalities have been distorted by colonization, which has facilitated the intolerance of differences. What is needed is not the struggle for homogeneity but to celebrate differences. But differences do not need to be resolved. Problems arise when differences are used as justification for violence.

Three main questions were posed for the participants to think about: What kind of peace are we looking for to be disseminated? What language or discourse could be adopted that is culturally-sensitive and reflect Asian values or the sub-regional context? Lastly, what are the differences and commonalities in Southeast Asia that could facilitate or hinder the dissemination of peace messages?

The second plenary was on the role of media as a peacebuilding tool and the prospects for peace journalism. The editor-in-chief of *The Nation*, a Bangkok-based English daily, was our main discussant, Kavi Chongkittavorn. In this plenary, we discussed the importance of peace journalism as one of the key areas underutilized or untouched.

It is the duty of journalists to understand the underlying causes of conflicts and go beyond the routines of daily reporting. With particular reference to southern Thailand, it was discussed that reporting on the micro situation makes journalists narrow-minded on larger issues.

The issue of training of journalists was discussed as a key component of peace journalism. In order to truly understand the issues reported on, journalists should undergo education to improve their own knowledge as well as their skills. Otherwise, they simply fall into the pattern followed by mainstream media and repeat or parrot what government officials tell

them. In this regard, it was discussed that mainstream media is rather one-sided and often portrays stories as "us versus them." This leads to situations in which urban populations support the position of government towards rebellious groups.

In response to questions on grassroots media or community-based media, we discussed the importance of community media as an avenue to hear indigenous voices. However, as pointed out, this could also lead to security issues or personal security dilemmas for journalists. This brought the discussion to how too much journalist freedom could add to conflict. There should be some control over this particular environment.

The third plenary was on integrating peace education into the school curricula. Our discussant was Dr. Loreta Castro from the Philippines. In the plenary we discussed the broad field of peace education, which umbrellas all aspects of human wellbeing, including the environment.

A question was raised on how to properly prepare schools for peace education. Dr. Castro responded that schools should begin the peace education process with a rationale to create motivation for the program. Educators should continually train themselves on peace education practices in order to properly guide their students. Youth participation is also a key in getting the youth interested in peace education. We discussed the three stages of the Peaceable Teaching-Learning Process: the cognitive phase, affective phase, and the active phase.

The issue of the pedagogy of peace education was discussed; in particular, that the conduct of peace education is as important as the content or the subject. It was also discussed that there is merit in both formal and informal peace education.

We also discussed how to demystify or demythologize the correlation of peace education, religion and religious instruction. All religions have messages of peace that can be decocted from religious texts. In this context, we discussed the value of secularism in peace education, the freedom of belief and, may I also add, freedom of non-belief.

Many participants concur that a thorough assessment of peace education in conflict areas vis-à-vis perpetrators of violence has to be conducted. A point was raised about some areas where the educators themselves reinforce religious intolerance among their students.

The third plenary was on the role of textbooks in fostering peace and mutual understanding. Our discussant was Hilmar Farid from Indonesia. History textbooks play an important role in the formation of national identities as instruments of socialization in the formative years of an individual. Most textbooks employ the notion that "the way things are told are simply the way things were" and that this is the claim to truth.

History textbooks contain cultural and political ideas of the dominant groups and enforce homogeneity through shared historical memories. Facts, events, and people are selected or omitted to promote certain ideas and introduce readers, especially young people, to a specific socioeconomic and cultural order. It also involves de-selection–that is,

choosing to highlight some aspects of history at the expense of other aspects.

The publication of history textbooks is a highly political enterprise, almost like a business undertaking. Textbooks are designed and authored by particular interests within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and state power.

The lack of linkages between different concepts creates lack of interest in history. There was a comment about history being boring, particularly in high school. No effort was made to connect the facts in both textbook writing and the teaching of history. The role of memory and transitional justice could be an overarching objective, especially in post-authoritarian countries like Cambodia, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

The nation-state paradigm in history textbook writing was also questioned. A comment was raised that perhaps history could be disassociated from nation-building. I think the statement should be "the writing of history textbooks *should* be dissociated from nation-building", but nation-building would still be the focus. In Indonesia, for instance, national history has always been a history of the state.

The following recommendations were put forward:

1. Students should be exposed to different versions of history from what is available.
2. The presentation of history in the classroom could start with the smallest unit such as the history of the family, building this up to the community level, region, nation, etc. Formal textbooks, however cannot do that. Thus, there is a need for a new and alternative media.
3. History can be used as a tool of solidarity as well as an instrument to transform current institutions. The content of history textbooks should also create a dialogue.
4. History should also have a regional focus. In this regard, the question put forth was: How do we perceive others, our neighboring countries, our neighboring peoples?
5. Joint history textbook writing could be undertaken between and among nations that were hostile to each other in the past or had conflict situations with each other in the past.
6. Information verification is necessary. There is a need to go back to primary data.
7. There was also an interesting suggestion that history could be written as literature, not just objective science.

At the end of the plenary, the question that was posed was: How can history textbooks *not* be limited to the presentation of facts, but be reworked to come up with narratives of peacebuilding? What existing or alternative paradigm would be most appropriate in this sense?

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO (Deputy Director, Third World Studies Center [TWSC], College of Social Sciences and Philosophy [CSSP], UP-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

Based on the presentations yesterday, we tried to cull three specific questions that will be addressed by the workshop groups this morning. These are:

1. What kind of peace do we want to disseminate?
2. What steps can we undertake to disseminate the kind of peace we have defined?
3. What possible joint efforts can be undertaken?

PLENARY PRESENTATIONS

WORKSHOP GROUP ON MEDIA
Facilitator: *Ati Nurbaiti*
Members: *Carolyn Arguillas* *Josephine Dionisio*
Andreas Harsono *Alfredo Lubang*
Diana Sarosi

ATI NURBAITI (Managing Editor, *The Jakarta Post*, Jakarta, Indonesia):

As journalists, it was hard for us to answer the questions because we usually do the asking. But maybe it is best for us to cite our sources or our informants. Carol quoted one Philippine senator who defined peace as "food and freedom, jobs and justice." For us, it is also about the recognition of diversity and inclusion of the marginalized. We would also like to stress a critical look at militarization because usually in conflict situations, journalists are used to just parroting the views of the conflicting parties.

