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Learning the Lessons of the Tsunami – One Month On

Tsunami Analysis & Timeline

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2005 is an important milestone for international women's rights, as it marks the 10th anniversary of the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, where the Beijing Platform for Action was adopted. The 10-year international review and appraisal of the Beijing Platform for Action will take place at the 49th session of the Commission on the Status of Women in March 2005. The Commission will also discuss current challenges and forward-looking strategies for the advancement and empowerment of women and girls.

Calling all Indigenous women and girls to enter a new anthology entitled *Father Tongue*

Co-editors: Chrystos (Menominee) a poet from the north-western US. Nancy Cooper (Ojibway/Irish) a poet/photographer from central Canada.

Format: poetry, fiction, non-fiction, essays, narratives, songs, cartoons

Countries: Indigenous women and girls from North and South America, Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand

**Deadline July 28, 2005 Submission Guidelines indigenousandwomen@hotmail.com.
world**

Learning the Lessons of the Tsunami – One Month On By OXFAM

One month after the tsunami struck on 26 December it is still a crisis for millions of people. As well as the tragic toll in life, homes and livelihoods have also been lost. More than a million survivors remain displaced.

This paper sets out Oxfam's own response, which started on 26 December, in the context of these continuing needs. It covers our work in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, the Maldives and Somalia. It ends with an update on how the international community has – and has not yet – responded with sufficient aid, debt relief and trade reforms, and how Oxfam has tried to contribute to that debate.

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Learning the Lessons of the Tsunami – One Month On

25th January 2005

Minimum Number of Beneficiaries reached by Oxfam as of 24th January 2005

India - 130,000

Sri Lanka - 100,000

Indonesia - 75,000

Learning lessons

In its first Briefing Note on the crisis, on 7 January, Oxfam tried to draw lessons from previous major natural disasters and other crises. It is already possible to draw some from the first month after the tsunami, albeit provisional. Oxfam and many others will surely want to revise these in the coming months, but these 6 lessons are already clear – and should not be ignored.

1. The survivors need appropriate aid, not any aid.

Some of the aid provided has not been appropriate. The two fundamental things that must be remembered are the need to ask people what they want – and to meet the internationally accepted 'Sphere Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards for Disaster Relief'. This is not happening as widely as it should and levels of consultation with beneficiaries are not acceptable.

2. The aid effort must do more to apply the lessons from previous crises.

The major international humanitarian agencies learnt a large number of lessons from the past, more than anything from the inconsistent humanitarian response to the crises in central Africa in the mid 1990s. As well as the above 'Sphere' technical standards for relief, these include the Code of Conduct for Disaster Relief, setting out acceptable principles; the People in Aid programme on acceptable care of aid workers; and the UN's Guidelines for Internally Displaced People, setting out their rights under international law. All of these are deeply relevant to the post-tsunami response and must be consistently upheld by every agency.

3. The collapse in international attention does not bode well for sustained aid.

It may take five years – the planning period for Oxfam's Aceh programme - or more to rebuild the affected areas. But we have already seen a gap between what is promised and delivered. On paper, 93 per cent of the UN's humanitarian appeal has been funded. In reality, governments have donated only about half the total amount needed. Though more than US\$ 4 billion has been promised for reconstruction, will these promises mean more than the broken promises of aid after previous disasters in Iran , Mozambique and Central America ?

4. The need is just as much to find durable solutions for the displaced survivors as for better early warning to mitigate future disasters. These durable solutions must provide an end to violence, and less poverty, as well as rebuilding destroyed infrastructure.

An early warning system may apparently be ready within 18 months. This is vital. But it is easy to ignore the needs of those rebuilding their lives after the tsunami. The great majority of them already lived in extremely difficult circumstances. For example, the 600,000 people displaced in Aceh need more than temporary aid or the temporary camps that are planned. They must be given a genuine choice in the short, medium and long-term. These choices must not just rebuild poverty or Aceh's violent past. They should provide real options to overcome poverty: what Oxfam calls 'reconstruction plus'. The Indonesian Government and all warring parties should ensure the end to violence, and commit to negotiating a long-term settlement to Aceh's conflict. Sri Lanka 's displaced too need their leaders, on all sides, to show the same commitment to ensure that life after the tsunami is not the same as before. Many survivors of the tsunami remain extremely vulnerable to abuse. They need to be protected as well as given immediate aid.

5. Reconstruction plans should look at the needs of women, men and children differently.

In Sri Lanka , for example, many women who were on beaches or in markets lost their lives. There appear to be large numbers of households in which the father is suddenly a single parent – or the woman a new single mother as men were drowned out fishing. More widely reported, there are also large numbers of orphans and bereaved parents. So far, there has been insufficient attention placed

on the specific needs of these and other men, women and children, facing surviving the tsunami in very new circumstances.

6. Aid is only the first kind of international support that the survivors of disasters need.

To a certain extent this was recognised extraordinarily quickly. The Paris Club of creditors and the European Union have taken welcome initiatives on debt relief and the access to the EU of tsunami-affected countries' exports. These steps have not yet gone far or wide enough. But they show a very positive awareness that a wide range of international policies should be used to help countries recover after catastrophic crises. This could be followed more widely in future crises – after conflicts as well as natural disasters.

The Tsunami, its impact and Oxfam's response

One Month On...in South India and the Andaman & Nicobar Islands

The tsunami devastated over 700 kilometres of coastland in the Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and the Union Territory of Pondicherry, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands . According to the Government of India, as of 20th January, 2.43 million people have been 'affected' by the tsunami in 927 villages. 157,393 houses have been damaged, 10,260 cattle lost, 11,827 hectares of land affected and 64,025 boats damaged. The UN Disaster Management Team situation report states that "the tsunami has caused extensive damage in the Nicobar islands which will now need to be more or less rebuilt".

Oxfam has offices in the North, East, South and West of India and a Regional Centre in New Delhi . Staff in the South India office in Hyderabad immediately organised a team to go to Chennai, the capital of Tamil Nadu, the worst affected state – to assess the damage and how Oxfam could help.

The Indian government moved swiftly into rescue and relief operations on the mainland and in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and also sent assistance to Sri Lanka and to Indonesia . In Tamil Nadu, the worst affected state on the mainland, Oxfam staff reported that "the state government is quite responsive to the people's needs, especially on items like cooked food, grains, and increasingly, other non-food utility items like clothes, bed sheets and cooking fuel." The government also distributed cash and has issued temporary ration cards. It met, in collaboration with international and local NGOs in many places, interim shelter needs. Because government rescue and relief efforts were meeting the immediate needs of the vast majority of people affected, the Oxfam team was able to keep monitoring the situation and to plan how to respond to short and medium terms needs and gaps in the existing relief efforts, focusing on our main areas of expertise in emergencies - water and sanitation, public health and food and nutrition – and to start identifying local partner organisations to work with.

Working with local partner organisations in the first month since the tsunami hit, Oxfam has now distributed over 17,000 hygiene kits, provided safe water and latrines for over 20,000 people living in camps, and assisted over 1,000 families with temporary shelter in India . Oxfam has now established operations in some of the worst affected districts in mainland India . In Kanniyakumari (S India), Oxfam has joined with other international NGOs and a reputable health institute to train volunteers in psychosocial counselling.

Oxfam sent US\$52,156 as an initial infusion of aid for its partner-led work. Oxfam is supporting these local partner organisations to assist 19,000 people with transporting the injured to hospitals, transporting and assisting in the burial of bodies, establishing community kitchens, providing dry food for cooking in the community kitchens, providing shelter materials such as tents and mats, providing non-food relief items; clothing, sleeping mats and hygiene packs, providing primary health care and medicines, assisting disaster victims to access government relief distribution, liaising with the District Collectorate for accessing any government relief distribution.

Oxfam has identified – and where possible started delivering aid to - groups of people in need of aid who have either not been eligible for compensation because they were not directly hit by the tsunami (like those whose livelihoods depend on the fishing industry – ice packers, net menders etc) or marginalized social groups such as dalits and other isolated communities. Our assessment teams are also monitoring the effectiveness of the government response based on our long experience of issues such as livelihoods and gender – for example we have found that while widows of fishermen have been paid a compensation figure for the death of their husbands they have not received compensation for the loss of the boat – their means of livelihood.

