

ICAR News



SPECIAL ISSUE
POINT OF VIEW

A Publication of the Institute for
Conflict Analysis and Resolution

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

SPECIAL ISSUE: Point of View Programming in Full Swing

In the seclusion of Belmont Bay, the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) is building a research and retreat complex, the first in the world dedicated to conflict analysis and resolution. Nestled within 40 acres of pristine woodlands, Point of View is just 25 miles south of Washington D.C. and overlooks the spectacular 2,200-acre Mason Neck National Wildlife Refuge, allowing parties in conflict to engage in the critical work of peacebuilding with privacy and safety.

Boosted by a \$5 million commitment by the state of Virginia, the complex will consist of three distinct areas that can

three phases, is already hosting substantive programming.

Point of View fills an emergent need. There is no other space in the world designed specifically for conflict analysis and resolution. Point of View is ideal for transformative conversations, dialogue, reflection and reconciliation, and is ICAR's clinical lab site, where groups in conflict come to address differences, engage in dialogue, and learn together. The theory and research developed at ICAR will provide the foundation for the practice at Point of View.

As part of George Mason University, Point of View enhances the University's standing in the international, diplomatic, and higher education community, and enriches the Northern Virginia area. Working with the international conflict resolution community, Point of View is designed to facilitate

conflict resolution and reconciliation processes, teach conflict analysis and develop curricular resources, and conduct research to support the development of theory and practice. This special issue highlights the work already started at Point of View. ■



Above: Birds-eye view image showing a complete installation of the Point of View master design.

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accommodate up to 100 people, including 35 overnight guests. The site will include an Integrated Practice Center, a Retreat Complex, and a Scholarly Research Center. The facility, which will be built in

Research Projects Move to POV

By Christopher Mitchell, Ph.D., ICAR Emeritus Professor, cmitchel@gmu.edu

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) is moving its research to Point of View (PoV) now that the Lynch House on the site has been reconfigured to include a small conference room, seminar rooms, and offices for the faculty and for visitors. One of the first to make the move from ICAR's Arlington offices is the "Local Zones of Peace" (ZoPs) project (photos below), which maintains its focus on local peace communities and the "Laboratories of Peace" in Colombia, and on the zones of peace on Mindanao in the Philippines.

The ZoPs Working Group has held several "brainstorming" meetings down at Point of View and it is planned to move all the research material for the project down to the Lynch House during this summer. Members of the Group are currently working on a number of new articles intended for publication in a special issue of the *Journal of Conflict Studies*, an issue that will include articles on women's roles in local peace-

building, the use of peace zones along disputed national borders, and a reconsideration of the Colombian peace communities in the context of the Colombian Government's strategy of "democratic security".

The second project to make the move is the "Parents of the Field" project which has been conducted over the past five years by ICAR Emeritus Professor Christopher Mitchell and Professor Jannie Botes of the University of Baltimore. The project has involved interviewing and videotaping over 40 "pioneers" of the field of conflict and peace research in North America, Britain, and Scandinavia, who were asked to look back and talk about the origins of the field in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

The resultant transcripts of the interviews will be available for consultation down at Point of View, while a number of the video interviews will be available for viewing on the ICAR and University of Baltimore websites, as well as on the website

run as part of their "Beyond Intractability" Project by Drs. Guy and Heidi Burgess at the University of Colorado in Denver.

Lastly, preparations are currently under way at Point of View for the housing of a "PoV Archive", which will contain records of a variety of real world, historical "Track Two" peace-making interventions carried out by scholar-practitioners active in the field in the last decades of the 20th Century. The archive already contains documents pertaining to some of the peace-making and peacebuilding work carried out by practitioners such as James Laue, John Burton, and Christopher Mitchell, while others such as Hal Sanders and Joseph Montville have indicated that they intend to deposit their own records at PoV.

Hopefully, more practitioners will prove willing to donate their records to the Archive, which will thus prove a rich resource for research into the practice of "Track Two" peacemaking in recent decades. ■

Local Zones of Peace: Colombia and the Philippines



Above: Photo from a training on civil resistance and nonviolence. Right: Photo of a banner mourning victims of violence.

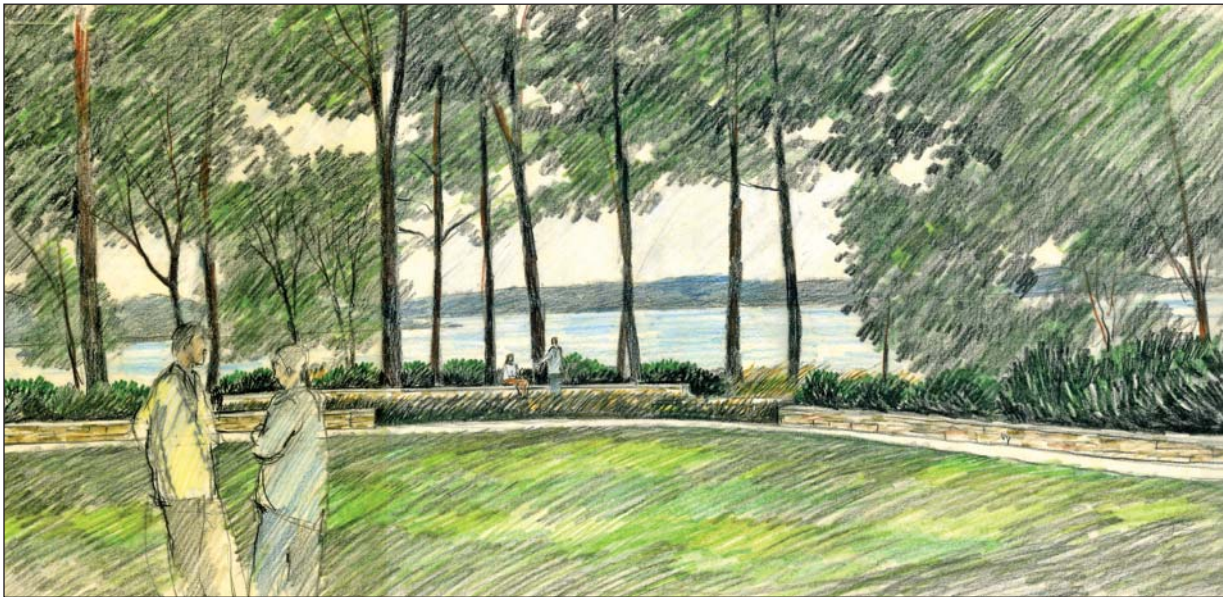


Photos, left and below, are from the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution's work with the "Local Zones of Peace" project, which is focused on local peace communities and the "Laboratories of Peace" in Colombia, and on the zones of peace on Mindanao in the Philippines.

Solving the Problems with PSWs

The Future of Dialogue and Problem-Solving Workshops

By Monica Flores, Assistant to Nadim Rouhana, mflores1@gmu.edu



Above: Image from the Point of View design showing persons in dialogue on the property overlooking Belmont Bay.

Practice

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), in cooperation with the International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program at American University, held a one-day workshop titled "The Future of Dialogue and Problem-Solving Workshops" at Point of View. The workshop was held on Friday April 25, 2008, and was organized by Professors Ron Fisher at AU and Christopher Mitchell and Nadim Rouhana from ICAR.

As a first in a planned series of workshops on improving the state of theory and practice in the methods of dialogue and problem solving, the workshop emerges from an interest in cultivating the next generation of practitioners for problem-solving workshops (PSWs) and dialogues. The workshop was intended to assess the current state of problem solving, identify knowledge currently lacking, discuss issues limiting the development of practice, and chart future directions, including the training of practitioners and the application of the methods.

The workshop was divided

into three sessions and included presentations by Dr. Fisher, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Rouhana and Dr. Susan Allen Nan. Each session was followed by discussions by all workshop participants. Presentations focused on the current state of practice, questions and critiques on knowledge that is lacking, constraints and improvements, and training and application possibilities.

Among the points addressed in the workshop were the following:

- While there has been a proliferation of conflict resolution and dispute resolution graduate programs, there appear to be fewer opportunities for gaining the expertise necessary to carry out dialogues and PSWs.

- An assessment of the current state of problem-solving workshops recognizes the need for the field to track projects occurring at various levels and categorize, define, and evaluate interactive conflict resolution work, starting with a clarified distinction between problem-solving workshops and dialogues.

- A critique of the theory-to-practice nexus in problem-solving workshops, as well as the constraints of basic human needs theory, demonstrates a need to revisit new theories supporting interactive conflict resolution.

The workshop began what is hoped will be a series of continuing programs to provide professional development opportunities for new practitioners of dialogue and problem-solving workshops, and to apply these methods to violent and intractable conflicts between identity groups.

The rich conversation among conflict resolution scholars and practitioners reinforced the need to train new practitioners in problem-solving workshops or interactive conflict resolution. In concluding the workshop's agenda, the workshop organizers proposed future opportunities for a linked training and practice program.

A report of "The Future of Dialogue and Problem-Solving Workshops" is now online at <http://icar.gmu.edu/pov.html>. ■

Creating Consciousness Within Conflict Resolution Curriculum

By Susan Allan Nan, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, snan@gmu.edu

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) held a one-day symposium at Point of View on April 7, 2008, on "Consciousness and Conflict Resolution". The event featured presentations by ICAR Faculty Andrea Bartoli, Susan Allen Nan, Jamie Price, and Solon Simmons. The presentations stimulated lively discussion among additional participating ICAR Faculty, ICAR Advisory Board Members, ICAR doctoral students, the ICAR Director, faculty from other universities, and leading conflict resolution practitioners. A generous grant from the One Foundation made the symposium, and the research that informed it, possible.

Susan Allen Nan presented a research paper arguing that at its core, conflict resolution is about increasing consciousness. Consciousness can be seen as the base of conflict resolution theory and practice. Conflict resolution practices are effective to the extent that they support shifts in consciousness. Consciousness-raising spreads awareness of the existence of oppression, exploitation, or other lack of respect for the human dignity of an individual or group, and then conflict becomes visible.

Through conflict resolution, participants in conflicts can develop increasing awareness of their own needs, the needs of others, and ways of meeting

everyone's needs. In conflict resolution processes, we can shift our understanding of self and other so that we shift from dehumanization to rehumanization, from hatred to compassion, and from a focus on self-in-isolation to self-in-relationship within an interrelated whole.

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Discussion at the symposium was wide ranging. Many comments focused on conflict resolution practices that support shifts in consciousness, as well as the ways shifts in consciousness can shape concrete changes in the material suffering of those involved in conflicts. Solon Simmons highlighted four aspects of consciousness at work in conflict contexts: theoretical, evaluative, narrative, and associative consciousness.

The symposium conclusions outlined many areas for practical research aimed at improving our abilities to resolve conflicts and increase consciousness. Next steps include publishing papers presented at the symposium and planning a broader symposium to engage more diverse perspectives in a deepening of this emerging conversation.