There was also a reference to a critical view of fascism. This is not a popular term in media, but if we check elements like overt nationalism or patriotism and aggressive militarism, we would have to acknowledge that we have some form of fascism in our environments.

Because journalists focus on their work, improving our individual craft is very important. We do check and re-check the facts and try to be as balanced as possible. But we also need to go back to history, especially the roots of the conflict. More training should be undertaken. This should also include even senior journalists and professors of communication. Another step is to strengthen community-based media.

A model is *MindaNews*. Another good example is *Aceh Kita* in Aceh. Most of these initiatives are online.

Cooperation between local and national media is also important. But caution should be exercised. We have situations where national media corporations have taken over local media. Despite its shortcomings, the Indonesia-based Radio 688 is an exemplar of this cooperation. However, we may also need to examine what have been the criticisms against it. We should change the mindset of mainstream national media.

There was also a critique of the use of the term peace journalism. It is a good way for nongovernment media organizations to gain funding for training. Actually, we just need good and responsible journalism. What you actually want to do is constantly evaluate media coverage–whether it stands up to the expectation on the journalist. The journalist should not exacerbate the conflict through his or her report. Reporting both sides is not enough; often, the journalist forgets the perspectives of those caught in the middle of the conflict. Thus, there is a gap in information. This is mainly because of ignorance, although sometimes journalists, and even the editors, can be lazy. Checking the history of the conflict is necessary.

With regards collaborative efforts in journalism, the most concrete ones that we know are exchange programs. The Southeast Asia Press Alliance, for instance, has a program where journalists can go to different conflict areas, whether in other countries or in their country of origin.

Workshops and conferences should also involve editors. Training of journalists should not be confined to just enhancing their skills. It must include some education or training on history, politics, anthropology, sociology, etc. Journalists often report uncritically what we think is our society's mindset. For instance, the attitude of the media in conflict situation or war is to be nationalistic or patriotic. Often, journalists are satisfied with having a sensational headline that boosts the morale of our troops. They try to be patriotic at the expense of getting the real and complete story.

OPEN FORUM

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM (Director, TWSC, CSSP, UP-Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines):

I know of reporters covering the war in Mindanao who come from or reside in the areas of conflict or nearby towns or provinces. They are very knowledgeable of their craft. But the mainstream media prefers to send journalists from Manila to Mindanao because they are famous personalities. Peace advocates and various local media groups thought of publishing and distributing kits for journalists for them to have at least enough background on the conflicts to make a good report. I would like to know your perspective on this. Second, was government censorship of the war discussed in your workshop?

CAROLYN O. ARGUILLAS (EDITOR, *MINDANEWS*):

We were not able to discuss censorship but we did discuss several efforts already being undertaken by journalists in the Philippines and Indonesia. I am in the process of completing a handbook on reporting on Mindanao which should be available soon.

SHARON M. QUINSAAT (RESEARCHER, TWSC, CSSP, UP-DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

News production does not end with the journalist. The desk editor can kill a good story. The training on peace reporting should not be limited only to those on the field but should include desk editors.

CAROLYN O. ARGUILLAS:

That was actually one of the reasons why we decided to set up our own news service. The stories that mattered to us could hardly be published. The editors would reason that it is due to constraints in space. But when the report is on violence, it gets printed. They view things differently at the capital. Editors are also lazy. They do not want to check the facts or do background research. For them, the conflict is just a story.

WORKSHOP GROUP ON PEACE EDUCATION

Facilitator: *Loreta Castro*

Members:

Chantana Banpasirichote	*Diah Harianti*
Masaaki Ohashi	*Sarinthorn Saittagaroon*
Amy Schactman	*Eduardo Tadem*
Juwita Trisnayati	*Fe Villena*

FE VILLENA (NONVIOLENCE INTERNATIONAL SOUTHEAST ASIA, BANGKOK, THAILAND):

In answering the question "What kind of peace do we want to disseminate?," we went around the table and gave our own definitions of peace. Eventually, we agreed to take a holistic and comprehensive meaning of peace, which is the absence of physical, structural, and environmental violence. We also tackled human-to-human and human-to-environment relations, as well as the structures that bring un-peace and conditions that violate human rights and oppress and discriminate against people. In addition, peace cannot not be discussed without referring to respect, understanding,

equality, and love. There was even a nice quote by Che Guevara which a member of the group shared with us. May I please request Ed to convey this message to the whole group?

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

When Loreta said that one of the primary values of peace education is love, she said some people might think, "What does that mean?" I was reminded by a passage from Che Guevarra's book on guerilla warfare where he said, "At the risk of sounding ridiculous, let me say that a true revolutionary is guided by deep feelings of love."

FE VILLENA:

On the steps to be undertaken in disseminating peace, we discussed it in the context of the education sector. One is to integrate peace into the curriculum which involves the following: (1) development of the curriculum such that peace concepts are integrated into the different subject areas, (2) improvement of materials and pedagogy, and (3) training of teachers and trainors. Second, we would like to incorporate local content into the peace education. Peace concepts should be adapted to the local context. Local academics and the community play a big role here. Third, we would like to have peace education through religion. This is already taking place in Indonesia and the Philippines. There was a suggestion, however, to further expose the students to religions other than their own, and educate them on shared beliefs and values so that they would be able to understand and empathize with each other. This leads us to the fourth point, which is the need to emphasize trust and tolerance. We have to look at how we can effectively promote these values.

Another major undertaking is to continuously advocate and engage government. The representative from the Thai Ministry of Education said that she would recommend to government officials that students should learn more about Muslims in their social studies program so that they will be able to identify with the situation in the south. Ohashi-san said that peace education should be more systematized. Chantana said that a multicultural education system should be promoted but the Thai government could only be open to such if it sees success stories from other countries. Information exchange, therefore, is requisite. Autonomy and academic freedom are also essential, particularly in decentralizing the curriculum. In short, peace education should be adapted to different contexts and situations and governments should be open to this despite the existing constraints.