A rapid assessment team was sent to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands where communications were very restricted. Oxfam assessment teams discovered substantial damage to property, long term damage to drinking water sources, including increased salinity, and people suffering from deep trauma. In partnership with the local administration, international NGOs and local NGOs, Oxfam responded to immediate non-food needs of the people in the relief camps by providing hygiene kits including buckets, soap, oil, powder, under clothes for women, sanitary napkins, footwear, etc. Non-food assistance included provision of sleeping mats, shopping bags and storage boxes and interim shelter, as well as addressing water and sanitation needs both in the camps and at the shelter sites. This included provision of water tanks, bathing cubicles for women and toilets for men and women, besides keeping the area clean of wastewater.

A considerable challenge to Oxfam's work in India , apart from the scale and seriousness of the disaster, has been co-ordinating with the hundreds of other agencies and well-wishers who rushed to the area to help. The Government of India confirmed last week that fishermen were starting to venture back into the sea for fishing despite reports of poor availability of fish in the sea after the tsunami struck.

Schools are also beginning to re-open and state government has provided textbooks and note books. The Government approved a package of US\$23.66 million for rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes for tsunami-hit areas (Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Pondicherry). It will work out a separate package for Andaman and Nicobar Islands after an initial assessment phase.

Oxfam is also now drawing up plans for longer term rehabilitation work. This will focus on supporting people to regain their livelihoods after the devastation of the tsunami and will include repair of boats, provision of fishing nets, reforestation, agricultural support (seeds), and cash-for-work schemes to rebuild village infrastructure. There will also be a focus on improving public health through the installation of hand-pumps, construction of latrines and bathing areas, plus hygiene promotion activities. In addition, activities aimed at improving the ability of each community to respond to any future disasters will also be supported.

One Month On...in the Maldives

The Maldives is made up of over 200 small atolls and stretches 820 kilometres north to south and 120

kilometres east to west. It has a total population of around 270,000. Although the number of deaths was relatively small, because the atolls' highest point is very few meters above sea level, the wave swept over the entire country; 30% of houses have been destroyed beyond repair and many wells were filled with sea water. 50 out of 200 islands were reported to be badly affected. These are spread across an area the size of Britain . Some 15,000 people are displaced, and 30,000 in total in need of clean, fresh drinking water.

Due to the geographical make up of the islands and the damage to infrastructure, data was difficult to collect. Working closely with the government who have set up an effective coordination mechanism Oxfam continues to focus on its core competences of water and sanitation and health education. One of the most urgent needs was for clean water. The rainy season will be coming to an end shortly and will be followed by a 2-3 month dry season. The main water sources on the island were rain catchments and shallow dug wells. The majority of these are reported to have been polluted or destroyed.

As the Government of the Maldives has the situation under control and as Oxfam did not previously have a presence in the Maldives we will focus mainly on the immediate relief work in the country with a planned duration of two months for our entire programme.

A Virgin Airlines flight carrying 55 tones of bottled water left Heathrow airport on the 6th January for the Maldives . Oxfam would not normally take bottled water to people in emergencies, preferring to source and treat water in bulk in country. But the tsunami went right over the Maldives so a very high proportion of the water has become heavily salinated, especially on outlying islands. In these circumstances,

importing water in bottles was appropriate. The flight also carried water equipment including pipes, pumps and tanks to set up a longer-term water system to help with the longer-term solution. A related need is for water storage facilities and Oxfam will help with bladder tanks and pumps for mobile storage and distribution. Oxfam will help by providing three small desalination plants.

The principle industries for the Maldives are tourism and fishing both of which have been badly affected by the Tsunami. Oxfam is working through partners to carry out rehabilitation programming as well as to stimulate local markets and income generation.

One Month On... in Indonesia

Oxfam's own staff arrived in Aceh on Dec 31st, five days after the earthquake and tsunami devastated the coastline of the province. Our local partner organisations had already been distributing emergency supplies. Our immediate focus was on helping people whose homes had been destroyed and who had collected in spontaneous encampments in and around Banda Aceh town (the district of Aceh Besar). The size of these encampments was ranging from 50 to about 5,000 people. Oxfam is still supplying people with clean drinking water, jerry cans, hygiene items, kitchen utensils and sleeping mats, as well as spades and wheelbarrows to help people start to clear the debris of their surroundings. We are also beginning distribution of radios, and are working with a local specialist to make a public health radio programme for the benefit of displaced people and the wider community. In Aceh Besar we are reaching 30,000 people directly, and our public health teams are assessing new sites every day.

The town of Meulaboh (in the district of Aceh Barat) was one of the worst-hit; Oxfam got down by helicopter on 6th January. Since then we have provided water and sanitation to 15,000 people clustered in temporary shelters, dug latrines and wells and installed a water treatment plant. Oxfam New Zealand-supported water engineers, Les Collins and Dave Neru have played a leading role in providing clean water and sanitation.

Between Meulaboh and Banda Aceh (the district of Aceh Jaya) the coastline is utterly devastated, and Oxfam has made several helicopter trips to deliver jerry cans, soap, sleeping mats and mosquito nets to 15,000 people displaced into small settlements on the higher ground. We are now planning to move away from relief distributions towards cash and market interventions, as a means of helping people back to being able to choose and buy their own goods in the local markets.

These places in which people are currently sheltering are very short term solutions – in cars, under plastic sheeting, camped in half-destroyed buildings, self-assembled from debris, or with family and friends whose own resources are limited. Besides being unsafe and unsustainable, such places are difficult to serve effectively with adequate facilities. Over the next few weeks Oxfam expects to complete our immediate relief activities, while increasingly focusing on developing a range of

longer term options to assist displaced people more sustainably. People's options are either to move into fewer, larger, temporary settlements being set up by the Government, or to move directly back home and rebuild their lives where possible. Temporary settlements could provide a stable longer term environment for people while they decide what they want to do next. Oxfam will provide water, sanitation and public health support in all these settlements for those that choose to move to them. Right now we anticipate that some communities may want to stay in transit settlements for up to 2 years. Additionally, we will also offer communities tailored support to facilitate their return home if they choose this option. Based on specific needs, Oxfam will provide practical help with transportation for building materials, help with reconstruction, water & sanitation facilities, and support for restoring people's livelihoods.

During the first year Oxfam plans to reach up to 145,000 people with a range of services according to their needs, although this number could increase if we need to spread our assistance more widely. Longer term, we expect to be working in-depth with communities for up to three years along the West coast, Aceh Besar and the East coast. Increasingly we will work through local organisations, whose knowledge of the area and the people complements our technical expertise.

One month on... in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's coastline was heavily hit by the tsunami. Oxfam already had an established presence in Sri Lanka with local staff, four field offices in the North and East and strong relationships with local partner organisations enabling Oxfam to respond quickly and effectively to the needs of the survivors.

Flooding two weeks earlier in Sri Lanka meant that Oxfam's field offices were already equipped with relief packs containing soap, buckets, sleeping mats, candles, chlorine for water purification and other essential items. Oxfam staff in Sri Lanka (some of whose own homes and families were hit) gave immediate assistance after the Tsunami in delivering the relief packs to displaced people, helping to rescue survivors, taking the injured to hospital and burying the dead.

Oxfam's offices based in Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Vavuniya and Killinochchi were all involved in distributing hygiene packs and improving water and sanitation. Relief items from within Sri Lanka and from India started reaching affected areas and Oxfam staff distributed temporary latrines, roofing sheets, sleeping mats and food to the temporary 'camps', such as schools and places of worship. An Oxfam aid flight from the UK carrying 11 tons of emergency water equipment arrived in Sri Lanka on the 1 January, and a further two planeloads of specialist equipment have been sent out. Combined with the purchase of local equipment and the tireless work of specialist water and sanitation engineers, including Oxfam New Zealand's Kate Medicott and Richard Weaver, this has provided clean water to tens of thousands of families. The planned purchase of garbage trucks, vacuum tankers and water tankers will help improve the water and sanitation situation further.