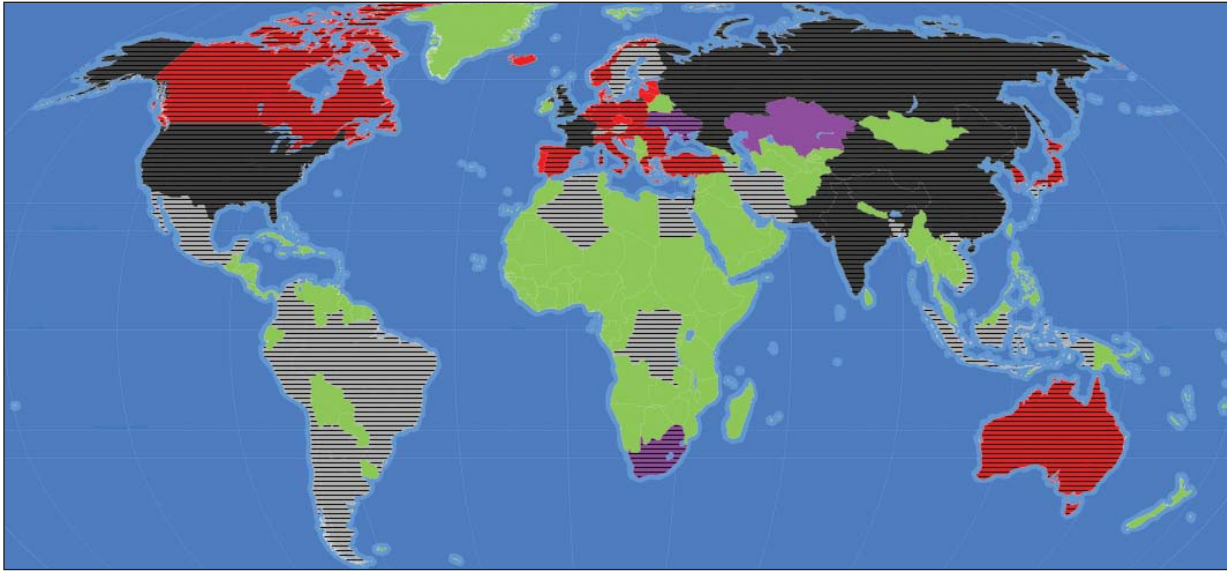
Interested friends of ICAR are invited to join the Consciousness and Conflict Resolution working group to participate in future related activities. Email Susan at snan@gmu.edu for more information on the concept of consciousness. ■



Above: ICAR Professor Jamie Price presents on the concept of consciousness with other ICAR professors (pictured here) Susan Allen Nan, Solon Simmons, and Advisory Board member Ambassador John McDonald. Photo: Tetsushi Ogata.

Nuclear Nonproliferation at POV

By Christopher Mitchell, Ph.D., ICAR Emeritus Professor, cmitchel@gmu.edu



Above: Map of Nuclear Weapons States. *Black Color:* Nuclear weapons possessors. *Red Color:* Umbrella states. *Grey Color:* Reactor states. *Purple Color:* Former possessors. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

March 15, 2008, at Point of View, saw the second session of a small task group set up to discuss the organizational capacity of the United States to deal with the increasing challenges in the field of nuclear nonproliferation. The spread of nuclear weapons has become an even more important issue with the increasing number of actual and potential nuclear armed states and the likely "privatisation" of nuclear capabilities in non-governmental hands.

The task group was convened by Ambassador Norman Wulf, Special Representative of the President for Nuclear Nonproliferation from 1999-2002, and Professor Barclay Ward, a long time adviser to the former Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and to the Department of State. It was hosted by ICAR's Associate Director, Dr. Kevin Avruch, and Emeritus Professor Christopher Mitchell, while students Gina Cerasani, Saira Yamin, and Aneela Shamshad acted as rapporteurs.

Much of the discussion at this and an earlier meeting held

last December, focused on ideas for reconstructing the State Department's capacity for dealing in an effective and timely fashion with the growing complexities of the nuclear world in the early 21st Century. The issues and dilemmas awaiting the new U.S. Administration at the start of 2009 are not merely those that had been discussed as early as the 1960s and 1970s under the label of "the *Nth* country problem". Today, in addition, we must deal with violation of norms, renegade procurement networks, and "loose nukes", to name a few. Traditional tools such as the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty remain central to this effort, but the regime is being adapted to deal with new challenges.

For President McCain or Obama, 2009 will necessitate having an administration that has the skills, the knowledge, and, above all, the organizational capacity to confront the immediate problems of Iran and North Korea, of protection against theft or diversion of nuclear materials, of strengthening export control and interdiction activities, of

securing and disposing of fissile material, and of advising about "nuclear terrorism", as well as dealing with verification tasks that include monitoring compliance with existing international agreements and regimes. Each of these candidates has also supported renewed efforts toward nuclear disarmament, including further reductions in U.S. nuclear forces.

Ultimately, countries like the U.S. and Russia cannot succeed in having others give up their nuclear weapons or weapons ambitions while these two continue holding large stockpiles. Nuclear disarmament, or at least meaningful progress toward that objective, is essential to successful nonproliferation efforts. In turn, success in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons also is essential for disarmament.

Capacities to deal effectively with all these issues have been badly eroded in recent years, a development that led to the Point of View discussions of how best to rebuild U.S. capacity to

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Status of the "State of the Field" Plotted Out at Point of View

By Monica Flores, Assistant to Nadim Rouhana, mflores1@gmu.edu

On November 30, 2007, the *Point of View: Center for Advanced Studies in Conflict Dynamics and Intervention* hosted a workshop titled "Towards Defining the State of the Field: A Research Agenda for Conflict Resolution". The workshop, organized by Professors Nadim Rouhana and Andrea Bartoli at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) at George Mason University, brought together an impressive roster of scholars, practitioners, students, and guests.

The workshop's main objective was to help further define the boundaries of the field of conflict resolution, sharpen its definition, and set a research agenda for the field. The daylong workshop consisted of three panels, two hours each, and began with welcoming remarks by the Associate Director of ICAR, Kevin Avruch, and workshop organizers.

Each panel featured three speakers that were followed by discussion among all participants. The first panel focused on the issue of conflict resolution boundaries, definitions, and new approaches. It also addressed the questions of the relationship between conflict resolution and other fields and the distinguishing aspects of conflict resolution from other fields.

The first panel was facilitated by

Ho-Won Jeong and included the following presenters: Ron Fisher from American University, Nadim Rouhana from ICAR, and Marc Ross from Bryn Mawr College.

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The third panel focused on perspectives for setting a

research agenda for the next ten years. The panel was facilitated by Christopher Mitchell and included the following panelists: Terrence Lyons from ICAR, Tamra Pearson d'Estrée from the University of Denver, and Anthony Wanis-St. John from American University.

The response of the participants was enthusiastic. A comprehensive written workshop report is now available in print and online. This event is just the first in a series of workshops on the state of the field of conflict resolution.

ICAR graduate students and alumni that assisted with this event were Karolyn Bina, Scott Cooper, Mónica Flores, Karen Grattan, Samuel Rizk, Pamela Struss, and Mark Stover.

Please visit the *Point of View: Center for Advanced Studies in Conflict Dynamics and Intervention* website at <http://icar.gmu.edu/pov.html> to download "Towards Defining the State of the Field: A Research Agenda for Conflict Resolution" and to view a listing of future events. ■



Above: ICAR Professor Nadim Rouhana speaks with workshop participants in the board room at Point of View's Lynch House. Photo: Monica Flores.

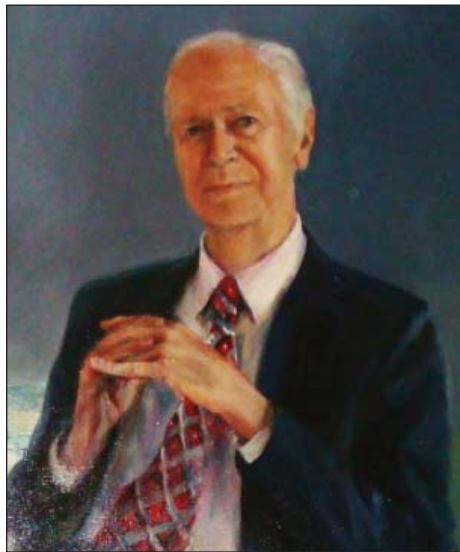
ICAR's 25th Anniversary Celebration

By Christopher Mitchell, Ph.D., ICAR Emeritus Professor, cmitchel@gmu.edu

May 14, 2008, saw the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) celebrating its first 25 years with a gathering of over fifty faculty, staff, advisors, and alumni, at Point of View for an evening of stories and reminiscences of the early days when GMU's new Masters program was being taught at the Center for Conflict Resolution (CCR), which a few years later became the Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CCAR).

Prominent among those present were members of the original Advisory Board that, together with Ed and Helen Lynch, helped to launch the new Center and the idea of conflict resolution in Northern Virginia. Mary Lynn Boland, the first administrator of the Center could not be present but sent greetings, as did Mary Clark—the first to be appointed to the Drucie French Cumbie Chair

at ICAR—from the West Coast. Dr. Dennis Sandole, the very first faculty appointed to the then-new Center spoke about the late Dr. Bryant Wedge, the founder and first Director



Above: Portrait of John Burton, painted by Helen McInnes, is now on display at Point of View. Photo courtesy of Christopher Mitchell.

of the Center. A plaque in Dr. Wedge's memory, which had originally been placed outside ICAR's old offices on the Fairfax campus, was re-sited on the Point of View grounds close to the Lynch house.

Dr. Sara Cobb, the present ICAR Director, introduced the Australian Ambassador, the Honorable Dennis Richardson A.O., who unveiled a portrait of Dr. John Burton, Associate Director of CCAR between 1986 and 1991. The full length portrait of Dr. Burton, painted by the Australian artist Helen McInnes, had been donated to ICAR by Mrs. Betty Nathan Burton who was present at the event and brought a message from John Burton from Canberra encouraging the expansion of the work of



Above: ICAR Advisory Board member Ambassador John McDonald pictured here with Betty Burton. Photo courtesy of Christopher Mitchell.

education and conflict resolution.

In many ways, the event—while enjoyable for those present—was a small and low key one, particularly given the number of individuals from all over the world that had graduated from CCR, CCAR, and ICAR, over the last 25 years. ICAR graduates, now numbering over 400, are currently working in over 35 countries in all regions of the world, applying their skills to problems of local, environmental, inter-ethnic, and international conflicts. Clearly, the challenges posed by such conflicts will remain to be tackled by the next generations of ICAR faculty and graduates during the next 25 years. ■



Above: ICAR doctoral alumna and adjunct professor Marsha Blakeway pictured here with former ICAR professor Frank Blechman. Photo courtesy of Christopher Mitchell.

History of the Field

Point of View Program Overview

The program at Point of View will be three-fold:

Practice. Point of View will enable parties with deep differences to engage in conflict resolution and reconciliation processes through dialogue, negotiation, mediation, and strategic planning. The site will accommodate day meetings, workshops, conferences, day-and-overnight retreats, events, private dialogues, and international meetings.

