



S-CAR News

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S-CAR's Multitude of Initiatives: The School's evolution has positioned its thinkers and learners at a prime juncture of knowledge and policy

By Dr. Andrea Bartoli, S-CAR Dean, abartoli@gmu.edu
and Borislava Manojlovic, S-CAR PhD Candidate and Drucie French Cumbie Director of Research, bmanojlo@gmu.edu

During the fall semester of 2012, the S-CAR Faculty Board encountered the invitation to consider the learning and network revolution as a way to frame many of the changes that have been occurring in the School in recent years. The move from the trailer to the world has positioned the School at a very interesting juncture of knowledge and policy. From the studies of narrative, peacemaking, genocide prevention and memory to the study of gender, the School is discovering its riches not in uniformity and consensus but rather in the vitality of many explorations opening new areas of inquiry and engaging new actors and new processes. We have seen the establishment of the Center for the Study of Narrative and Conflict Resolution, the Center for Peacemaking Practice, the

Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict, but also the launching of the Program on Memory, History and Conflict and the Genocide Prevention Program. Recently the Insight Conflict Resolution Program has engaged the School's faculty, students, and staff in examining every day challenges of law enforcement officers in Lowell, MA and Memphis, TN and in trying to reduce the severity and lethality of retaliatory violence through insight.

The dynamism within the School has moved in the direction of new initiatives making CRDC courses essentially a realizable paradigm of practice. How would then this diverse, rich, and lively community maintain its internal coherence, its synergy and integration? One of the future challenges of the School lies in finding a way to maintain

Continued on Page 7

Commentary

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Alumni Spotlight: Viewing Conflict with Different Lenses
- 3 Student Opinion: Moving Forward on Burma
- 4 Events: A Look Back: 2012 S-CAR Holiday Party
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances
- 6 Spotlight: Catherine Walsh
Spotlight: Ernest Ogbozor



ICAR graduates and faculty, 1997. Photo: S-CAR.

Viewing Conflict with Different Lenses: LTC Klemens 'Van' Schmidt's Transition from Active Military Status to the CAR Program at George Mason University

By Jean-Renold Altidor, S-CAR MS Student, jaltidor@masonlive.gmu.edu

Lieutenant Colonel Schmidt (retired), or 'Van' as he prefers to be called these days, is new neither to conflict nor to diversity. His childhood and subsequent military duty exposed him to a series of environments that made him feel at home at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. As he put it, "I was so pleased with the Certificate Program, I didn't want the educational and interpersonal journey to end, [hence] the Master's program."

Van grew up in a very ethnically diverse neighborhood of the San Francisco Bay Area of California that is famous for a rebellious and unorthodox culture—depending on who is making the determination of "orthodoxy." While growing up, he lived on the fringe of the 'Berkeley Movement' but with a better appreciation for the 'environmental' aspects of it.

His high school years in Richmond, California were marked by a tumultuous period as school systems nationwide grappled with integration. Racial tensions were very high as four ethnic groups—African-American, Asian, white, and 'other'—tried to coexist in that part of California. Gang violence in the late 1970s and early 1980s reached a feverish peak nationwide. Van's neighborhood was no stranger to the same ills. Those days, Richmond was constantly listed as a Top-10 'Murder City' in the United States, and still is today. His high school was one of the first to use metal detectors.

At 17, Van left high school early and enlisted in the United States Army Reserve to escape the growing street violence and sheer boredom. After six months of basic and skill training he returned home and enrolled in community college in a medical assistant program. Through working in local clinics and hospitals, he saw more than his fair share of gunshot wounds and overdoses. Van eventually found his way to University of California, Berkeley where he received a U.S. Army commission at the age of 20. That was very early considering that the average age for a new officer is normally 23.

The US Army tends to make officers 'jacks of most trades.' During their careers, officers are usually exposed to a variety of jobs where they learn different skills. Van's assignments took him from the Corps of Engineers, Civil Affairs, the military space program, and ultimately to assisting in the setup of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM). Additionally, his work as a Civil Affairs Officer exposed him to a variety of cultures



LTC Klemens 'Van' Schmidt. Photo: S-CAR.

in the Pacific region and Africa. Van developed training plans to train soldiers that were deploying to Bosnia, Haiti, Guam (supporting the Kurdish refugee operations), and Somalia. Later, he worked as a strategist (US Government Interagency Policy Analysis) for the Pentagon Army Staff's War Plans Division, where he participated in the design and 'raising the flag' of AFRICOM. As one of the first soldiers of AFRICOM, he was assigned as the chief of an operation responsible for combatting terrorism in Africa.

A highlight of Van's military career came as the Deputy for Humanitarian and Health Assistance for AFRICOM (in support of USAID and the State Department) when in 2009, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton made the pledge at 'Heal Africa' (Goma) to address Sex and Gender Based Violence in the Eastern DRC (Goma/Bukavu). AFRICOM was 'asked' to execute the pledge and Van had the opportunity to use some old engineering skills. He traveled to the region to conduct engineering planning to construct and renovate hospitals, schools, and faith-based centers in the DRC. This job afforded him trips to other African countries, especially to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Tanzania, and Djibouti.

As Van puts it, "I have never thought about a 'role model' in conflict resolution, but I have met what I

Continued on Page 7

Moving Forward on Burma: A Guide to US Aid and Peacebuilding Efforts

By Kyaw Lin Htut, MA (Economics), MS Student (Conflict Analysis and Resolution), klhtut@gmail.com

In the wake of President Obama's recent visit to Myanmar (also known as Burma), it is important for policy analysts and conflict resolution practitioners alike to reassess the United States' role in facilitating and encouraging peacebuilding in Burma. This article examines the ways in which the United States and multilateral organizations such as the UN and ASEAN can help resolve many of Burma's pressing challenges.

Burma currently faces three distinct but interconnected dimensions to conflict: an armed conflict between the government and various ethnic organizations (in pursuit of ethnic federalism); communal violence, particularly amongst Muslim minorities such as the Rohingya (viewed by many Burmese as illegal migrant Bengalis); and a civil-military political conflict between the government and the pro-democracy movement (led by Aung San Suu Kyi as a figurehead). Any peacebuilding intervention must simultaneously address these three dimensions, and create sustainable, self-reinforcing structures that promote collaborative problem solving. In order for any peacebuilding interventions to be successful, interveners should keep in mind the following considerations.

Assessment: Conflict in Burma is not singular in nature, but is instead characterized by a series of interwoven relationships involving multiple parties, divergent and convergent interests, and the influence and intervention of external actors. In order to have a full understanding of the conflict, any intervention should start first and foremost with a comprehensive mapping and analysis that takes into account the causal linkages and the complexity of interconnected relationships between actors.

Coordination: Coordination amongst external interveners, as well as coordination with local stakeholders will be a top priority before any peacebuilding intervention efforts take place. In



Burma/Myanmar. Photo: thebestfriend.org.

order to do so, the establishment of an independent, all-inclusive body that can be used as a forum to coordinate peacebuilding efforts is necessary. The body should be comprised of representatives from both the international community/donor organizations, as well as representatives from the Burmese government, the NLD, ethnic parties, and civil society. This body should serve to identify funding priorities, capabilities and weaknesses; to disseminate information to all members; and to jointly delegate roles and responsibilities. Due to the time-sensitive nature of peacebuilding, this body may at first be

formed ad hoc, but should eventually be incorporated into the formal structure of the Burmese state (while maintaining its independence) in order to promote local ownership and sustainability.

Phased Intervention Programs: Conflict in Burma exists on three "levels," namely, its Symptoms, Relationships, and Underlying Causes. It is difficult to address each level without addressing the prior; yet at the same time, interventions that only address one level of conflict will become

Continued on Page 5



The Rohingya in Burma. Photo: EU Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection.

analysis

Looking Back: 2012 Holiday Party

Another Side to the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

By Sixte Vigny Nimuraba, S-CAR MS Student, vnmurab@masonlive.gmu.edu

EVENTS

The School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution is mainly known for advancing theory, practice, and research in the field of conflict analysis and resolution. However, those who attended the S-CAR Holiday Party in December 2012 witnessed that S-CAR is not only distinguished in its academic excellence but also in promoting an inclusive community through activities that help to create social cohesion.

The S-CAR Dean, Andrea Bartoli, has a tradition of organizing holiday parties at the end of every fall semester for faculty, students, friends and families. However, The Student Association and the Africa Working Group (AWG) were asked to co-sponsor the event this year, which signified the emerging cooperation among the various bodies in the School. The event was organized under the theme “From Conflict Analysis to the Celebration of African culture” and it featured authentic delicacies, cultural displays, and dances from the different students at S-CAR representing the African nations of Sudan, Rwanda, Ghana, Liberia, Somalia, Cameroon, Nigeria, South Africa, Cote d’Ivoire, Burundi, Congo DR, Ethiopia, and Mali.

During the cultural displays, an individual noted, “This is the first time I have seen a lady carrying a basket on her head and walking and dancing with it at the same time. I was largely surprised to see that the basket was not empty but filled with bananas.”



Students participating in a cultural display. Photo: S-CAR.



S-CAR Holiday Party Activities. Photo: S-CAR.

Another participant, after having a taste of the African delicacies, asked if there were any African restaurants in Arlington where she could get similar food, or even if someone present would volunteer to teach her how to make it herself.

The night showed that the S-CAR community could do fun and exciting events while at the same time keeping the traditions of the School. It was a night of fun, relaxation and enlightenment as a staff member stated, “The culture difference within the S-CAR community has a chance to show how it could build strong ties and collaboration in such a way that everyone will have a chance to observe and appreciate one another.” For me in particular, the event was a memorable one. It made me reflect on a discussion we had in a class, about the different ways that people can promote peace by engaging in conflict resolution. I also reflected on an adage that I was told when I attended the Shinnyo Foundation retreat in San Francisco last summer about the “six billion paths to peace.” This implies that every one among the roughly six billion people on earth today has a unique way of contributing to peace. I am looking forward to another Holiday Party for a repeat of the celebration of S-CAR diversity. ■

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Wednesday, April 17, 2013

Stories and the People Who Tell Them
Truland Building, Room 555, 3:00pm-5:00pm

Thursday, April 18, 2013

US, China Engaging Myanmar / ASEAN: Implications for Global Peace and Prosperity
Truland Building, 7th Floor West Wing, 11:00am-12:30pm
<http://scar.gmu.edu/events-roster>

30 Years at S-CAR

Learning from the Past, Imagining the Future

Saturday, April 20, 2013

Founders Hall, Room 126, 11:30am-7:00pm

On April 20th 2013 S-CAR will come together in Founders Hall on the Arlington Campus to celebrate our thirtieth anniversary. And we do mean celebrate: In addition to lunch and a swing band (that means dancing!) and a cash bar in the later afternoon, the event will feature panels and exhibits. Our theme is “Thirty Years at S-CAR: Learning from the Past, Imagining the Future.” Details and a formal invitation (if you haven’t already received one via email) can be found on the S-CAR website. Please RSVP before April 10.

Moving Forward on Burma

Continued from page 3

flawed and unsustainable. For example, heavy fighting amongst armed groups and internal displacement of civilians are symptoms that can be addressed through negotiating a cease-fire and providing humanitarian aid. However, interventions must go beyond this level in order to address the asymmetric relationships (e.g., centralization of power), and eventually address the underlying causes (e.g., lack of self-determination and basic needs) to create more equitable structures (e.g., compromise for local governance and resource sharing).

Simultaneous, Multi-Faceted Intervention Programs: Interventions at each level of conflict should simultaneously incorporate the following four elements, namely, dialogue, security, development, and reconciliation (consistent with the Obama Doctrine of Defense, Diplomacy, and Development). Dialogue encompasses both political and social dialogue, the overall goal of which would be to bring conflicting parties towards a collaborative problem-solving and consensus-building framework in which issues can be openly addressed without resorting to violence. Security refers to the ability of the state to provide rule of law through consent, as well as the broader aspects of human security. In Burma, this would involve both a “state building” and “nation building” effort that includes the cessation of hostilities and the reform/restructuring of the state apparatus. Development is the ability to substantively and sustainably fulfill the primary needs of a society. This includes aspects such as food (food security), income (economic security), health (health security) and the environment (environmental security). In this regard, the state, the business sector and civil society all play a role in ensuring and furthering the development of a society. Reconciliation can be defined as “restoring broken relationships and learning to live with radical differences.” It can be further argued that reconciliation is the process of narrative building across all three levels of conflict reality, in which parties perceive and define themselves and their relations with others. Each of these elements combined are mutually reinforcing, and therefore coordination efforts should be inclusive of all four elements, delegating roles and responsibilities to interveners and stakeholders.

Burma now stands at a crossroads where

Recent S-CAR Articles, Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances

Awakening the Demons: There is no Arab Spring coming to Iraq

David Alpher, S-CAR PhD Alumnus
Foreign Policy, 3/18/13

Does China Have a Foreign Policy?

Zheng Wong, S-CAR PhD Alumnus
The New York Times, 3/18/13

Ancient blueprint for Middle East peace touring U.S.

Marc Gopin, S-CAR Professor
CNN World, 3/10/13

Missing the Mark on Martin Luther King Jr.'s Legacy at MLK Avenue

Michael Shank, S-CAR Doctoral Candidate
The Washington Post, 2/4/13

An Interview with Saira Yamin

Saira Yamin, S-CAR PhD Alumna
The Saturday Post, 1/26/13

'Everyone Is Entitled to a Chance': Panetta Lifts Ban on Women in Combat

Ellen Haring, S-CAR Ph.D. Student and U.S. Army Colonel
PBS Newshour, 1/24/2013

The Coming Rise of Afghan Militias

David H. Young, S-CAR MS Alumnus
The Atlantic, 1/24/13

<http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

recent reforms have created a window of opportunity for a true and substantive peacebuilding effort to take place (i.e., the ripeness for intervention). However, conflict is still ongoing and many threats to peaceful transformation and democratic consolidation remain. A successful peacebuilding effort must be able to identify and address these threats. It should additionally be maximalist and holistic, as well as inclusive of both local and international actors. In the end, it is the people of Burma who will shape its future, and any attempts at creating a peacebuilding strategy should be fully inclusive of their ideas and responsive to their needs. ■

press

Catherine Walsh, S-CAR Masters Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Ph.D. Student and Knowledge Management Associate, kdegraff@gmu.edu



From left: Catherine Walsh, Ernest Ogbozor, Cat Meurn. Photo: S-CAR.

Catherine Walsh is part of the exciting class of MS students that enrolled at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution in Fall 2012. As she noted, “I was drawn to the program because of the prospects of learning about intervention techniques to use in times of conflict.”

Catherine became interested in the field of conflict analysis and resolution when she spent a year traveling around Western Europe and was given a crash course on the devastating effects of the World Wars. More importantly, she realized that it was exactly because of these devastating effects that, henceforth, European conflicts

ought to be resolved peacefully. “For me, this realization of a nonviolent approach to resolving conflict is what other nations should try to emulate,” Catherine says. “Currently we can see that the EU states are the most accomplished evolving modern republics of all time with their emphasis on promoting good governance and development over war making.”

Catherine is currently working with the Gender Center at S-CAR, where she ultimately hopes to be able to develop a comprehensive peacebuilding framework that would include many more sections of a society that may sustain such processes in the long term.

Catherine also hosts “S-CAR Speaks,” a video podcast program that highlights projects, publications, and research areas that students are currently exploring. “I find this task very rewarding as I learn so much from my colleagues and this knowledge is oftentimes priceless,” she said. After she graduates from S-CAR, she plans to take this knowledge to an organization that is fully committed to promoting peace “everywhere and anywhere” and also to seeing the whole process through to the end. ■

Ernest Ogbozor, S-CAR PhD Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Ph.D. Student and Knowledge Management Associate, kdegraff@gmu.edu

Ernest Ogbozor is a Nigerian national with more than a decade of experience working for humanitarian organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Nigeria. Ernest was drawn to the humanitarian sector because he wanted to help ease the burden on individuals who were fleeing conflict zones just as some humanitarian aid workers had done for his parents during the Biafra war that essentially ensured their survival. Through his dedication to his work, the Ford Foundation recognized his efforts and he gained a scholarship to attend Brandeis University to enhance his managerial skills in the humanitarian field.

Unfortunately for Ernest after he left Nigeria, the conflicts that were taking place in the country escalated to that of terrorist acts and this put many of his colleagues working in the humanitarian sector in Nigeria in jeopardy. This development bothered him because on one hand, it was not safe for aid workers to go about their activities; on the other hand, the service they provided was essential and beneficial to many individuals who were dependant on their work. This quandary eventually led him to discover the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. “I was especially drawn to



Ernest Ogbozor, S-CAR PhD Student. Photo: Ernest Ogbozor.

the programs that were being offered because they approached the field from a comprehensive perspective that first looked to analyze the issues from all sides before identifying multiple solutions to address them,” Ernest noted. This multiplicity was what he was looking for, as he could now link his professional experience to the new developments that were taking place on the ground in Nigeria and to seek a solution to his dilemma.

Ernest is pursuing his PhD at S-CAR and he is planning to write his dissertation on humanitarian aid workers within the context of terrorism. He has already convened a number of conferences to explore this topic. ■

Viewing Conflict with Different Lenses

Continued from page 2

would consider a few 'heroes' in my teachers and classmates I've worked with since attending S-CAR. The diversity and wealth of knowledge is amazing. I always feel privileged to gain even the slightest of insight into everyone's experiences and ideas." He is very thankful to Dr. Diana Putman (his former boss while she was assigned as the USAID Interagency representative to AFRICOM; now USAID Chief, US Embassy - Kinshasa, DRC) who has shaped how he looks at conflict. She did the most to open his eyes to the events of Goma/Bukavu and provided much to what he focuses on in his S-CAR studies. Moreover, meeting Dr. Denis Mukwege at the Panzi Hospital in Bukavu was also very inspiring to him.

The sunset of Van's Army career returned him to the Pentagon, for the Chief of the Army Reserves where he created and led the Security Cooperation and Stability Operations Division. Again, he was able to focus and routinely brief Army leadership on African Security Sector Reform issues.