Working with local Sri Lankan partner organisations like Kinniya Vision, Oxfam is providing clean water, toilets and basic essentials such as blankets, sleeping mats, buckets, and matches for people who have lost everything. In Ampara, Oxfam has set up women's committees and established private areas for women in the relief camps as well as setting up two pre-schools and are sponsoring health promotion sessions for pregnant women alongside Save the Children. Other aspects of our work include playing a coordination/information role and acting as a distribution point in some areas, rehabilitating the environment and working on disaster management. We are also working with BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee - an organisation with extensive experience in working in flood situations and on livelihoods).

Relief in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) controlled areas has been well organised and the Government's response – mainly focused in the south – has been effective too. The main challenge has been co-ordination of the large numbers of agencies operating in the area. Oxfam is responding to the challenge with plans to focus its work in the remotest areas, where other agencies are not operating.

Many people have lost not only their possessions, homes and loved ones, but also their source of income. For example, fishermen have no boats to fish in and paddy fields are ruined due to the salt. Income is crucial to enable people to rebuild their lives following the disaster. Oxfam is developing a livelihoods programme to enable people to earn a living again.

Oxfam is currently designing its longer-term programmes for the tsunami-affected regions of Sri Lanka. We aim to measurably improve the food and income security, public health and the water and sanitation needs of up to 40,000 affected families by 2007. Oxfam aims to ensure that at least 20,000 of the worst affected families will have access to clean water, and waste disposal services. We will focus on women's and child protection issues in the planning and implementation of these facilities. Oxfam will implement a health education program to facilitate better knowledge and means to achieve good levels of health and hygiene as a way of diminishing the risk of disease.

Oxfam is specifically targeting the fishing community with programmes offering cash for work and boat rehabilitation schemes. Oxfam will also distribute new boats and other assets people need to make a living to targeted households who are in greatest need.

One Month On...in Somalia

By December 31st an inter-agency assessment had reached some of the affected areas such as Hafun and started to provide initial elements of humanitarian assistance. They faced many problems with access due to lack of infrastructure but information was coming in from organisations operating on the ground. An aerial assessment was carried out to get the full overview along the 700 km of coastline. Ocean Training Programme – an Oxfam partner organisation working with fishing

communities in the affected area - was part of the assessment team and began organising support to 10,000 people in Hafun, Fo'aar, Garan and Ga'ard. Oxfam contributed towards the organisation's distribution of relief items and the repair of water systems. A second partner, the Galkayo Education Centre for Peace and Development, working from Galkayo, participated in the UN Office for Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) assessment mission . With US\$10,000 from Oxfam they distributed non food relief items to Kulub and Ilfoocshe, villages in the neighbourhood of Garacad.

The Political Environment

International response

Governments from around the world responded to the tsunami with unprecedented promises of aid. In almost every case, this response followed, not led, enormous demonstrations of public compassion and generosity.

Within 24 hours of the tsunami, Oxfam's own work on the ground, and its support for its local partner organisations, was complemented by its work pressing governments and others to do all that they could. It produced two major Briefing Notes on 7 and 14 January, as well as a range of other materials to communicate with its supporters and donors, politicians and officials, and the media.

Donor governments' pledges cover most of the US\$ 977 million called for by the UN Secretary General on 6 January for urgent humanitarian aid. US\$ 912 million has been either officially pledged or is available in other ways for the Flash Appeal. Japan , the UK , Norway , Germany , and the European Commission promised to contribute more than US\$ 50 million each. So far, however, only around half of the funds needed have been contributed to the UN.

As well as pressing for urgent pledges and contributions, Oxfam responded immediately to President Bush's suggestion on 29 December that a 'core group' of governments – initially the US , Japan , Australia and India – should lead the international response. Oxfam pressed them to support, not duplicate, the UN's role in coordinating international aid, led by the UN's Emergency Relief Coordinator, Jan Egeland. On 6 January, the US plan was diplomatically dropped, at the emergency meeting of world leaders in Jakarta .

Debt relief

On 12 January, the Paris Club of creditors offered to freeze debt repayments from tsunami-affected countries. Sri Lanka , Indonesia , and the Seychelles indicated that they would take advantage of this offer. However, the Paris Club failed to go beyond this. Oxfam is calling for it to commission an urgent assessment to determine the level of debt repayments that is deemed to be sustainable, while allowing for urgent spending on reconstruction and development needs for each of the indebted countries. Oxfam considers that the results should swiftly lead to the

cancellation of debts above that sustainable level, so long as the proceeds are spent on reconstruction and poverty reduction, and provided that the decision-making processes are transparent to both creditors and the people of the countries concerned. Creditors should not insist, as they usually do, on conditions intended to advance economic liberalisation, such as removing measures to protect national rice production.

Trade barriers

On 1 January, the Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA) came to an end. This quota system gave textiles and clothing from Sri Lanka, the Maldives, and Indonesia better access to EU and US markets than that granted to exports from China and India. Six days after the tsunami, these countries lost that support. Some companies, however, have changed their plans as a result of the tsunami. They appear to have postponed plans to relocate from affected countries, as these countries became less attractive sources of textiles and clothing as the MFA came to an end.

On 21 January, the European Union agreed to support some other trade reforms that would benefit tsunami affected countries. Following a meeting of its 133 Committee, EU members gave their support to a Commission proposal to fast-track reform of the EU's Generalised System of Preferences (GSP), which will improve access to EU markets for imports from tsunami-affected countries and others. Oxfam welcomed this while pressing the EU to guarantee that larger developing countries, whose exports constitute more than 1 per cent of GSP-covered trade, are not excluded from the change announced. The EU should confirm that developing countries would not lose preferences for particular sectors after only a short time.

www.oxfam.org.nz

Tsunami Analysis by The International Warning Coordination Group for the Tsunami Warning System in the Pacific Ocean

On Sunday 26 December 2004: at 0100 GMT, an 8.9 magnitude earthquake occurred on the seafloor near Aceh in northern Indonesia. This earthquake generated a huge tsunami wave, hitting the coasts of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, India, Sri Lanka, Maldives and even Somalia.

The International Warning Coordination Group for the Tsunami Warning System in the Pacific Ocean featured an animation of the Tsunami that recounts approximate times at which the tidal wave hit the coastal areas of Indonesia, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh, and The Maldives.

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Tsunami Analysis by the International Warning Coordination Group for the Tsunami Warning System in the Pacific Ocean

Click on the image to see an animation (650 KB) by Kenji Satake, National Institute of Advanced Industrial Science and Technology, Japan

(See <http://ioc.unesco.org/itsu/> and other reports)

The following page features a Tsunami Timeline and Excerpt of the answers given by The International Warning Coordination Group for the Tsunami Warning System in the Pacific Ocean to frequently asked questions about the Indian Ocean Tsunami during the days after the disaster.

The Tsunami Timeline & Analysis

The Tsunami Timeline

Sunday 26 December 2004 (GMT)

00.57 GMT: Between 00.57 GMT and 00.59 GMT, an 8.9 magnitude earthquake occurs on the seafloor near Aceh in northern Indonesia.

00.58 GMT: Saturday 25 December, 2.58 pm Hawaii Time (GMT-10) 26 Dec

00.58 GMT. US government's Pacific Tsunami Warning Center registers the earthquake on its seismic instruments. In other words at the time of its occurrence at 00.58 GMT.

shortly after 01.00 GMT: Earthquake hits several cities in Indonesia, creates panic in urban areas in peninsular Malaysia. The news of the earthquakes is reported immediately.

01.30 GMT: Phuket and Coast of Thailand: The tidal wave hits to coastline shortly after 8.30 am, 01.30 GMT

02.30 GMT: Colombo Sri Lanka and Eastern Coast of Sri Lanka, the tidal wave hits the coastal regions close to the capital Colombo, according to report at 8.30 am local time, 02.30 GMT (an hour and a half after the earthquake)

02.45 GMT: India's Eastern Coastline. The tsunami hits India's eastern coast from 6:15 a.m.(2:45 GMT)

04.00 GMT: Male, Maldives: From about 9:00 am (0400 GMT), three hours after the earthquake, the capital, Male, and other parts of the country were flooded by the tsunami. (more than three hours after the earthquake)

11.00 GMT (approximate time according to news dispatches): East Coast of Africa is hit. More than ten hours after the earthquake

Source: <http://ioc.unesco.org/itsu/contents.php?id=133> International Warning Coordination Group for the Tsunami Warning System in the Pacific Ocean

Excerpt of the Answers of the International Warning Coordination Group for the Tsunami Warning System in the Pacific Ocean to frequently asked questions about the Indian Ocean Tsunami during the days after the disaster.