Teaching. Point of View will anchor educational programs for students and professionals in advanced theory and method for conflict resolution. Workshops, seminars, certificate programs and short courses will provide venues for learning.

Research. Point of View will support the development of the field of conflict resolution by providing a place where the theory of conflict intervention can be studied in practice, developing research and practice in tandem.

Contact: If you are interested in learning more about Point of View, or if you are interested in reserving the facilities for a conference, please go to <http://icar.gmu.edu/pov.html> or call ICAR at 703.993.1300. ■



Nuclear Nonproliferation at POV

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deal with this complex tangle of problems. How should the Department of State's capacities be strengthened to ensure that nuclear nonproliferation is afforded a much higher priority and status? What are the arguments for a new, separate agency along the lines of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency? How might it be possible to maintain or recruit a cohort of physical scientists, knowledgeable about nuclear technologies?

How do you ensure that information and ideas on nuclear issues reach the ear of the new President? What should be the most effective system for ensuring cooperation and policy coherence among the Departments of State, Energy, Defense, and Homeland Security?

These and many other issues were raised at the two meetings of the task group and the conveners have drafted a Report from the Point of View meetings that they hope will have an impact on the Presidential campaign, the thinking of the transitional team that becomes active after November 2008, and on policy-making after January 2009—a result which could be the first of many such to emerge from meetings and working groups at ICAR's new research, retreat, and conference center on Mason Neck.

The entire report on "Securing the Nonproliferation Capability at the Department of State" can be downloaded off the internet at <http://icar.gmu.edu>. ■



**Institute for Conflict
Analysis and Resolution**

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ICAR Then and Now: The Institute Turns 25 Years Old

By Christopher Mitchell, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, cmitchel@gmu.edu

As the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) celebrates its 25th Anniversary this year, any personal retrospective, which this inevitably is, cannot hope to cover all, or even the most important changes that have taken place. This is especially so since I only joined the faculty in 1988, the first year of the then-new doctoral degree and five years after the initiation of the first teaching



Above: Jim Laue and Mariann Laue Baker with ICAR students. Photo: Archives.

program. The year prior, the Center—no longer the Center for Conflict Analysis but renamed the Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CCAR)—began the steady expansion that led to its present incarnation as an institution with over 20 faculty and over 400 students, with an M.S. and Ph.D. program, with an undergraduate major and three certificate programs, and with headquarters in Arlington.

Looking back, one of

the major changes that has taken place in the intervening years has been one of sheer growth. Up until a few years ago it was possible to think of ICAR (the place became an Institute in 1990 while Rich Rubenstein was Director) as a small and fairly tight-knit community, where everybody knew everyone else. Between 1987 and 1990, a number of full-time faculty had been appointed and we were admitting M.S. students on a yearly rather than two-yearly basis, plus 8 or 10 Ph.D. students annually, increasingly from all over the world. However, the place still had a somewhat cosy feel to it, reinforced by the fact that CCAR then occupied rooms in

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- 6 Spotlight: Hassen Khraibani and Rebecca Newman, Exemplary Members of ICAR Community
- 7 ICAR Project in Tajikistan

Commentary

Honoring 25 Years of Giving

By Lucy Dorick, Director of Development, ldorick@gmu.edu

Over the past 25 years, the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) has found success through scholarly leadership, exceptional students and strong donors. The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, which was among ICAR's first major financial supporters, gave ICAR a grant for more than \$1 million in the early 1980s. Hewlett was the most important national funder to recognize the need to build the field of conflict analysis and resolution. ICAR was one of its first "theory centers" and through decade-long support, helped build ICAR into one of the strongest academic conflict resolution programs in the world.

During that time, ICAR professors John Burton, Chris Mitchell and Rich Rubenstein met Edwin Lynch, a northern Virginia developer and politician. Ed had attended a lecture hosted by these professors and immediately connected with their ideals and aspirations. Ed and his wife Helen strongly believed in non-violence and the importance of peacemaking processes. They saw in ICAR something unique, the beginning of a new and critical field. Ed and Helen became



Above: ICAR donors Edward and Nancy Rice, left, with GMU President Dr. Alan Merten and Sally Merten. Photo: Laura Sykes.

volunteers for ICAR by raising financial support for its scholarship and faculty positions. As a hallmark of their dedication, the Lynches left their home, Point of View (POV), and 120 acres valued at more than \$8 million, to ICAR to develop a peace retreat.

Joining Ed and Helen in supporting ICAR's mission were Drucie French and Steve Cumbie and Edward and Nancy Rice. Drucie and Steve endowed a key faculty chair and Drucie, as Chair of ICAR's Advisory Board, helped raise thousands of dol-

lars for ICAR's work. Edward and Nancy Rice of the Rice Family Foundation first became involved in ICAR in the early 1990s. Edward, a strong advocate for peace and reconciliation, was especially taken with ICAR's commitment to creating an academic framework to train young people in conflict resolution. The Rices also worked with Professor Sandy Cheldelin and former ICAR Development Director John Holman to create the first POV

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network



Above: ICAR Advisory Board Member Andy Shallal.

Andy Shallal: Advisory Board Provides Support

By Lucy Dorick, Director of Development, ldorick@gmu.edu

Among the key entities supporting ICAR is the Advisory Board, which for more than 20 years has provided vital financial and networking support. ICAR is truly grateful to the board, and the leadership provided by K.C. Soares and Alan Gropman, for their commitment to the field of conflict resolution. One of the newest members, Andy Shallal, is making a unique gift to ICAR students. Andy is a peace activist and social restaurateur in Washington who has combined his interest in food with his commitment to creating harmony in the world. Through his two Busboys and Poets restaurants and gathering places, Andy has brought the community together in new ways to promote peace and cultural understanding. Now, driven by his belief in the need for peace in the Middle East, Andy has donated \$5,000 to create a new scholarship at ICAR. The award will be given to an ICAR graduate student who has an activist background working for peace in Israel-Palestine. Andy named the award after ICAR pioneer John Burton. Says Andy, "I believe that it will take an activist trained in conflict analysis and resolution to truly make the changes necessary for peace. ICAR students embody what I believe is necessary for creating pathways to peace." The first John Burton Peace award will be given this spring. ■

ICAR Engages Governments

Multi-Year Genocide Prevention Initiative Begins

By Andrea Bartoli, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, abartoli@gmu.edu

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, along with the Columbia University's Center for International Conflict Resolution and the United Nations Studies Program, has begun a multi-year advanced training and capacity development program on the prevention of genocide called Engaging Governments in Genocide Prevention (EGGP). These trainings have an explicit goal of adding to the momentum of a growing network of alumni who continue to confront challenges and share lessons based on their national experience. This expanding network will act as a conduit for future engagement at the regional and sub-regional levels with the goal of convening future regional prevention summits, to be hosted by EGGP alumni. The program consists of three core components.

The first component involves a week-long training of UN member state diplomatic, intelligence, military and human rights personnel. From these trainings, the state officials are empowered with the skills, motivation, and access to resources to confront genocide at the state level.

The second component involves the development of individual state policies to promote genocide prevention and the prevention of mass atrocities through country profiles and assessments of the individual states' preparedness. These profiles encourage states to reflect upon their unique experiences, explore individual states' specific strategies to combat genocide, and encourage states to officially develop early warning and genocide prevention policies.

The third component involves connecting EGGP par-



Above: Former U.S. Senator George Mitchell and ICAR professor Andrea Bartoli in EGGP workshop. Photo courtesy of EGGP.

ticipants to each other through an interactive network of promoting and supporting ongoing efforts to institute active early warning systems and genocide prevention measures and facilitate the convening of regional and sub-

From these trainings, the state officials are empowered with the skills, motivation, and access to resources to confront genocide at the state level.

regional summits on genocide prevention, early warning, and the prevention of mass atrocities.

The overarching objective of the EGGP program is to provide a concrete tool - that is, cooperative, early warning knowledge management - to assist states in preventing genocide in their own countries and to build a lasting network of continuing engagement to promote genocide prevention globally. This

objective will be achieved by three tangible project goals: (1) involving states in critical thinking about genocide; (2) providing potential and key actors for change with technical training and tools and assisting them to practice their newly acquired skills; and (3) building a lasting global network for the exchange of genocide-related information.

The program's success will be determined by the extent to which distinct knowledge communities, diplomatic, military, intelligence and human rights based interest sections, coordinate policy development, share resources and information, and facilitate knowledge management and dissemination through ongoing intra- and inter-state collaboration, including the sub-regional, regional and inter-regional levels.

Ultimately, it is hoped, through these trainings, the EGGP program will enable the effective implementation of genocide prevention policies domestically and abroad. ■

initiatives

ICAR Hosts "State of the Field" Workshop at Point of View

By Monica Flores, Assistant to Nadim Rouhana, mflores1@gmu.edu

events

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Above: ICAR professor Nadim Rouhana speaks with workshop participants. Photo: Monica Flores.

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Please visit the *Point of View: Center for Advanced Studies in Conflict Dynamics and Intervention* website at <http://icar.gmu.edu/pov.html> for a listing of future events. ■

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email jlock1@gmu.edu.

February 18: Prospective Students Information Session

6:00-7:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

RSVP: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu.edu, 703.993.9683

February 22: Job Search Strategies for Intl Students

2:30-4:00 pm, Arlington Original Building, Room TBA

February 26: ICAR Resume Clinic

3:00-4:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 530

RSVP: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu.edu, 703.993.9683

March 4: Spring Career Fair

2:00-5:00 pm, Arlington Original Building, Room 329

Contact: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu.edu, 703.993.9683

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>

Miscalculating Terrorist Intent

By Julie Shedd, ICAR Ph.D. Student

Six years after September 11th, where do we stand in understanding and combating terrorism? While gains have been made, and infrastructure hardened, we are still hampered by a widespread, fundamental misunderstanding of terrorist groups. I believe terrorist organizations are rational actors, by that I mean that organizations have tactical and strategic goals, developed within their own religious, historical and cultural contexts and pursued through actions and propaganda. As we struggle to identify risks to the West, it is imperative that we understand these goals and the frames they come from. Rationality does not mean infallibility. Certainly the outcome of an attack may not have been what planners intended. But it does mean that understanding the goals will lead to better prediction of the actions that may be taken. This only works if we can understand the patterns of decision-making and critical contexts that terrorists work within, not expect that their patterns will mirror ours.