On joint efforts, we see the need for continuous training among peace educators and advocates. This could be included in the Global Prevention of Armed Conflicts program. The training of trainors is a prelude to the establishment of a peace education network for Southeast Asia. Only through maintaining contact with each other and constant sharing of information can peace educators sustain the work.

OPEN FORUM

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM:

Did you talk about degrees such as Master's or PhD?

LORETA N. CASTRO (DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR PEACE EDUCATION, MIRIAM COLLEGE, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

It did not come out in the discussion. Perhaps it was because we were more concerned about peace education than peace studies. I would like to make the distinction between the two because the former is more focused on elementary and high school levels. At the tertiary level or graduate studies, the focus is more cognitive rather than affective or action-based, and the treatment is often very academic. Peace education is about developing attitudes and values of the youth. Of course, it does not mean that graduate education on peace is not a path that can be taken. Peace studies at the tertiary level has value. It was just that when we were having our discussion, none of us in the group was thinking of it. In addition, as I mentioned in my presentation, at least for the Philippine case, there is really no great interest in peace studies yet. Academic programs in Miriam College have to be self-sustaining. We are not like other institutions that are endowed with funding from the state. Maybe those who have an interest in peace studies can just go to institutions that are already offering this program such as Notre Dame University in Mindanao, University of St. La Salle in Bacolod City, and Bicol University.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

How about in other countries in Southeast Asia? Are there such degree programs in peace and conflict studies?

THERESA J. LIMPIN (REGIONAL COORDINATOR, ASIA-PACIFIC REGIONAL RESOURCE CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, BANGKOK, THAILAND):

Mahidol University offers Master of Arts in Human Rights. Peace studies is integrated in the program.

CHANTANA BANPASIRICHOTE (ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT, FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY, BANGKOK, THAILAND):

There is a Center for Peace Studies in Chulalongkorn University, which offers three-month courses.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

There are also universities in the Philippines that do not have a full-blown graduate program on peace studies or peace education but they offer good courses. In Miriam College, for example, for those who are training to be teachers, we have a three-unit course entitled Education for Peace. International studies students are also required to take Introduction to Peace Studies. Miriam College leads the way as far a peace education is concerned. But the professors are realistic enough to see that, at the moment, the most that we can offer is a minor in peace studies. We are not yet ready to have an undergraduate program on peace and conflict studies.

PHALLA PRUM (Researcher, Documentation Centre of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, Cambodia):

In cooperation with Coventry University in the United Kingdom, the Documentation Center of Cambodia will establish an independent center specializing in genocide education and peace and reconciliation studies.

CAROLYN O. ARGUILLAS (Editor, *MindaNews*, Davao City, Philippines):

The Asian Center for Journalism which is based in the Ateneo de Manila University also offers peace and conflict reporting as an elective in the graduate school.

ANDREAS HARSONO (Director, Pantau Foundation, Jakarta, Indonesia):

Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta has post-graduate studies on peace.

SARINYA SOPHIA (National Programme Officer in Asia and the Pacific, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], Bangkok, Thailand):

In Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, colleges are teaching peace subjects to education students because they expect that when they graduate they can train their own students. This way, it is not just to develop expertise on peace but to ensure that there will always be a pool of potential peace educators.

MASAAKI OHASHI (Associate Professor, Keisen University, Tokyo, Japan):

Keisen University in Japan is going to start a master's degree program on peace studies next April.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

One of the proposals of the group was to study the possibility of setting up a network of peace educators that will eventually lead to some kind of region-wide association. The association will not be confined to the academic sector but will include civil-society organizations as well. What we have right now is the International Peace Research Association or IPRA. I think it has a Southeast Asian chapter.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

The regional association is actually called Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association or APPRA. The secretary-general is an Australian, but for a long time, in the past years, it was Sister Soleda Perpiñan who is a Filipina.

One thing that we did not mention in our workshop that I would like to add is to try to elicit interest from teacher-training institutions to include in their curriculum a subject on educating for peace. I see this as a strategic step because they train many prospective teachers. While we have training-seminars that are in-service in nature, I think it will be good if the teachers take on this perspective even before they actually teach. In the Philippines, as far as I know, there are only two institutions that are doing this–Miriam College and Philippine Normal University.

THERESA J. LIMPIN:

When we speak about engagement, I hope that the network of peace and human rights educators will continue to arrange dialogues about initiatives in the region. Peace and human rights educators should be able to complement each other. In a way, their relationship should be more of a union than a competition. Another opportunity for us is to influence the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Four important subject areas are currently being discussed in the Working Group for the ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism: (1) women and children, (2) migrant workers, (3) human rights education, and (4) national human rights institution. I would really encourage peace educators to join us in engaging the ASEAN as a regional body.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

We should also not forget the military as a target for peace education. The military establishment is not a homogenous community, even if the worst human rights violators are found in their ranks. There are some who are receptive to ideas of peace and solving conflicts in the non-military way. For example, when I visited Zamboanga City in Mindanao last year, I read an item about a certain colonel in the *Zamboanga Times*. He is the Commanding Officer of the 32nd Infantry Battalion in Basilan. The newspaper article called him a peacemaker and a peacekeeper because he goes out of his way to meet with communities and even set up meetings with rebel

groups to find solutions to the conflict. It sounds too good to be true but maybe there are a lot of people like him within the military.

SARINYA SOPHIA:

UNESCO in Bangkok, together with the UN High Commission on Human Rights, conducted training on human rights education for the police and the military in Thailand. We also did a research on their existing curriculum. We found out that ninety percent of the subjects that they are teaching the military and the police already include human rights issues. Collectively, these subjects are not referred to as part of peace and human rights education. They are called human security and peace. The term "human rights" is too sensitive for them. But they have it in their curriculum already. UNESCO had a similar human rights activity in Myanmar but we never actually called it that way because "human rights" is a politically sensitive term. We replaced the concept with love of country or neighbor.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

So the Burmese military junta responds to appeals of love?

SARINYA SOPHIA:

For them, love is alright.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

Human rights is taboo but love is okay.

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO:

I want to share an insight that I got from another forum. A military general from the Philippines said that there are efforts to introduce human rights in the education program that military personnel receive. Still, the orientation of the military, as an institution, is to kill its enemy. That was the way he put it. It becomes imperative therefore to talk about respect for human rights in this context.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

If I am not mistaken, human rights education is part of the curriculum in the Philippine Military Academy and the National Police Academy in the Philippines because it is mandated by the Constitution. I do not know if it has any effect on the cadets.