Q: "Can you tell whether there will be a similar tidal wave coming in the future from today, when and what will be the magnitude"

A: Unfortunately, scientists cannot predict when the next large earthquake will occur, what its size will be, and whether a tsunami will be generated. From history, however, we do observe that large or great earthquake don't occur often. And, since not all earthquakes generate tsunamis, it is a very infrequent occurrence. While there have been many aftershock earthquakes in Indonesia, Nicobar and Andaman Islands in the last day (27 so far of magnitude greater than 5.4), none of these have generated tsunamis. Of some concern is that sometimes, smaller earthquake might trigger underwater landslides which could generate tsunamis, but these tsunami generally only affect the area very near to the source., e.g., near Indonesia only.

Q: Has a tsunami hit the Indian Ocean before?

A: The 1883 Krakatau volcanic eruption has generated a destructive tsunami higher than 40 m on the Indonesian coast where more than 36 000 lives were lost. [[read more here](#)]

Q: Can an aftershock generate a tsunami?

A: Yes, but only if the aftershock is very large. Such a large aftershock is now very unlikely. No aftershocks of the magnitude 9.4 Alaska earthquake of 1964, nor of the magnitude 9.0 Central Aleutian earthquake of 1957 generated tsunamis large enough to be damaging. The great Chile earthquake of 1960 (magnitude 9.6) had a foreshock that generated a tsunami, but that foreshock was exceptionally large, magnitude 7.9.

Q: WHY DOES THE OCEAN OFTEN RECEDES AWAY FROM SHORE JUST BEFORE A TSUNAMI WAVE HITS LAND?

A: Although tsunamis are commonly depicted as a giant breaking wave with a crest towering over the land, this image is hardly if ever the case. Instead tsunamis can more accurately be described as a rapidly-rising tide without a developed wave face, which quickly and forcefully floods low-lying coastal areas.

Ironically, in deep, open-ocean water, tsunami waves are often less than a meter

high and can travel at speeds up to 1,000 kilometers per hour. However, as a tsunami wave approaches shallower waters along the coast, the leading edge of the wave begins to slow down while the rest of the wave begins to “pile up” behind it — causing it to grow in height while maintaining its strength. The crest of this wave can be several meters high by the time it reaches the shoreline. Sometimes, however, the crest of the wave isn’t the first to arrive — the trough is (this is often the case when the tsunami originates from an oceanic earthquake associated with land subsidence (sinking), which causing the water column to drop down at the earthquake site). In this case, instead of extremely high water levels, the first sign of a tsunami is what appears to be an unusually low low-tide. Although onlookers might be intrigued by this unusual site, this major withdrawal of the sea should be taken as a warning that a tsunami wave will soon follow.

As the coastal ocean waters recede from the shore, it often leaves large portions of the sea floor exposed. Individuals who do not recognize this as a common precursor to tsunami waves often find themselves gravitating toward the exposed shore. Unfortunately, they often perished as they rush to gather fish left high and dry on the exposed beach or to view never before seen rock and reef formations — only to be hit moments later by the incoming wall of water. Experts believe that a receding ocean may give individuals more familiar with “nature’s tsunami warning signal” as much as a five minute warning to evacuate the area. This cycle may be repeated several times as successive wave crests arrive five minutes to an hour apart. Seek higher ground and stay out of danger areas until an "all-clear" is issued by a competent authority.

There are several terms that are used to describe this phenomenon. Which one to use depends on the circumstances (e.g., whether the tsunami occurs along the ocean or is in a bay) and on personal preference. The terms “drawdown,” “negative wave” and “withdrawal” are most often used to describe this phenomenon. Less formal terms include “waterline receding” and “bay emptying.”

So remember:

- An approaching tsunami is sometimes preceded by a noticeable rise or fall of coastal water. This is a natural warning; people should move inland away from the shoreline.
- When the sea begins to drain away, do not go to investigate, but quickly go inland away from the shoreline.
- Never go down to the beach to watch for a tsunami. When you can see the wave you are too close to escape. Tsunami can move faster than a person can run!
- Stay tuned to your local radio, marine radio, (USA: NOAA Weather Radio), or television stations during a tsunami emergency - bulletins issued through your local emergency management office and the (USA:NOAA) National Weather Service offices can save your life.

Q: Historically, how often and where do tsunamis occur?

A: Tsunamis are disasters that can be generated in all of the world's oceans, inland seas, and in any large body of water. Each region of the world appears to have its own cycle of frequency and pattern in generating tsunamis that range in size from small to the large and highly destructive events. Most tsunamis occur in the Pacific Ocean (85%) and its marginal seas. The reason is that the Pacific covers more than one-third of the earth's surface and is surrounded by a series of mountain chains, deep-ocean trenches and island arcs called the "ring of fire" - where most earthquakes occur (off the coasts of Kamchatka, Japan, the Kuril Islands, Alaska and South America). It is in the ring of fire where the main tectonic plates forming the floor of the Pacific collide against themselves or against the continental plates that surround the ocean basin. Many tsunamis have also been generated in the seas which border the Pacific Ocean. Tsunamis are generated, by shallow earthquakes all around the Pacific, but those from earthquakes in the tropical Pacific tend to be modest in size. While such tsunamis in these areas may be devastating locally, their energy decays rapidly with distance. Usually, they are not destructive a few hundred kilometers away from their sources. That is not the case with tsunamis generated by great earthquakes in the North Pacific or along the Pacific coast of South America. On the average of about 6 times per century, a tsunami from one of these regions sweeps across the entire Pacific, is reflected from distant shores, and sets the entire ocean in motion for days. Although not as frequent, destructive tsunamis have been also been generated in the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans, the Mediterranean Sea and even within smaller bodies of water, like the Sea of Marmara, in Turkey.

The U.S. is vulnerable to tsunamis generated by seismic events anywhere along the Pacific Basin's Ring of Fire. The States of Hawaii, Alaska, Washington, Oregon, and California are vulnerable to tsunamis triggered by local seismic events as well as teletsunamis generated by distant seismic events along the Ring of Fire. The PTWC was established in 1946 as a result of a tsunami generated by a seismic event in Alaska's Aleutian Island Chain that led to a teletsunami affecting the West Coast of the U.S., Hawaii (severe damage and 165 fatalities) as well as Japan. Similarly, seismic events in South America have triggered both local and teletsunamic events.

During the 101-year period from 1900 to 2001, 796 tsunamis were observed or recorded in the Pacific Ocean according to the Tsunami Laboratory in Novosibirsk. 117 caused casualties and damage most near the source only; at least nine caused widespread destruction throughout the Pacific. The greatest number of tsunamis during any 1 year was 19 in 1938, but all were minor and caused no damage. There was no single year of the period that was free of tsunamis. 17% of the total tsunamis were generated in or near Japan. The distribution of tsunami generation in other areas is as follows: South America, 15%; New Guinea Solomon Islands, 13%; Indonesia, 11%; Kuril Islands and Kamchatka, 10%; Mexico and Central America, 10%; Philippines, 9%; New Zealand and Tonga, 7%; Alaska and West Coasts of Canada and the United States, 7%; and Hawaii, 3%.

Arundhati Roy, Winner of Sydney 2004 Peace Prize

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Indian novelist Arundhati Roy, author of the Booker Prize-winning novel *The God of Small Things*, received in November 2004 the 2004 Sydney Peace Prize in recognition for her campaigns for human rights and non-violence. The prize was awarded in 2003 to prominent Palestinian politician Hanan Ashrawi.

Peace & The New Corporate Liberation Theology

The 2004 Sydney Peace Prize lecture delivered by Arundhati Roy, at the Seymour Theatre Centre, University of Sydney.

It's official now. The Sydney Peace Foundation is neck deep in the business of gambling and calculated risk. Last year, very courageously, it chose Dr Hanan Ashrawi of Palestine for the Sydney Peace Prize. And, as if that were not enough, this year - of all the people in the world - it goes and chooses me!