I was recently involved in a conversation about the risk of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) attacks by terrorist groups. The formula presented was Risk = Intent X Infrastructure X Knowledge. The understanding of necessary infrastructure and nuances of knowledge was quite complete, but the definition of intent boiled down to this: if the group is anti-Western, then the group has intent to use WMD. I was amazed that no calculation of goals and outcomes was included in intent, nor did they consider how using WMD fit or did not fit with the moral standards of the civilian population the terrorist group stems from. If recent changes in Iraq and the increasing alliance of the Sunni tribal leaders with Coalition forces teaches us anything, it is that there is a limit to the amount of violence a civilian population will sanction from a terrorist group, and crossing that line will lose the support of the population. Terrorist groups recognize the risks of action outside the moral boundaries of their host. But do we, and those making counter-terrorism policy, know that? Or are we so beholden to the worst case scenario that considerations of potential terrorist attacks must be boiled down to Intent = Anti-Western sentiment. Until we can move past these destructive oversimplifications, we will continue to spend resources and time, fighting shadow terrorists on empty battlefields. ■



Julie Shedd is an ICAR Ph.D. Student.

Recent ICAR Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

Looking Presidential on Pakistan

By Saira Yamin,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
Foreign Policy in Focus,
01/16/08

The 'Surge' Will Not Rebuild Iraq

By Dennis Sandole,
ICAR Professor
Financial Times, 01/10/08

The Limbo Beyond Kosovo

By Susan Allen Nan,
ICAR Professor
Financial Times, 01/09/08

Interview: UN President Dr. Srgjan Kerim on Iran

By Michael Shank,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
Arab News, 01/07/08

Banco del Sur

By Michael Shank and Ami Carpenter,
ICAR Ph.D. Students
Nepali Times, 01/04/08

Next Moves in Kosovo

By David Young,
ICAR M.S. Student
Foreign Policy in Focus,
01/02/08

What Scares Us

By Megan Greeley,
ICAR M.S. Student
Kathmandu Post, 12/31/07

Forgiving but not Forgetting

By Megan Greeley,
ICAR M.S. Student
Nepali Times, 12/28/07

War Without Strategy

By Saira Yamin,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
Intl Herald Tribune, 12/26/07

Israel's Palestinians Speak Out

By Nadim Rouhana,
ICAR Professor
The Nation, 12/11/07

How Many of Us Are Reaching Out to Young People?

By Tracy Breneman-Pennas,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
The Journal News, 12/11/07

Immigrants Provide New Focus for Racism

By Gabriel Rojo,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
Baltimore Sun, 12/10/07

Congress's Goals on CAFE, Biofuels Don't Go Far Enough

By Michael Shank,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
The Hill, 12/06/07

On Religion and Public Life

By Marci Moberg and Scott Cooper,
ICAR M.S. Students
The Economist, 12/01/07

The U.S. and Pakistan

By Michael Shank,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
Intl Herald Tribune, 11/30/07

Pakistan: Myths and Realities

By Saira Yamin,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
Foreign Policy in Focus,
11/30/07

Putting Iran on Annapolis Guest List Less of a Risk Than Not

By Michael Shank,
ICAR Ph.D. Student
Financial Times, 11/30/07

Annapolis Holds Opportunity for Mideast Peace

By Michael Shank,
ICAR Ph.D. Student, and U.S.
Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-NY)
Richmond Times-Dispatch,
11/25/07 ■

Hassen Khraibani

By Jenny Lock, Events Coordinator,
jlock1@gmu.edu

Before Hassen Khraibani decided to major in the undergraduate Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR) program at George Mason University, he was a business major interested in international issues. When he realized that the business program would not provide him with the type of international knowledge he was seeking he decided it was time for a change. He heard about CAR and thought it sounded like a good fit: "I love to travel, I had thought about living abroad, and I wanted to learn more about world conflicts. I wanted to learn more about what was going on in the world."



Hassen was impressed with the way the CAR courses were designed, their focus on class discussion and person-to-person interaction, as well as the diversity of the student body and the opinions shared in class. He appreciated that guest speakers were an important part of the curriculum and found the professors to be professional and inspiring. Additionally, Hassen was really impressed with the advising process at CAR, both Lisa Shaw and Julie Shedd were very supportive. For his final project at CAR, Hassen studied the effects of violent video games on children's minds. At that time, he had a little brother through the Big Brothers Big Sisters program, an experience he found highly inspiring, learning quite a bit from about video games and child development.

He has found conflict management and negotiating to be highly useful in his current work in international sales at Barros International. Many times he has had to negotiate contracts on behalf of embassies and embassy representatives as well as other individuals involved in the contract and the negotiating skills he learned in CAR have proven to be hugely useful in these situations. As a member of the Consular Corps of Washington D.C. he has used his conflict management skills to help his colleagues work through different interests and needs.

When asked whether he had any plans to continue his education at the graduate level Hassen replied with an enthusiastic, "Absolutely!" ■

Rebecca Newman

By Erin Ogilvie, Assistant Director, Student Services, Graduate Admissions, eogilvie@gmu.edu

For Rebecca Newman, the undergraduate Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR) program could not have been a better fit. With an initial interest in social work, Rebecca has always had a passion for youth issues. She found CAR at George Mason University and was hooked.

Rebecca started an internship with CAR and Fairfax County Public Schools (FCPS)

in January 2007. After attending the FCPS peer mediation conferences for elementary and high school students, she created a program called Peer Mediation Partners, a partnership program between GMU student volunteers and Fairfax County high school peer mediators to help high school students develop conflict analysis and resolution skills.

Rebecca has seen first-hand how peer mediation has evolved over the years. "While I was in high school, peer mediation was seen by both school administrators and students as just another club or casual student organization." While getting school systems on board may be a challenge, some schools offer peer mediation as a class and offer related courses such

as restorative justice. For schools that embrace the idea, "there is more of a focus on how peer mediation programs can be used as a conflict prevention tool within schools," says Rebecca.

Dedicated to community service, Rebecca is a mentor at Space of Her Own (SOHO), an arts-based mentoring program for pre-teen girls in Alexandria, VA. Rebecca describes SOHO as "a program designed for young girls who may be at risk of entering the juvenile court system; the goal is to build self-esteem and social skills in order to prevent young girls from engaging in criminal activity". Following her May graduation, Rebecca plans to continue her work on youth issues. ■



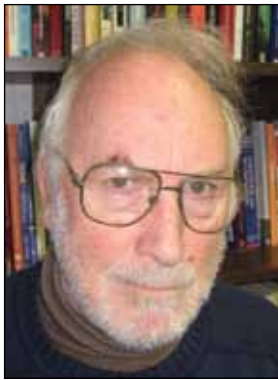
"While I was in high school, peer mediation was seen as just another club or casual student organization. [Now] there is more of a focus on how peer mediation programs can be used as a conflict prevention tool within schools."

—REBECCA NEWMAN

ICAR Then and Now: The Institute Turns 25 Year Old

Continued from page 1

a ramshackle and leaky hut that stood where the Johnson Center now stands on the Fairfax campus, its fifth home in as many years. It shared this scruffy residence with three organisations closely affiliated with CCAR, including Conflict Clinic Inc., a non-profit organisation established by Jim Laue and his colleagues at the University of Missouri.



Christopher Mitchell, above, is an ICAR Professor.

At that time, the Institute was heavily oriented towards practice, although the presence of John Burton made sure that we were aiming for theory-based practice, the presence of Jim Laue ensured that there was a continuing intellectual debate about the nature of "protracted and deep-rooted" conflicts. Kevin Avruch and Peter Black kept up a guerilla war with John Burton and Dennis Sandole over the issue of cultural relativism versus "generic", or general, theory. However, everyone agreed that the aim of ICAR was to produce "practical theorists", who actually did practice. Hence, ICAR faculty conducted and involved students in confidential dialogues or workshops with adversaries such as those involved in conflicts in Northern Ireland, the Basque country, the Middle East and Latin America, while Jim Laue and his colleagues became involved in local intermediary work for Virginia's then Governor, Douglas Wilder, part of which involved a running dispute over leaky oil tanks on the boundary between Fairfax City and County.

Those traditions still carry on twenty years later, partly because of the early and firm establishment of the Applied Practice and Theory courses in 1992 and later encouragement of specific ICAR Working Groups in the mid-1990s. It was around this time that ICAR alumni founded the Northern

Virginia Mediation Service and ICAR students, led by Mara Schoeny, set up, managed and staffed the University Dispute Resolution center on the Fairfax campus.

Intellectually, this middle period of ICAR's existence was also a lively time, with debates, arguments and publications about the essential nature of "conflicts" as opposed to "disputes", the role of culture in theory building, class conflict and the legitimacy of deep-rooted structural conflicts, the first tentative consideration of gender issues in conflicts, theories that underlay the practice of "resolution", and the nature or even the possibility of impartiality. By the start of the new millenium, resolution was beginning to seem passe,

and talk turned to transformation, reconciliation and healing, with the advent of a new interest in spirituality, religion and non-Western approaches to conflict resolution. All of this pushed the intellectual focus much closer to the traditions of peace research and its Scandinavian proponents and practitioners Johan Galtung and Hakan Wiberg.

Throughout this post-1987 period, ICAR's tradition of publishing books and working papers persisted. In his last year in the US before returning to Australia, John Burton became a Distinguished Senior Fellow at the US Institute of Peace and, working with then-graduated Frank Dukes, produced four books summarizing his work on

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ICAR Partners with NGO in Tajikistan

By Sandra Cheldelin, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, scheldel@gmu.edu

From 1992 to 1997, Tajikistan experienced a multi-layered civil war that ended with a power-sharing agreement between the religious and former communist government leaders. ICAR and a local non-governmental organization in Dushanbe, the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, engaged in a two-year project to create collaborative networks with religious and civic leaders, government officials and academics from various universities to address their continuing ethnic, regional, and religious tensions.

Each spring a small delegation of faculty from ICAR went to Tajikistan—Drs.

Cheldelin, Rothbart, and Paczynska, year I,

and Hirsch, Schoeny and Windmueller (external evaluator), year II. Similarly, two large groups of academic, religious and governmental leaders came to Washington D.C. each fall (more than 40 total). The Tajik academics ultimately developed ten new courses, and all delegates engaged in lectures, seminars and trainings on conflict theories and intervention practices. A textbook was also published that included the translation into Tajik and Russian of more than 350 pages of mostly ICAR faculty's chapters and journal articles. A Resource Center in Dushanbe on conflict resolution was created and is housed at Tajik State University for use by national universities and local NGOs. For the full report, go to <http://icar.gmu.edu>. ■



Above: Sandra Cheldelin with delegation at Tajik Islamic U.

ICAR Then and Now: The Institute Turns 25

Continued from page 7

the theory and practice of conflict resolution. Fifteen years before "9/11", Rich Rubenstein moved from a generalized interest in terrorists to historical biography and a study of a single pre-1914 revolutionary terrorist, and then to the whole issue of the religious roots of, and remedies for, conflict in increasingly remote historical eras. Dennis Sandole started another ICAR tradition of publishing books and articles co-authored with graduate students. Mary Clark, at ICAR briefly as the first French Cumbie Professor, published her study of the social and biological bases of cooperation and conflict, *Ariadne's Thread*, and started on her survey of human nature and conflict. In 2007, faculty and students published six books, a record but certainly not that unusual.