Having seen conflict from the military and government perspectives, upon retirement, Van decided to learn the intricacies of how to truly address the tribulations that create such despair in humanity. Van wanted to look at conflict through an additional lens. He entered S-CAR at George Mason University in the Graduate Certificate program (Stability Operations Track). He likes the program and thinks it serves as a very good introduction to S-CAR and a good preparation for the Master of Science (MS) program, which he started shortly thereafter. He enjoys the course-

6th Annual CRE Summit

Bridging Cultures: Education for Global Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Global Issues Resource Center and Library at Cuyahoga Community College is partnering with colleges and universities, local, national, and international non-governmental and governmental organizations to host the 6th International Conference on Conflict Resolution Education (CRE), Bridging Cultures: Education for Global Citizenship and Civic Engagement in Cleveland, Ohio, USA. Earlier conferences and working group meetings brought together government representatives from among the 50 states, around the globe, and their non-governmental organization partners who have legislation or policies in place to deliver CRE/SEL/PE and Civics Education at the K-12 level and in universities. Conference and meeting publications are available at: http://www.creeducation.org/cre/global_cre

work because it takes him out of his comfort zone and exposes him to new ideas. It helps him transition from a military mindset to one that is more amenable to resolving conflict, peacekeeping and peace making. Since then he has become a 'Dean's Research Fellow' as part of Dean Bartoli's Applied Practice and Theory (APT) team monitoring early warning indicators to formulate suggestions toward the prevention of genocide in Kenya. The best part of it all is the Conflict Resolution community, which provides him an opportunity to network with the best in the field.

After obtaining his degree from S-CAR, he hopes to be able to offer his Civil/Military perspective of conflict analysis and resolution once again as a US government employee, but this time 'out of uniform.' ■

S-CAR's Multitude of Initiatives

Continued from page 1

its diversity while retaining the capacity to bring the explorations towards a clearer focus, shared learning, and common purpose. In hierarchical organizations, focus on shared learning and common purpose are dictated by those in authority and imposed through top down strategies. S-CAR's flat organizational structure has encouraged an ethos of open exploration that allows students and faculty, staff and partners to innovate, explore, and experiment. From teaching to research, from practice to writing, the last few years have seen a multiplication of areas of engagement in which all members of the community (faculty, students, staff, and partners) are taking the lead to consider new ideas, explore new strategies, and engage in new ways. Leadership has been remarkably distributed not through top down processes, but rather through

generative engagement and interactivity that has led to many innovations.

One of these areas is well expressed by the new wave of Applied Practice and Theory (APT) offerings. Many colleagues have engaged in APTs in the last few years and many are preparing to do so in the upcoming academic years. The tradition of faculty-student collaboration around an inquiry that focuses on the application of practice and theory is capturing well one of the integration trajectories that the school may consider as it ventures into its next 30 years of existence. APTs have been initiated both by students and faculty in recent years and thanks to Lisa Shaw's dedication to expand experiential learning, APTs have been led by staff as well. This openness is an important element of the revitalizing success stories of APTs. In many cases,

Continued on Page 8

S-CAR's Multitude of Initiatives

Continued from page 7

APTs are offering a sustained dedicated relational space of learning where fundamental inquiries could be addressed over time by a team of partners. Different from a traditional course in which the syllabus has to assume an already established body of knowledge that is shared from instructor to learners, the APT assumes the unknown as a primary horizon of the learning experience. Successful faculty share with students their Socratic awareness of not knowing, choosing the unsettling platform of a shared inquiry as the method to address that unknown. APTs can fail miserably. At times they can become a dysfunctional entity where meaningful work is difficult and learning is problematic. This happens when the relational engagement of all participants is not open to the discipline of open inquiry. However, more often than not APTs have been remarkably creative, rich, and constructive.

The Reflective Practice APT team led by Susan Allen Nan engages with the challenges, methods, and opportunities of reflective practice in large inter-group conflict. This team focuses on developing methodologies for debriefing practitioners and fostering a community of practice within the S-CAR community. Particularly, APT members engage in reflective practice of research on societal renewal practices after violent conflict.

The Genocide Prevention Integration: Kenya APT applies knowledge being developed around integrated early warning

systems to prevent and mitigate genocide and atrocities to the current situation in Kenya. Students will track and analyze ongoing, multi-level early warning and prevention efforts through Kenya's national elections in March/April, drawing on S-CAR's relationships with actors involved in these efforts, including community-based peacebuilders in Kenya, national players in Kenya and the US, and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region.

The APT focused on Designing, Delivering, and Assessing Experiential Learning Activities offers students an opportunity to support the development of experiential learning in the CAR field, to apply theoretical knowledge gained through CAR courses, to engage in team-based self-reflexive practice and teaching, to co-produce knowledge about experiential learning for the CAR field, and to network with faculty and student colleagues in the region.

The Education and Conflict APT is focused on empowering its participants to engage in a deeper understanding of conflict resolution education models while also exploring new ways to push the field forward. One of the aims of this course is to encourage students to become scholars through collaborative learning, creativity, imagination, and critical thought. The emphasis falls on how we learn at S-CAR and how we learn through conflict resolution education. ■



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Mass Violence and the Media in America: Why the Media Incentivizes Mass Violence and What the Public Can Do to Stop It

By Julie Shedd, S-CAR Associate Dean, jshedd@gmu.edu

I was watching, and occasionally engaging in the social media conversation the weekend following the Boston Marathon bombings and was struck by the extent to which we as a collective were seeking clarity on the meaning of the events, and needed to know the motive in order to make sense of the bombings. One particular exchange focused on whether this event was in the category of Columbine or of Oklahoma City. My initial response was that this event was Columbine with explosives, and I received quite impassioned responses that no, this was a terrorist event, and I was conscious that the labeling of the event mattered quite a lot. This shouldn't surprise any of us; the label attached to violence has been part of the struggle throughout the history of terrorism.

One poignant example is the ten IRA prisoners who died in 1982 in a hunger strike protesting Margaret Thatcher's policy change removing political prisoner status from them and labeling them as criminals. As the rash of mass killings continues across the country it raises the question of where we



American media's portrayal of mass violence affords attention to perpetrators. Photo: Flickr user mattermatters.

draw the line. By academic definitions, these acts are not terror attacks because they lack a political motive and appear to be narcissistic demands for attention. But by these standards Boston presents us with a quandary. That these two suspects were born in Chechnya, the largely ignored site of some of this century's most horrific mass violence committed by government and rebel forces alike, leaves us wondering if this is part of an organized terror campaign. By the time this article is published we will likely know much more about their motives, but my gut feeling is that no, this really was Columbine

Continued on Page 7

Inside This Issue...

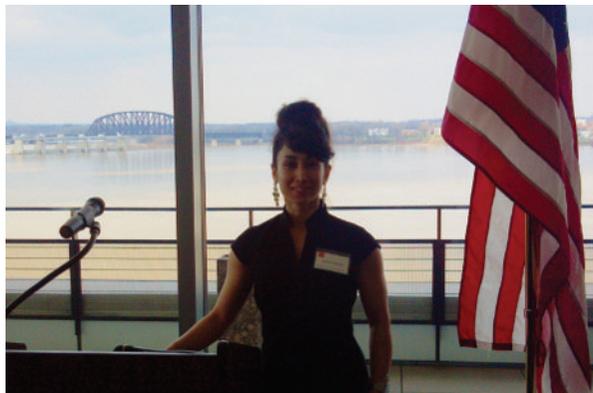
- 2 Network: I Will, I Can, I Am
Recent S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances
- 3 Initiatives: The Discourse of Storytelling
Events: S-CAR in April
- 4 Events: Experiential Learning at S-CAR
- 5 Network: A Yearlong Course: Civil War and Peacebuilding
- 6 Spotlight: Nino Kukhianidze
Spotlight: Innocent Rugaragu

COMMENTARY

I Will, I Can, I Am

S-CAR's Scholar-Athlete Speaks at the Muhammad Ali Center in Louisville, Kentucky

By Soolmaz Abooali, S-CAR PhD Student, sabooali@masonlive.gmu.edu



Soolmaz Abooali. Photo: Soolmaz Abooali.

Louisville, Kentucky is home to the Muhammad Ali Center, a place that promotes the principles of “confidence, conviction, dedication, giving, respect, and spirituality.” As a scholar-athlete studying Sport Diplomacy, I was excited to have been recently invited to speak at the Center’s forum on “Athletes for Social Change” regarding the role that educational institutions can play in supporting athletes working to create positive social change. The venue stands as a representation of Muhammad Ali’s example that athletes can be athletic, social, and political forces. Other athletes have followed in Ali’s socially inspired path; amongst them is Dikembe Mutombo, who has spent millions to build a hospital in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, treating over 100,000 individuals.

The forum, held on March 29-30, brought together a unique group of academics, non-profit organizations, and private industry to discuss roles and responsibilities in addressing social issues. In my speech, which discussed the effects of athletes as agents of social change, I argued that as athletes learn to excel in a mental (“I will”), physical (“I can”), and spiritual (“I am”) framework, they become proficient at creating internal change. Social change at the core relates to an alteration in the social order of society and includes changes to thought processes—similar to the thought processes that athletes alter in order to position themselves for success. Herein lies a link: athletes have a unique potential to transfer skills from such internal change toward external change. This does not by any means guarantee an athlete’s ability to create sustainable benefits to society or provide social opportunities where there might be none. In most cases, it actually means very little beyond a one-time contribution that produces feel good stories and pictures of happy children around the athlete. Yet countries (including the United States) and IGOs such as the United Nations are increasingly dedicating resources to programs founded on sport such as peacebuilding, development, and diplomacy programs.

Some would argue that athletes should be discouraged

from advocating for social change. The fact remains, however, that athletes possess both an influential attraction to the public and a desire to contribute to society away from the playing field. In most cases they have the time and financial resources to do so. The way forward thus centers on how to best train and equip athletes and to support entities with the knowledge to create real, sustainable change through a balance of theory and praxis, as opposed to praxis over theory where the name of the game is “try and try again.” To this end, educational institutions have the influence to create a ‘Scholar-Athlete for Social Change Association,’ an interdisciplinary umbrella and cross-sectional organization to develop curricula, research, and public-private partnerships. This influence could help partner with policy makers to ensure broader and deeper positive change. ■

Recent S-CAR Articles, Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances

There have been 28 articles, op-eds, letters to the editor, and other media appearances by S-CAR professors, students, and alumni since the last S-CAR newsletter has been published.

Climate Denial Has Led to Paralysis in Leadership

Dennis J.D. Sandole, S-CAR Professor
The Financial Times, 5/19/13

School Suspensions: A Better Way

Allyson Mitchell, S-CAR MS Alumna
The Christian Science Monitor, 5/13/13

Authorization for Use of Military Force: A Blank Check for War Without End

Michael Shank, S-CAR Adjunct Professor and PhD Alumnus
The Guardian, 5/5/13

BHU Holds Seminar on Peacebuilding

Jeremy Rinker, S-CAR PhD Alumnus
The Times of India, 4/2/13

Education in Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Richard Rubenstein, S-CAR Professor
Unrest Magazine, 4/2013

These are only 5 selections of the 28 most recent media pieces. For a complete list, please go to: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

The Discourse of Storytelling: S-CAR's Center for the Study of Narrative and Conflict Resolution

By Sneha Upadhyay, S-CAR MS Student, supadhya@masonlive.gmu.edu

The Center for the Study of Narrative and Conflict Resolution (CNCR) focuses on the establishment of relational dynamics through the discourse of storytelling. Conflicts stem from the search for validity and justice. The practice of exchanging narratives allows individuals to disclose struggle and emotion experienced from shared histories while gaining a counter-perspective of the Other. CNCR's mission is to anchor research in narrative processes in conflict dynamics within and across the faculty and students at S-CAR, thereby advancing narrative theory and practice. Dr. Sara Cobb, the director of CNCR, is currently teaching CONF 695: Narrative Practice in Conflict Resolution, a course designed to provide students with the analytic tools necessary to conduct their own research using a narrative perspective.

CNCR has been and will be very active in presenting the S-CAR community with events supporting the narrative perspective. In September, Michal Alberstein presented the "Law of Alternatives: In Search of Identity in Dispute Resolution." Alberstein, the head of the conflict management and negotiation program at Bar Ilan University Israel, discussed alternative practices to dispute resolution. Rob Ricigliano visited CNCR in October, hosting a workshop entitled "Systemic Approaches to Conflict Mapping." The workshop introduced students and community members to the basic methodology behind mapping out a conflict situation through a team-driven exercise. In November, CNCR welcomed Dr. Maria Pia Lara, a professor and researcher from the Metropolitan University of Mexico, who presented her work entitled "Revisiting the Theory of Reflective Judgment."

This spring, CNCR hosted a variety of events aimed at providing students with narrative insight. On February 26th, NYU Professor Allen Feldman presented his lecture "Apophatic Sovereignty Before the Law at Guantanamo," which included a discussion of Feldman's involvement with Combatant Status Review Tribunals (CSRT).

CNCR continues to host lunchtime Narrative Research Roundtables, which affords students the opportunity to present their research-in-progress for feedback and scholarly exchange. The semester's first roundtable took place on March 26th, where S-CAR PhD student Sarah Federman held an exercise on reflective practice entitled "State, Story, and Strategy." Students were asked to consider what stories and particular roles they each play surrounding a given conflict, to reflect on their own states of mind when entering a new engagement, and to identify a strategy from S-CAR that can be used as a resolution for the conflict at hand.

PhD student Roi Ben-Yehuda presented his research at the second roundtable on April 16th. Ben-Yehuda discussed the qualitative changes introduced by the activity of the popular Israeli band Orphaned Land into social interactions within the Israel-Palestine conflict.

CNCR also launched the center's first e-journal, Narrative and Conflict: Explorations in Theory and Practice. Editors of the journal are Dr. Cobb and John Winslade, who is a professor at California State University, San Bernardino. The first issue consisted of articles from within the S-CAR community as well as outside scholars, and was published April 15th, 2013. ■

S-CAR in April: Reasons to Celebrate The School's 30 Year Celebration and Senator George Mitchell

By Mark Hardee, S-CAR MS Alumnus and Newsletter Editor, mhardee2@masonlive.gmu.edu

On April 20, 2013, S-CAR community members came together to celebrate the Thirty Year Anniversary of the School, a milestone in the institution's "journey from the modest trailer in Fairfax in which it began to the junction of knowledge and policy," as Dean Bartoli would say. Thirty years after George Mason University supported the inception of an innovative postgraduate degree, a Master of Science in Conflict Resolution, S-CAR finds itself expanding its sphere of influence and impact with a full range of degrees in addition to the MS, boasting graduates of the BS, BA, PhD, and graduate certificate programs. Alumni, professors, and current students alike find themselves embedded in the full spectrum of institutions rooted in conflict analysis and resolution.

With so much to celebrate, the event spanned

the entire Saturday and began with a keynote address by the President of the Alliance for Peacebuilding, Melanie Greenberg, and was followed by panels that explored the historical, contemporary, and future endeavors of S-CAR. The message gleaned from these panels asserted that the roots of the School have spread far and wide, creating a community dedicated to the resolution of conflict.

In fact, S-CAR hosted a prominent member of this community three days prior to the Thirty Year Anniversary event. Senator George Mitchell, architect of the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland and Special Envoy to the Middle East, spoke of the importance of place in peacebuilding and honored the history and vision of a new 'Point of View' as S-CAR anticipates its next thirty years of service to the world. ■

initiatives

events

Experiential Learning at S-CAR: The School Presents Many Opportunities to Find Knowledge in the Field

By Tyler Branscome, S-CAR MS Student, tbranscoi@masonlive.gmu.edu

On December 5, 2012, the Undergraduate Experiential Learning Project (UELP) in collaboration with the Applied Practice and Theory (APT) course on Experiential Learning hosted a workshop and discussion on topics surrounding experiential learning in the classroom. The workshop began with an activity designed to get practitioners talking about themselves and their experiences with experiential learning activities in their classrooms. After breaking the ice, the participants gathered for an informational presentation on the goals, achievements, and future of the project, led by S-CAR professors Dr. Susan Hirsch and Dr. Agnieszka Paczynska. Graduate Research Assistants who are working on the project also provided their insight and offered their assistance as points of contact for specific experiential learning activities (ELAs) that are being used in the classroom. After the introduction, the workshop continued forward into a focus group activity led by Dr. Andria Wisler, Executive Director at the Center for Social Justice

fer students), Pace University in Brooklyn, and Salisbury University in Maryland. The Salisbury program, directed by Dr. Brian Polkinghorn (an S-CAR graduate), and their team members were able to meet with us to discuss experiential learning and how the two programs might collaborate in the future. There are plans in the fall to continue working with other universities around the country, especially community colleges, to conduct ELAs with students in a variety of programs.

On February 15, 2013, the UELP in collaboration with the APT hosted a workshop and discussion on field-based experiential learning. The workshop was held on the Fairfax campus of George Mason University and was attended by practitioners and educators from both S-CAR and other local institutions that are leading similar courses. The overarching theme of the workshop was to explore how and if theory informs practice, as well as how and if practice informs theory in field-based experiential learning initiatives.

The workshop began with an introduction to the S-CAR model of field-based experiential learning, known as the Service Learning Intensives (SLI), explained by S-CAR faculty member Dr. Patricia Maulden. Specific themes of discussion included dialogue on pedagogical theories, frameworks, challenges, power dynamics and relationships within partnerships in the field, preparing for and coping



Experiential learning workshop and discussion. Photo: Tyler Branscome.

with stress and emotion during field-based experiential learning trips, and ethical consideration and dilemmas encountered in practice. The remainder of the workshop was split into three sections of discussion groups: pedagogical theories, partnerships in the field, and ethics and stress in the field. The workshop concluded with a group discussion on the future of field-based learning, facilitated by S-CAR faculty member Dr. Arthur Romano. Afterwards, the APT team created a deliverable for participants several weeks after the conclusion of the workshop in the form of a concise blueprint summary of the insights and questions from the workshop and a 'call for action' based on the input. ■

at Georgetown University and the project's external evaluator. The final section of the workshop attempted to synthesize our experiences through a roundtable discussion on the integration of experiential learning in the classroom. In addition to this workshop, members of the APT and the UELP teams have been conducting ELAs in classrooms at GMU and other universities. So far, ELAs have been conducted with Lutheran College Washington Semester, a program for visiting students from Lutheran colleges, Northern Virginia Community College (the second largest community college system in the country and a source of many GMU trans-

with stress and emotion during field-based experiential learning trips, and ethical consideration and dilemmas encountered in practice. The remainder of the workshop was split into three sections of discussion groups: pedagogical theories, partnerships in the field, and ethics and stress in the field. The workshop concluded with a group discussion on the future of field-based learning, facilitated by S-CAR faculty member Dr. Arthur Romano. Afterwards, the APT team created a deliverable for participants several weeks after the conclusion of the workshop in the form of a concise blueprint summary of the insights and questions from the workshop and a 'call for action' based on the input. ■

A New Yearlong Course: The Political Economy of Civil War and Peacebuilding

By Thomas Flores, S-CAR Professor, tflores2@gmu.edu



CONF 751 students and Professor Terrence Lyons. Photo: Professor Thomas Flores.