However I'd like to make a complaint. My sources inform me that Dr Ashrawi had a picket all to herself. This is discriminatory. I demand equal treatment for all Peace Prizees. May I formally request the Foundation to organize a picket against me after the lecture? From what I've heard, it shouldn't be hard to organize. If this is insufficient notice, then tomorrow will suit me just as well.

When this year's Sydney Peace Prize was announced, I was subjected to some pretty arch remarks from those who know me well: Why did they give it to the biggest trouble-maker we know? Didn't anybody tell them that you don't have a peaceful bone in your body? And, memorably, Arundhati didi what's the Sydney Peace Prize? Was there a war in Sydney that you helped to stop?

Speaking for myself, I am utterly delighted to receive the Sydney Peace Prize. But I must accept it as a literary prize that honors a writer for her writing, because contrary to the many virtues that are falsely attributed to me, I'm not an activist, nor the leader of any mass movement, and I'm certainly not the "voice of the voiceless".

(We know of course there's really no such thing as the 'voiceless'. There are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard.) I am a writer who cannot claim to represent anybody but herself. So even though I would like to, it would be presumptuous of me to say that I accept this prize on behalf of those who are involved in the struggle of the powerless and the disenfranchised against the powerful. However, may I say I accept it as the Sydney Peace Foundation's expression of solidarity with a kind of politics, a kind of world-view, that millions of us around the world subscribe to?

It might seem ironic that a person who spends most of her time thinking of strategies of resistance and plotting to disrupt the putative peace, is given a peace prize. You must remember that I come from an essentially feudal country -and there are few things more disquieting than a feudal peace. Sometimes there's truth in old cliches. There can be no real peace without justice. And without resistance there will be no justice.

Today, it is not merely justice itself, but the idea of justice that is under attack. The assault on vulnerable, fragile sections of society is at once so complete, so cruel and so clever - all encompassing and yet specifically targeted, blatantly brutal and yet unbelievably insidious - that its sheer audacity has eroded our definition of justice. It has forced us to lower our sights, and curtail our expectations. Even among the well-intentioned, the expansive, magnificent concept of justice is gradually being substituted with the reduced, far more fragile discourse of 'human rights'.

If you think about it, this is an alarming shift of paradigm. The difference is that notions of equality, of parity have been pried loose and eased out of the equation. It's a process of attrition.

Almost unconsciously, we begin to think of justice for the rich and human rights for the poor. Justice for the corporate world, human rights for its victims. Justice for Americans, human rights for Afghans and Iraqis. Justice for the Indian upper castes, human rights for Dalits and Adivasis (if that.) Justice for white Australians, human rights for Aboriginals and immigrants (most times, not even that.)

It is becoming more than clear that violating human rights is an inherent and necessary part of the process of implementing a coercive and unjust political and economic structure on the world. Without the violation of human rights on an enormous scale, the neo-liberal project would remain in the dreamy realm of policy. But increasingly Human Rights violations are being portrayed as the unfortunate, almost accidental fallout of an otherwise acceptable political and economic system. As though they're a small problem that can be mopped up with a little extra attention from some NGOs. This is why in areas of heightened conflict - in Kashmir and in Iraq for example - Human Rights Professionals are regarded with a degree of suspicion. Many resistance movements in poor countries which are fighting huge injustice and questioning the underlying principles of what constitutes "liberation" and "development", view Human Rights NGOs as modern day missionaries who've come to take the ugly edge off Imperialism. To defuse political anger and to maintain the status quo.

It has been only a few weeks since a majority of Australians voted to re-elect Prime Minister John Howard who, among other things, led Australia to participate in the illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq. The invasion of Iraq will surely go down in history as one of the most cowardly wars ever fought. It was a war in which a band of rich nations, armed with enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world several

times over, rounded on a poor nation, falsely accused it of having nuclear weapons, used the United Nations to force it to disarm, then invaded it, occupied it and are now in the process of selling it.

I speak of Iraq, not because everybody is talking about it, (sadly at the cost of leaving other horrors in other places to unfurl in the dark), but because it is a sign of things to come. Iraq marks the

beginning of a new cycle .It offers us an opportunity to watch the

Corporate-Military cabal that has come to be known as 'Empire' at work. In the new Iraq the gloves are off.

As the battle to control the world's resources intensifies, economic colonialism through formal military aggression is staging a comeback.

Iraq is the logical culmination of the process of corporate globalization in which neo-colonialism and neo-liberalism have fused.

If we can find it in ourselves to peep behind the curtain of blood, we would glimpse the pitiless transactions taking place backstage.

But first, briefly, the stage itself.

In 1991 US President George Bush senior mounted Operation Desert Storm. Tens of thousands of Iraqis were killed in the war. Iraq's fields were bombed with more than 300 tonnes of depleted uranium, causing a fourfold increase in cancer among children. For more than

13 years, twenty four million Iraqi people have lived in a war zone and been denied food and medicine and clean water. In the frenzy around the US elections, let's remember that the levels of cruelty did not fluctuate whether the Democrats or the Republicans were in the White House. Half a million Iraqi children died because of the regime of economic sanctions in the run up to Operation Shock and Awe. Until recently, while there was a careful record of how many US soldiers had lost their lives, we had no idea of how many Iraqis had been killed. US General Tommy Franks said "We don't do body counts"

(meaning Iraqi body counts). He could have added "We don't do the Geneva Convention either." A new, detailed study, fast-tracked by the Lancet medical journal and extensively peer reviewed, estimates that 100,000 Iraqis have lost their lives since the 2003 invasion. That's one hundred halls full of people - like this one. That's one hundred halls full of friends, parents, siblings, colleagues, lovers. like you. The difference is that there aren't many children here today let's not forget Iraq's children. Technically that bloodbath is called precision bombing. In ordinary language, it's called butchering,

Most of this is common knowledge now. Those who support the invasion and vote for the invaders cannot take refuge in ignorance. They must truly believe that this epic brutality is right and just or, at the very least, acceptable because it's in their interest.

So the 'civilized' 'modern' world - built painstakingly on a legacy of genocide, slavery and colonialism - now controls most of the world's oil. And most of the world's weapons, most of the world's money, and most of the world's media. The embedded, corporate media in which the doctrine of Free Speech has been substituted by the doctrine of Free If You Agree Speech.

The UN's Chief Weapons Inspector Hans Blix said he found no evidence of nuclear weapons in Iraq. Every scrap of evidence produced by the US and British governments was found to be false - whether it was reports of Saddam Hussein buying uranium from Niger, or the report produced by British Intelligence which was discovered to have been plagiarized from an old student dissertation. And yet, in the prelude to the war, day after day the most 'respectable' newspapers and TV channels in the US, headlined the 'evidence' of Iraq's arsenal of weapons of nuclear weapons. It now turns out that the source of the manufactured 'evidence' of Iraq's arsenal of nuclear weapons was Ahmed Chalabi who, (like General Suharto of Indonesia, General Pinochet of Chile, the Shah of Iran, the Taliban and of course, Saddam Hussein himself) - was bankrolled with millions of dollars from the good old CIA.

And so, a country was bombed into oblivion. It's true there have been some murmurs of apology. Sorry 'bout that folks, but we have really have to move on. Fresh rumours are coming in about nuclear weapons in Eye-ran and Syria. And guess who is reporting on these fresh rumours?

The same reporters who ran the bogus 'scoops' on Iraq. The seriously embedded A Team.

The head of Britain's BBC had to step down and one man committed suicide because a BBC reporter accused the Blair administration of 'sexing up' intelligence reports about Iraq's WMD programme. But the head of Britain retains his job even though his government did much more than 'sex up' intelligence reports. It is responsible for the illegal invasion of a country and the mass murder of its people.

Visitors to Australia like myself, are expected to answer the following question when they fill in the visa form: Have you ever committed or been involved in the commission of war crimes or crimes against humanity or human rights? Would George Bush and Tony Blair get visas to Australia? Under the tenets of International Law they must surely qualify as war criminals.