On reflection, perhaps the changes over the last 25 years are not matters of numbers and size, as many ICAR traditions laid down in earlier days have survived and flourished: trying to involve an increasingly growing and diverse student body in writing, research and practice; trying to maintain a sense of community; trying to develop the tradition of thoughtful practice amid pressures of time, donor impatience and limited resources; trying to remain a "pre-eminent" center for theory, research and practice in the face of increasing competition, when, in the old days, ICAR was the only center in existence. But to some degree it has always been like this over the 25 years, and at least the University has not asked us to move yet again. ICAR continues to live in interesting times and will probably do so for the next 25 years and be none the worse for it. ■

Honoring 25 Years of Giving

Continued from page 2

Endowed Chair, currently held by Professor Nadim Rouhana. The foundation, where Edward is an officer, has generously given more than \$1 million to support the development of the POV academic agenda and program. "I have been supporting ICAR for over a decade because I believe that ICAR faculty and students are taking on critical conflicts in the world and developing processes and mechanisms that will make a difference," says Edward. "Point of View is an exciting example of how these processes can be put into practice."

More recently, the Catalyst Fund committed significant resources to ICAR to establish the Center for Religion, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution and endow a chair in religion and conflict resolution, the James H. Laue Chair in Religion, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution. The first professor to hold this position is Marc Gopin, who heads the Center.

This year, Gene Smith, a friend of Ed and Helen Lynch, stepped forward to lead the POV capital campaign, which aims to raise \$25 million to build the POV complex.

"These donors have shown leadership and courage in supporting ICAR's work," says Kevin Avruch, Associate Director of ICAR. "They have become an integral part of our community and we deeply thank them for all they have enabled us to do." ■



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What Washington Wants In The Horn of Africa

By Terrence Lyons, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, tlyons1@gmu.edu

In February 2008, the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) began to "temporarily relocate" its observation force out of the Transitional Security Zone where it had been deployed since 2000. UNMEE was established to monitor and assist in implementing the Algiers Peace Agreement that put an end to the brutal 1998-2000 border war between the two states.

In early 2008, however, Eritrea blocked fuel ship-

ments to the peacekeepers. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon condemned Eritrea's lack of cooperation and demanded that Asmara resume full cooperation with UNMEE. Eritrea



Above: UN Peacekeepers in Eritrea. Photo: Wikipedia Commons.

refused and responded that the UN was dwelling on "peripheral matters".

This latest melee over UNMEE is emblematic of the troubled Algiers peace process that may be beyond resuscitation. The specific crisis, however, is also a distraction from the imperatives to address the deeply rooted sources of

conflict. UNMEE's forced evacuation is just the latest incident in the bitter feud between Addis Ababa and Asmara and the inability of the international community to find ways to promote regional peace. The conflict between rival neighbors is embedded

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- 3 Initiatives: ICAR Applied Practice and Theory Team Focuses on Washington D.C. Organization
- 4 Events: ICAR Facilitates Climate Change Teach-In Discussion
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- 6 Spotlight: Saira Yamin and Josh Fisher, Exemplary Members of the ICAR Community
- 7 ICAR's Media Classes

Commentary

Board Builds Bridges for ICAR

By Lucy Dorick, Director of Development, ldorick@gmu.edu

For over 20 years, the Advisory Board of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) has championed the work of ICAR's faculty and students. The Board is comprised of leaders from the legal, business, non-profit, academic, diplomatic, and philanthropic worlds, as well as ICAR alumni. These individuals have provided an array of networking, funding and mentoring opportunities for ICAR. In addition, these well-established professionals give of their time and resources to improve ICAR's scholarship funds, mentoring opportunities, and outreach opportunities.

Over the years, several distinguished individuals have chaired the Board: Edwin Lynch, a real estate developer and Point of View (POV) donor; Drucie French, who supports an ICAR faculty chair; Jim Hobson, a lawyer and donor; the Hon. Jim Dillard; donor Douglas Adams; Amb. John McDonald; K.C. Soares, a scholarship donor and former chair of the board of the Organization of American States' federal credit union; and Alan Gropman, an ICAR donor and professor at the National Defense University. In September 2007,



Above: ICAR Advisory Board Vice-Chair Alan Gropman introduces ICAR's Government Relations Adviser Michael Shank to American Patriot Award Winner U.S. Rep. Ike Skelton (D-MO). Photo courtesy of Reflection Photography.

the Board set the following goals for the current academic year: 1) raise money for scholarships; 2) provide networking opportunities for ICAR faculty and students; and 3) mentor students. To attain these goals, the Board decided to pursue two specific activities:

Soccer for Peace Fund-Raising Raffle. Through Rotary International and Soccer for Peace, the Board will sell raffle

tickets to an international soccer event. The winner will receive tickets to a championship game, airfare and hotel accommodations. Proceeds from the raffle will go to ICAR and the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. The Board hopes to raise \$30,000, half of which will be earmarked for ICAR scholarships. Special

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K.C. Soares and Alan Gropman at the Helm

By Lucy Dorick, Director of Development, ldorick@gmu.edu

K.C. Soares and Alan Gropman have devoted more than 10 years each to the work of ICAR. Serving as co-chairs of the ICAR Advisory Board, they have provided support for many student scholarships and programs. K.C. and Alan have hosted events to showcase student publications and faculty scholarship, spearheaded mentoring sessions for students, donated their time and money toward ICAR scholarships, and expanded ICAR's network by recruiting new Board members and donors. These remarkable leaders are an integral part of the ICAR family. K.C. was formerly the board chair of the Organization of American States' credit union. Now heading her own consulting firm focused on strategic planning and implementation, K.C. brings a critical international and organizational perspective to ICAR. Alan is a retired U.S. Air Force colonel and a professor of national security policy at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces at the National Defense University. An active lecturer and author, Alan is an expert on military strategy, national security, military history, and racial integration. Says ICAR Director Sara Cobb of K.C. and Alan, "I greatly admire and respect the work of Alan and K.C. They have provided stability and leadership to the Advisory Board during my tenure as director and I am extremely grateful for their support." ■

ICAR Applied Practice and Theory Training for Transformation APT Focuses on the District

By Jenny Lock, ICAR M.S. Student and Events Coordinator, jlock1@gmu.edu

Appplied Practice and Theory (APT) teams are made up of small groups of M.S. and Ph.D. students who are interested in gaining practical intervention skills. These teams cover wide ground. Some groups focus on an international project which can be as varied as working within the Bosnian educational system or studying identity formation among Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico, while other groups choose to focus on domestic issues ranging from education, girls and gangs, to training federal employees about conflict resolution.

APT allows advanced students the opportunity to analyze a conflict and perform a team-designed intervention. Each team works closely with a faculty advisor who serves as a springboard for ideas and offers extensive practice experience from which the teams can learn.

The Training for Transformation APT, advised by Dr. Wallace Warfield, is made up of four M.S. students: Erin Feeley, Lindsay Jones, Jenny Lock and David Middlebrooks. Academic interests include reconciliation, restorative justice, conflict prevention and structural violence.

The team began meeting last summer to brainstorm possible intervention ideas and begin their conflict analysis. A group interest in neighborhood change and extensive research into communities within Washington, D.C., as well as interviews with various individuals and non-profits working in those areas, led the group to choose the Brookland Edgewood area of the city. Located in Northeast D.C., Brookland Edgewood is a diverse and active community. After a comprehensive search



Above: Training for Transformation Team (from left to right) Erin Feeley, Lindsay Jones, Jenny Lock and David Middlebrooks. Photo courtesy of Lindsay Jones.

for a community-based partner organization, the Training for Transformation APT found Community Preservation and Development Corporation (CPDC). According to their mission statement, CPDC is

Applied Practice and Theory allows advanced students the opportunity to analyze a conflict and perform a team-designed intervention. Each team works closely with a faculty advisor who serves as a springboard for ideas and offers extensive practice experience from which the teams can learn.

an organization which "creates and preserves financially sound, socially responsible affordable housing for low- and moderate-income individuals and families

and, in cooperation with residents, develops programs that strengthen communities and increase opportunities for growth".

The Training for Transformation APT has created a conflict resolution curriculum which will be implemented with residents of varying ages at CPDC's Edgewood Terrace community. The curriculum was written jointly by all members of the team and covers a variety of topics including an introduction to conflict resolution skills, reconciliation, restorative justice, conflict prevention and structural violence. The program will culminate in a participant designed and facilitated community intervention within the Edgewood Terrace community.

Recognizing this as a great volunteer opportunity for ICAR students of all interests, it is the team's hope that this partnership with CPDC will continue into the future. *For more information, contact Jenny Lock.* ■

initiatives

ICAR Facilitates Climate Change Discussion at Fairfax Teach-In

By Lisa Shaw, CAR Student Services Coordinator and Advisor, lshaw2@gmu.edu

events

On January 29, the Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR) undergraduate program participated in the Climate Change Teach-In at Mason's Fairfax Campus. The event featured Mason professors, researchers and notable environmental speakers, such as Lester Brown, president of the Earth Policy Institute and author of *Plan B*

2.0: Rescuing a Planet Under Stress and a Civilization in Trouble. The CAR portion of the teach-in offered participants a conflict perspective on climate change as well as an opportunity to talk about the complexities of climate



Above: Conflict Analysis and Resolution students facilitate a discussion on climate change with George Mason University faculty, staff and students. Photo courtesy of *Broadside* newspaper.

change in a facilitated discussion setting. Sandy Ruckstuhl, ICAR Ph.D. candidate, and Dr. Susan F. Hirsch, CAR Program Director, opened by highlighting the physical effects and social consequences of climate change. Examples illustrated the potential for aggravation of existing global conflicts and various strategies for addressing climate change from the conflict analysis and resolution perspective. After this introduction, approximately 200 students, faculty and staff formed 20 discussion groups to consider topics that included personal and community responsibility, policy changes, social justice and ethical considerations, and the options, costs, and risks of climate change.

Most groups were facilitated by CAR students, with a team of ICAR Ph.D. and M.S. students, led by Lisa Shaw, assisting the process. The event gave CAR and ICAR students an opportunity to practice the skills taught in methods and practice courses, and was

a great opportunity for students and faculty to work together collaboratively.

At the end, ICAR's Monica Jakobsen, Leila Patterson, Stacy Stryjewski, Mara Schoeny, Paul Snodgrass and Mery Rodriguez debriefed the audience, summarizing the key issues emerging from the group discussions. The groups reached conclusions that reaffirmed the need for change within personal attitudes and the need for education. Participants also stressed the importance of influencing public policy at the local, state and national levels, as well as encouraging Mason administrators, faculty, staff, and students to create a "green" campus.

The CAR-facilitated discussions brought a fresh and creative approach to dealing with a current and polemic issue, an approach that included everyone in the conversation about the problem and demonstrated the power of our own agency. ■

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email jlock1@gmu.edu.