One challenge of graduate school is building long-lasting relationships with faculty members. In the hustle and bustle of the typical semester, it can be difficult to build the kind of mentorship that many graduate students—and faculty members—desire. This year, Professor Terrence Lyons and I built a new solution to this dilemma by offering an innovative, year-long, and team-taught course focusing on the political economy of civil war and peacebuilding. MS students Lindsay Burr, Barre Hussien, Dilafuz Khonikboyeva, Beth Rivard, Van Schmidt, David Younes, and Alvaro Zarco teamed up with PhD students Charles Martin-Shields and Ellyn Yakowenko to take the course, meeting weekly from late August to early May.

CONF 751 offered students a deeper look into the political economy of conflict. Each week, students read a book or set of articles focusing on different aspects of civil war and peacebuilding. Rather than relying on many of the “old favorites,” we pushed our students to read newer, cutting-edge work; the oldest book for the class was written in 2000. Our students read work by Jeremy Weinstein, Stathis Kalyvas, and Page Fortna, among others. Together, we worked our way through a series of topics on the origins, dynamics, and termination of civil war in the fall. In the spring, we turned to the political economy of peacebuilding. The areas we discussed include the economic origins of civil war, insurgent organizations and collective action, genocide, security sector reform, post-war democratization, and post-conflict justice. Rather than lectures, we focused class time on a free-flowing discussion, in which students debated the theoretical, methodological, and normative implications of the readings.

The course also encouraged a close working relationship between students and faculty particularly by me and Terrence mentoring students as they developed

their research interests. Our students took the entire academic year to write a long paper that included original research on a topic of their choice under the direction of one of us. In the fall semester, students defined the literature they wished to address and wrote an abstract and research proposal that they presented to their classmates. In the spring semester, students completed their proposed research and wrote a finished product for presentation in the last week of class. This year’s projects took on a wide variety of topics, including the economic impact of UN Peacekeeping Operations; the relationship between food insecurity and both riots and civil war; competing narratives on civil conflict in Tajikistan as seen through social media; and the importance of capital cities as a political symbol during civil war. Our students have used the project as a springboard for their MS theses or doctoral dissertations and some will be submitted to journals and professional conferences.

As evidence of the strong esprit de corps built over 28 weeks together, students and faculty headed to O’Sullivan’s Irish Pub after our last class meeting, eager to spend one last hour together before officially ending the academic year.

CONF 751 will be offered again in 2013-2014 with three key improvements. First, students will register for 4 credits per semester, for 8 credits overall. Second, we will add several innovative experiential learning modules to the course, especially trips to meet with peacebuilders in the Washington, DC area. Third, we will organize a series of public lectures by scholars engaged in research on the political economy of civil war and peacebuilding that will supplement the classroom discussions.

Interested students can e-mail Terrence Lyons (tlyons1@gmu.edu) or Thomas Flores (tflores2@gmu.edu) with any questions about the course. ■

initiatives

Nino Kukhianidze, S-CAR Masters Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Ph.D. Student and Knowledge Management Associate, kdegraff@gmu.edu

Nino Kukhianidze, a final year MS student at S-CAR, is currently working to develop an initiative to promote post-conflict development through the arts. While there have been other similar initiatives such as the Dance for Peace or the Theatre for Peace projects, Nino is looking to add “smart peacebuilding” elements to her design.

Nino asserts that smart peacebuilding is “developing a comprehensive program that would prove to be both sustainable and durable for the community that it is targeting.” This would involve identifying a part of the arts that the targeted communities largely engage in, including all the relevant stakeholders in the development of any program ideas, and finally securing the initial capital and “safe place” to kick-start the enterprise. To put this within the context an “Arts for Peace” project, Nino plans to tap into the new initiative of many corporations that are championing their social responsibility component, and having them fund projects that would be beneficial to the targeted population as well as to the corporations themselves. For example, Nino’s pilot project looks to bring clothes designers from the Caucasus



Nino Kukhianidze. Photo: S-CAR.

region—Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan—to develop a joint fashion line that would be under the brand name of WalMart, Kohls, or even Armani, among others. The aim of such a project would be to show that cooperation could exist between communities that perceive themselves as adversaries outside of the political scope while at the same time providing exposure and a steady income for the designers. For a clothing company, this initiative would enable them to tap into more clothing innovations while at the same time positioning themselves to

positively affect the strained relationships within or between these countries. From the Caucasus, Nino hopes to expand this initiative to other parts of the world.

“This would fall within the realm of peace economics or social entrepreneurship within the field of conflict analysis and resolution,” Nino said. Although she acknowledges that her initiative would not resolve conflicts overnight, “it would at least provide the framework or building blocks for repairing strained relationships, which would lead towards positive and therefore sustainable peace.” ■

Innocent Rugaragu, S-CAR PhD Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Ph.D. Student and Knowledge Management Associate, kdegraff@gmu.edu

Innocent Rugaragu is a PhD student at S-CAR. He is also an ordained Jesuit Catholic Priest. Originally from Rwanda, Innocent said, “I watched in horror as the genocide was taking place and that was when I decided that I must devote my life to fight for social change, peace, and justice.” Still reeling from the memory of the genocide, he feels that the priesthood provided him with the emotional and spiritual strength to pursue a path that called for “understanding, promoting, respecting human life, human dignity and human values rather than objectifying them.”

Innocent’s journey to the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution was encouraged by the Order of Jesuits, as it formed a significant part of his Jesuit journey. The promotion of higher education as a common greater good for justice and peace is also one of the Jesuits’ main tenets not only for



Innocent Rugaragu. Photo: Innocent Rugaragu.

their members but also for humanity as a whole. For Innocent, the programs that S-CAR offer are an ideal complement to his faith and his vision of himself as a Jesuit priest for peace and social change.

Currently, Innocent intends to focus his studies on leadership for peace and reconciliation. This interest stems from Africa’s very checkered past of leaders who promote their own selfish agendas at the expense of peace, justice, and reconciliation in their respective countries. As such, Innocent wants to challenge these leadership styles.

After his education, Innocent has three plans: 1) to set up a center that will promote peace and reconciliation leadership; 2) teach, research and do community organizing as a preferential option for the poor and those in need; and 3) continue his Jesuit spiritual and ministerial work in the priesthood. ■

Mass Violence and the Media in America

Continued from page 1

with explosives, yet another domestically brewed tragedy.

Our collective search for the information we need to create meaning and develop labels, and the systems that have developed to communicate that meaning, have profound consequences. Standard journalistic practice and norms following an event like the Boston bombings leave the public inundated with pictures and stories about the suspects, and the public has begun pushing back. A Facebook message that same weekend went viral bemoaning media practices. In part, Cam Siciliano says, "I don't want to know his name. I don't want to see his face... I don't want to know what 'cause,' if any, he was fighting for... I don't want to know. Because that's what he really wants. I'll be damned if I'm going to give him what he wants." And he's right: whether this was media seeking disaffected young men, or a terrorist campaign, the media spotlight is what perpetrators want. Modern terrorism (and increasingly modern mass violence) is about communication; it is about hijacking public discourse and demanding attention. It is about using destruction and innocent victims to send a message that can't be as effectively sent by nonviolent means. This is not to lay the blame for acts of terror at the media's feet; we as media consumers demand to know the back-story, demand to know the cause, and financially reward media outlets that give it to us. We are at a point in the struggle against mass violence and terrorism that we need to take seriously the incentive structure our public communication processes have created.

Access to the public discourse is not equal; it is

Continued on Page 8

Recently Published Books by S-CAR Professors and Affiliates

Neoliberalism, Interrupted: Social Change and Contested Governance in Contemporary Latin American

Mark Goodale and Nancy Postero

May 29, 2013

Attracted to Conflict: Dynamic Foundations of Destructive Social Relations

Andrea Bartoli, Robin Vallacher, Andrzej Nowak, Peter Coleman,

Lan Bui-Wrzosinska, Larry Liebowitch, Katharian Kugler

April 30, 2013

Conflict Resolution and Human Needs

Kevin Avruch and Christopher Mitchell

April 2, 2013

From Conflict Resolution to Social Justice: The Work and Legacy of Wallace Warfield

Alicia Pfund

March 28, 2013

The Eclipse of Equality: Arguing America on Meet the Press

Solon Simmons

March 5, 2013

For more information on these books, please go to <http://scar.gmu.edu/books-roster>

Congratulations 2013 S-CAR Graduates!



School for Conflict Analysis
and Resolution



Mass Violence and the Media in America

Continued from page 7

dominated by governments and elites representing mainstream society, people who look and believe like us. While social media allows more access for marginalized groups, it still doesn't open up a line into mainstream discussion. We know from decades of media studies that violence sells newspapers (and airtime). Violence exponentially increases the chances of a marginalized group being covered in mainstream media. However, my research on media coverage of terrorism seems to indicate that violence actually decreases the amount of coverage that focuses on a group's grievance or message. When a marginalized group can get media attention for something nonviolent, their chances are higher of having their history, and grievance presented than when they have acted violently. Nonviolent action, when it is covered, is a better tool for communicating than violence. But there is the paradox; nonviolence doesn't often make media headlines. We are incentivizing violence by rewarding it with access to public discourse and then demanding information to make meaning.

What then do we do? Do we ask journalists to not cover violence, and request some kind of self-censorship? Probably not. But, we could ask them to change how they cover violence, and as a public, reward those who change with ratings and subscription dollars. During the manhunt for the Boston suspects there was utility in having their pictures splashed

across T.V. stations and newspapers as a tool to find them. But why, when the manhunt was over, couldn't the pictures featured be those of the victims and heroes of that tragic event? Echoing Cam Siciliano, can we imagine a public communication process that results in our knowing the names of the victims and not the perpetrators, the heroes and not the villains? Can we imagine a process that would allow access to the public discourse to nonviolent groups, minimizing the voice of those that use violence, a process that actively disincentivizes violent action? Let's take seriously the need to cover nonviolence with depth and thoughtfulness, and do more of it.

The word is out; it is easier to get your 15 minutes of fame committing mass violence than by suffering through a season of a reality show or achieving something meaningful. If we, the collective, want to decrease the frequency and intensity of such violence we need to take responsibility for our part in it, recognize our role in the voyeurism of tragedy, and take action. We need to lobby media outlets, journalists, and talk show hosts to de-emphasize the perpetrators and to tell the story of victims instead. This won't be easy; our demand for information in order to make meaning must be balanced against incentivizing violence. To stop the killing requires that we try. ■



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The Havana Negotiations: Analyzing the Current Colombian Peace Process

By Thomas Flores, Assistant Professor of Conflict Resolution and Political Science, tflores2@gmu.edu

2013 may very well be remembered as the year that brought peace to Colombia. Since last October, representatives of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the Colombian government have made dramatic, if halting, progress to end one of the world's longest civil wars. The negotiations provide grounds for optimism that a conflict that has taken the lives of at least 220,000 people and displaced at least 4 million more might finally and mercifully end. Will talks yield an agreement? What will it take to create a positive peace in Colombia? I offer my own ruminations on these questions, a product of research in Colombia and an application of the lessons of the fields of CAR and political economy.

The talks in Havana have focused attention on the FARC, Latin America's oldest insurgent group, particularly since the National Liberation Army (ELN) has remained on the sidelines. Characterizations of the FARC have tended to follow the vicissitudes of U.S. foreign policy. The Colombian state, in concert with its allies in Washington, has variously referred to the FARC as communists during the Cold War, drug traffickers during

the height of the war on drugs, and terrorists since September 11, 2001. Despite the self-interest inherent in such narratives, however, drugs and crime undoubtedly have prolonged and intensified violence in Colombia, as predicted by Paul Collier and other political economists.



Afro-Colombian Mural by Joel Berger in Washington D. C. Photo: Lisa E. Shaw

The story of the FARC's origins, however, offers a different perspective, one that should be familiar to the S-CAR community. Colombia was and is one of the world's most unequal countries, especially in land ownership; in 1960, the largest .5% of farms comprised roughly 40% of all farmland in Colombia. My and others' research shows that land a long history of struggles for

Continued on Page 7

Commentary

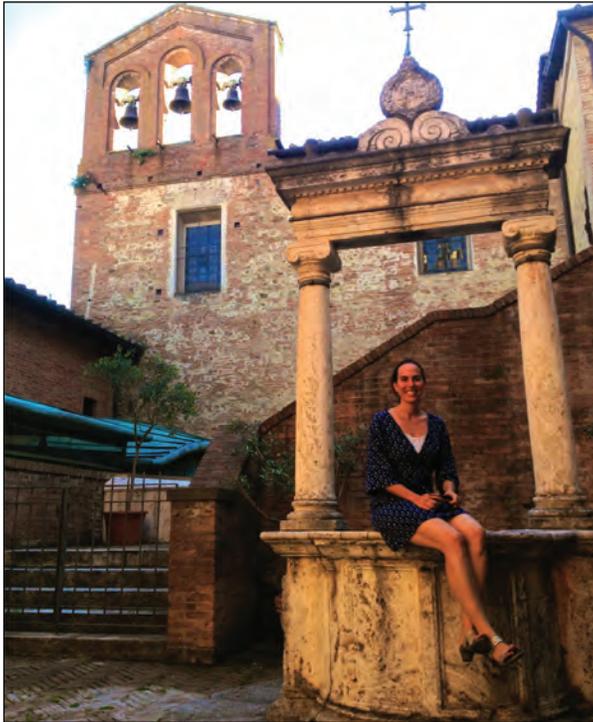
Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: S-CAR at IAGS Conference
- 3 Initiatives: MS Distance Learning Program
- 4 Events: Congressmen and Sports
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances.
Alumnus Opinion: Google-Earth Democracy
- 6 Spotlight: Nousha Kabawat
Spotlight: Gedeon Patrick Hakizimana

S-CAR in Siena, Italy:

Reflections on the International Association of Genocide Scholars Conference

By Sarah Federman, S-CAR Ph.D. Student, sfederma@gmu.edu



Sarah Federman in Siena, Italy. Photo: Sarah Federman.

Six members from S-CAR, comprising of students and faculty, were invited to participate at the 10th Biennial Conference of The International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) from June 19th to the 22nd. This year's conference was organized under the theme "The Aftermath of Genocide: Victims and Perpetrators, Representations and Interpretations" and took place in the stunning city of Siena, Italy.

Many events addressing genocide tend to leave one with a heavy heart and a fatigued mind. At this event, however, the magical backdrop and festive atmosphere of Siena's annual Palio offset the normal chagrin. To prepare for this horserace that historically determined the city's leadership, local inhabitants participate in all sorts of merrymaking. There were all night parties, marching bands, street performers, and, of course, gelato.

That said, most of us were able to focus, at least most of the time, on the work at hand. The S-CAR community tore themselves away from the gorgeous Tuscan countryside long enough to present on a wide array of topics: Gregory Stanton presented on "Hate Speech and Incitement;" Tetsushi Ogata talked about "The Role of Dealing with the Past in Post-Atrocities Relations Between Japan and China;"

Borislava Manojlovic presented on "The Role of Education in Dealing with the Past and Atrocities Prevention in Post-conflict Croatia;" Elizabeth Mount talked about "The Politics of Representing Sexual Violence: Conceptualizing Genocidal Rape as a Performative Act of Hegemonic Masculinity;" Gedeon Patrick Hakizimana presented on "Gender, Culture and Ethnicity: Reflections on the Narrative of the Rwandan Genocide;" and Sarah Federman presented on "Corporate Accountability for Mass Atrocity: The Case of the French Railroads."

The event was well attended by a relatively young, international crowd who seemed to have quite a hopeful demeanor in spite of, or perhaps because of, their years of personal and professional experience with the horrors and complexities of mass atrocity. In addition to the well-established genocide experts, a number of young scholars presented some very solid work with great humility. Their research efforts seemed earnest and their presentations were clear and to the point.

I never thought studying the French railroad would lead me to a magical week in Italy, but then again life, unlike trains, rarely takes us exactly where we think we will go. If you are interested in the organization or future conferences (next year will be in Winnipeg, Canada) please visit the website: genocidescholars.org. ■



Siena, Italy. Photo: Sarah Federman.

S-CARs MS Distance Learning Program:

By Juliette Shedd, Associate Dean for Administration and PhD Alumna, jshedd@gmu.edu



Juliette Shedd. Photo: Mason Creative Services.

S-CAR's involvement in distance learning will rise to a new level this January with the launch of a stand-alone distance MS program in Conflict Analysis and Resolution. S-CAR's involvement with distance learning began when the Graduate Certificate Program launched courses that used a hybrid of face-to-face and distance platforms

for student engagement. Soon after, more innovative hybrid elective offerings were added. In the fall of 2011, with support from the Provost's office for course development, the first fully online course was offered, CONF 501, our Master's level introductory course. To facilitate degree completion, we developed the capstone and integration option courses in a distance format. Building on our successes, S-CAR faculty voted in May 2013 to pilot the MS program in a distance format. This new program will allow students to meet the same degree requirements as our traditional face-to-face program and require a 6-credit residency. The rest of the degree requirements can be completed remotely. With a reduced tuition rate of \$750 per credit for out-of-state students, we hope to reach potential students unable to participate in the face-to-face program.

The S-CAR faculty development team led by Dr. Karina Korostelina has been working hard all year to prepare pedagogically sound, innovative courses and has been piloting 3 to 4 courses per semester. Along with MS Program Director Dr. Daniel Rothbart, the team has designed a series of core courses and exciting new electives, including CONF 695's on Micro Theories of Conflict, Conflict and Ethics, and Addressing Intractable Conflicts. Instructional designer Susan Campbell has provided invaluable support for this process.

S-CAR has also been developing increasingly popular distance undergraduate courses. S-CAR PhD alumna Saira Yamin and Assistant Director of Undergrad Student Services, Jane Walker, developed CONF 340: Global Conflict Analysis and Reso-

lution, which is particularly successful in a distance format and is now offered every semester. The Undergraduate Program is currently determining the feasibility of a two year-degree completion distance undergraduate program for students who hold an Associate degree or the equivalent. Developing distance learning programs expands our potential to tap the expertise of the many talented and accomplished alumni we have around the world. As members of our community practice and teach in so many places around the globe, the technology of distance education will allow them to bring their expertise to students they otherwise could not reach. Developing this cohort of "Global Online Faculty" will further highlight the many achievements of our alumni community.