JAIME B. VENERACION (PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, CSSP, UP-DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES):

I was wondering if the group ever discussed the technical aspects of peace education. Since they mentioned something about love, I would like to relate this to other issues such as philanthropy. Has there been an attempt to study, for example, the legal dimension? Is peace education part of the legal curriculum? Are there studies on the foundations of philanthropy, whether it can be geared towards issues of peace? There are also technical issues on violence and I am talking about medical forensics and groups such as Doctors without Borders. I do not know to what extent peace education has gone. Are these issues being tackled?

LORETA N. CASTRO:

Peace education is concerned with various forms and causes of violence. But I see the connection between peace education and philanthropy in action or outcome. We always say that peace education only involves the marginalized and the affluent. Affluent people need to see their social responsibility, while it is through peace education that marginalized groups can be inspired to claim or reclaim their rights. I have no time to discuss all the details of peace education, but the idea is that you are supposed to learn critical thinking, communication, etc., and to assume duty wherever you are in the socioeconomic spectrum. The desired outcome is for people to take action and to move toward some lifestyle or behavioral change that will bring more respect for human dignity.

JAIME B. VENERACION:

I am thinking along the same line. But what exactly do you mean when you say "taking action"? I would like to relate philanthropy with, for instance, the investigation of extrajudicial killings. There are two aspects here: the legal and the medical. What I am saying is: if we want to have a comprehensive peace education, it should involve training people that would bring them to the field–something like archaeology or the anthropology of killing. Action can be action of the mind, which is not physical at all.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

The action would be in the form of lobbying and advocacy. For example, we hosted a dialogue between the military and civil-society groups who were really adamant about what is happening regarding extrajudicial killings. But the idea of investigating or doing forensic medicine is outside our turf. Some other groups will have to cover that. I think it is already outside the purview of peace education to go into very scientific areas.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

I think the connection that Jaime is trying to make here is that in cases where you have genocidal or extrajudicial killings, massacres, etc., you need to bring in and educate those who are trying to put closure to these incidents. This cannot be approached simply from a purely scientific and technical point of view. Those who are undertaking these investigations must have the perspective that they are doing this eventually to bring about peace in the land.

SARINYA SOPHIA:

The ethics of science, and technology and bioethics are some fields that may address the issues you mentioned. However, these are not within the range of concepts in peace education.

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO:

Peace and peacebuilding is actually a perspective, an attitude. It would be sad if this would eventually become a mere specialization or an expertise of only a few people. I guess the mission of peace educators and all peace advocates is to spread this perspective. Peace advocacy is building coalitions and tapping the expertise of people who are already in the field of psychosocial trauma, healing, archaeology, and forensic science. As one of the members of the media workshop group mentioned this morning, peace should be like a virus that everyone should be infected with. This also reiterates the point that the focus of peace education should be at the elementary and high school levels. While it is laudable to have peace courses and degrees, in terms of building the infrastructure, the culture of peace has to be broadened. It should not merely be an interest or expertise of a few.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

The goal of peace education is really to build a culture of peace. We want this to be promoted to all groups everywhere. I guess I got confused with Jaime's question because my idea about what these people are doing–forensic medicine and investigation–is that they should be educated so they practice ethics in the work they do and do not manipulate the truth. I got confused because I understood his remarks as, "Should peace education go into forensic investigation?" I think what is important here is that a forensic scientist need not be educated on peace but has to be ethical.

JAIME B. VENERACION:

Let me respond to what Josephine has raised. The topic is peace education and that is the reason why we are talking about courses and subjects. In

addition, I am merely following the premise by which you define the kind of peace that you want to disseminate in peace education. Since you defined it in terms of love, the immediate thing that came to my mind is that if we want to institutionalize love, maybe we can look at philanthropy. Are peace educators studying this? Also, if peace can be taught to the military, why not to politicians or legal practitioners? Can this be incorporated in some form of structure? For example, in law, can there be a subject on legalizing peace?

WORKSHOP GROUP ON HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Facilitator: *Socorro Pilor*

Members: *Hilmar Farid*, *Phalla Prum*, *Teresa Encarnacion Tadem*, *Soth Plai Ngarm*, *Sharon Quinsaat*, *Jaime Veneracion*

PHALLA PRUM:

In defining peace, the group tried to make reference to the human as a biological and social being. We also held the view that the human is both an individual and a member of the community. There is a tension between the biological and social aspect of his or her being. Peace, therefore, is a balance between a human's basic needs and desires through mechanisms such as dialogue, negotiation, and consensus.

History should not be seen merely as presentation of facts or trivia. It should be taught as a dynamic process that involves intergenerational conversation. History is also self-correcting. With these two concepts, we should keep in mind that there can be no perfect history textbook. Nonetheless, we came up with the following recommendations for disseminating peace through history textbooks.

The reality is that textbook writing and production is constrained by national policies. For example, it is an unwritten rule of the Cambodian government to exclude the Khmer Rouge in history textbooks. But in other countries, textbooks that include a discussion of the Khmer Rouge are published. Indonesians or Filipinos can be educated about the history of Cambodia.

Teachers should not also be limited to textbook-based teaching. There are alternative reading materials and they should be made accessible. Thus, a network of history teachers should be established so exchange can be facilitated. Teachers should also innovate in their teaching methods. They could explore field trips and informal education. Technology could be explored such as CD-ROMs.

There is also a need to document innovation or new practices in history teaching in the national and regional levels. Other efforts include linking up with civil-society groups and stakeholders, focusing on local history that should be synchronized in coming up with a national history, and establishing a regular training program for teachers about peace. Lastly, textbook writers need to be transparent to guarantee that history is not biased.