March 4: Spring Career Fair

2:00-5:00 pm, Arlington Original Building, Room 329

Contact: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu, 703.993.9683

March 6: Prospective Students Information Session

6:00-7:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

RSVP: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu.edu, 703.993.9683

March 28: ICAR Career Intensive

Career Focus: Organizational Consulting

10:00-4:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

RSVP: icarjob@gmu.edu

April 4: Job Search Strategies for International Students

2:30-4:00 pm, Truland Building, Room TBA

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>

Examining Immigration's Core Issues

By Paul Snodgrass, ICAR M.S. Alumnus

With the United States Congress deadlocked, and a tumultuous presidential campaign underway, the issue of illegal immigration has taken center stage. Both parties agree that the border should be secured and laws enforced but differ on how much should be militarized and how to deal with the people already here, living and working. The word "amnesty" has become a mark of shame thrust upon anyone who favors a more compassionate approach. The problem has been addressed predominantly at the symptomatic level, ignoring root causes of human migration and leaving out opportunities for long-term satisfaction of all parties concerned.

Given the opportunity, people prefer to provide for themselves and their families inside their own communities and countries. Small improvements in Latin American economies would be enough to keep hundreds of thousands of people in their preferred locations. However, when the notion is raised that Latin American countries should have improved economies to stem the tide of human migration, the burden and blame is usually laid entirely upon the governments in question. This misses a valuable opportunity to examine the hemispheric influence the U.S. has exercised over the years and ask whether this influence has made matters better or worse.

Through trade deals and economic regimes like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the U.S. encouraged neo-liberal policies, which produced the economic realities in Latin America. Countries entered into a race to the bottom, lowering wages, destroying labor unions, relaxing safety regulations and protections for children and the environment. The IMF, and the desire to attract business, demanded these actions, much to the detriment of the people. To make matters worse, many nations now face the burden of illegitimate debt, built up by corrupt regimes of the past that used international loans to oppress their people.

In this environment, it is no surprise that people, yearning to survive and make a better life for their families are attracted to the U.S., rich with the promise of opportunity. In our rush to address the problem of immigration, we should not punish people for behaving exactly as we would in their position.

Instead, we should look for ways to alleviate the problems of Latin America, first by critically examining our own negative impact, and then by engaging in truly fair trade and development aimed at improving the lives of the people. ■

Recent ICAR Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

Bali Confirmed the Shift: Nation Is On Board Now

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student, and U.S. Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD)
Richmond Times-Dispatch, 02/22/08

Tycoon's Death Raises Issues of Rebuilding Trust in Georgia

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Financial Times, 02/18/08

To An Aspiring President

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor
Washington Post, 02/17/08

The Star-Spangled Delusion

By David Young, ICAR M.S. Student
Asia Times Online, 02/16/08

Afghan Domestic Opinion Neglected in Ashdown Plan

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Financial Times, 02/15/08

Gilchrest's Defeat a Loss for Congress

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Baltimore Sun, 02/15/08

Transparency Good, Accountability Better

By Matt Shugert, ICAR M.S. Student
The Hill, 02/13/08

Sanctions Wrong Response to Abuse

By Ross Gearllach, ICAR M.S. Student
Baltimore Sun, 02/11/08

Bhutto's Will Disappoints Democratic Hopes

By Saira Yamin, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Christian Science Monitor, 02/11/08

Working Against the Problem Not Each Other

By Rebecca Cataldi, ICAR M.S. Student
The American Muslim, 02/07/08

High Stakes in Effort to Sink Gilchrest's Canoe Diplomacy

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
The Hill, 02/06/08

Accountability in Indonesia

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Washington Post, 02/02/08

Running Low

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Economist, 02/01/08

It's the People, Stupid

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Washington Post, 01/26/08

Gaza Sanctions Exact an Unjust Toll on Civilians

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Christian Science Monitor, 01/23/08

Don't Choke Off Gaza

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Washington Times, 01/22/08

What the Surge Doesn't Do

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
New York Times, 01/19/08

Overdue Wisdom in Afghanistan

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Financial Times, 01/17/08 ■

Saira Yamin

By Deanna Yuille, Graduate Admissions Assistant, dyuille@gmu.edu

After completing an M.S. degree at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) in 1992, Saira Yamin returned to her home in Pakistan and began working with development programs dedicated to alleviating poverty. Eventually, she began teaching conflict resolution and crisis management and used her expertise to develop additional conflict resolution curricula for her school. When speaking of her homeland, she is mindful of the fact that Pakistan, along with its neighbors in South Asia, has a unique social and political position. While the country makes a great effort to preserve its traditions, Saira believes that fruitful changes can be made and that she



can influence the society by teaching others conflict resolution skills while still maintaining the richness of its culture.

In addition to her teaching career, she has also worked on women's rights. "Women have a lot of room for empowerment and education is the key to this development," says Saira. Therefore, she is conscious of learning and development not only because it is needed, but because she feels instinctively driven to do so.

This purpose, and the opportunity to deepen her teaching experience, led Saira to return to ICAR and pursue her Ph.D. She currently plans to write her dissertation based on the concept of failed states. Saira notes that although "failed" implies something negative, the world cannot automatically discredit nations with this classification.

This registers with her personally, as Pakistan is among the nations in this category. Saira would like not only to diagnose why these states may have deteriorated, but also begin to think about these nations in terms of prevention and how to stymie the cycle of turmoil that seems to surround them. This includes continuing to work on Track II initiatives between India and Pakistan. The knowledge that she gains will be put to the test soon enough, as she plans to return to Pakistan upon completing her studies at ICAR. Still, Saira continues to make sure that she is proficient in understanding all areas of conflict, not only those closest to home. ■

"Women have a lot of room for empowerment and education is the key to this development."

—SAIRA YAMIN

Josh Fisher

By Erin Ogilvie, Assistant Director, Student Services, Graduate Admissions, eogilvie@gmu.edu

Growing up on a small farm in Utah, Josh Fisher moved on to earn a B.A. in international law and environmental policy, and an M.S. in international relations. Shortly after, he became a firefighter, river ranger, non-governmental organization founder and resource planner, all leading the way to the doctoral program at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR).



During graduate school at Utah State University, Josh started the organization Volunteers Involved in Development Abroad (VIDA). VIDA is a capacity building organization, focusing on sustainable agriculture, the health sector and environmental work around the globe. In Mozambique, Josh participated in building bio-diesel production equipment and worked to increase local markets for non-timber product forest resources. Josh has always been involved with the environment in one capacity or another, whether it be as a wild land firefighter with the forest service or as a river ranger working in habitat rehabilitation and whitewater rescue.

Until recently, Josh was a resource planner for three years for the U.S. Department of Interior, specifically the Bureau of Land Management, in Utah. In this capacity, he was practicing conflict resolution between competing user groups and working on resource planning for the energy industry.

As for his current research, Josh is looking for correlations among resource extraction patterns and spatial distributions of civil violence and economic development efforts. "The goal is to see if there are correlations in shifting each of those three and how a shift in the distribution of one affects the spatial distribution of others."

After finishing his doctoral program at ICAR, Josh's career plans involve work in international development with a focus on economic development and resource management. ■

What Washington Wants In The Horn of Africa

Continued from page 1

within a set of domestic political conflicts in each state, linked through proxy conflicts to instability in Somalia and the Ogaden, and is skewed additionally by the application of Washington's global counter-terrorism policies to the region.

Each of these realms has its own history and dynamics but each also feeds and in turn is fed by the others. Escalation or stalemate on one level therefore alters conflict dynamics across the others. The intermeshing of domestic insecurities, interstate antagonisms, and global policies create regional "security complexes" in which the security of each actor is intrinsically linked to the others and cannot realistically be considered apart from one another.

Ruling authorities in both Ethiopia and Eritrea have used the border issue and threats to the homeland to justify restrictions on political activity and severe limitations on basic political and civil rights. This democratic deficit, moreover, has allowed both to maintain hard-line positions and militarized policies despite huge costs to their populations. The border stalemate and underlying problems of authoritarian political processes, in turn, are further linked to regional conflicts.

Both Ethiopia and Eritrea compete against each other by supporting rival parties in neighboring states. Tensions over the border stalemate, for example, were displaced, in a way, by proxy in Somalia in 2005 and 2006. Ethiopia supported the Transitional Federal Government and Eritrea supported the rival Union of Islamic Courts, in part hoping to tie Ethiopian forces down in the East. This proxy war adds a further complicating dynamic that makes peace in Somalia more difficult. Ethiopia is



Terrence Lyons, above, is an ICAR Professor.

unwilling to withdraw from Somalia until it is reassured that Eritrea will not take advantage of the ensuing vacuum of authority. But creating a new broad-based regime seems impossible so long as Ethiopia remains.

Finally, local conflicts in the Horn of Africa have been internationalized by Washington's "Global War on Terrorism." The Bush administration views Ethiopia as a "key strategic partner" that shares "a commitment to address threats by transnational extremist groups". This association directly links Washington with Addis Ababa even while their interests in the region are quite different. While many have seen the Ethiopian inter-

vention into Somalia as an example of U.S. "subcontracting" the war on terror to a regional ally, Addis Ababa likely would have acted with or without Washington's approval. Addis Ababa and Washington share concerns regarding Islamist groups in Somalia but for different reasons. Ethiopia worries about the assistance these groups provide to the regime's enemies in Eritrea and domestic insurgencies, while the United States is concerned with alleged links to al-Qaeda and the bombings of embassies in East Africa. The U.S., however, promoted the impression that it was working hand-in-hand with Ethiopia when in 2007 it used its own AC-130 planes to attack targets within

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ICAR's Talking and Writing Media Classes

By Michael Shank, Government Relations Adviser, mshank@gmu.edu

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) created two media classes this school year: "Writing for the Media" and "Talking to the Media". Both courses are taught by ICAR professor Dennis Sandole and Government Relations



Above: ICAR Professor Dennis Sandole talks with Ph.D. student Maneshka Eliatamby de Silva before his Kosovo interview. Photo: Paul Snodgrass.

Adviser Michael Shank. The purpose of the courses is to prepare ICAR students with the skills needed to translate conflict analysis and resolution theory and practice for print, television and radio audiences. Recently, the "Talking to the Media" class accompanied Dennis Sandole to his interview on *CTV News*, Canada's national television network. *CTV News* was covering the Serbian protests at the US Embassy in Belgrade—protests in response to Kosovo's independence—and needed a Balkans expert to provide analysis. Given his expertise, Dennis Sandole was the ICAR analyst for the job. In response to his interview, *CTV's* Stephanie Wells commented, "You obviously have so much detailed knowledge of the situation in the Balkans, but you also do a really good job of breaking it down for the average viewer." The interview can be viewed online at http://icar.gmu.edu/ICAR_NewsNetwork.html. ■

What Washington Wants In The Horn of Africa

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Somalia. The strategic relationship associates the U.S. with the regime and its policies in ways that escalate and prolong regional conflicts. Washington's calls for democratization and human rights in Ethiopia are not convincing when high-level officials simultaneously praise the regime's cooperation in the global war on terrorism. Ethiopia's obstruction of the demarcation of the border contributes to Eritrea's hostility toward Washington and the UN.