The S-CAR MS program joins a growing slate of distance programs that are part of "Mason Online," including programs in seven of the Universities colleges and schools. Mason Online will allow for joint marketing and student recruitment and support efforts with other partners around the university. Director of Graduate Student Services, Erin Ogilvie-Hudson, who has been successfully leading our students in Malta through their academic programs, will also work with distance students to ensure they have as good an experience in the program as our face-to-face students. All of the distance courses will be evaluated like our face-to-face courses and will be part of our periodic program reviews. This development is just the most recent in a long series of experiments in how we teach and learn at S-CAR. Experiential learning activities, courses that include trips to conflict zones, and compressed class schedules are recent additions to S-CAR's class schedule.

These initiatives have provided students with more flexibility in how they complete our programs and more opportunities for field work to see conflict resolution in action. If you know of students for whom the new distance MS would be a good fit, please direct them to <http://scar.gmu.edu/grad-admissions> for more information. ■

Fall 2013 Online Courses

CONF 695: Micro Theories of Conflict

Instructors: Borislava Manojlovic and Karina Korostelina

CONF 695: Addressing Intractable Conflict

Instructors: Heidi Burges and Guy Burgess

Spring 2014 Online Courses

CONF 695: Ethics and Conflict

Instructor: Daniel Rothbart

CONF 695: Transforming Conflict Through Insight

Instructor: James Price

scar.gmu.edu/academics/Online-Courses

initiatives

Congressmen and Sport: Celebrating National Youth Week at Capitol Hill

By Soolmaz Abooli, S-CAR Ph.D. Student, sabooali@gmu.edu

What do S-CAR's Soolmaz Abooli (Scholar-Athlete), Congressmen Mike McIntyre (D-NC) and Jim Jordan (R-OH) have in common? A love of sport.

In celebration of National Youth Week, the National Council of Youth Sports and Active Policy Solutions hosted a sport event on Capitol Hill on Wednesday, July 24th in the foyer of the Rayburn House Building. Soolmaz joined the two Congressmen as they spoke to the valuable life skills that sport instills in the development of youth. Sport has played an integral part in the lives of both Congressmen. Representative McIntyre recently earned his black belt in Taekwondo, a Korean form of martial arts while Congressman Jordan was a four-time NCAA wrestling champion with a record of 150-1. The Representatives were presented with awards that recognized their efforts on the Congressional Caucus on Youth Sports. They kicked off the event by sharing personal stories about the positive influence sport training and coaches have played in their own development as individuals. Most notably, each stressed the transferability of skills learned on the field to life and vice versa.

An eight-time US National Karate Champion and world medalist and PhD student study-



From Left to Right: Michael Taabasi, Soolmaz Abooli, Congressman Mike McIntyre (D-NC), and Bryan Hays. Photo: Soolmaz Abooli.

ing sport diplomacy, Soolmaz highlighted the value of “scholar-athlete” skills by leading both a martial arts demonstration and discussions with attendees. She focused on how sport has empowered her to excel on and off the court as an athlete, scholar and individual. Soolmaz was joined by colleagues from the American Amateur Karate Federation and the Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict, where she currently serves as the Public Affairs Liaison. Sport has been dubbed a universal language, particularly in grassroots efforts that attempt to build bridges through working in teams toward a common goal. The Sports on the Hill event advocated a “P.L.A.Y.S.” concept where sport is believed to: promote *Physical* activity among all segments of our society; foster healthy *Living*; strive to make *Accessing* physical activities easier by removing barriers; encourage positive *Youth* development activities and outcomes; and improve the *Safety* of participating in physical activities.

These concepts have been utilized by a number of domestic and international NGOs for the purpose of building common ground,

Continued on Page 8

EVENTS

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Thursday, August 22, 2013

Fall 2013 Masters and PhD Orientation

6:00pm - 9:00pm

Friday, September 6, 2013

Move this World: Workshop on Applied Conflict Transformation in Global Communities

12:00pm - 4:00pm

Tuesday, September 10, 2013

S-CAR World Student Day Event

9:00am - 7:00pm

Saturday September 21, 2013

S-CAR Annual Welcome Dinner

5:00pm - 9:00pm

<http://scar.gmu.edu/events-roster>

Alumnus Opinion: Google-Earth Democracy

By Mohammed Cherkaoui, S-CAR Ph.D. Alumnus, mcherkao@gmu.edu



Mursi supporters in Egypt on July 26, 2013. Photo: flickr user Darla Hueske.

The open-ended showdown between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Army-Tamarroud [Rebel] Movement alliance has showcased an alarming implosion of the Egyptian society into two main camps with their radicalized narratives and competing strategies. The removal of elected president Mohamed Mursi from office July 3rd has solidified the divergence of hard-line positions among Egyptians, and triggered deeper concern over a nightmarish slide into a civil war.

The resilient mega-protests and counter protests in Cairo, Alexandria, and elsewhere in Egypt, backed by their political interlocutors and media pundits, have energized an unsettled debate about democracy, electoral legitimacy, populism, religiosity, and militarism.

This cycle of contentious Egyptian politics, as an intriguing transformative Arab Uprising 2.0, implies several complexities which will add to the protractedness of the conflict. It will also push forward a misguided claim of popular "representation" by both sides, and mobilization of growing numbers of supporters outstaying each other in the public squares.

First, the current battle of public narratives has pivoted around two well-structured claims of "legitimacy" with deep moral and cultural underpinnings: 1. A backward legitimacy, or "legitimacy of the ballots," embraced by the Muslim Brotherhood crowd who insist on the imperatives of democracy theory and the respect of the electoral outcome of 2012. Their be-all and end-all condition for entering any dialogue or reconciliation framework with the Army-Tamarroud alliance remains the return of ousted President Mursi to power. Their intellectual defense and emotional attachment to their

Recent S-CAR Articles, Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances

Advertising Against Muslims? Not with my Tax Dollars

Michael Shank, S-CAR Ph.D. Alumnus *The Washington Post*, 8/2/13

Rebuilding Infrastructure to Rebuild Middle Class (ASCE: 3.6 trillion)

Michael Shank, S-CAR Ph.D. Alumnus *The Washington Post TV*, 7/31/13

'Unusual not to Announce an Order to Evacuate'

Deborah Hersman, S-CAR Alumnus and National Transport Safety Board chair
BBC News, 7/10/13

OP-ED: Iran in the Era of Moderation and Reform

Sahar Namazikha, S-CAR Ph.D Student *Inter Press Service News Agency*, 7/25/13

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared 26 number of occasions since the last newsletter. these 4 represent the latest at time of publication. For a complete list please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

electoral victory, as their main driving force in post-Mubarak Egypt, reinforces their rejection of giving up an eighty-five-year-old dream that was crushed suddenly by the Army Chief and Defense Minister Gen. Abdel Fattah Sisi after one year of Mursi's presidency. This Egyptian scenario has also shown how politics is all personal. In the first half of 2013, Mursi and Sisi devoted much of their focus to their plans to eliminate each other from the public office. Ironically, Sisi joined forces with the liberal circles and a few anti-Islamist businessmen to topple Mursi after a surprising forty-eight hour ultimatum announced on the Egyptian media June 30th.

■ Continued online at:

<http://scar.gmu.edu/newsletter-subject/google-earth-democracy>

press

Nousha Kabawat, MS Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Newsletter Editor and S-CAR Ph.D. Student, kdegraft@gmu.edu

Nousha Kabawat is a Master's student at S-CAR and Program Officer for the Center for World Religions Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution (CRDC). "I must admit that I am currently receiving the best of both worlds as I get to study all these wonderful theories in school and then see them being used through my work," she said. Originally from Syria, Nousha views the conflict in her native land as "very unfortunate" and is thus very passionate about adding to the efforts being made in trying to seek a peaceful resolution to it. She informed me that she saw the youth as the key not only to resolving the conflict but also in maintaining a lasting peace that would transform Syria into a modern democratic society. She is currently involved in an initiative to set up "Summer Camps" for the youth who constitute more than half of the total number of refugees fleeing Syria in neighboring Turkey and Lebanon as well as those who have set up camp on the Syrian border. The goal of the summer camp is to empower the youth by giving them a voice to be able to speak out against the senseless killings taking place. "All the different factions claim to be fighting for



Children at Syrian Refugee Camp. Photo: Nousha Kabawat.

the future of the country but no one seems to be considering what the "future" (youth) of Syria themselves want" she said. After school, Nousha would like to set up a conflict analysis and resolution school in Syria that would have a major influence in the region in promoting non-violent values and principles in bringing about peace and stability in the region. ■

Gedeon Patrick Hakizimana, S-CAR Ph.D. Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Newsletter Editor and S-CAR Ph.D. Student, kdegraft@gmu.edu

Gedeon Patrick Hakizimana is part of the very exciting and diverse PhD cohort at S-CAR admitted in Fall 2012. Before coming to S-CAR, Patrick worked for an agency in Philadelphia that managed a state funded program between established professionals in Philadelphia and the refugees to help them in advancing their careers. Patrick's interest and passion for working with refugees "stems from the fact that as a youth, the genocidal conflict in Rwanda forced me to flee my native land to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where I lived as a refugee for many months," he said. While living in the refugee camp in the DRC, he managed to earn a living by working with an international NGO by assisting with providing nutrition to children. This work allowed Patrick to sustain himself in the camp but he still worried about his personal safety as there were



Gedeon Hakizimana Student.
Photo: S-CAR.

often ethnic tensions and revenge killings.

Eventually, Patrick was granted asylum to the United States where he managed to earn a bachelor's degree in political science from Eastern University and a Masters degree in International Peace and Conflict Resolution at Arcadia University with a primary focus on reconciliation in Central Africa.

Patrick's life experiences in conflict regions have inspired him to work towards a peaceful resolution to conflict "and for me, S-CAR epitomizes that conviction very much." Patrick regularly speaks to students and young people about his experiences in the Rwandan conflict. His message is geared toward raising awareness and inspiring young people in conflict regions towards peace. ■

The Havana Negotiations

Continued from page 1



Thomas Flores, S-CAR Associate Professor. Photo: Mason Creative Services.

peasants' land rights, coercive expropriation by large landowners, and sclerotic efforts at land reform provided what Jeremy Weinstein would call the "social endowments" necessary for insurgency.

These would sustain the FARC for nearly twenty years before it became involved in drug trafficking. Inequality, then, is at the core of Colombia's story – and not merely economic inequality, but a more complex socio-political structure of exclusion that links the state and rich landowners, but excludes peasants. This inequality has only worsened after five decades of war, a product of displacement of the poor, especially Afro-Colombians. USAID, for instance, estimates that 0.4% of Colombians own 62% of Colombia's best farmland.

Negotiators in Havana to their credit made addressing land inequality the first of five points for peace talks, reaching agreement on a land reform that they described in a joint statement as "the start of a radical transformation of rural Colombia." The reform, if implemented, would invest heavily in rural areas, redistribute land to farmers, and compensate Colombians who have lost property during the war.

There are good reasons to temper our optimism, however. As in Gabriel García Márquez's novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, Colombian history tends to repeat itself. The Colombian government has attempted land reform no fewer than fourteen times since 1917; that's an average of one land reform every seven years. A constant in these experiences is the opposition of Colombia's landed class to any democratization of ownership. Landowners have repeatedly used violence to resist redistribution. Paramilitary groups, who at times have maintained close connections to Colombian politicians and the military, have assisted in this effort. Michael Albertus and Oliver Kaplan have found that piecemeal land reforms resulting from elite resistance often increased political violence.

The peace talks in Havana, then, face at least two major obstacles. First, the Colombian state faces a credible commitment problem, in the words of Barbara Walter; "the state's inability or unwillingness to stop rich landowners from derailing land reforms in the past should cause the FARC to doubt the government's commitment to land reform today." Second, it is unclear whether landowning elites have reached what William Zartman would call a ripe moment. This is perhaps

best seen in comments by Álvaro Uribe, president of Colombia between 2002 and 2008, on the peace process. Uribe, the son of a rich landowner killed by the FARC, has criticized the peace process and the agreed-upon land reforms fiercely and publicly.

The collapse of peace talks currently taking place in Havana would only extend the tragedy of Colombia's war. Yet negotiations yielding a negative peace that leaves in place the economic roots of Colombia's war raise the specter of a future of continued poverty, further political violence, crime, and injustice. Three steps might help support the pursuit of positive peace.

First, both sides should invite the United Nations to participate in talks. United Nations Peacekeeping Operations are certainly no panacea, but can help resolve credible commitment problems through disarmament,



The Colombian Countryside. Photo: Thomas Flores.

demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs and monitoring progress on land reform implementation.

Second, the government must build consensus among landowning elites in favor of a major redistribution of land. Colombia's history clearly demonstrates that large landowners can sink land reform. President Santos, himself the scion of a wealthy family, is uniquely placed to lead these dialogues.

Third, both the government and the FARC should seek creative means of building confidence in each other. The government, for example, could crack down on renewed paramilitary violence. The FARC could release more civilian hostages and clamp down on future kidnappings. A mutual cease-fire, which the government has thus far resisted, would also be a good first step.

Let us hope, then, that these talks signal not only an end to Colombia's long war, but also the beginning of the long road to a just peace. ■

Congressmen and Sport

Continued from page 4



National Youth Week Participants. Photo: Soolmaz Abooli

reintegration, peacebuilding, development, and empowerment. Sport's visibility in this community is increasing as it builds upon past successes. The goal is to help today's youth become tomorrow's responsible leaders through the vehicle of sport programs.

At a more core level, below the abstraction of the P.L.A.Y.S. framework, sport emphasizes mental toughness, persistence, responsibility, and the saliency of teamwork. Given this, there is a very real potential to design social and diplomacy programs that inject and rein-

force such qualities into our society. Within the umbrella of policymaking, sport can be used in a structured way to complement development missions of institutional structures such as youth organizations and schools - consider the rampant issue of bullying. If a collection of scholars, sport practitioners, and policymakers can create a combined plan to leverage this angle, sport will truly serve as a universal language at both grassroots and diplomatic levels.

The Hill is a ripe place to start discussions around developing policies that utilize the benefits of sport. It showcases the fact that bipartisan cooperation and communication are indeed achievable when focusing on commonalities. Take for example the two Congressmen; they agree on and share similarities about the imprint that sport, their coaches, and teammates have left on their identities throughout child and adulthood and work together despite being on opposite sides of the aisle. The thaw in US-China relations enabled by President Richard Nixon's ping-pong diplomacy shows that sport can be a powerful tool to bridge gaps between nations. It is an example and precedent upon which to build future successes.

The impact of sport touches our interactions and development at a raw, human level like very little else does. Consequently, it has the unique characteristic to transcend time and sometimes even political barriers. Let's capitalize on that. ■



**School for Conflict
Analysis and Resolution**

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Syria and the Need for Peaceful Conflict Resolution

By Richard Rubenstein, University Professor of Conflict Resolution and Public Affairs, rrubenst@gmu.edu

Once again, with the United States on the brink of war with Syria, the public debate is focusing on the wrong issues. The problem is not that these issues are irrelevant or unimportant, but rather that they leave out something absolutely essential: the continuing urgent need for a peaceful and just resolution of the Syrian Civil War. We know that a U.S. military strike against Syria cannot be justified unless it is a last resort. The tragic flaw in American foreign policy is that we go to war repeatedly without having made serious efforts to resolve conflicts peacefully.

The issues currently dominating discussion in Congress, the news media, and the streets leave us caught between two apparent alternatives: punish the Assad regime for using chemical weapons or “do nothing.” But there is another

alternative: convene a peace conference, as the Russians have suggested, make sure that all the conflicting parties participate, and conduct the conference according to conflict resolution principles, and not as a typical Versailles-style exercise in hard bargaining and power politics.

I will describe these principles further in a moment. First, though, it is worth noting how inconclusive the debate has been over the three



"I love Syrie". Photo: Flickr User Kevin Vanden.

issues most often discussed: who used chemical weapons, the scope and consequences of intervention, and the question of legal and moral norms.

In all this argument and counter-argument, the issue that is NOT being discussed (except by the Russians, Germans, Brazilians, South Africans, and others willing to defy the Obama administration) is peaceful conflict resolution. Why not? Because the “realists” in Washington consider the idea utopian. Max Fisher of the Washington Post recently summarized their position by noting, “There’s

Continued on Page 7

Commentary

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: S-CAR at March on Washington
- 3 Initiatives: CRDC in Iran
- 4 Events: The Thanksgiving Challenge
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances.
Student Opinion: Politics and the Social Media in Cambodia
- 6 Spotlight: Joshua Ballew
Spotlight: Ariana Harner

The National Action to Realize the Dream: S-CAR's Involvement in the 50th Anniversary on the March on Washington

By Jean-Renold Altidor, S-CAR Alumnus and CWBI staff, jaltidor@gmu.edu



Some prominent participants at the 50th Anniversary of March on Washington. Photo: CWBI.

On August 24th 2013, the nation celebrated the 50th anniversary of a seminal moment in the history of the United States—the 1963 March on Washington. The commemoration was organized by Communities Without Boundaries International, Inc. (CWBI) and the National Action Network (NAN) and led by Martin Luther King III and Rev. Al Sharpton. They were joined by a coalition of organizations and individuals from across ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds, as well as labor leaders, elected officials, civil society, and religious leadership. Acknowledging the importance of the progress that has been made over the past fifty years, but also recognizing the work that is still left to be done, the coalition of individuals and organizations together with CWBI and NAN titled the commemoration the National Action to Realize the Dream: 50th Anniversary March on Washington (NARTD-MOW).

On the eve of the march, CWBI hosted a reception at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) to welcome the speakers including Martin Luther King III, U.S. House Minority Leader, Nancy Pelosi, Dr. Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi and several other speakers and members of the larger coalition. The School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution was well represented by seven current and former students and faculty—Johnny J. Mack, Dr. Maneshka Eliatamby, Dr. Michael Shank, J. R. Altidor, Joann Kim, Addis Aseffa, and Mark Perez—speaking at the march. George Mason University President Angel Cabrera was the only university president to speak at the march. Each speaker focused on the achievements of the past fifty years and the work that the United States is tasked with in order to realize the dream for all members of our communities.