OPEN FORUM

SOCORRO A. PILOR (Director, Instructional Materials Council Secretariat, Department of Education, Manila, Philippines):

I would like to emphasize that the ministries of education develop specific concepts which somehow delimits what could be included in history textbooks. Sometimes it also depends on how the teacher teaches the concepts in the textbook. That is why we agree with the suggestion of the group on peace education that there should be a pre-service training for prospective teachers in teaching history using a peace perspective, so that even in the absence of discussions on peace in textbooks, it becomes natural for the teacher to draw on this viewpoint. We also strongly support the development of alternative materials and projects that take advantage of technology and multimedia. We should not be limited by the textbooks because we will face a lot of constraints.

HILMAR FARID (Researcher, Indonesian Institute for Social History, Jakarta, Indonesia):

We also talked about the possibility of publishing a textbook of Southeast Asian history from a peace perspective and organizing a conference to identify the problems of national history textbooks.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

How would these textbooks be different from the existing ones such as those written by Anthony Reid, Nicholas Starling, Norman Owen, or the Cambridge series on Southeast Asian history?

HILMAR FARID:

Those books are for university-level students. We were thinking more of elementary and secondary education.

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM:

Textbooks have a limited number of pages. You cannot really cover everything. Jaime suggested that in writing these history textbooks we can

focus on ten milestones. And since history is self-correcting, these milestones can be reassessed every five to ten years. History class in high school is only for forty-five minutes. How much of history can you actually discuss?

Another reason why we thought of a Southeast Asian textbook was because our colleagues from Cambodia said that they cannot put the Khmer Rouge in their textbooks. But they are allowed to have supplementary textbooks. A Southeast Asian history textbook is probably our best choice. The conference which Hilmar mentioned is meant to level off on this project.

JAIME B. VENERACION:

Actually, it is not exactly a Southeast Asian history textbook that we propose, but a Southeast Asian historical perspective on the different national histories. How then are we going to construct our syllabi? There should be synchronization or agreement on the content. For example, before the entry of Hindu-Buddhist tradition, there was a commonality of culture among Southeast Asians. That is a concept we can build on. This can be supported by research on Austronesians.

We discovered so many things during our discussion over lunch. For instance, even among the Cambodians, the so-called animism or the *anito* could be an important component for the culture of rice. There should also be parallel discussions of what we call the great and little traditions in the history of the different countries. That is one basic principle that I think every Southeast Asian historian can adopt in order to correct some of the failures of previous historians.

PHALLA PRUM:

We also discussed giving assignments to students to go to communities and discover things themselves, such as artifacts, traditions, and heritage. I think we also talked about cultural inventory.

EDUARDO C. TADEM:

Based on yesterday's discussion, there were issues raised about the linkage between the state and the writing of history textbooks. Andreas pointed out that it is not possible to have a national history textbook that for them is not in line with the interest of the nation-state, even if it is oriented towards peace.

TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM:

Yes, I think that is explicit in our report. We used the case of Cambodia as an example. If Cambodia cannot write about Khmer Rouge, then we could come out with a Southeast Asian textbook. At the same time, they can have supplementary reading materials which are not sanctioned by

the government. The government cannot prevent students or teachers from reading other books.

SOCORRO A. PILOR:

With the Philippines, the government is more liberal with supplementary materials. Teachers can actually use any kind of supplementary material they want.

HILMAR FARID:

This is something different but related. I actually want to know how much history is taken up in human rights education or peace education among nongovernment organizations. Is there something about historical awareness? In Indonesia, there is an initiative to bring people from different disciplines and backgrounds together to rewrite Indonesian history. Dialogues are ongoing.

THERESA J. LIMPIN:

In this human rights education pact, we have a particular module on using history as a tool for understanding human rights violation.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

Similarly, in peace education, when you discuss a particular conflict, it is necessary to look at history.

HILMAR FARID:

I have been involved in human-rights education and found it easier if there is an understanding not only of the conflict but also of concepts such the Universal Declaration of Human Rights within the local history.

CLOSING REMARKS

JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO:

This project does not end today. We have come up with very concrete, very doable actions or steps in terms of joint efforts. I was wondering if anyone from each of the groups would be willing to take the lead in developing something that would eventually become a follow-up activity or a very concrete project, in which all of us again would collaborate.

LORETA N. CASTRO:

For the peace education group, I volunteer to take the lead. I am actually grateful to the Third World Studies Center for making me a part of this

workshop because it enlarged my network. At first, I was thinking of it only with the groups in the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict. We look at peace education as a pathway toward armed conflict prevention. I am glad that we have with us the ministries of education of at least three countries and even UNESCO. This workshop really enriched my original plan to conduct a trainors' training on peace education for Southeast Asia. I could see it now as something that would engage both civil-society actors and the ministries of education. I hope this would signal the beginning of a peace education network in Southeast Asia.

SOCORRO V. PILOR:

In our discussion, I mentioned about the curriculum and the list of concepts that each year level should develop in the different countries. I propose that in the process of reviewing or refining the curricula, we should involve not only teachers that use it, but also civil society and other stakeholders to make the curricula more holistic.

ANDREAS HARSONO:

Carol, in Mindanao, has established *MindaNews*, a news service based in Mindanao which is trying to balance the mainstream news coverage in Manila. At the same time, in Jakarta and Aceh, my organization, Pantau Foundation, is also trying to establish a similar feature service. Another is *Malaysiakini* in Kuala Lumpur. These efforts are huge struggles because we do not have enough money. Our staff is underpaid. We still have difficulties to persuade newspapers to pay equitably for our services. But alternative news or feature services are a growing phenomenon, and we would like to collaborate and develop these further. One point that Carol and I were talking about is to send our reporters from Aceh to perhaps cover Mindanao, or reporters from Mindanao to cover Papua—that kind of exchange.

CAROLYN O. ARGUILLAS:

Maybe in the next eighteen months we could have separate conference-workshops for journalists, peace educators, and history textbook writers and teachers. Then we could meet again eighteen months later so we can see the progress of each sector.

SYNTHESIS

Media as Peacebuilding Tool: Prospects for Peace Journalism

Mainstream media have generally been irresponsible in the manner in which conflict situations have been covered. The tendency is to report on violence rather than on peace-building activities, despite the fact that there are reporters who are quite knowledgeable of the conflict. But more often than not, even good stories get killed by the desk editor. Another reality is that being based in the capital, mainstream media has a different perspective than the journalists who cover conflict situations from the ground. Moreover, journalists based in the conflict areas are often replaced by journalists from the capital as they also happen to be "famous" personalities. The reality that such an irresponsible reporting continues is evidence that the public generally do not care.