However, to imagine that the world would change if they were removed from office is naive. The tragedy is that their political rivals have no real dispute with their policies. The fire and brimstone of the US election campaign was about who would

make a better 'Commander-in- Chief' and a more effective manager of the American Empire. Democracy no longer offers voters real choice. Only specious choice.

Even though no weapons of mass destruction have been found in Iraq - stunning new evidence has revealed that Saddam Hussein was planning a weapons programme. (Like I was planning to win an Olympic Gold in synchronized swimming.) Thank goodness for the doctrine of pre- emptive strike. God knows what other evil thoughts he harbored - sending Tampax in the mail to American senators, or releasing female rabbits in burqas into the London underground. No doubt all will be revealed in the free and fair trial of Saddam Hussein that's coming up soon in the New Iraq.

All except the chapter in which we would learn of how the US and Britain plied him with money and material assistance at the time he was carrying out murderous attacks on Iraqi Kurds and Shias. All except the chapter in which we would learn that a 12,000 page report submitted by the Saddam Hussein government to the UN, was censored by the United States because it lists twenty-four US corporations that participated in Iraq's pre-Gulf War nuclear and conventional weapons programme. (They include Bechtel, DuPont, , Eastman Kodak, Hewlett Packard, International Computer Systems and Unisys.)

So Iraq has been 'liberated.' Its people have been subjugated and its markets have been 'freed'. That's the anthem of neo-liberalism. Free the markets. Screw the people.

The US government has privatized and sold entire sectors of Iraq's economy. Economic policies and tax laws have been re-written. Foreign companies can now buy 100% of Iraqi firms and expatriate the profits.

This is an outright violation of international laws that govern an occupying force, and is among the main reasons for the stealthy, hurried charade in which power was 'handed over' to an 'interim Iraqi government'. Once handing over of Iraq to the Multi-nationals is complete, a mild dose of genuine democracy won't do any harm. In fact it might be good PR for the Corporate version of Liberation Theology, otherwise known as New Democracy.

Not surprisingly, the auctioning of Iraq caused a stampede at the feeding trough. Corporations like Bechtel and Halliburton, the company that US Vice-president Dick Cheney once headed, have won huge contracts for 'reconstruction' work. A brief c.v of any one of these corporations would give us a lay person's grasp of how it all works. - not just in Iraq, but all over the world. Say we pick Bechtel - only because poor little Halliburton is under investigation on charges of overpricing fuel deliveries to Iraq and for its contracts to 'restore' Iraq's oil industry which came with a pretty serious price-tag - 2.5 billion dollars.

The Bechtel Group and Saddam Hussein are old business acquaintances.

Many of their dealings were negotiated by none other than Donald Rumsfeld. In 1988, after Saddam Hussein gassed thousands of Kurds, Bechtel signed contracts with his government to build a dual-use chemical plant in Baghdad.

Historically, the Bechtel Group has had and continues to have inextricably close links to the Republican establishment. You could call Bechtel and the Reagan Bush administration a team. Former Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger was a Bechtel general counsel. Former Deputy Secretary of Energy, W. Kenneth Davis was Bechtel's vice president. Riley Bechtel, the company chairman, is on the President's Export Council. Jack Sheehan, a retired marine corps general, is a senior vice president at Bechtel and a member of the US Defense Policy Board. Former Secretary of State George Shultz, who is on the Board of Directors of the Bechtel Group, was the chairman of the advisory board of the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq.

When he was asked by the New York Times whether he was concerned about the appearance of a conflict of interest between his two 'jobs', he said, "I don't know that Bechtel would particularly benefit from it [The invasion of Iraq]. But if there's work to be done, Bechtel is the type of company that could do it." Bechtel has been awarded reconstruction contracts in Iraq worth over a billion dollars, which include contracts to re-build power generation plants, electrical grids, water supply, sewage systems, and airport facilities. Never mind revolving doors, this -if it weren't so drenched in blood- would be a bedroom farce.

Between 2001 and 2002, nine out of thirty members of the US Defense Policy Group were connected to companies that were awarded Defense contracts worth 76 billion dollars. Time was when weapons were manufactured in order to fight wars. Now wars are manufactured in order to sell weapons.

Between 1990 and 2002 the Bechtel group has contributed \$3.3 million to campaign funds, both Republican and Democrat. Since 1990 it has won more than 2000 government contracts worth more than 11 billion dollars. That's an incredible return on investment, wouldn't you say?

And Bechtel has footprints around the world. That's what being a multi-national means.

The Bechtel Group first attracted international attention when it signed a contract with Hugo Banzer, the former Bolivian dictator, to privatize the water supply in the city of Cochabamba. The first thing Bechtel did was to raise the price of water. Hundreds of thousands of people who simply couldn't afford to pay Bechtel's bills came out onto the streets. A huge strike paralyzed the city. Martial law was declared. Although eventually Bechtel was forced to flee its offices, it is currently negotiating an exit payment of millions of dollars from the Bolivian government for the loss of potential profits.

Which, as we'll see, is growing into a popular corporate sport.

In India, Bechtel along with General Electric are the new owners of the notorious and currently defunct Enron power project. The Enron contract, which legally binds the Government of the State of Maharashtra to pay Enron a sum of 30 billion dollars, was the largest contract ever signed in India. Enron was not shy to boast about the millions of dollars it had spent to "educate" Indian politicians and bureaucrats. The Enron contract in Maharashtra, which was India's first 'fast-track' private power project, has come to be known as the most massive fraud in the country's history. (Enron was another of the Republican Party's major campaign contributors). The electricity that Enron produced was so exorbitant that the government decided it was cheaper not to buy electricity and pay Enron the mandatory fixed charges specified in the contract. This means that the government of one of the poorest countries in the world was paying Enron 220 million US dollars a year not to produce electricity!

Now that Enron has ceased to exist, Bechtel and GE are suing the Indian Government for 5.6 billion US dollars. This is not even a minute fraction of the sum of money that they (or Enron) actually invested in the project. Once more, it's a projection of profit they would have made had the project materialized. To give you an idea of scale 5.6 billion dollars a little more than the amount that the Government of India would need annually, for a rural employment guarantee scheme that would provide a subsistence wage to millions of people currently living in abject poverty, crushed by debt, displacement, chronic malnutrition and the WTO. This in a country where farmers steeped in debt are being driven to suicide, not in their hundreds, but in their thousands. The proposal for a Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme is being mocked by India's corporate class as an unreasonable, utopian demand being floated by the 'lunatic' and newly powerful left. Where will the money come from? they ask derisively. And yet, any talk of reneging on a bad contract with a notoriously corrupt corporation like Enron, has the same cynics hyperventilating about capital flight and the terrible risks of 'creating a bad investment climate'. The arbitration between Bechtel, GE and the Government of India is taking place right now in London. Bechtel and GE have reason for hope. The Indian Finance Secretary who was instrumental in approving the disastrous Enron contract has come home after a few years with the IMF. Not just home, home with a promotion. He is now Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

Think about it: The notional profits of a single corporate project would be enough to provide a hundred days of employment a year at minimum wages (calculated at a weighted average across different

states) for 25 million people. That's five million more than the population of Australia. That is the scale of the horror of neo-liberalism.

The Bechtel story gets worse. In what can only be called unconscionable, Naomi Klein writes that Bechtel has successfully sued war-torn Iraq for 'war reparations' and 'lost profits'. It has been awarded 7 million dollars.

So, all you young management graduates don't bother with Harvard and Wharton - here's the Lazy Manager's Guide to Corporate Success:

First, stock your Board with senior government servants. Next, stock the government with members of your board. Add oil and stir. When no one can tell where the government ends and your company begins, collude with your government to equip and arm a cold-blooded dictator in an oil-rich country. Look away while he kills his own people.

Simmer gently. Use the time collect to collect a few billion dollars in government contracts. Then collude with your government once again while it topples the dictator and bombs his subjects, taking to specifically target essential infrastructure, killing a hundred thousand people on the side. Pick up another billion dollars or so worth of contracts to 'reconstruct' the infrastructure. To cover travel and incidentals, sue for reparations for lost profits from the devastated country. Finally, diversify. Buy a TV station, so that next war around you can showcase your hardware and weapons technology masquerading as coverage of the war. And finally finally, institute a Human Rights Prize in your company's name. You could give the first one posthumously to Mother Teresa. She won't be able to turn it down or argue back.