President Cabrera focused his speech on the importance of education noting that “thousands of young men and women are denied a college education every year shutting them out of the American dream. It is only because of their low economic status and others’ perception that they are not American enough or are not documented enough”.

Johnny Mack, president of CWBI, and a PhD candidate at S-CAR, introduced Martin Luther King III. He saw the 1963 event as one of the most significant events in the history of mankind’s struggle for its own identity. He reflected on the multitude from all ethnic persuasions that gathered to hear the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. “Dr. King’s son has called us all to celebrate, not nearly to commemorate, but to inoculate our human spirit, to galvanize, and energize our collective consciences to take action to realize the dream”, he said.

Dr. Maneshka Eliatamby, Vice-President of CWBI, highlighted Dr. King’s vision of freedom, justice, and equality for the world and added, “closely associated with the same challenge is a society that makes them possible by ensuring equal treatment and access to the pursuit of happiness. This is the time to launch a new challenge that will raise the consciousness of the world and the urgency of now.” She concluded with a call to action. “Join Communities Without Boundaries International in the National Action to Realize the Dream: America Speakers Tour as civil society and Americans from all walks of life galvanize and take on the challenges of now.”

Dr. Michael Shank focused on nonviolence and America’s capability to lead the way in this revolution of values by trying to understand the enemy’s point of view. He made reference to Robert Kennedy’s remarks after the assassination of Dr. King on the menace of mindless violence to our society and the corrosive effect of institutional violence. He quoted Present Kennedy: “. . .the pursuit of peace is our most urgent task.”

Addisihyot Aseffa Girmammo (Addis), Joann Kim, and Mark Perez approached the podium together to represent Youth Without Boundaries to highlight the difference the youth are making around the world. Addis opened with “youth can play a pivotal role to bring about positive and tangible change in society and will only succeed if society invests in them.” Joann chimed in to rally support: “Won’t you join us? We aren’t irresponsible! We aren’t indifferent! We are passionate! We are creative! We are capable! We are leaders.” Mark Perez concluded with: “History will affirm that it is the youth that have always been at the forefront of change. Each of us has a unique gift to either advance the rightful causes of humanity or aid its destruction.”

I used this opportunity to reflect on my accomplishment in this country as an immigrant who has realized the dreams formulated as a child in Haiti. It would not have been possible for certain immigrants to realize their dreams in America if the status quo of the pre-civil rights movement era had remained unchallenged. I am thankful to Dr. King and those who sacrificed so much during the civil rights movement. The march was a great success and well attended. People came from all over to participate. The 50th anniversary commemoration launched the National Action to Realize the Dream initiative, which will be spearheaded by CWBI in collaboration with its partners. ■

Teaching Conflict Resolution and Peace in Iran:

Reflections on CRDC's New Online Program

By Sahar Namazikhah, PhD Student and Director of CRDC Iran Program, snamazik@masonlive.gmu.edu

On August 19, 2013, the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution (CRDC), an affiliate of S-CAR, started its second semester of its Iranian online School for Conflict Resolution and Peace. The first semester had over 70 students, and CRDC was pleased to welcome to the second semester over 130 new students.

The current students hail from every corner of Iran including Kurds, Turks, Arabs and Persians; an unprecedented achievement for online work in Iran. This accomplishment is partly due to the extraordinary and tireless efforts of CRDC's Iran team, and of course, the commitment of a renown faculty team: Professors Michael Nagler from UC, Berkeley, Marc Gopin from S-CAR, Ramin Jahanbegloo from Canadian York University, Mubarak Awad from American University, Hadi Semati from University of Tehran, and Nayereh Tohidi from CSU, Northridge. More importantly, the active and continuous commitment of the students themselves is key to the success of the program.

The Iranian Online School is an initiative of the CRDC and is designed to teach students in Iran from diverse backgrounds how to approach ongoing disputes that can cause conflict and how to resolve them through the practical application of non-violent methods. Students are admitted based on their educational level, their background in social and civil activities, and their work experience and interests in social change. Upon finishing their final project, students receive a certificate from the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution.

The theme of this year's program is "Conflict Resolution and Minority Rights" and its main goals include empower-

ing minority groups, improving public knowledge of minority and majority rights, advancing conflict resolution skills, stimulating new ways of preventing racial, ethnic, gender or religious discrimination, and building lasting peace between social groups in an integrated society. The Basic level of this program was successfully offered during the spring of 2013 and the advanced level has begun for the Fall semester. The distinguishing characteristic of this program is that the courses

are offered in the students' native languages. In addition to receiving program materials in Farsi and English, students of Turkish/Azari, Kurdish, and Arab descent will have the opportunity to read selected material, attend classes and conduct course activities in workshops, all using their mother tongues. Our Farsi and non-Farsi speaking

professors are internationally renowned in their respective fields. In order for students to communicate and learn more effectively, live lectures delivered in English will be simultaneously translated into Farsi. The professors even hold office hours. Students also have the opportunity to ask questions in their native language. Their questions are then translated and sent to the professor. Responses are then translated and sent back, as well as being uploaded in the forum, so other students with similar questions can study them. A syllabus has been devised for each of the two semesters, and students follow a constructive regimen of reading and preparing for class. The course literature is housed in the online School Library, an unprecedented resource for peacebuilding in five languages; English, Farsi, Kurdish, Arabic, and Turkish/Azari.



Sahar Namazikhah.

Photo: Sahar Namazikhah.

initiatives

Continued on Page 8

The Thanksgiving Challenge

By Katelyn Waddle, kwaddle@gmu.edu and Sam Waddle, sparson6@gmu.edu, S-CAR Undergraduate Students and members of the Working Group on Displaced Populations

EVENTS

The Working Group on Displaced Populations (or better known as WGDP) is entering its second active year at George Mason University. We acknowledge that there are many definitions of a displaced person in all fields including academia, politics and practitioners; however, for our purposes, a displaced person is anyone who has fled their home for fear or want. The group was started as one of many steps to persuade GMU administration to allow a Center for Displaced Populations to open here at George Mason University. The ultimate goal of the student organization is to foster and consolidate support for the creation of the Center from students, faculty, prospective students, community members, and outside groups. The student organization is also trying to raise awareness concerning the conditions that displaced persons endure and the process of resettlement. By increasing awareness we hope to create a more welcoming and tolerant university environment.

This year, WGDP hopes to increase our membership and outreach to other organizations, faculty members, and community allies. Our first major event of the semester, the Thanksgiving Challenge, will take place in November during the full school week leading up to Thanksgiving Break as we challenge other student organizations to compete in a fundraiser to celebrate the first time refugees were resettled in the United States. Funds raised will go to community-based organizations that help with resettlement in the Fairfax area. In April, we will host our second-annual Displacement Days in an attempt to raise



WGDP meeting. Photo: Katelyn Waddle.

awareness of the displacement crises happening around the world and connect students with internship and career opportunities with organizations that help those who have been displaced. This will be a two-day event comprised of building shelters out of recycled materials and hosting speakers.

In addition to these two major events, we will host bi-monthly meetings on campus and a multitude of other functions. Many of our events include speakers who work or study aspects of this topic or who have been displaced. At each meeting we invite a speaker to come for about fifteen minutes to speak and take questions. The subjects of these talks are open to all possibilities that relate to displaced people in some way. Another event that is speaker heavy is called *My Story*. We tried this for the first time at the end of last academic year. We invite people who have been displaced to come and talk to a small group, and we will create rotations to keep the audience small and intimate.

Considering our goals of further membership recruitment and extended outreach, we welcome the involvement of students at all levels of higher education and we encourage further involvement of George Mason University's faculty and staff. Whether one is interested in joining our general membership, partnering with us on future events, connecting us with community organizations that could use our help and advocacy, or speaking at a meeting or event about their personal experience with displacement, we welcome you! If you are interested in working with us in any of these capacities, contact us at cdp.gmu@gmail.com. ■

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Saturday, September 21, 2013

Welcome Dinner
6:00pm - 9:00pm

Tuesday, September 24, 2013

Personal Narratives as Representative of the Experience of
Poverty and Power in the US
2:00PM - 4:00PM

Tuesday, October 1, 2013

Narrative on Syria with Rich Rubenstein
2:00PM - 4:00PM

<http://scar.gmu.edu/events-roster>

Student Opinion: Politics and the Social Media in Cambodia

By Sarah Rose-Jensen, PhD Candidate, srosejen@gmu.com



Mother, and Daughter demonstrating for the freedom of Yom Bopha, a jailed activist. Photo: Sarah Rose-Jensen.

Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen has been in power, in one way or another, since the end of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979. He has been “democratically elected” for 28 years. When Cambodian friends and colleagues asked what I thought of that in the lead-up to July’s general elections, I tried to reply diplomatically that if he was in power that long he was either very good at it, or very corrupt. I’ll let readers come to their own conclusion there.

This summer I traveled to Cambodia for preliminary dissertation research, and was fortunate enough to be there for two very important events: the June resumption of the appeal of activist Yorm Bopha and the July general election. Bopha, a prominent land rights activist, was convicted of an assault in December – a conviction that many activists and members of the Cambodian public allege is false and a punishment for her activism – and has been declared a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International. While her case is of interest on its own, what is of real interest to me regarding both her case and the election is the incredible mobilization of civil society and peaceful demonstrators around both issues. Given Cambodia’s history as a repressive regime, including fairly recent murders of activists (including Chea Vichea in 2004 and Chut Witthy in 2012), activism is often considered a dangerous pursuit in Cambodia. However, despite the real and/or perceived dangers, Cambodians are taking to the street in ever-greater numbers. Recent opposition party demonstrations have drawn tens of thousands, something even more surprising when one considers that opposition party leader Sam Rainsy was only allowed to return to the country nine days before the election in which he was not even allowed to vote.

How is this happening? A large part of the answer is Facebook. While Americans are decrying Facebook’s lack of privacy, Cambodian youth are using it to generate and fuel political activity in a country with few or no free

Recent S-CAR Articles, Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances

Why Water is Key to Syria

Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumnus
CNN World, 9/17/13

Options for Action in Syria

Sandra Cheldelin, S-CAR Professor
SCAR News 9/17/13

Look to Iran for a Solution in Syria

Dennis Sandole, S-CAR Professor
Financial Times, 9/10/13

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared 20 times since the last issue of the newsletter. These 3 represent a sample at time of publication. For complete list visit <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

Khmer-language news sources – all television stations and many radio station are controlled by the ruling party, and Freedom House ranks Cambodian media as “not free.” However, internet usage has increased by 60% in the past year, and there are currently more SIM cards in Cambodia than people. This, combined with the fact that 70% of the population is under 35 years of age, is creating a potent nexus for youth internet activism. While in Cambodia I met Ou Ritthy, a blogger and activist who founded Politikoffee, a hybrid online and in-person organization dedicated to “raising political, legal, and social awareness for a positive change in Cambodia.” Like many young Cambodians, Ou is foreign-educated, articulate, and underemployed. Through Politikoffee, Cambodia’s emerging educated youth share ideas as well as information on Cambodian and regional politics. When election violence broke out in a Phnom Penh suburb, the official channels were silent, but Cambodians and supporters were sharing photos and updates via Facebook.

Media freedom and activism will continue to be hot-button issues globally, and with the ASEAN integration slated for 2015, Southeast Asia will likely be an area of increasing interest for scholars of conflict analysis and resolution, foreign policy, and related fields. While the Twitter and Facebook Revolutions of Egypt and Iran have been greatly exaggerated and the very real turmoil in those countries remains unresolved, it is also the case that social media will continue to affect activism, organizing, and how activists network with others around the world. As Cambodian internet usage will likely continue to grow, the people are learning demonstrate a desire for governmental changes. It will provide an interesting view into the interactions of social media and a repressive government. ■

press

Joshua Ballew, Undergraduate Student

By Catherine Walsh, MS Student, cwash1@gmu.edu

Joshua Ballew, a third year undergraduate student at S-CAR, is double majoring in Community Conflict and Religious Studies. When Joshua was four years old, his family moved from the U.S. to the small port city of Macau. At that time, Macau had been a Portuguese colony for over 400 years and in 1999 was handed over to China as a Special Administrative Region. Growing up in this unique part of the world, Joshua was exposed to a rich blend of European heritage and Asian culture. "It's taken for granted that you can walk down the street and see a one-hundred year-old Catholic Cathedral standing right beside an even older Chinese Temple." Fluent in both Cantonese and English, Joshua was educated through the local school system in Macau, from the first year of kindergarten all the way through secondary school. "I grew up as a tall, white, Christian, male... minority. It wasn't until I arrived in the U.S. in 2010 that I realized how uncommon my experience really is." His first year in the U.S. was spent working at a middle school in Sacramento, California. Regarding his



Joshua Ballew. Photo: Joshua Ballew.

time there, he remarked, "there's nothing like working with a class of middle schoolers to prepare you for the study of conflict."

This semester, Joshua is joining six other undergraduates, two of whom are S-CAR students, to form an interfaith fellowship on the Fairfax campus. The group is currently made up of a Jew, a Muslim, a Mormon, two Protestants, a Catholic, and an Atheist, and is ready to welcome others. The main focus of the group is to build friendships through fellowship that,

according to Abigail Lash, a junior studying social work, will "bridge the gap between religious divisions." The fellowship meets Fridays at 3pm and is a great place to "learn about people of other faiths." Coming from the multicultural urban environment of Macau to the diversity of the Mason community, Joshua is thankful for the opportunity to share and learn alike. "I look forward to learning a lot from the others but also from the experience itself. Hopefully what we do here will contribute to the transformation of relationships across campus." ■

Ariana Harner, S-CAR MS Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Student, kdegraft@gmu.edu



Ariana Harner. Photo: Ariana Harner.

Ariana Harner is a second-year Masters student at S-CAR who is very much into outdoor activities such as hiking and camping as well as equally passionate about preventing complex political and social disputes that lead to intractable conflict.

"Being able to escape into nature helps me to recharge and resume my professional work with renewed hope and optimism." Before she became a student at S-CAR, Ariana worked with the Genocide Prevention Program (GPP), an affiliate of S-CAR, where she contributed to a project that supported an emerging regional genocide prevention system in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. As she indicated, "I was very impressed with the knowledgeable team members I worked with on the project. It was a great feeling to collaborate with people who share my enthusiasm and devotion to genocide prevention, and I immediately wanted to be a part of that

community." Ariana's work at S-CAR has been focused on prevention, specifically researching mechanisms, such as systems of early warning and proper responses, which confront emerging conflicts early enough to prevent outbreaks of violence. She spent the past two semesters working with an APT team on genocide prevention and integration, with a specific focus on Kenya and the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Ariana and the team monitored and reported on the 2013 Kenyan elections during the spring semester and then developed a guidebook on preventing electoral violence during the summer. Also with the support of APT colleagues, she coauthored two policy briefs, one on the U.S. Atrocities Prevention Board and one on the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). The briefs outlined ways in which the two national and regional bodies can cooperate, collaborate, and strengthen systems of atrocities prevention globally. Ariana will start an internship in the fall of 2013 at the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations at the U.S. State Department where she will work in the policy office. She explains, "Working with the State Department will be an incredible opportunity for me to gain a deeper understanding of the field of conflict analysis and resolution. S-CAR has been preparing me to face such challenges with confidence." ■

Syria and the Need for Peaceful Conflict Resolution

Continued from Page 1

no indication that either side is interested in [peace talks] or that there's even a viable unified rebel movement with which to negotiate" (Wash. Post, 8/29/13).

Conflict resolution professionals are all too familiar with this sort of glib pessimism. Upon arriving in Northern Ireland to initiate what turned out to be a successful peace process, mediator George Mitchell was informed by all parties, Catholic and Protestant alike, that he was wasting his time because (1) too much blood had been shed, and (2) the parties were too disunited to participate in negotiations. Max Fisher's reasons for declaring a Syrian peace conference impossible are equally spurious.

Neither side is willing to talk? Even before its recent military successes (which some analysts consider the real reason for America's turn toward direct intervention) the Syrian regime declared its willingness to enter into negotiations with the rebel leaders. Clearly, if the Russians and Americans agree to make peace talks happen, the Assad government will have no choice but to participate. Last year, one greatly respected opposition figure also agreed to attend a peace conference, but he was repudiated by competitive leaders. Did the U.S. then use its vast power to persuade its clients to pursue a diplomatic solution to the conflict? Or did it look aside with mock disengagement while its Saudi, Qatari, and Emirati allies poured billions in money and weapons into the rebel coffers? We know the answer to that one.

Of course, administration officials are quite right to note that the rebel movement is not unified. But we also understand that when parties to conflict insist that they have no "partner for peace," this generally means that they are uninterested in peacemaking! Disunity is clearly not an insuperable obstacle to peace talks. If it were, there would have been no Northern Irish or South African negotiations, since both sides in those conflicts were riven by deep internal differences, nor would Secretary John Kerry's current attempt to re-start Palestinian-Israeli talks have the slightest chance of succeeding.

In fact, engaging in processes of conflict resolution sometimes helps to create a unity that seemed illusory before talks started. The IRA long declared its passionate opposition to Northern Irish peace talks, finally joining in when it became clear that they would otherwise lose their chance to help shape the new Northern Ireland. In Syria, some militant Islamists may also be induced to participate, as the Taliban is now preparing to do in Afghanistan and, possibly, in Pakistan.

What accounts for the current opposition among Syrian rebels to joining in peace negotiations? Three related reasons



Richard Rubenstein. Photo: Mason Creative Services.

seem germane. First, the anti-Assad forces are losing the war and are fearful that any peace agreement will ratify the status quo on the battlefield. Second, they believe that they can depend on the Americans and their allies to keep them alive, despite military reversals, because they would rather see Syria bleed to death (as one Israeli figure recently put it) than abandon their hope for regime change. Third, they do not understand that, unlike traditional negotiations "from strength," conflict resolution does not mean ratifying the military status quo. It means exposing and solving the underlying problems generating the civil conflict.

This is a crucially important point. What happens in a conflict resolution process – and often not in traditional diplomacy – is that experienced, independent facilitators assist the warring parties to confront and deal with the social-constitutional questions that are tearing their country apart. Without this kind of discussion (as we now see in Iraq) power-based diplomacy only sets the stage for future conflict. In the case of Syria, these social-constitutional issues include not only governmental forms and behaviors, citizen rights, abuses of power, and the like, but also the need to reorganize and stabilize relations between Sunni and non-Sunni communities; the best and most acceptable methods of regulating the oil industry and distributing its vast revenues; rethinking Syria's relationships with neighboring powers and the need for a regional confederation; rebuilding the nation's ruined agricultural economy; reintegrating returning refugees, and more.