There is a need to be critical of the political, economic, and sociocultural environment in Southeast Asia to make it supportive of peace journalism. One way of doing this is to raise basic issues such as "food and freedom, jobs and justice" in reporting on conflict situations and peacebuilding activities. Moreover, there is a need to be sensitive with regard to the diversity and inclusion of the marginalized. The "war on terror" has seemingly heightened the more negatives aspects of nationalism or patriotism as expressed in aggressive militarism. There is thus a need to develop a critical look at militarization or fascism. For the moment, this might be difficult to do because of the commercial and predatory character of the media which is not open to peace journalism. Thus, it is quite complicated to change the mindset of mainstream national media since this is usually owned by big businesses.

Because of disillusionment with the way the mainstream media has been reporting on peace and conflict situations, alternative news agencies have been established. In the Philippines, *MindaNews* is a news service based in Mindanao that is trying to balance the mainstream news coverage in Manila. There is also the Pantau Foundation in Jakarta and Aceh which is also trying to establish a similar service. In Kuala Lumpur, one has *Malaysiakini*.

A suggestion was made for these alternative media venues to have an exchange program for journalists in Southeast Asia. For example, the journalist based in Mindanao will cover Aceh and vice-versa. These efforts, however, are a challenge because of the lack of funds to sustain them. Aside from the staff being underpaid, these alternative media establishments have a difficult time persuading newspapers to pay proportionally for their services.

There are strategies to pursue by which the media could be transformed into an instrument of peace and propagate good and responsible journalism. Some of these are:

1. Both junior and senior journalists, as well as desk editors and professors of communications, must undergo more training. Training should not be confined to just enhancing their skills, but must also include educating them on the social sciences, e.g., history, politics, anthropology, and sociology to give them a better grasp of the context and the nature of the conflict situation.
2. Community-based media must be strengthened. To eliminate the adverse effects of commercial media on peace building efforts, one proposal is to establish an independent news service.
3. Emphasis must also be placed on the need to constantly evaluate coverage, whether it stands up to the expectation about the role of the journalist. The journalist should not exacerbate the conflict through his or her report. Such efforts could be done in collaboration with exchange programs for journalists such as the Southeast Asia Press Alliance.
4. Initiatives have already been made by peace advocates in publishing and distributing kits for journalists. In doing so, journalists would have enough background on the conflicts to produce a good report. In the Philippine case, for example, a handbook has been reproduced on reporting in Mindanao.
5. Reporting should always be critical of society's mindset.

In all these, journalists should have the responsibility to check and re-check facts and to present a balanced perspective of the peace and conflict situations. It is equally important for them to situate these conflicts in its proper historical context.

Integrating Peace Education in the School Curriculum

There is a general observation that peace concepts are not adapted to the local context, and that the local content of peace experiences are not integrated into peace education. For the moment, there seems to be no great interest in peace studies yet. In the Philippines, academic programs on peace like in Miriam College are self-sustaining. In the other countries though, there are already initiatives for institutionalizing peace studies. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has established a Working Group for the ASEAN Human Rights mechanism on women and children, migrant workers, human rights education, and national human rights institutions. This regional effort helps establish a consciousness on peace building in the region. United Nations (UN) agencies have also been active in promoting peace education. For example, the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in Bangkok, together with the UN High Commission on Human Rights, has conducted training on human rights education for the police and the military in Thailand.

In the Philippines, peace education focuses more on elementary and high school levels. This is more concerned with developing the attitudes and values of the youth. It is at the tertiary and graduate levels where peace studies are conducted in the country. Miriam College is the leading academic institution on peace studies in the Philippines. Although

it does not have a full-blown graduate program, it offers some courses on peace studies or peace education. Teachers in Miriam College are also made to take a three-unit course entitled Education for Peace. Students who are majoring in International Studies have to take a course on Introduction to Peace Studies. Other schools in the Philippines where peace studies are being offered are in the Notre Dame University in Mindanao, University of Las Salle in Bacolod City, Philippine Normal University and the Bicol University. The Asian Center for Journalism, based in Ateneo De Manila University, also offers peace and conflict reporting as an elective in the graduate school. Human-rights education is also part of the curriculum of the Philippine Military Academy and the National Police Academy.

Other countries where peace studies are taught are the following: Mahidol University in Bangkok, Thailand which offers a Master of Arts in Human Rights wherein peace studies is integral; Center for Peace Studies in Chulalongkorn University also in Bangkok; Keisen University in Japan, which will be offering a master's degree program on peace studies; and Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia which has a post-graduate studies in peace. Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos also have colleges teaching peace subjects to students taking a degree in education. This is one way by which these countries are able to create a pool of potential peace educators.

The following were pinpointed as challenges to the integration of peace education into the formal school curriculum:

1. Coming out with a holistic and comprehensive meaning of peace, which is the absence of physical, structural, and environmental violence;
2. Discussing peace with reference to respect, understanding, equality, and love;
3. Training of teachers and trainors on peace education;
4. Active promotion of values of trust and tolerance;
5. Continuously lobbying government with regard to propagating peace education;
6. Establishing a network of peace education that will not be confined to the academic sector but also include civil-society organizations;
7. Eliciting interest from teacher-training institutions to include in their curriculum a subject on educating for peace;
8. Engaging the Working Group for the ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism as mentioned previously; and
9. Targeting the military for peace education.

The following suggestions were put forward with regard to the key components of peace education:

1. Development of a curriculum such that peace concepts are integrated into the different subject areas;

2. Improvement of materials and pedagogy;
3. Incorporation of the local context into peace education;
4. Integrating peace education through religion, particularly by exposing students to religions other than their own;
5. Systematizing peace education;
6. Conducting joint efforts in the training among peace educators and advocates; and lastly,
7. Building coalitions for peace advocacy which would bring in the expertise of people from different fields such as psychosocial trauma, healing, archaeology, and forensic science.