Washington feels it needs a close relationship with Ethiopia in order to pursue its regional strategic interests. This relationship, however, comes with costs. As with other pivotal states in difficult regions such as Pakistan and Egypt, these sometimes awkward bedfellows receive U.S. support for security reasons but then pursue their own, sometimes brutal, agendas regardless of pressure from Washington. Ethiopia has used the military to respond to domestic opposition, regional insurgencies, and to instability within Somalia. If the growing pressures on Addis Ababa from internal dissent and regional instability converge, an uncontrolled and potentially very violent transition is possible. While the United States has paid high-level attention to Sudan and to issues of counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa, policies toward the border stalemate and authoritarianism in Ethiopia have been reactive, episodic, and largely unsuccessful. Washington needs a new diplomatic strategy in the region that recognizes these growing risks and the links among the border stalemate, fragile and authoritarian regimes, and escalating proxy clashes in Somalia. ■

Board Builds Bridges for ICAR

Continued from page 2

thanks go to Lester Schoene for organizing, and Bob Nealon, Alan Gropman and Ed Rice for financial support.

Real Estate Roundtable. The Board will host a real estate roundtable at POV in fall 2008. The event will focus on environmental issues relating to real estate development in Northern Virginia. Topics will include land use, water conservation and "green" building. The workshop will culminate in a reception with Jeff Dubois and other area developers. The goal is to raise ICAR's profile, introduce POV to the region's real estate development community, and identify new donor prospects.

In sum, says K.C. Soares, "The ICAR Advisory Board is committed to the work of ICAR. We strongly believe that the most important contribution we can make is to the ICAR students through scholarship support, mentoring opportunities and networking events." *The Board, in alphabetical order: Sara Cobb, Edwin Futa, Nancy Gillis, Alan Gropman, James Hobson, Alma Jadallah, Charles Link, Carmen MacDougall, John McDonald, Robert Nealon, Harvey Newcomb, David Padilla, Edward Rice, Thomas Davis Rust, Lester Schoene Jr., James Scott, Robert Scott, Andy Shallal, Chris Shoemaker, K.C. Soares, Peter Stavrakis, and Stanley Taylor. Student Reps. include Yves-Renee Jennings and Matt Shugert.* ■



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US-Israeli Policies Not Yet Working with Damascus

By Marc Gopin, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, mgopin@gmu.edu

The anti-diplomacy that has characterized American foreign policy for eight miserable years is coming to an end with the end of the Bush White House. But that does not mean that clear alternatives exist in complex places like Syria and its position in the Northern Belt of the Middle East. It is also true that when it comes to Syria, Israel is well ahead of the United States leadership in seeing opportunities. But Israel has been overly intimidated by the White House and its own responses have been thus far clumsy and uncreative.

Part of the reason for this is the massive ignorance of the inner workings of Syria that one finds in both Israel and the United States. I was told by a top

former diplomat in Israel, who is the most knowledgeable person right now on Syria, that I know ten times more than the U.S. State Department about what makes the Syrian leadership tick. That frightened me, as I know very little. It is true that I have worked there for the last four years and that my Syrian partners and I have had some shocking successes in civil society programs that met with approval at the highest levels. But what



Above: The Golan hospital in Quneitra, Syria, near the disputed Golan Heights. Ruined in 1974, after the Yom Kippur War, the hospital remains on public display. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

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- 7 ICAR Career Fair

commentary

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ICAR Launches Mentor Program

By Samantha Levine, ICAR Development Assistant, slevine2@gmu.edu

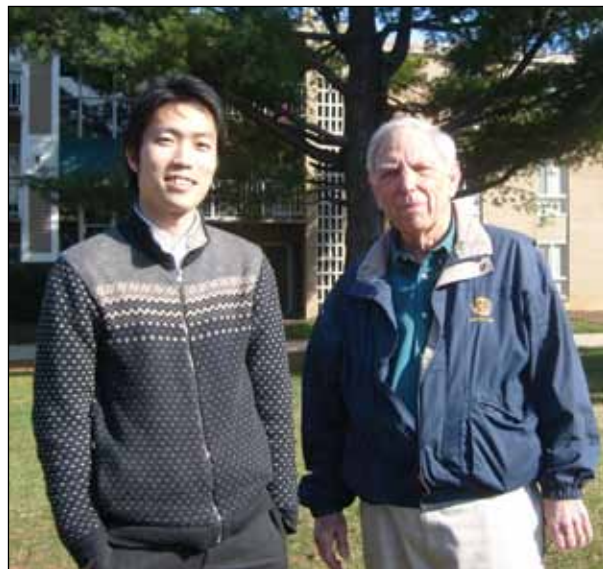
For second-year ICAR M.S. student Tommy Tomiyama, a resume and a quick interview are not the stuff of meaningful professional relationships. "I tend to believe in continuous one-on-one instruction, instead of one-shot, office-hour meetings where you have to figure everything out from that brief conversation," he said. So when Tommy learned about the new Advisory Board mentoring program, which was launched in February, he knew he wanted to take part.

There are 18 students and seven Board members participating in the program. The first meeting on February 12 was "spectacular—the number of students who came, the energy in the room, and on a night when there was an ice storm," recalled Board Chair K.C. Soares, who will mentor two students. The program aims to foster long-lasting relationships between students and Board members. The pairs will focus on the students' professional development and personal goals. "I serve on the Board for the purpose of assisting ICAR students any way I can," explained Board member Lester Schoene, who is Tommy's mentor. Lester earned his M.S. degree from ICAR in 1992 and has served on the Board since 1997. "If by making myself available to them to offer guidance based on my ICAR experience, life experience or current work experience, I will do that."

The mentoring program "fills a void," said first-year Ph.D. student Yves-Renee Jennings, who helped design the program with second-year M.S. student Matt Shugert. Both serve as representatives to the Board from Graduate Students in Conflict Studies (GSCS), ICAR's student government. "Many students don't see how they can transition into the real world," said Yves-Renee. "They don't have access to practitioners and individuals who can guide them."

Upulee Dasanayake, a second-year M.S. student who will work with K.C., is eager to learn more about the intricate workings and internal cultures of international organizations such as the United Nations. While such nuanced questions might be difficult to ask a professional in the course of a regular conversation, Upulee said, they are easier to broach when one has a personal relationship with that expert.

For Michael Lawrence, a graduate certificate student who is featured in the ICAR Spotlight



Above: ICAR M.S. student Tommy Tomiyama with ICAR Advisory Board member and mentor Lester Schoene. Photo courtesy of Tommy Tomiyama.

section of this newsletter, participating in the mentoring program enables him to make contacts with Board members who are working in the field of conflict resolution. "Being able to meet with Advisory Board members such as Rob Scott who works with ADR [Alternative Dispute Resolution] programs in the Federal Emergency Management Agency, I have learned about the big and growing demand of ADR within the federal government."

Students are matched with mentors based on

common interests, as well as the need to ensure an equal distribution of mentees among the Board members. The concept first emerged four years ago among former Board member Craig Zelizer and students including M.S. candidate Vanessa Noël Brown and Ph.D. candidates Jeremy Rinker and Nancy Beiter, who had all served as GSCS representatives to the Board.

The Board, participating students and GSCS officers have high hopes for the relationships that develop from the program. "I hope it would

be for life," said Upulee. "I don't want it to end when I graduate and leave ICAR." K.C. added that "this is serious with the Board. I want to get this going and have a really good relationship with students for two years, and for doctoral students who

"[The mentoring program] fills a void. Many students don't see how they can transition into the real world. They don't have access to practitioners and individuals who can guide them."

—YVES-RENEE JENNINGS

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Mason Forum on Climate Change

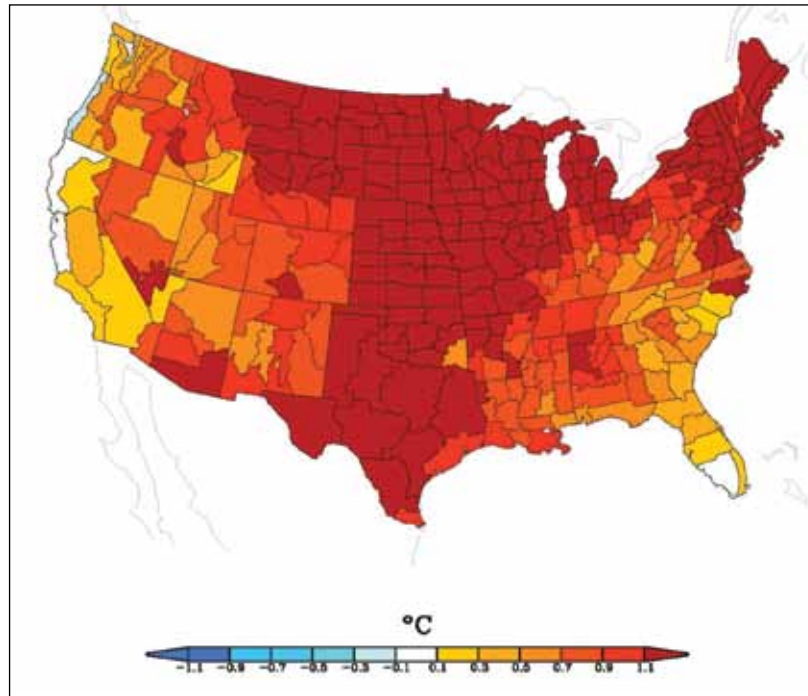
ICAR Takes Lead in Organizing Weekly Discussion

By Michael Shank, ICAR Government Relations Adviser, mshank@gmu.edu

If George Mason University's Paul Schopf, Ed Maibach and Michael Shank have their way, Mason will become a leader in trans-disciplinary approaches to climate change curriculum, research and public engagement. With the help of interested faculty, staff and students, and tech support from Hank Wolf, Scott Joy and Dan Gieckel, they are organizing a weekly Mason Forum on Climate Change to highlight what Mason is doing on climate change and explore opportunities for collaboration.

Launched in February, the first phase of the forum featured a broad variety of Mason-related activities, from internal operations to surveying national opinion. What might be news to many at Mason is that President Merten has signed the President's Climate Commitment, which puts the university on the path towards climate neutrality. Thanks to the driving force of Mason's Sustainability Coordinator Lenna Storm, the forum's first presenter, the likelihood of achieving neutrality sooner than later is greater.

What might also be news is that while a majority of Americans consider climate change a "very serious problem," many are not engaging in the green actions they support, like buying fuel-efficient cars, using less energy at home, and recycling. Thanks to national research by Ed Maibach, director of Mason's Center of Excellence in Climate Change Communication Research, we now know that much more awareness-raising is needed. Or how many readers know that Greg Hero, director of Mason's newly formed Center for Real Estate Entrepreneurship, wants



Above: Map shows above normal annual temperatures in 2006 for each of the 48 continental states. For a majority of states, 2006 ranked among the ten hottest years since 1895. Image: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

to create an M.S. degree in Sustainable Development, that Chris Jones, director of Mason's Potomac Environmental Research and Education Center, will study the impact of climate change on the management of aquatic ecosystems, or that Mason's New Century College and the Environmental Science and Policy department will launch an undergraduate minor in Sustainability? Thus, the need for a forum.