Because conflict resolution means attending to such underlying issues, not merely imposing some outsider's "peace plan" on the parties, it is important to engage the Russians, as well as the Europeans, Americans, and Syrians, in discussions of what a multilateral peace conference would entail. Among the many horrible examples of conferences that ended up producing even worse conflicts, one recalls the Versailles Conference following World War I, in which traditional power-based diplomacy actually exacerbated the conditions that would end a few decades later by killing more than 60 million people, most of them civilians.

Peace is the goal in Syria, which, heaven knows, deserves security, prosperity, and freedom after losing more than 100,000 of its people in an atrocious civil conflict. Peace is not an impossible dream, if all parties concerned determine that serious peace talks must be attempted before any new attacks on the Syrian regime are launched. We can still remedy the tragic flaw in American foreign policy by insisting that peace is the means as well as the end, and that no military action can ever be considered a last resort without going all out for conflict resolution. ■

Teaching Conflict Resolution and Peace in Iran

Continued from Page 3

Coupled with that, more than 500 pages in the field of conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and nonviolence have been carefully selected under supervision of some S-CAR faculty. The selected material consists of excerpts from 22 books and over 30 articles. All these materials have been translated into Farsi, Kurdish, Azari/Turkish and Arabic and made available online through the school's portal.

The school's operating theory is that empowering minority groups, as well as cooperation and collaboration between the majority and the minorities, is key to resolving internal tensions and preventing destructive conflict. The educational and intellectual empowerment of our students through this program is meant to instill in the student's a sense of their ability to make a difference, and a way to

participate in change at the level of the social, political and cultural structures of minorities. While leading toward this goal of empowerment through peace education, the program makes sure that the message is treated carefully in a way that does not entail paternalism nor lead to a new form of social control over minorities by majorities or external actors. Learning how to manage crises and resolving them peacefully are all achieved through public participation and cooperation between the majority and the minorities in a joint educational process of learning the skills of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Peace education is based on the assumption that not only peace and nonviolence, but also empowerment can be learned. More information about this program is available at www.iranonlineschool.com. ■



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A Smooth Transition from Dean Bartoli to Dean Avruch

By Sandra Cheldelin, Vernon M. and Minnie I. Lynch Professor, S-CAR, schehdel@gmu.edu

A change as important as a shift in leadership must be acknowledged. Since the beginning of summer until October 1, our School witnessed the resignation of our Dean, Dr. Andrea Bartoli, briefly replaced by an actively engaged Interim Dean, Solon Simmons, followed by an early fall semester internal Dean search process, and a final selection of our new Dean, Professor Kevin Avruch. Concurrently, we packed and moved—from our primary location on three floors in the Truland



Kevin Avruch, New Dean of S-CAR.
Photo: Mason Creative Services.

edgement goes to our outgoing Dean, Dr. Andrea Bartoli, who brought a substantial set of opportunities to our community as an internationally engaged scholar practitioner. Andrea came to the US from Italy in 1992 as an anthropologist (University of Milan, PhD; University of Rome, BA, MA), following his active role in the successful peace process in Mozambique. In 2003 he launched a decade-long initiative—with the support of the governments of Switzerland, Argentina and Tanzania—to involve more than 130 countries, the UN, and many regional and sub-regional organizations in a worldwide

Commentary

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: CGC partners with Slate
- 3 Initiatives: Four Years of CRAMS
- 4 Events: Welcome Dinner and Lynch Lecture
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances.
Faculty Opinion: A Field Whose Time has Come
- 6 Spotlight: Michel Gratton
Spotlight: Fariba Parsa

building to a half-wing on the 5th floor of the Metropolitan building (albeit right next door). One could reasonably speculate these significant changes in such a short period of time would be chaotic and lead to conflict, but they did not. Congratulations are in order, especially to our leaders, for this remarkably smooth transition.

A special acknowl-

genocide prevention initiative. It became clear to him that being active in American higher education gave him another platform to do his international work and in 1997 he founded and led the Center for International Conflict Resolution at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia. Fast-forward to 2007, when we snagged him as the Drucie French Cumbie Chair and two years later as ICAR Director. He then led the transition for us from an Institute (ICAR) to a School (S-CAR), became the first Dean (2011) and expanded the growth and development of our multi-program Commonwealth Center of Excellence—the undergraduate, certificate, master and doctoral academic

Continued on Page 7

Slate Double X Podcast Live Taping:

Exploring Issues of Femininity, Masculinity, and Gender Violence

By Catherine Walsh, MS Student, cwalsh12@gmu.edu



Slate Double X podcast. Photo: Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict.

On September 18th, the Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict hosted a live taping of the Slate Double X Podcast. The podcast featured Slate Double X founding editor Hanna Rosin, Slate writer Dan Kois, and Noreen Malone of The New Republic. The podcast was innovative and entertaining, drawing a crowd not just of George Mason students, but of professionals throughout the area. Rosin, Kois, and Malone discussed three twenty-minute segments filled with wit and intellect. Among the segments discussed were sexism in the technology industry and what the three referred to as “tech bros.” A tech bro is a term coined to address the prevalence of men in the rapidly growing tech industry. Though tech is the fastest growing industry in the United States, women remain proportionately unrepresented. Besides big names like



From left to right: Noreen Malone, Leslie Dwyer, Hanna Rosin, Elizabeth Mount, Dan Kois. Photo: Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict.



Elizabeth Mount addressing the audience. Photo: Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict.

Sheryl Sandberg and Marissa Mayer, there is little visibility of women in the tech field. Thus, the prototype in the subculture of tech has emerged as what Dan Kois referred to as “guys who are so unbelievably self-confident” in the tech industry.

Another segment delved into the all too flagrant epidemic of sexual assault in the military. Rosin, Kois, and Malone not only acknowledged the prevalence of such heinous acts, but speculated upon the best way to respond to such offenses as was emerging from Congress. Rosin noted that the first camp, represented by Senator McCaskill, proposes that acts committed within the military should be reported through chain of command and tried internally in military court. Alternatively, Senator Gillibrand of

the second camp proposes that independent prosecutors should try sexual assault in the military outside of the military system. Malone praised the statements of Senator Gillibrand, indicating how both Israel and Great Britain’s militaries have changed the procedures for reporting sexual assault. The fear in doing so, Malone suggests, “is that reports of sexual assault would skyrocket.”

The collaboration between the Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict and the Slate Double X Podcast presented a unique type of dialogue, asserting how important it is to understand the component of gender in everyday interactions. As Slate contends, the podcast series is “by women but not just for women.” (Slate). ■

Celebrating Four Years of CRAMS:

Reflections on S-CAR's Dual Degree Program with the University of Malta

By Michael D. English, PhD Candidate and Malta Program Coordinator, menglis1@gmu.edu

As the Mason community celebrates another milestone in global education with the opening of the Songdo Global University Campus in South Korea, S-CAR's dual degree MSc program with the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) at the University of Malta is set to begin its fourth year. Malta's commitment to international dialogue and its strategic location in the Mediterranean Sea make it a prime destination for those interested in studying issues related to conflict, peace, and diplomacy in the region. Situated between Southern Europe and North Africa, participants gain a unique international experience and insight due to their proximity to some of today's most troubling situations, be it Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, or Greece.

The MSc program in Conflict Analysis and Resolution and Mediterranean Security (CRAMS) merges the strengths of both universities. MEDAC's core focus in diplomatic and security studies is brought together with S-CAR's field defining blend of conflict analysis and resolution. As program co-coordinator Omar Grech notes, "The S-CAR/MEDAC dual degree program has enhanced the profile of conflict resolution in Malta and has evidenced the complementarity between the discipline and Malta's vocation as a promoter of dialogue and peace in the Mediterranean region." The program is one of many initiatives undertaken by S-CAR in distance learning and continues the pioneering role the school has played in defining the standard for global education. Other initiatives include the new online MS Distance Learning Program, the experiential learning trips including those offered through the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution (CRDC), and the student/faculty collaboration experiences developed as part of the Applied Practical Training (APTs).

S-CAR's involvement with the creation of the CRAMS program was led from within and serves as yet another example of how Mason champions innovation. Former Dean Andrea Bartoli nurtured the inventive idea of Professor Richard Rubenstein to develop the program. Associate Dean for Administration Juliette Shedd provided the guidance and logistical support to set the program up and establish the



2012-2013 CRAMS Cohort. Photo: Michael D. English.

academic standards required for it to bear the S-CAR name. On the Malta side, the Rector of the University of Malta, Prof. Juanito Camilleri, played an instrumental role in providing support and the institutional space for the initiative. A joint board of directors created from members of both institutions currently oversee the CRAMS program; S-CAR is represented by Professor Rubenstein and Professor Susan Hirsch, while MEDAC is represented by Professor Omar Grech and Professor Stephen Calleya, Director of the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies. While in Malta, students receive support from Director of Graduate Student Services Erin Ogilvie-Hudson and Program Coordinator, Michael

English who represents S-CAR on the ground in Valletta.

The CRAMS program is a yearlong intensive commitment broken down into three semesters. Students are required to complete 15 courses over the first two semesters and to use the third to produce a dissertation. Required courses mirror those of the domestic MS program but also include CONF 733: Legal Systems and Conflict and CONF 720: Conflict, Religion, and Reconciliation. From the MEDAC side the curriculum includes sessions on the relationship of conflict to issues such as human rights, the environment, media, and economics, all with a particular orientation toward understanding their impact in the Mediterranean region.

Thanks to the generosity of the University of Malta, the 2012-13 cohort participated in a trip to Cyprus to study firsthand the ongoing challenges with the peace process and reconciliation efforts on the divided island. Finally, students participated in a multi-day simulation exercise as a capstone to their experience, a project developed as part of S-CAR's FIPSE grant sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education. The simulation, "Adding Fuel to the Fire: Energy Resources and International Negotiation in the Eastern Mediterranean," was authored by Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Ned Lazarus and S-CAR PhD candidates Thanos Gatsias and Gul Mescioglu Gur.

For those interested in recommending the program to prospective students, please visit scar.gmu.edu/academics/10182. For a reflection on the student experience in Malta, see Jessica Lohmann's piece at scar.gmu.edu/newsletter-subject/reflections-dual-degree-program-malta-0. ■

initiatives

S-CAR Welcome Dinner:

By Marcella Morris, S-CAR MS Student, mmorri20@gmu.edu



Welcome Dinner Band.
Photo: S-CAR.

The S-CAR Annual Welcome Dinner is a wonderful way to welcome incoming students and to kick off the new academic year. As a new student, it was very exciting to see a crowd - made up of faculty, staff, students, and friends and family of the S-CAR community - gather on a rainy Saturday night to celebrate this very important event.

In his address to the attendees gathered, Interim Dean Solon Simmons emphasized the importance of the S-CAR community in setting trends now being mirrored by the rest of the George Mason University community. He concluded his remarks by urging the new cohort to continue with this tradition and even surpass these accolades that were bringing so much recognition to the efforts of S-CAR in promoting peace throughout the world. As a recent addition to this community, his remarks were inspiring as it challenged myself and the other individuals in my cohort to build upon the successes of the program

and take it to newer and greater heights, a task that I am sure everyone present was willing to take on. The high point of the evening showed a further testament to the importance of students to the S-CAR community as numerous awards were given to students for outstanding work in the field of conflict analysis and resolution. Seeing the number of



Faculty and Students at Welcome Dinner.
Photo: S-CAR.

awards, the diversity of foci, and the diversity of students who received them drew my attention to the breadth and scope of the S-CAR community and discipline as a whole. I am very proud to call myself a member of this community. ■

Annual Lynch Lecture Series

By Claudine Kuradusenge, S-CAR MS Student and Events Coordinator, ckuradus@gmu.edu

Upcoming Events

Tuesday, October 22, 2013

Fairfax - Ethics of Race and the Fall of Apartheid: Sociopolitical Realities of South Africa
4:30pm - 7:30pm

Thursday, October 24, 2013

25th Annual Lynch Lecture - Dr. Willie Esterhuysen
5:30pm - 9:00pm

Tuesday, October 29, 2013

Book Launch: Karina Korostelina - History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation
6:00pm - 8:00pm

Tuesday, October 29, 2013

Webinar - The Next Frontier of Conflict Resolution Education with David J. Smith
4:15pm-5:15pm

The School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) is hosting its 25th annual Lynch Lecture on October 24th, 2013. Dr. Willie Esterhuysen, a leading South African writer, philosopher and intellectual who played a significant role in opening dialogue between the "National Party Progressive," ANC, and the apartheid government, will be addressing the S-CAR community. For his contribution in helping to end apartheid, he received the Albert Luthuli National Order (silver) from the South African government and an honorary doctorate from Stellenbosch University.



Dr. Willie Esterhuysen.
Photo: Flickr User Ben Williams

Esterhuysen has lectured and contributed to improve the United States-South Africa relationship during difficult times. Leader in his field, Mr. Esterhuysen spent his life fighting for equality and educating the world about social justice. His book, *Apartheid Must Die* (1979), critiqued by some Africans, received a prestigious prize for political literature. ■

Faculty Opinion: A Field Whose Time Has Come

Iranian President Hassan Rouhani's Conflict Resolution Narrative in the Washington Post

By Dennis J. D. Sandole, S-CAR Professor of Conflict Resolution and International Relations, dsandole@gmu.edu

During the early 1980s, S-CAR's founding director, Dr. Bryant Wedge, MD, often commented that ours was a field whose time had come. I have revisited that proposition several times since, each time wondering how Bryant – a prescient observer of the human condition and of the times – would interpret certain developments (e.g., the end of the Cold War) in light of this sentiment. Consequently, when I read the op-ed article by Iran's President Hassan Rouhani, "Time to Engage: Iran's New Approach to the World," published in *The Washington Post* on 20 September 2013, I wondered, putting myself in Bryant's shoes, what, if anything, the op-ed might say about where the field of conflict analysis and resolution is, at least in the thinking of the recently elected president of a country that Israel and the U.S. have threatened to go to war against to prevent from further developing its nuclear energy program.

President Rouhani's message begins with his "pledge to engage in constructive interaction with the world." This theme reflects a core component of conflict resolution, i.e., that effective problemsolving depends on developing a collaborative working relationship with others, including those with whom we might have been, or still are, in conflict. An early proponent of this view, Morton Deutsch (1973), framed it as a *cooperative approach* to conflict resolution, often with constructive outcomes, which is a vast improvement on the more commonly used *competitive approaches* often associated with destructive outcomes. This divide in conflict handling reflects a larger philosophical overlay – the tension between two major paradigms in international relations – that plays a significant role in Rouhani's narrative.

In explaining the reason underlying his pledge, therefore, President Rouhani argues: "The world has changed. International Relations is no longer a zero-sum game but a multi-dimensional arena where cooperation and competition often occur simultaneously." Accordingly, "World leaders are expected to turn threats into opportunities." President Rouhani then initiates the process of making his main case, which is that policymakers – especially those concerned about Iran's nuclear energy program – must undergo a paradigm shift from the traditional security paradigm that encourages competitive, zero-sum thinking and behavior, toward a more appropriate comprehensive security paradigm which recognizes the utility of cooperative, "win-win" approaches to "integrative agreements" (see

Pruitt, 1987). Paradigm-shifting implies a need to *reframe* one's perceptions of "the other" and the narratives that each constructs to reflect those transformed definitions of the situation.

Building on the paradigm-shift thesis, President Rouhani argues that, "The international community faces many challenges in this new world – terrorism, extremism, foreign military interference, drug trafficking, cyber-crime and cultural encroachment – all within a framework that has emphasized hard power and the use of brute force." Here, he suggests that a disconnect exists between the traditional security paradigm and what I call the "Global Problematique" – the system of complex, interconnected global problems that no one country or international organization can deal with adequately on its own, but only by collaborating with others (see Sandole 2010, and Muzafer Sherif (1967) on "superordinate goals").

President Rouhani's comment that, "We must pay attention to the complexities of the issues at hand to solve them" (emphasis added) reinforces his emphasis on the need for a shift in paradigms and corresponding reframing of issues in order to advance the goal of "constructive engagement." Further, his argument that, "In a world where global politics is no longer a zero-sum game, it is – or should be – counterintuitive to pursue one's interests without considering the interests of others," implies that a corollary of constructive engagement is that "national interest" is now "global interest" and, contrariwise, global interest is national interest.

Rouhani's claim that constructive engagement "doesn't mean relinquishing one's rights [but] engaging with one's counterparts on the basis of equal footing and *mutual respect*, to achieve shared concerns and achieve shared objectives" (emphasis added), restates one of the basic tenets of our field; namely, that one does not have to forgo one's objectives, but only reconsider the utility of the anticipated use of violence to achieve them. Rouhani's argument here also converges with Basic



President Rouhani takes oath of office. Photo: flickr user Madhu Babu Pandi

Recent S-CAR Articles, Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media

Next Steps in Syria

Michael Shank, S-CAR Ph.D. Alumnus
U.S. News and World Report 10/10/13

Waste Surges As Defense Industry Controls Congress, Pentagon

Michael Shank, S-CAR Ph.D. Alumnus
Russia Today (RT) 10/08/13

Drowning the Arab Spring in Gulf Oil

Marc Gopin S-CAR Professor
Middle East Online, 10/2/13

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 14 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent the latest at time of publication. For a complete list please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

press

Continued on Page 7

Michel Gratton, MS Alumnus and Country Director, War Child DRC

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Student and Newsletter Editor, kdegraft@gmu.edu

Michel Gratton graduated from S-CAR in December 2010, and has been working in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as the Country Director for War Child UK since then. This NGO specializes in child protection programs with a mandate to support and improve the protection and care of children living with insecurity and poverty in some of the worst conflict-affected places. War Child UK also works in Afghanistan, Iraq, Uganda, and Central African Republic. "Working in conflict and post-conflict settings is different than working on development programs in stable countries. The insecurity and dynamics of failed states complicates interventions and strategies when trying to bring humanitarian assistance to the civilian population" he said. For Michel, S-CAR provided the theoretical understanding and analysis of conflict and post-conflict settings to make his job easier to manage. "Understanding conflict, applying the "Do no harm approach," ensuring programs are not fueling conflict and making

sound analysis of the socio-political environment to ensure the security of staff in rebel controlled areas, is central in the day to day tasks related to providing assistance to children and youth in eastern DRC." Looting, kidnappings, rebel attacks, assassinations, rape, violence, and abuse are daily occurrences in the areas where Michel works and providing assistance in such difficult conditions is not an easy task, but having a better understanding of conflict dynamics is key to ensure safe and efficient operation of programs. The other important contribution of S-CAR, Michel noted, is the study of various approaches to peacebuilding that is taught and the use of dialogue to resolve conflicts. "In the programs we design for children and youth, many peacebuilding activities are created in our 'Child Friendly Spaces' to bridge differences between ethnic groups. As fighting is often along ethnic lines, we need to change perspectives with future generations in the hopes we can break the cycle of violence." ■



Michel Gratton with National Park Rangers. Photo: Michel Gratton.