The Role of History Textbooks in Fostering Peace and Mutual Understanding

In general, there is definitely room for peace and mutual understanding in the pages of history textbooks in Southeast Asia. For the moment, there are particular structural constraints imposed by national policies. In Cambodia, for example, the government has banned the writing on the Khmer Rouge. No discussions on it can be found in the textbooks. Yet the Khmer Rouge regime is discussed in other country's textbook.

It has also been observed that the ministries of education also develop specific concepts that somehow delimit what could be included in history textbooks. Thus, the link between the state and history textbook writing poses a problem. The national history textbook has to be geared towards the interest of the nation-state, even if it is oriented towards peace.

The obstacle imposed by national policies can also be circumvented by providing alternative reading materials and making them accessible. What is important in all these is that textbook writers should be transparent to guarantee that history is not biased.

There was a suggestion for the possibility of publishing a textbook of Southeast Asian history from a peace perspective, and organizing a conference to identify the problems of national history textbooks, particularly for elementary and secondary education.

History books should emphasize the tension that exists between the biological and social aspects of the human being. Peace, therefore, is addressed through mechanisms of dialogue, negotiation, and consensus. History, on the other hand, should not be seen merely as a presentation of facts or trivia. It should also be taught as a dynamic process that involves intergeneration conversation. Moreover, history is self-correcting. With these two concepts, there can be no perfect history book.

Concepts on peace that are mutually agreed upon can be integrated in history textbooks. There is, however, recognition that textbooks have a limited number of pages; they cannot really cover everything. It was suggested that in making history textbooks, writers can focus on ten milestones in the history of each country. And since history is self-correcting, these milestones can be reassessed every five to ten years.

With regard to the production of Southeast Asian textbooks that focus on the issue of peace in the region's history, institutions can come out with a Southeast Asian historical perspective on the different national histories. Regarding the syllabi, synchronization or agreement on the content can be made among institutions. For example, before the entry of Hindu-Buddhist tradition, there was a commonality of culture among Southeast Asians. This idea can be built upon.

Of consideration too is the inclusion of parallel discussions of what we call the great and little traditions in the history of the different countries. This is one basic principle that every Southeast Asian historian can adopt in order to correct some of the failures of previous historians.

It was suggested that the present writers and publishers of history textbooks in Southeast Asia should exert a conscious effort to foster peace and mutual understanding through these books. Another dimension is to look into how history has taken up the issue of human rights education and peace education among nongovernmental organizations. In Indonesia, for example, there is an effort to bring people from different disciplines and backgrounds together to rewrite Indonesian history. There is an ongoing dialogue on that.

In relation to the establishment of a human-rights education pact among the workshop participants, it was agreed that there should be a particular module on using history as a tool for understanding human rights violations. In reality, it is easier if there is an understanding not only of the conflict, but also of concepts such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights within the local history.

It was agreed upon by the participants that the process of reviewing or refining the curricula of history textbooks with focus on peace should be done not only by teachers, but also by civil society and the stakeholders, so that the curricula will be treated holistically. From here, one could form a core of a network of teachers on peace education, so that such history textbooks can be established and exchange on peace concerns through history textbooks can be facilitated. This will thus not leave the teaching of peace through history textbooks at the mercy of one particular teacher. In relation to this, a pre-service training for prospective teachers in teaching history from a peace perspective can be arranged, so that even in the absence of discussion on peace in the textbooks, it becomes natural for the teacher to draw on the viewpoint of peace.

Taking into consideration the limitations of current history textbooks in the teaching of peace, teachers can innovate their teaching methods, e.g., explore field trips and informal education. Technology could also be explored such as CD-ROMs. The efforts being done nationally and regionally should be documented. To sustain these, there should be regular training program for teachers about peace. Additionally, there should be efforts to link with civil-society groups and stakeholders to integrate local histories into national history. Finally, there was a suggestion to give assignments to students to go to communities and to discover things themselves, such as artifacts, traditions and heritage; for the students to perform a cultural inventory.

DIRECTORY OF PARTICIPANTS AND RESOURCE PERSONS

Cambodia

1. Soth Plai Ngarm
   Executive Director
   Alliance for Conflict Transformation (ACT)
   34 Street 480, Phsar Deum Thkor, Chamcarmon
   PO Box 2552, Phnom Penh 3, Cambodia
   Tel/Fax: +855 23 217830
   Email: plaingarm@online.com.kh / act@online.com.kh

2. Phalla Prum
   Researcher
   Documentation Centre of Cambodia (DC-Cam)
   66 Sihanouk Blvd.
   P.O. Box 1110
   Phnom Penh, Cambodia
   Tel. Nos.: +855 023-211-875 / +855 023-210-358
   Email: prum_phala@yahoo.com / dccam@online.com.kh

Japan

1. Masaaki Ohashi, PhD
   Associate Professor of Development Studies
   Keisen University
   Tokyo, Japan
   Email: ohashi@keisen.ac.jp

Indonesia

1. Hilmar Farid
   Researcher
   Indonesian Institute for Social History
   Jl Pinang Ranti 3
   RT-015/RW-01
   Jakarta 13560 Indonesia
   Tel. No.: +62 21 809-5474
   Email: hilmar_farid@yahoo.de

2. Diah Harianti
   Head of Curriculum Center
   Office of National Education Research and Development

Jalan Gunung Sahari Raya No. 4
Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia
Tel. No.: +62 21 3453440
Fax No.: +63 21 3508084
Email: diahharianti@puksur.id

3. Andreas Harsono
Pantau Foundation
Jalan Raya Kebayoran Lama 18 CD
Jakarta, Indonesia
Tel.: +62 21 7221031
Email: aharsono@cbn.net.id

4. Ati Nurbaiti
Managing Editor
The Jakarta Post
Editorial and General Department
Jl. Palmerah Selatan 15, Jakarta 10270 Indonesia
P.O. Box 85 Palmerah Jakarta 11001 Indonesia
Tel. Nos: +62 21 5300476 / 5300478
Fax Nos.: +62 21 5350050 / 5306971
Email: ati@thejakartapost.com

5. Juwita Trisnayati
Program Pendidikan Damai (Peace Education Program [PPD])
Jalan Tgk. H. Usman No. 22
Banda Aceh 23111 Indonesia
Email: juwita_trisnayati@yahoo.com