Invaded and occupied Iraq has been made to pay out 200 million dollars in "reparations" for lost profits to corporations like Halliburton, Shell, Mobil, Nestle, Pepsi, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Toys R Us. That's apart from its 125 billion dollar sovereign debt forcing it to turn to the IMF, waiting in the wings like the angel of death, with its Structural Adjustment program. (Though in Iraq there don't seem to be many structures left to adjust. Except the shadowy Al Qaeda.)

In New Iraq, privatization has broken new ground. The US Army is increasingly recruiting private mercenaries to help in the occupation. The advantage with mercenaries is that when they're killed they're not included in the US soldiers' body count. It helps to manage public opinion, which is particularly important in an election year. Prisons have been privatized. Torture has been privatized. We have seen what that leads to. Other attractions in New Iraq include newspapers being shut down. Television stations bombed.

Reporters killed. US soldiers have opened fire on crowds of unarmed protestors killing scores of people. The only kind of resistance that has managed to survive is as crazed and brutal as the occupation itself. Is there space for a secular, democratic, feminist, non-violent resistance in Iraq? There isn't really.

That is why it falls to those of us living outside Iraq to create that mass-based, secular and non-violent resistance to the US occupation. If we fail to do that, then we run the risk of allowing the idea of resistance to be hi-jacked and conflated with terrorism and that will be a pity because they are not the same thing.

So what does peace mean in this savage, corporatized, militarized world? What does it mean in a world where an entrenched system of appropriation has created a situation in which poor countries which have been plundered by colonizing regimes for centuries are steeped in debt to the very same countries that plundered them, and have to repay that debt at the rate of 382 billion dollars a year? What does peace mean in a world in which the combined wealth of the world's 587 billionaires exceeds the combined gross domestic product of the world's 135 poorest countries? Or when rich countries that pay farm subsidies of a billion dollars a day, try and force poor countries to drop their subsidies? What does peace mean to people in occupied Iraq, Palestine, Kashmir, Tibet and Chechnya? Or to the aboriginal people of Australia? Or the Ogoni of Nigeria? Or the Kurds in Turkey?

Or the Dalits and Adivasis of India? What does peace mean to non-muslims in Islamic countries, or to women in Iran, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan? What does it mean to the millions who are being uprooted from their lands by dams and development projects? What does peace mean to the poor who are being actively robbed of their resources and for whom everyday life is a grim battle for water, shelter, survival and, above all, some semblance of dignity? For them, peace is war.

We know very well who benefits from war in the age of Empire. But we must also ask ourselves honestly who benefits from peace in the age of Empire? War mongering is criminal. But talking of peace without talking of justice could easily become advocacy for a kind of capitulation. And talking of justice without unmasking the institutions and the systems that perpetrate injustice, is beyond hypocritical.

It's easy to blame the poor for being poor. It's easy to believe that the world is being caught up in an escalating spiral of terrorism and war. That's what allows the American President to say "You're either with us or with the terrorists." But we know that that's a spurious choice. We know that terrorism is only the privatization of war. That terrorists are the free marketers of war. They believe that the legitimate use of violence is not the sole prerogative of the State.

It is mendacious to make moral distinction between the unspeakable brutality of terrorism and the indiscriminate carnage of war and occupation. Both kinds of violence are unacceptable. We cannot support one and condemn the other.

The real tragedy is that most people in the world are trapped between the horror of a putative peace and the terror of war. Those are the two sheer cliffs we're hemmed in by. The question is: How do we climb out of this crevasse?

For those who are materially well-off, but morally uncomfortable, the first question you must ask yourself is do you really want to climb out of it? How far are you prepared to go? Has the crevasse become too comfortable?

If you really want to climb out, there's good news and bad news.

The good news is that the advance party began the climb some time ago. They're already half way up. Thousands of activists across the world have been hard at work preparing footholds and securing the ropes to make it easier for the rest of us. There isn't only one path up. There are hundreds of ways of doing it. There are hundreds of battles being fought around the world that need your skills, your minds, your resources. No battle is irrelevant. No victory is too small.

The bad news is that colorful demonstrations, weekend marches and annual trips to the World Social Forum are not enough. There have to be targeted acts of real civil disobedience with real consequences.

Maybe we can't flip a switch and conjure up a revolution. But there are several things we could do. For example, you could make a list of those corporations who have profited from the invasion of Iraq and have offices here in Australia. You could name them, boycott them, occupy their offices and force them out of business. If it can happen in Bolivia, it can happen in India. It can happen in Australia. Why not?

That's only a small suggestion. But remember that if the struggle were to resort to violence, it will lose vision, beauty and imagination. Most dangerous of all, it will marginalize and eventually victimize women. And a political struggle that does not have women at the heart of it, above it, below it and within it is no struggle at all.

The point is that the battle must be joined. As the wonderful American historian Howard Zinn put it: You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train.

Source: Sydney Morning Herald - Thursday November 4 2004

"When this year's Sydney Peace Prize was announced, I was subjected to some pretty arch remarks from those who know me well: Why did they give it to the biggest trouble-maker we know? Didn't anybody tell them that you don't have a peaceful bone in your body? And, memorably, Arundhati didi what's the Sydney Peace Prize? Was there a war in Sydney that you helped to stop?"

Women Chiefs of Enterprises 2004-5 National Research Project

Voicing Women Managers' Unemployment Experience in Australia: The Hidden Toll

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Women Chiefs of Enterprises 2004-5 National Research Project

Voicing Women Managers' Unemployment Experience in Australia: The Hidden Toll

Overview

We are researching the unemployment experience of women managers in Australia. Very little is known of this experience for women, with assumptions made that the experience would be similar to males. However, a recent study in the UK (Fielden and Davidson 2001) demonstrated that women managers were affected

economically and emotionally far greater than their male counterparts. It is noted elsewhere that this experience pushes women into setting up their own business, becoming a consultant or withdrawing more quickly from the labour force. These managers are more likely to be mature-aged (45+) which adds to the problem of finding work in addition to the barriers of gender discrimination and having greater skill and expertise than some employers.

Aims of the Project

1. To investigate the experience of Australian managerial women who have recently been, or presently are, unemployed.
2. Provide timely input to government policy.
3. To describe which supports were found to be helpful in this period.
4. To collect information on those choosing to set up their own business.
5. To present these findings in an easy format to be published in a handbook and on a website to assist other women managers.

How this will help unemployed women managers in the future?

1. The investigation will hopefully improve the capability of government income maintenance and employment services to become more efficacious for women.
2. It will maximise future opportunities for women's economic development and security by passing on important information to ameliorate and overcome the issues in trying to gain work, for example, reshaping expertise, developing new opportunities, implementing support systems at mature-age.

If you are a woman manager who is currently unemployed or had an unemployment experience in the last 5 years, please go to:

www.unemployedwomenmanagers.com.au to tell us your story.

Please pass this on to other women who may be in the same position, currently or in the recent past.

The funding for this research is provided through the

Women's Development Programme 2004-05, Office for Women.

If you require more information about the project please email the project manager

Terry Sheridan at: terry@guardianangelpeople.com.au

or call (08) 9226-4359

Complaints of Sexual Harassment in Employment

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Complaints of Sexual Harassment in Employment

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's national survey on the incidence of sexual harassment indicated that 41% of women and 14% of men had

ever experienced sexual harassment (based on the definition in the federal Sex Discrimination Act).

72% of sexual harassment in the workplace reported in the survey was male to female; 19% was female to male; 7% was male to male and 2% was female to female.

A package of materials on workplace sexual harassment, including the results of a national telephone survey which found that more than one in four Australians have been sexually harassed, was launched by Federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner Pru Goward and Attorney General Philip Ruddock in 2004.

The package includes the following resources:

- ***20 Years On: The Challenges Continue: Sexual Harassment in the Australian Workplace*** reports the findings of a national household telephone survey of 1,006 Australians between the ages of 18 and 64 years conducted by the Gallup Organization on behalf of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) in 2003.
- ***Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: A Code of Practice for Employers*** clearly explains what constitutes sexual harassment, how employers can be liable and how they can avoid liability by taking all reasonable steps to prevent this occurring in their workplaces.
- ***A Bad Business: Review of Sexual harassment in employment complaints 2002*** reviews 152 complaints of sexual harassment in employment finalised by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) in 2002.