Fariba Parsa, Visiting Scholar

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Student and Newsletter Editor, kdegraft@gmu.edu

Fariba Parsa is starting a project at the Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict beginning October 1 entitled "Empowering Women in Conflict Resolution with New Media." It aims to combine research with activism in the area of women's empowerment through starting a Facebook page and a blog titled: "Voices of Iranian Women" to foster open dialogue and communication between Iranian women who are living inside Iran and those who are living in the diaspora. This should enable Iranian women to exchange useful knowledge in the areas of conflict resolution, women's rights, democracy, and peace. Fariba Parsa came to the United States in 2010, when she was awarded a post-doctoral fellowship at



Fariba Parsa. Photo: Fariba Parsa.

Harvard University, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, where she conducted research on the concept "secularism." In 2012-2013, she was a visiting scholar at the University of Maryland's Roshan Center for Persian studies and the Department of Women's Studies, conducting research on Iranian women's movements for gender equality. She has her Master Degree in political science and her PhD's in social sciences from University of Copenhagen and Roskilde University in Denmark. She was elected as a board member in a number of national and grassroots organizations in Denmark, such as the Danish National Women Council and the UN- Association of Denmark, where she served on the human rights committee. Fariba Parsa was born and raised in Iran. ■

A Smooth Transition

Continued from page 1

programs. He mentored faculty and students; co-published *Peacemaking: From Practice to Theory*—two volumes with colleagues and students in and outside of S-CAR. In his new position as Dean of Seton Hall's Whitehead School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Andrea will continue his professional work he was actively engaged in while at S-CAR as Senior Vice President and Permanent representative of the Community of Sant' Egidio. That move rightly places him within the Catholic mission of Seton Hall and provides him access to their School's unique alliance with the UN System whereby he can also continue his "diplomacy at work." We deeply thank him for his commitment to our growth and development, and look forward to forging new partnerships between our two Schools. Following Andrea's departure, Dr. Solon Simmons willingly stepped in as our Interim Dean. In just a few months he positioned our School well within the new strategic visioning process of the also new central administrative team at Mason. Working closely with the Dean's office staff we already have a solid draft of SCAR's translation of the Mason vision to the work we intend to do over the next ten years (no small feat). A special thank you to Solon for working "24/7" through the summer and early fall.

Now, a special welcome and congratulations is in order to Professor Kevin Avruch, our 11th "leader" of S-CAR since its inception in 1982. Also an anthropologist (University of Chicago, AB; University of California San Diego, MA, PhD), Kevin is no stranger to SCAR. He was on the original board that



From left, Kevin Avruch Dean and Henry Hart Rice Chair of Conflict Analysis and Resolution; Andrea Bartoli, former Dean and Drucie Chair of Conflict Analysis and Resolution; and Angel Cabrera President GMU. Photo: Alexis Glenn

organized and launched a Center for Conflict Studies and has been actively engaged in its growth and development since its inception. He moved full-time from the Department of Anthropology to S-CAR in 2003 and currently serves as the Henry Hart Rice Professor of Conflict Resolution (since 2009). He is a prolific author having published more than seven books and sixty-five articles on culture theory and practice, I have had the good fortune to work in the field with him in Tbilisi, Georgia. His teaching has also taken him to Banaras Hindu University (Fulbright Grantee), University of Malta, Joan B. Kroc Peace Studies in San Diego,

Univesidad Para Paz in Costa Rica and Sabanci Univesity in Istanbul. A review of his biography (<http://scar.gmu.edu/kevin-avruch>) witnesses the extensive experiences and gifts he will continue to bring to S-CAR, now in his role as Dean. When he addressed the S-CAR community during the search process he acknowledged that he has "a good sense of where we stand...we are the preeminent institution in the field." Who wouldn't want to select him as Dean? More seriously, though, he said he had "respect for the history and culture of S-CAR" and is committed to at least two areas of development: student support and "building out Point of View"—our extraordinary property gift from the Lynch family—with a "commitment to remain engaged, reach out to donors who can get excited about Point of View [and can] bring them into the conversations about various projects." We anticipate a lively and successful launch of our next 10 years' Vision with Kevin's leadership. ■

A Field Whose Time has Come

Continued from page 7

Human Needs (BHNs) Theory, particularly as advanced by John Burton (1997). For Rouhani, win-win outcomes are not just favorable but also achievable in a world in which mutual respect is valued. A zero-sum, competitive, Cold War mentality leads to everyone's loss -- a perpetual, escalating "security dilemma" where all actors are worse off than they were before their last round of action-reaction decisionmaking. Hence, Rouhani's comment that, given American "unilateralism" and, correspondingly, adherence to the traditional security paradigm, "Security is pursued at the [zero-sum] expense of the insecurity [sic] of others, with disastrous consequences." Rouhani reiterates his position that America's adherence to the traditional security paradigm (as expressed in its unilateralism) is incompatible with effective problemsolving at the global level: "The

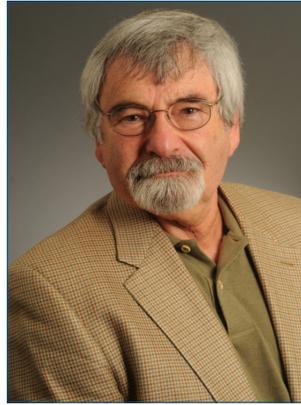
unilateral approach, which glorifies brute force and breeds violence, is clearly incapable of solving issues we all face, such as terrorism and extremism. I say all because nobody is immune to extremist-fueled violence, even though it might rage thousands of miles away. Americans woke up to this reality 12 years ago." Here, Rouhani again makes implicit reference to the "Global Problematique," which Americans are still not addressing adequately even 12 years after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. On that fateful day, 19 young men completely undermined the validity of the core proposition of the traditional security paradigm articulated in 416 BC by Athenian negotiators during the Melian Debate recorded by Thucydides in

Continued on Page 8

A Field Whose Time has Come

Continued from page 7

Book V of his *The Peloponnesian War*: "The strong do what they can and the weak bear what they must!" (1951, p. 331). (This counterintuitive rejection of the traditional security paradigm is a major feature of Malcolm Gladwell's [2013] new book, *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants*.) In contrast to the traditional security paradigm, which "glorifies brute force and breeds violence," the "constructive engagement" approach to dealing with complex global issues – reflecting an alternative, positive-sum security paradigm – will be more effective because it "seeks to resolve these issues by addressing their underlying causes" (emphasis added). For Rouhani that means that, "We must pay attention to the issue of *identity* as a key driver of tension in, and beyond, the Middle East" (emphasis added) (see Korostelina, 2007). Rouhani goes on to mention "identity" a number of times, suggesting that he is not only "savvy" about the language of conflict resolution, but, given the emphasis implied by his repeated use of the term, he may actually mean what he says. In other words, there is a difference between merely uttering a few conflict resolution buzzwords and actually believing in the value of "constructive engagement," whether one uses the buzzwords or not. Indeed, Rouhani comes down strongly on the need to deal with the deep-rooted, underlying causes and conditions of violent conflict, one of which is identity – a basic human need in John Burton's (1997) typology of needs. Failure to do so may contribute to an observed trend in the incidence of conflicts worldwide: "growing numbers of conflict recurrences in the recent past serve as one of the most significant contributors to ... conflict trends. Year to year, many conflicts do subside, but other conflicts that had been dormant reignite. That has been the pattern over the past ten years" (emphasis added) (Hewitt, 2012,



Dennis Sandole.

Photo: Mason Creative Services.

p. 25). One reason for *conflict recurrence* appears to be that, "the internationally brokered settlement or containment of many armed conflicts since the early 1990s did not deal effectively with root causes" (emphasis added) (Hewitt, et al., 2010, pp. 3, 4).

Rouhani develops further his argument that identity is a central concept in global affairs, violation of which may account for a number of the brutal conflicts of recent times. Hence, "At their core, the vicious battles in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria are over the nature of those countries' identities and their consequent roles in our region and the world." Rouhani then moves from the general to the specific by connecting his proposition on the link between a violated sense of identity and violent conflict – basically a restatement of Burton's (1997) BHNs theory – to Iran's relations with the U.S. and Israel: "The centrality of identity extends to the case of our peaceful nuclear energy program. To us [this] is about who Iranians are as a nation, *our demands for dignity and respect and our consequent place in the world*. Without comprehending the role of identity, many issues we all face will remain unresolved" (emphasis added). The clear subtext here is that, if American, Israeli, and other political leaders do not understand the emotional connection between Iran's nuclear energy program and their sense of who they are, then the Iranian-Western conflict is likely to escalate, in large part because of an enhanced "*frustration-aggression*" dynamic (see Dollard, et al., 1939). Indeed, if Rouhani's initiative is perceived by Iran's Supreme Leader and others not to have been "respected" and reciprocated, then escalation in the Iranian-Western conflict is very likely.

■ Continued online at:

<http://scar.gmu.edu/newsletter-subject/field-whose-time-has-come>



School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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The Most Dangerous Word in the Field: Class

By Solon Simmons, Associate Professor and Director of the Undergraduate Program, ssimmon5@gmu.edu

Many of my colleagues have been intrigued with the publication of my new book, *The Eclipse of Equality*. They wonder how it fits within this adolescent field of conflict resolution; after all it is a book about the United States, it focuses on the media, and it is isolated within the discursive space of Beltway influentials. This is a far cry from our intuitive focus on exotic locales, battlefields in the bush, and suffering of those held in the margins of the Washington consensus on liberal peace building around the world. But as you know, what makes this field so exciting is that conflict happens everywhere: among couples, in corporations, and also in the cloakrooms of the Nation's Capitol. Now that we have seen the street eruptions of Occupy Wall Street and the silliness of the government shutdown, it has been easier for me to sell my standpoint to our community, but even



Solon Simmons.
Photo: Mason Creative Services.

the "celebrity philosopher," Slavoj Žižek, are less than sanguine about a return to the bad old days of Stalinism or even the Second International. What lies ahead for us is some kind of artful theoretical consideration of how to square the circle of liberal democracy and unfair economic advantage. Luckily we are not the first generation in history to confront this problem. Consider the following quotation from the greatest speech of the most successful American class warrior, William Jennings Bryan, who was active in the last big wave of globalization in the 1890s.

"We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer; the attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, who begins in the spring and toils all summer, and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak of this broader class of business men."

now it is hard for us to see our own location in the escalating domestic conflict. Why are things so crazy in this richest country in the world? My answer is simple: class politics.

Let me be clear, I don't mean by this the kinds of philosophical radicalism that inspired European socialism in the nineteenth century. Even the most enraged critics of our new world order like

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: S-CAR and the Peace Corps Program
- 3 Initiatives: Developing Early Warning Systems
- 4 Events: Reflections on Lynch Lecture and S-CAR Holiday Party
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances.
Faculty Opinion: Ellen and Jane take on DoD
- 6 Spotlight: David Harris
Spotlight: Alexandra Schaerrer-Cumming

Continued on Page 7

COMMENTARY

S-CAR and Peace Corps Program:

Reflections on my Experience in Mongolia

By Katherine Bowen-Williams, S-CAR MS Student, kbowen@gmu.edu

The Master's International (MI) program that partners a graduate school degree with Peace Corps field experience is hard to explain, but let me try. The MI program fits the degree to the expected field experience, allowing graduate students to have two years in the field to work and conduct personal research. At the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, this means that most Peace Corps assignments would be a type of community development, such as my own placement as a Community Youth Development volunteer. Peace Corps works well with S-CAR because their training includes aspects such as appreciative inquiry, facilitation skills, capacity building, and community needs assessments. Field work abroad with the Peace Corps in Mongolia seemed

My 2nd year placement is a Swiss-run NGO called Bayasgalant, which loosely translates to "joy." Bayasgalant is a local daycare center that offers services to children whose families live

below the poverty line in the western ger districts. These services include: 3 nutritious meals a day, personalized attention from our two teachers, help with homework, space to play, and now, with the addition of a Peace Corps Volunteer, health and life skills lessons.

A large part of



Group photo at Bayasgalant daycare center, Mongolia.

Photo: Katherine Bowen-Williams.



The view from Bayasgalant daycare center.

Photo: Katherine Bowen-Williams.



Lesson on alcohol in class.

Photo: Katherine Bowen-Williams.

to be the perfect solution to my need for practical experience.

Peace Corps Mongolia is a lot of things: educational, fascinating, engaging, and cold. Winter is already here in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, and that makes getting to work in the ger districts of the capital city a mess of ice and snow. And yet every minute stuck in traffic because a car is spinning out ahead of the bus is worth it because of the students I get to work with.

conflict analysis and resolution has a focus on individuals, their needs, and the needs of the community surrounding them. Working in the ger districts and yet living in the center of the sprawling capital gives me a unique opportunity to help identify life skills that the students could use in their daily lives, such as communication, personal planning, managing emotions, and relationship building. Community building at Bayasgalant starts with giving the children the basic help to live their lives, and then the tools to carry their future forward alone once they graduate high school. ■

Early Warning Systems:

Developing a Blueprint for Conflict Prevention

By Ariana Harner, MS Student, aharner@gmu.edu and Bridget Moix, PhD Student, bmoix@gmu.edu

The Genocide Prevention Integration Applied Practice and Theory (APT) aims at integrating early warning systems knowledge to prevent and mitigate genocide and atrocity risks. During the spring and summer of 2013, a group of S-CAR graduate students, in partnership with former Dean Andrea Bartoli, Tetsushi Ogata, and Bridget Moix, joined forces to contribute to the research and practice of genocide prevention, especially in connection with electoral process. The building of a new APT proved to be a shared learning process, and after two semesters, APT members created a tangible product for practitioners and developed a blueprint that can be used by future S-CAR students.

The APT colleagues came from myriad backgrounds and levels of experience, and discovered as a group how to utilize one another's strengths collaboratively in order to learn about and contribute to the practice of genocide prevention. One member worked for the Bureau of Conflict Stabilization and Operations at the State Department; another had extensive experience in journalism and media;

yet another was a former strategist and policy analyst in the U.S. Army. The distinct differences among APT members, meshed with the mutual aspirations of making a real impact in the field, gave the group a genuine sense of purpose and drive. As a self-driven process, the APT took some time to gel around a common task and working methods, but the investment in students leading the

design of the experience paid off in strong group commitment and collaboration to a shared outcome.

A critical focus of the APT was to examine how local, national, regional, and international actors move emerging policies on atrocities prevention into practice. The integration of these levels is essential to an effective and fully-functioning system of prevention, and has not yet been achieved despite important developments in the genocide prevention field. One key takeaway from the APT was that prevention needs to be a locally-led, ground-up approach. Another

key feature of the APT was meeting with experts and practitioners in the field. We gained exposure to topics such as systems designs, crisis mapping, and hate & dangerous speech monitoring, and we heard first-hand accounts from people who were on the ground in Kenya during the elections. We even had the pleasure of meeting with Ambassador Liberata Mulamula, Senior Diplomatic Adviser to the President of the Republic of Tanzania, and the former Executive Secretary of the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Given the opportunity

Student Meal Assistance Fund

Yara El Mowafy and Jordan Bivings, co-founders of Patriot 2 Patriot program in partnership with University Life, Sodexo, the Office of Student Support and Case Management (OSSCM), and the Office of Development and Alumni Affairs, recently established the Student Meal Assistance Fund. The Student Meal Assistance Fund offers Southside meal vouchers to "students in need" with assistance being temporary in nature. To donate to the Student Meal Assistance Fund, please contact Claire Forman (cforman@gmu.edu), Assistant Director, Office of Advancement and Alumni Relations.



Group photo of Genocide Prevention Program APT on early warning system.
Photo: Genocide Prevention Program.

ments in Kenya before, during, and after the national elections; applied conflict resolution theories to better understand the conflict and opportunities for furthering peace processes and preventing violence; and identified gaps and opportunities where a systems approach might contribute to violence prevention efforts. APT members collaborated on individual and group research that became their unique contributions to the field.

Continued on Page 8

initiatives

25th Annual Lynch Lecture Reflections:

By Alice Peck, S-CAR MS Student, apeck2@gmu.edu

The School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution was delighted to welcome Dr. Willie Esterhuyse to give the 25th Annual Lynch Lecture, "Talking to the Enemy: The South African Case Study" on October 24th, 2013. George Mason University's Founders Hall Auditorium was filled with students, staff, faculty, and members of the public to hear Dr. Esterhuyse, a leading South African writer, philosopher, and intellectual, speak on his role in facilitating dialogue between the African National Congress (ANC) and the then South African government.

Dr. Sandra Cheldelin, the Vernon M. and Minnie I. Lynch Professor of Conflict Resolution at S-CAR, began the introductions with a mention of the Lynch Lectures, an annual lecture series in honour of Edwin and Helen Lynch, whose generosity to S-CAR includes the beautiful Point of View property on Mason Neck and the endowed Chair in the name of Edwin's parents. Dr. Cheldelin emphasized the importance of the lecture series in bringing the idea and theory of conflict analysis and resolution to the attention of the wider community.

Dr. Johannes Botes, Associate Professor at the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Baltimore, spoke next. He told of being a student under Dr. Esterhuyse at the University of Stellenbosch, and of his experience as a member of the first doctoral class at S-CAR. As well as the 25th year of Lynch Lectures, 2013 marks the 25th celebration of the doctoral program at S-CAR.

Dr. Christopher Mitchell, Professor Emeritus of Conflict



Dr. Willie Esterhuyse.
Photo: S-CAR.

Analysis and Resolution at S-CAR, gave the final introduction. Before welcoming Dr. Esterhuyse to the stage, Dr. Mitchell introduced clips from 'Endgame,' a 2009 film that dramatizes the final days of apartheid in South Africa. Played by William Hurt, Dr. Esterhuyse's contribution to these secret negotiations between the ANC and the government was unmistakable. These negotiations were fundamental in the end of apartheid policies, the eventual release of Nelson

Mandela, and the interim constitution that provided the basis for full democracy in South Africa.