Phillippines

1. Carolyn O. Arguillas
Editor, *MindaNews*
Chair, Mindanao News and Information Cooperative Center
19 Leo cor. 17 Venus Sts., GSIS Heights, Matina, Davao City
Telefax: +63 82 297 4360
Email: carol@mindanews.com

2. Loreta Castro, PhD
Director of the Center for Peace Education
Miriam College
Katipunan Road, Diliman
Quezon City, Philippines
Tel. Nos.: +63 2 435-9231 / 580-5400 ext. 3550
Fax No.: + 63 2 924-6769
Email: lcastro@mc.edu.ph

3. Socorro A. Pilor
Director
Instructional Materials Council Secretariat
Department of Education
Manila, Philippines
Tel. No.: +63 2 634-1072
Email: sap_imcs@yahoo.com

4. Eduardo C. Tadem
Associate Profesor
Asian Center
Romulo Hall, University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City
Philippines
Email: edtadem@surfshop.net.ph

5. Jaime B. Veneracion, PhD
Professor
Department of History
College of Social Sciences and Philosophy
University of the Philippines
Diliman 1101 Quezon City, Philippines
Tel. No.: +63 2 931 7152
Email: jbvene@yahoo.com

Thailand

1. Amnache
Office of the Basic Education Commission
Ministry of Education
Tel. No.: +66 2 628 5646 7

2.Thanet Aphornsuvan, PhD
Department of History
Faculty of Liberal Arts
Thammasat University
Bangkok, Thailand
Email: ta2@tu.ac.th

3. Chantana Banpasirichote, PhD
Associate Dean
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok, Thailand
Email: chantana.b@chula.ac.th

3. Kulachada Chaipipat
Country Director
Southeast Asian Press Alliance

538/1 Sam-Sen Rd. Dusit Bangkok Thailand 10300
Tel. No.: +66 2 243-5579
Email: seapa@seapabkk.org / kulsha@seapabkk.org

4. Rungrawee Chalermsripinyorat
Journalist
Associated Press
15/F Ramaland Building
952 Rama IV Road, Bangrak
Bangkok 10500 Thailand
Tel. No.: +66 2 266 0740 2
Fax No.: +66 2 237 6283
Email: rungrawee@ap.org

5. Kavi Chongkittavorn
Executive Editor
The Nation
44 Moo 10 Bang Na-Trat KM 4.5
Bang Na District, Bangkok 10260 Thailand
Tel. Nos.: +66 2 325-5555 / +66 2 317-0420 / +66 2 316-5900
Fax No.: +66 2 751-4446
Email: kavi@nationgroup.com

6. Theresa J. Limpin
Regional Coordinator
Asia-Pacific Regional Resource Center for Human Rights Education
10/3 Soi Ladphrao 14
Chatujak, Ladyao
Bangkok 10900 Thailand
Tel./Fax No.: +66 2 938 4698
Email: arrc@arrc-hre.com

7. Ekraj Sabur
Course Coordinator
School of Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation
Asian Muslim Action Network
Tel. No.: +66 2 913 0196
Fax No.: +66 2 913 0197
Email: ekraj@arf-asia.org

8. Sarinthorn Saittagaroon
Office of the Basic Education Commission
Ministry of Education
Tel. No.: +66 2 628 5646 7
Email: jigkie_8@hotmail.com

9. Sarinya Sophia, MD
Regional Unit for Social and Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific RUSHSAP)

UNESCO Bangkok office
920 Sukhumvit Road, Prakanong
Bangkok 10110 Thailand
Fax No.: +66 2 391 0866
Email: s.sophia@unescobkk.org

10. Deciana Speckman
Project Coordinator
The Amana Media Initiative
Asian Muslim Action Network
Tel. No.: +66 2 913 0196
Fax No.: +66 2 913 0197
Email: amana@arf-asia.org

United States of America

1. Antoinette Raquiza
City University of New York
New York City, USA
Email: traquiza@yahoo.com

Organizers

1. Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem, PhD
Director
Third World Studies Center
Lower Ground Floor, Palma Hall
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City
Philippines
Tel. No.: +63 2 981 8500 ext. 2442 and 2488
Telefax: +63 2 920 5428
Email: tsetadem@surfshop.net.ph

2. Josephine C. Dionisio
Deputy Director
Third World Studies Center
Lower Ground Floor, Palma Hall
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City
Philippines
Tel. No.: +63 2 981 8500 ext. 2442 and 2488
Telefax: +63 2 920 5428
Email: josephine.dionisio@up.edu.ph

3. Sharon M. Quinsaat
University Researcher
Third World Studies Center
Lower Ground Floor, Palma Hall

University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City
Philippines
Tel. No.: +63 2 981 8500 ext. 2442 and 2488
Telefax: +63 2 920 5428
Email: sharon.quinsaat@up.edu.ph

4. Macaria B. Francisco
Administrative Officer
Third World Studies Center
Lower Ground Floor, Palma Hall
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City
Philippines
Tel. No.: +63 2 981 8500 ext. 2442 and 2488
Telefax: +63 2 920 5428
Email: sharon.quinsaat@up.edu.ph

5. Alfredo Lubang
Regional Representative
Nonviolence International Southeast Asia
104/20 Soi 124 Latprao, Wangtonglang,
10310 Bangkok, Thailand
Tel./Fax No.: +66 (2) 934 3289
Email: fred@nonviolenceinternational.net

6. Amy Schactman
Intern
Nonviolence International Southeast Asia
104/20 Soi 124 Latprao, Wangtonglang,
10310 Bangkok, Thailand
Tel./Fax No.: +66 (2) 934 3289
Email: ajs2501@yahoo.ca

7. Diana Sarosi
Research Advocacy Coordinator
Nonviolence International Southeast Asia
104/20 Soi 124 Latprao, Wangtonglang,
10310 Bangkok, Thailand
Tel./Fax No.: +66 (2) 934 3289
Email: diana@nonviolenceinternational.net

8. Fe Villena
Nonviolence International Southeast Asia
104/20 Soi 124 Latprao, Wangtonglang,
10310 Bangkok, Thailand
Tel./Fax No.: +66 (2) 934 3289
Email: fe@nonviolenceinternational.net