[Click here to access the Sexual Harassment in the Workplace resources](#)

'Good practice, good business' – a step-by-step guide to a discrimination free workplace

Federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner and Commissioner responsible for Age Discrimination, Pru Goward, launched on 1 December 2004 a new employers' pack titled 'Good practice, good business' – eliminating discrimination and harassment in your workplace.

Commissioner Goward launched the new resources at the Australian Stock Exchange in Sydney along with the Managing Director and CEO of the Australian Stock Exchange, Mr Tony D'Aloisio.

"As employers you want to be able to dip into the biggest pool of workplace talent you can find. Falling birth-rates, stable immigration flows and a rapidly ageing population mean that the pool is changing shape," said Ms Goward. "It makes sense for employers to take a fresh look at older workers, at workers with family responsibilities, at workers whose first language is not English, at Indigenous workers and those with a disability."

'Good practice, good business' includes a CD-Rom, brochures, posters and a new 'Information for employers' website. The pack contains resources for employers working in large and small business, as well as information about age, race and disability discrimination, sexual harassment and pregnancy, paid maternity leave and workplace bullying.

"A dysfunctional workplace where racial discrimination may be rife, people are promoted because of their gender or denied training opportunities because of their age, means lower morale, lower productivity, higher staff turnover and higher absenteeism. Not to mention stress claims, court cases and countless hours of an employer's time sorting out the problems," Ms Goward said. "And of course, it can be harmful and distressing for the individual employees involved."

"For the employer, the inevitable consequence is added cost. A discrimination and harassment free workplace minimises costs to business - it's that simple."

The resources have been designed for use in the workplace and the package will be distributed widely through business and employer organisations, recruitment agencies, government departments and unions.

"I hope employers will download the CD onto their intranet for all employees to access and that they will make training on these issues an essential part of induction for new employees.

I also trust employers will find the resources useful and easy to use and that they will see the benefits of a diverse and motivated workforce," the Commissioner said.

If you would like to receive a 'Good practice, good business' employers' pack, contact HREOC's Publications Officer on Ph: (02) 9284 9600, Fax: (02) 9284 9611 or email: employers@humanrights.gov.au

A package of materials on workplace sexual harassment, including the results of a national telephone survey which found that more than one in four Australians have been sexually harassed, was launched by Federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner Pru Goward and Attorney General Philip Ruddock in 2004.

'Good practice, good business' – a step-by-step guide to a discrimination free workplace

Federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner and Commissioner responsible for Age Discrimination, Pru Goward, also launched on 1 December 2004 a new employers' pack titled 'Good practice, good business' – eliminating discrimination and harassment in your workplace. Research

Attitudes to Social Justice by Peter Taylor-Gooby, Professor of Social Policy at the University of Kent

This Paper published in February 2005 by the Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr), UK's leading progressive think tank established in 1988, reveals that 21st-century women are still expected to take on the majority of household duties, including childcare, while holding down demanding jobs. Despite the invention of househusbands and the rise of the so-called new man, gender inequality is rife among couples, with many people still believing that a woman's primary role is to stay at home.

The analysis is based mainly on the annual British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey, the most authoritative survey of public attitudes in the UK which is carried out on an annual basis by the National Centre for Social Research.

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The Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr) is the UK's leading progressive think tank and was established in 1988. Its role is to bridge the political divide between the social democratic and liberal traditions, the intellectual divide between academia and the policy making establishment and the cultural divide between government and civil society.

Excerpt from : Attitudes to Social Justice by Professor Peter Taylor-Gooby

"Child care: an emerging priority?"

One area of public spending on which a link to any net increase in tax has not been tested is child care. This is an issue intricately tied up with a desire to improve women's life chances and achieving a higher degree of gender equality. Enhancing opportunities for women has been a strong theme of recent public debate. Social and economic change in this area has been profound in recent decades. The big increase in overall levels of women's involvement in paid work occurred during the three decades from the 1950s to the 1980s and since then participation has increased only slightly (from 71 per cent in 1990 to 72 per cent by 2001). However, the rates of participation in paid work for mothers with a child under five have changed more rapidly. Participation for this group increased from just five per cent in 1990 to 48 per cent by 2001 (Dench et al, 2002, quoted in Crompton *et al*, 2003).

Public attitudes have shifted too. The proportion believing that a woman's primary role is to stay at home and provide domestic support for a male bread-winner has halved during the past fifteen years from about a third to a sixth. Substantial majorities now believe that mothers can establish warm relationships with their children when they work, and that family life is not undermined when women are in full-time paid work. This decline of traditionalism is slightly tempered by a widely-held view that women should interrupt careers or work part-time when

children are under school age (Crompton et al, 2003, 164-6). Many people accept that women should seek work, but tend to see domestic duties and particularly care of young children as primarily a mother's, rather than a father's, responsibility. Public attitudes assume a high degree of gender equality in the public sphere of paid work, but not in the private sphere of the home, with sombre implications for the 'double burden' to be borne by some women.

As table 8 shows, it is only when children are under school age that significant numbers of people think their mothers should stay at home. Asking just mothers this question produces very similar results. 70 per cent of mothers think that women should return to work after their youngest child starts school; 57 per cent think they should work full time again when their children leave home."

"Despite higher demand among women themselves to work, gender inequalities remain persistent. Furthermore, issues such as stress at work, particularly for middle-class women, are increasing in prevalence (Compton *et al*, 2003). Demand for more equal female participation in the labour market, and for a better work-life balance raises questions about the availability, or otherwise, of high quality child care. It also raises the issue of whether people think that government should contribute to the cost of provision, assuming that women are still expected to carry the lion's share of domestic responsibilities. Table 9 shows that in 2002 there were high levels of support for government help with the costs of child care. This view holds for all groups of mothers shown, though it is weaker in the case of married mothers where the child is under school age. It is only with regards to single mothers with children of school age that we can track attitudes over time.

Contrary to the trends in many other areas, there has been a growth in the percentage who thinks the government should help meet the costs. In 1994 only 52 per cent agreed with the statement. This rose to 57 per cent by 1995 and reached 62 per cent in 1998, since when it has been roughly constant.

It is striking that the earlier question (Table 3), which asked about sanctions for lone mothers as benefit recipients who do not attend work-focused interviews, produced a punitive response. Focus on single parents as mothers and providers (Table 9) generates more positive support. The greater public backing when a role in which a parent provides care for children, rather than one in which she is presented as a passive beneficiary, is emphasized, adds to the evidence that welfare redistribution is more strongly endorsed when it is seen to go to those making a reciprocal contribution.

Current policies are not successful in enabling people to achieve satisfactory work-life balance, and the impact is not confined to women. At the same time, endorsement for provision that enables women to participate in employment while also sustaining childcare is strong. The approach has the advantage that it combines the promotion of equal opportunities with meeting the needs of children, two themes both strongly supported in public opinion. This may well be an area in which tax increases would be tolerated, provided that they were linked to ensuring

the availability of reliable and affordable daycare. It is noteworthy that improving the quality of life for children has been one of the strongest themes in progressive discussion of welfare policy across Europe.

(Esping-Andersen *et al.*, 2002, ch 2)."

Full Paper, Attitudes to Social Justice by Professor Peter Taylor-Gooby

<http://www.ippr.org/publications/files/attitudes%20to%20social%20justice.pdf>

Women and the Economy: Recent Trends in Job Loss, Labor Force Participation, and Wages

<http://www.iwpr.org/pdf/B245.pdf>

A new briefing paper from The Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR), a scientific research organization in USA dedicated to informing and stimulating debate on public policy issues of critical importance to women and their families. This Paper by Heidi Hartmann, Ph.D., Vicky Lovell, Ph.D., and Misha Werschkul, presents new findings on women's economic status following the 2001 recession and reviews some key trends in women's employment. In the months since the official end of the recession in November 2001, women's employment has returned to pre-recession levels, but the lack of job growth in this period means millions of jobs for women are missing. At the same time, the long-term increase in women's labor force participation has stalled, and the gender wage gap has increased.