Finally, and with much audience anticipation, Dr. Esterhuyse took the podium. He told a story of the crucial importance of banishing bitterness and building trust. Describing the challenge of the negotiations, Dr. Esterhuyse depicted the suspicion and antagonism between the two parties and spoke of hard decisions about confidentiality, deniability and responsibility to accept outcomes. He emphasized the importance of deconstructing the idea of 'the enemy' and rehumanising the other. Dr. Esterhuyse concluded with a discussion on the justice gap in contemporary South Africa and the importance of addressing this gap. Stressing the need for redistribution of wealth, broad and deeper democracy, job creation, and economic growth, Dr. Esterhuyse underlined the inequalities within post-apartheid South Africa and the fundamental need for social cohesion, nation building, and positive peace. ■

S-CAR Holiday Party and Scholarship Launch

By Kate Molski, S-CAR MS Student, kmolski@gmu.edu

Upcoming Events

Monday, November 25, 2013

Informal Conversation with Johan Galtung
4:30pm - 6:30pm

Tuesday, December 3, 2013

Beyond "Speaking as Healing": Silence, Voice
and the Politics of Repair
7:00pm - 8:00pm

Friday, December 6, 2013

S-CAR Holiday Party and Wallace Warfield
Scholarship Launch
6:00pm - 9:30pm

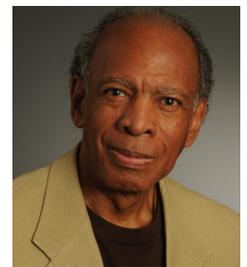
For more visit: scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

On December 6, S-CAR will host a holiday party and officially launch the Wallace Warfield Scholarship Fund. The event, which will take place in the Metropolitan Building, is envisioned as an opportunity for the S-CAR community to share their cultures, tastes, and talents with each other. It will feature music, cultural performances, and a potluck-style dinner.

Starting at 2pm, community members will have the opportunity to DJ a twenty minute set. Event organizers hope this will give faculty, students, and staff a platform to share their favorite songs and answer the question, "What does S-CAR listen to?" The hol-

iday party will also feature live music performed by S-CAR's own Mark Hardee, Adomi Leshem, and Alex Cromwell, as well as cultural performances from the Middle East, the Africa Working Group, and the Latin America Working Group. These performances will take place from 6 to 9:30pm, during the heart of the party.

Drinks will be provided, and attendees are encouraged to share their culinary expertise by bringing a potluck dish for dinner. There will be an opportunity for individuals and groups to donate to the Wallace Warfield Scholarship Fund. Those who are interested in DJing should contact Kwaw de Graft-Johnson at kdegraff@gmu.edu. ■



Dr. Wallace Warfield (1938-2010)

Photo: Mason Creative Services

Student Opinion: Ellen and Jane take on DoD

The Case of Structural Violence Against Women in the US Army

By Ellen Haring, S-CAR PhD Student and a Colonel in the United States Army, eharing@gmu.edu

On May 23rd, 2012, S-CAR PhD student Colonel Ellen Haring became a plaintiff in a lawsuit against the Department of Defense (DoD). She and co-plaintiff Command Sergeant Major Jane Baldwin sued DoD over a policy that prohibited women from serving in a quarter of a million military positions that were considered "combat" positions. The policy was a clear example of "structural violence." Excluding women from the primary mission of the profession effectively created a two-class culture in which women are viewed as a lesser valued sub-group. Furthermore, excluding women from the core competencies of the profession had a secondary effect of keeping them out of key leadership and policymaking positions. The military draws 80% of its senior leaders from the very specialties that women were excluded from accessing. The result is that in the Army women comprise just 6.7% of general officers and less than 4% of the generals in the Marine Corps.

Choosing to sue the Department of Defense was a conflict resolution measure that sought an arbitrated decision to a long standing dispute. Arbitration is not the most effective way to resolve disputes since one side or the other often objects to and may resist the decision of the arbitrator. Fortunately, January 28th, 2013, eight months after the lawsuit was filed and while they were preparing for their first oral arguments, Secretary of



Ellen Haring.

Photo: Ellen Haring.

Defense Leon Panetta directed the services to remove all barriers to women's service. The Secretary gave the military services 3 years to implement the new policy. He and the Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff publicly announced their support for the removal of all restrictions to women's service. While all of these developments are positive steps and many people celebrated the changes, the

reality is that nine months after the removal of the exclusionary policy very little has changed for women in the military. Baldwin recently applied for and was denied a senior staff position in a combat arms unit. The military has yet to explain how it will allow senior women to cross over into branches from which they were previously excluded. As a result, Haring and Baldwin's lawsuit has received several court-granted extensions and remains open. ■

Recent S-CAR Articles, Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances

UN Climate Change Negotiations in Poland This Week

Michael Shank, S-CAR Ph.D. Alumnus
Washington Times 11/18/13

Inter-ethnic Cooperation Revisited: Why Mobile Phones Can Help Prevent Discrete Events of Violence, Using the Kenyan Case Study

Charles Martin-Shields, S-CAR Ph.D. Candidate
Stability: International Journal of Security and Development 11/12/13

The Proverb: A Preserver of Shona Traditional Religion and Ethnic Code

Tompson Makahamadze, S-CAR Ph.D. Student
Journal of Pan African Studies 11/1/13

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 10 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent the latest at time of publication. For a complete list please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

The President and the Professor

By Catherine Walsh, MS Student, , cwash12@gmu.edu

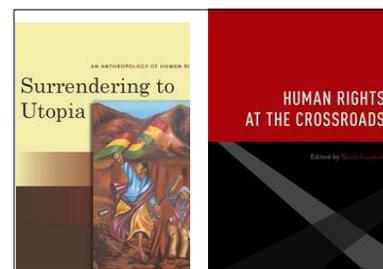


Mark Goodale,
Associate Professor
of Conflict Analysis
and Anthropology
Photo: Mason
Creative Services

The president of Ireland, Michael D. Higgins, for the second time this year, referenced Mark Goodale's book *Human Rights at the Crossroads* in a speech titled "The Human Rights Discourse - Some Issues of Source and Prospects for Achievement" at the Annual Human Rights lecture to the Human Rights Committee of the Law Society of Ireland. This follows his earlier speech titled "The Human Rights Discourse: its importance and its challenges," which ref-

erenced another of Mark Goodale's books *Surrendering to Utopia* at the Human Rights Commission's Annual Lecture on International Human Rights Day.

The links to the speeches can be found at: <http://www.president.ie/speeches/6664-2/> and <http://www.president.ie/speeches/the-human-rights-discourse-its-importance-and-its-challenges-by-president-michael-d-higgins-the-human-rights-commissions-annual-lecture-international-human-rights-day-monday/>. ■



press

David Harris, S-CAR Graduate Certificates Program

By Virginia Rubey, MS Student and Graduate Certificates Program Assistant, vrubey@gmu.edu



David Harris.
Photo: David Harris.

As the CEO of Advanced Decision Vectors (ADV), David Harris does not need another impressive line on his resume. This Virginia native enrolled in S-CAR's Graduate Certificates Program because when he is called upon to work with federal agencies on efforts to reconstruct communities where the US is or has been involved - such as Iraq - he needs to be "one of the smartest guys in the room." Harris founded ADV in 2009. The

company provides program management, planning, and support for agencies with critical missions. The CAR Certificate for Prevention, Reconstruction, and Stabilization (PRS) befits the head of the company that holds the Advisory and Assistance Services Contract to the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction. However, Harris

says that the PRS Certificate is more than an accreditation. "We are learning international law, how to triage in disaster areas", he remembers of his Spring 2013 Special Projects Class Mara Schoeny and Cindy Mazur. "We had an exercise in Fort Pierce, Florida...It was a humanitarian operation: we were negotiating a disaster relief project... [in] a hostile environment, with gun shots (blanks) firing off around us, and we had to go in and triage, we had to negotiate prisoners' release, set up a base camp...There were a lot of elements going on," he explains. We had to coordinate this [five day operation] ourselves from on-the-ground standpoint: we had rations, we slept for five days...operating on flashlights." He describes a class trip that few would choose. Harris acknowledges, "Pursuing my education is a daunting task, but it is one I am willing to commit to [because there is] a need for this." He points out that few US policymakers working to prevent and stabilize conflicts abroad have a background in conflict resolution. Harris' own undergraduate degree is in marketing. He says his commitment to CAR arose when he was "Reflecting on how we went into Iraq, and what the plan was - or was not - and how we are dealing in countries we are currently occupying" He says S-CAR Certificate coursework "really brought me down to Earth." A class with David J. Smith "opened my eyes to the way I think, how other think, [and] the things you think you know but do not." ■

Alexandra Schaerrer-Cumming, S-CAR PhD Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Student and Newsletter Editor, kdegraft@gmu.edu

Alexandra Schaerrer-Cumming grew up in Switzerland during the height of the atrocities and genocide that have come to be associated with the former Yugoslavia conflict. "I became friends with a young girl who had managed to escape the carnage that was taking place in her country and the way she described the horrors and terror of war made me re-evaluate the direction I wanted my life to take." From that period, Alexandra developed a keen interest in learning about repression, ethnocentrism, and intolerance in her own country as well as abroad. Alexandra's journey into the field of conflict analysis and resolution started while she was getting her BA in Political Science and German Literature at Washington & Lee University. While there, issues of her identity were constantly coming up amongst her friends. "Although I was born and raised in Switzerland, my mother is Maltese. The Swiss consider me to be Maltese and the Maltese consider me to be Swiss." This lack of a clear identity made her friends refer to her simply as "the European" and as this was getting rather confusing: "I labeled myself as an international citizen." Although she enjoyed her time at her undergraduate school she felt her education was missing a practical component that she des-



Alexandra Schaerrer-Cumming with some of the kids in the community.

Photo: Alexandra Schaerrer-Cumming

perately wanted to have. Alexandra's passion for linking theory to practice in the field of conflict analysis and resolution eventually led her to work with grassroots organizations in Tanzania and Mozambique after she completed her Masters degree in Comparative and International Studies from the Swiss Polytechnic Institute of Zurich (ETH). While working in East Africa, Alexandra had the opportunity to experience firsthand some of the region's pressing issues such as poverty, a lack of education, lack of job opportunities, corruption, security concerns, tribal violence, HIV/AIDS, and many more. As she said, "This experience provided me with the emotional and intellectual growth allowing me to garner a better understanding between the role of economic, social, and political factors on the outbreak of conflict, security dilemmas, and competition for scarce resource allocation." After three years of working on the African continent, Alexandra was ready to be in the classroom again, this time to focus her academic work on research that could positively influence policy that would complement all grassroots efforts in conflict resolution. After being accepted into and successfully completing a double Masters in Mediterranean Security Studies via the University of Malta and Conflict Analysis and Resolution from S-CAR, she was keen to pursue the PhD program at S-CAR, as she felt she still had a lot to learn. "I was as such very excited to be accepted as part of the 2013 PhD cohort and I look forward to this new challenge in my life." ■

The Most Dangerous Word in the Field: Class

Continued from page 1

Bryan was daft on economic theory, but as a mythographer of the American class imaginary he was unmatched. He understood that after John Locke, there was no going back to Marxist communalism and state centralization. Modern society would be organized in terms of businesses providing goods and services in a liberal economy, but we moderns would have to recognize that as we all become businesses in an interconnected global economy (think only of the invention of the concepts of human and social capital), we, "the Many," would have to become attentive to the tendency for competitive advantages in capitalism to accrue and concentrate in the hands of "the Few." If you remember that movie from the mid-80s, *Highlander*, you get the major problem of capitalist accumulation: "there can be only one." As economies develop, there is a tendency for those who have been successful to hold on to their competitive advantages and to perpetuate them at the expense of others who contribute in meaningful ways to the overall value of the goods and services produced. This is a no-brainer idea, but we seem not to be able to admit what all implicitly know: the capitalist game has a tendency to rig itself unless carefully cultivated by custodians of the public good. Ironically, even the winners lose this game in the end because they undermine the stability of the economic system as a whole. These are obvious problems and we will invent new progressive narratives to manage them eventually as we did over a century ago, but one wonders how much damage will have been done in the interim.

You see, you don't need to side with Rosa Luxemburg to speak cogently about class conflict; all you need is the capacity to start seeing abusive power in ordinary business dealings. I describe it as being like that catchy slogan, "start seeing bicycles." We need to start seeing abusive economic power as such, not as some stand-in for a bad conscience as even intersectional theories of racism and sexism often do. By this I don't mean we lose our focus on identity politics, but that we recognize that cultural power and class power are logically separable, even when they are rarely separate. Our problem is not that we care too little but rather that we have lost our class imaginary over the course of the American Century, and in the era of globalization, when America sneezes, the world catches a cold. Why this emaciation of the class imaginary has happened is the story of my book and I encourage you to seek my answer there, but let me use the remainder of this space to channel my inner Luxemburg and advocate for a local revolution in conflict resolution terminology that embraces the idea of class conflict over its more anodyne representations.

The most anodyne is that proposed by our most celebrated conflict theorist, Johan Galtung. Consider these powerful lines from his seminal 1969 article coining the term "structural violence."

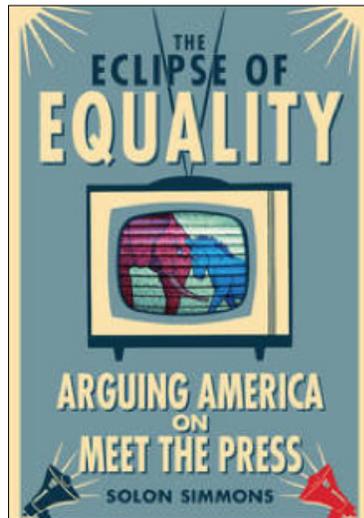
"In order not to overwork the word violence we shall sometimes refer to the condition of structural violence as social injustice. The term 'exploitation' will not be used, for several reasons. First, it belongs to a political vocabulary, and has so many political and emotional overtones that the use of this term will hardly facilitate communication."

When I asked Johan a few years back about this admission and his obvious debt to Marx, he confirmed my suspicions. His debt was deep, but he covered it up in cunning language that has fooled only us. To be a conflict resolver in the late 1960s, with the concrete threat of totalitarian alternatives to capitalism on offer in something like half of the world, it was too dangerous to speak about the role that "exploitation" played in generating conflict. This was because everyone knew back then that exploitation was a Marxist keyword. It implied class politics and no one wanted to touch that hot potato in the era of the Cold War. This was true of John Burton as well. Our field was born as desperate attempt to triangulate the era of global class struggle and our vehicle has been to substitute an ascriptive imaginary for a class mythology. It was far easier for us back then to speak about the power of the "topdogs" who always had the flavor of some ethnic hegemon than to speak about the power of the capitalist. Our villains now are genocidaires rather than plutophiles and our stories of the root causes of conflict have become impoverished as a result. Burton wrote,

"They [the ethnic underdogs] are deprived because the structure deprives them of chances to organize and bring their power to bear against the topdogs, as voting power, bargaining power, striking power, violent power - partly because they are atomized and disintegrated, partly because they are overawed by all the authority the topdogs present."

Galtung knew what he was doing, but we have forgotten. He knew that culture and capitalism had conspired to produce a world riven by complex inequalities that would require careful critique of class structure in addition to what Fanon called cultural imposition, but we have forgotten. A typical conflict resolution student today is baffled when confronted with the proposition that people would terrorize one another only for profit, even when no hatred was present over who counted as a true prophet. We see religious and ethnic tensions as root causes of conflict, but we fail to see how these are often playthings of those in power where the real game in global economic integration: in short, class structuration.

Oddly enough, in a world in which we are all closet Fukuyamans, as Žižek has suggested, when no one seriously considers any grand economic projects that embrace even most modest socialist elements, we in the field of conflict resolution still consider class to be the most dangerous word in our lexicon. In a thoroughly capitalist word, we are inclined to cite Marx on his head, "the history of all existing society is the history of ascriptive struggles." Our mythology of modern conflict is one of struggles between primordial identity groups vying for sovereignty over territory in the spirit of an ancient hatred, most productively augmented by their common enemy in the West. What we fail to recognize is that, in the end, the Western project had more to do with commodification and making the world safe for business than it did with cultural hegemony, *per se*, even when it was promoted in the spirit of the "white man's burden." The coming Asian Century will prove this to us and the most helpful tool we will be able to employ as we decode these coming conflicts is the concept of class. Time to get busy. ■



New book by Solon Simmons.
Photo: Stanford University Press.

Early Warning Systems

Continued from page 3



Bridget Moix.
Photo: David Harris.



Ariana Harner.
Photo: David Harris.

In the summer semester, the focus broadened to include the Great Lakes Region of Africa (comprised of 12 member states, including Kenya) with a focus on providing support and assistance to national and regional leaders in a first-of-its-kind regional genocide prevention system (the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region or ICGLR). George Mason University has a Memorandum of Understanding with the ICGLR to support the development of its regional genocide prevention mechanisms, including early warning systems. Working with the ICGLR to identify their needs, the APT team developed a report titled “Guiding Framework for Preventing Electoral Violence,” the first in what will be a series on

genocide prevention in the Africa Great Lakes Region. The topics in the handbook include the following: training and capacity - building measures for election monitors, early warning and response systems for election monitoring, analysis of media and speech acts as preventive communication, and the role of law enforcement and accountability issues. The report also drew from lessons learned from the Kenyan elections in 2007 and 2013. It seeks to illustrate the lessons that can be applied to other Member States in the ICGLR region when they are gearing toward preparing for upcoming elections. APT members intended for the report to provide analytical tools and practical recommendations for the ICGLR Regional and National Committees to monitor and assess risks of electoral violence and prevent them from occurring and escalating.

When the Genocide Prevention Integration APT began, former Dean Bartoli suggested we imagine it as a 30-year project in which S-CAR students would work in practical ways to support the development of effective local, national, regional, and international systems to help move the African Great Lakes Region, in the words of Amb. Mulamula, “from genocide-prone to genocide-free.” It is an ambitious vision but one which S-CAR students and faculty are well-positioned to carry forward. The Genocide Prevention Integration APT has taken a break in Fall 2013 but, with enough student interest, will be offered again in Spring 2014. For more information on the APT, contact Tetsushi Ogata, Director of the Genocide Prevention Program, at togata@gmu.edu. ■



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