Additionally, says Paul Schopf, Associate Dean in the College of Science and co-director of Mason's Center for Science and Society, "The Center has taken on climate change as its flagship focus activity, and the Mason Forum on Climate Change seems like the perfect way to reach across the University to attract and coalesce interest in all aspects of the problem from modeling, monitoring and

prediction to issues of impact, mitigation, and adjustment in all aspects of society. The inclusion of ICAR brings in an exciting new dimension to the consideration of climate change."

For Ed Maibach, the sentiment is similar. "I joined the Mason faculty in Fall 07," says Ed, "to create a center on climate change communication research specifically because I believed Mason offers extraordinary opportunities for trans-disciplinary collaboration on climate change. As the Mason Forum on Climate Change is taking shape, I see it potentially offering exactly the kind of collaborative opportunity that I was seeking."

The forum is generating three reports on Mason-wide teaching, research and public engagement. Go to <http://science.society.gmu.edu/climate-forum/> to join the discussion. ■

initiatives

Darfur, Uganda Victims' Needs Focus of ICAR Prof's Lecture

By Sandra Cheldelin, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, scheldel@gmu.edu

events

Eight evenings of thought-provoking discussion. Eight minds grappling with the important issues of our day. Eight voices. That is the promo for the Vision Series lectures for Academic Year 2007-08 at George Mason University. On Monday, March 17, 2008, one of those eight voices was our own Dr. Susan F. Hirsch, Associate Professor and Director of the Undergraduate Program at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Bravo to Susan for her outstanding lecture on *Satisfying Victims and Healing Society—the Promise of Justice after Extreme Violence*.

Dr. Hirsch spoke not just from her academic, anthropological research on human responses to extreme violence—murder, rape, genocide—but also from her personal experience as a victim and survivor of a terror attack on the United States Embassy on August 7, 1998, in Tanzania. She carefully crafted a story that told of the complexity



Above: A child living in one of Darfur's many camps for internally displaced peoples. Photo: Yassmin Moor.

and nuances of trying to satisfy victims, who rightfully deserve social justice, with the needs for healing and moving on within their local communities. She presented evidence of a steady move towards global justice, including ad hoc criminal tribunals, hybrid or special courts, and most recently the International Criminal Court. They have their problems and critics—too remote to victims, too "Western" in style, too likely to erode the particularity of local legal systems—but they do promise a global platform for victims to stand up against their perpetrators without recrimination. Seeking global justice, victims do tell their stories of violence to counselors for the whole world to hear.

Dr. Hirsch provoked the audience with a series of questions as she reflected on whether or not, after the trials, victims "feel" better. They might be only mildly satisfied, as victims' needs

vary. Do community members "feel" better? What is the healing process beyond the trials? As images of Darfur and Uganda were in the backdrop, she challenged us to consider ways to reknit the social fabric of broken societies in the aftermath of extreme violence. Beyond truth and reconciliation, reparation and rehabilitation, this might require old or new healing rituals grounded in local communities and culturally informed. It seems we must find ways for local, national and international systems to work together to satisfy victims and heal societies.

Dr. Hirsch left us pondering, too, the responsibility of the broader global community. Implicitly, the world community becomes implicated as soon as victims report their experiences. We have a shared moral and legal obligation to bring justice in the broadest and best sense. Clearly we have work to do. ■

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email jlock1@gmu.edu.

April 4: Job Search Strategies for International Students

2:30-4:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

April 8: Internship and Thesis Information Session

4:30-6:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 530

April 8: Applied Practice and Theory Info Session

6:00-7:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 530

April 10: Prospective Students Information Session

6:00-7:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 530

RSVP: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu.edu, 703.993.9683

April 11: Career Intensive on Development

10:00-4:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

RSVP: icarjob@gmu.edu

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>

China, Tibet and the 2008 Olympic Games

By Ross Gearllach, ICAR M.S. Student

As the world has turned its attention to China in preparation for the upcoming Olympic Games in Beijing, history has begun to repeat itself. In watching the events play themselves out among the Tibetans, one cannot help but remember the events of April 1989 at Tiananmen Square. Both protests are led by individuals who possess great emotional and psychological influence over their fellow citizens. In Tiananmen, it was students calling workers into the streets to stand up for a more representative system of government. In Tibet, it is monks summoning the laity to protest the Chinese government's attempts to control the religious life of the Tibetan people and the government's policy of resettling ethnically Han peoples from the east to shift the demographics of the province and create a balance favorable to the Beijing government.



Then, as now, the world finds itself in an uncertain time, where changes to the social fabric are altering modes of living all over the world. And perhaps most importantly, China is incapable of closing itself in and dealing with the problem privately. Then, it was a historic visit from Mikhail Gorbachev that brought in foreign journalists. Now, it's the Olympics. Both situations have the effect of forcing the Chinese to accept the presence of foreign scrutiny, and they can no more retreat and handle the matter internally now than they could then.

The unfortunate ending of Tiananmen, however, should not be viewed as an ill omen. In experiencing these events again, both China and the world have an opportunity to learn from the mistakes of Tiananmen and begin social and economic liberalization anew. The West can facilitate this by quietly encouraging the Chinese to make peace with the Tibetans while acknowledging their sovereign right to govern their own territory.

The remarks of Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd are encouraging in this regard. The Chinese still feel disrespected on the world stage and the only way to convince them to listen to advice is to demonstrate that they are valued and that they can trust the West to treat them fairly. China, too, must take action. It must realize that calls for increased self-determination cannot be ignored forever, take steps to increase local control and move toward rapprochement with its citizens to facilitate the creation of a new system in which the people of China have a say in their future.

In the wake of Tiananmen, the West ignored the actions of the Chinese, determining that the need for stability was more important than encouraging an open, free society. We all suffered as a result. We now have a chance to correct our previous errors. We cannot afford to wait for the next one. ■

Recent ICAR Journal Articles, Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

Calling for Clarity in Iraq

By Matt Shugert, ICAR M.S. Student
Washington Post, March 24, 2008

U.N. Security Council Must Act Preemptively - on Climate Change

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student, and
U.S. Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-NY)
Christian Science Monitor, March 24, 2008

Identity, Autonomy, and Conflict in Republics of Russia and Ukraine

By Karina V. Korostelina, ICAR Professor
Communist and Post-Communist Studies,
Vol. 41, Issue 1, March 2008

No to Nepotism

By Saira Yamin, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Friday Times, March 21-27, 2008

The American Elections: Prospects for a New US Foreign Policy

By Richard Rubenstein, ICAR Professor
Fokus Amerika, No. 2, 2008

A Mufti, A Christian, and a Rabbi

By Marc Gopin, ICAR Professor
Washington Post-Newsweek "On Faith" Blog,
03/12/08

A Debate That's Way Too Loud

By Marci Moberg, ICAR M.S. Student
Washington Times, 03/11/08

Let Ralph Nader Run

By Solon Simmons, ICAR Professor
Washington Post, 03/01/08

A New Policy for Pakistan

By Saira Yamin, ICAR Ph.D. Student
International Herald Tribune, 02/28/08

Let's Hear it for the New York Phil

By Tatsuaki Tomiyama, ICAR M.S. Student
Financial Times, 02/27/08

History Education and Social Identity

By Karina V. Korostelina, ICAR Professor
Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, Vol. 8, Issue 1, 2008 ■

Michael Lawrence Terryne Murphy

By Erin Ogilvie, Assistant Director, Student Services, Graduate Admissions, eogilvie@gmu.edu

By Erin Ogilvie, Assistant Director, Student Services, Graduate Admissions, eogilvie@gmu.edu

Michael Lawrence, a graduate certificate student at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), has had an interest in labor management issues for a long time. Beginning as a news writer and engineer at NBC Radio Network in New York, where he was involved in a 17-week strike, Michael also worked at National Public Radio, and for the past seven years at United States Senate Radio-TV as the Senior Media Relations Coordinator. As a federal employee, he was introduced to the Federal Mediation Conciliation Service (FMCS) which seeks to mediate labor disputes to shorten times of strikes. "This opened

my mind up about mediation and through an informational interview with the deputy of FMCS I was told there were a number of 40-hour mediation trainings I could complete. But if I was in the Washington area, the best program to learn about mediation and conflict resolution is at ICAR. With my experience as a Union Shop Steward, and now as a federal employee, I have found that the [ICAR] advanced skills certificate is the best fit for my interests in Federal Alternative Dispute Resolution."

When asked how the ICAR program has impacted his life, Lawrence replies, "Through the lens of conflict analysis and resolution, it changes so much about the way that I read the newspaper in the morning, the way that I see conflict here at the Senate and as liaison between the Senate, Press, and Capitol Police—the Press wanting more access, the Senate wanting less access. The program has changed the way I see conflict within my own work." Lawrence is a true example of the success of ICAR's newest graduate program. His experience resonates with working professionals looking for a potential career change or wanting to take their conflict resolution skills to a new level. "I would reassure people, although the ICAR website may have a specific focus on international or intractable conflicts, I have never felt that my interest in mediation is not valid. Someone in the federal mediation field said that this is the best program to be in. That should definitely say enough." ■

As the Deputy Chief Information Officer at the the Department of Justice's Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR), Terryne Murphy found herself in the middle of workplace conflicts. Murphy, a graduate certificate student at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), wanted to further her understanding on how to deal with conflict in a positive way within her agency. At the time, Murphy was taking psychology classes at GMU. Reading up on what ICAR had to offer, she thought that it would be a perfect fit to help her professionally. Murphy ultimately decided to enroll in ICAR's Advanced Skills track.

At EOIR, Murphy oversees the operations contract responsible for maintaining IT systems. "We have two major components whose concern is the adjudication of immigration cases and their appeals. Our customers are primarily the United States Immigration Courts and the Board of Immigration Appeals. Conflicts definitely do arise on how to tackle problems."

The certificate program has impacted Murphy's professional life.

"I find myself in the middle of things and I am better able to translate the knowledge I have learned and advise and counsel my staff a little better." Murphy feels that the certificate will enable her to have a bigger impact on the organization and help people within the organization deal with conflict without her. "When you give people the skills on how to navigate through their own issues, it is empowering." Murphy is continuing the program on a part-time basis and enjoys the flexibility of the program. "Most programs are set up to have information travelling in one direction: expert to student. This isn't what the [ICAR] certificate program is about. I am treated as a practitioner and challenged to think that way immediately." ■

"Most programs are set up to have information traveling in one direction. That isn't what the [ICAR] certificate program is about. I am treated as a practitioner and challenged to think that way immediately."

—TERRYNE MURPHY

Photo: Lauren Burke



US-Israeli Policies Not Yet Working with Damascus

Continued from page 1

is astounding is that billions of American tax dollars are not buying more savvy. Those dollars cannot buy savvy because the White House

does not want savvy about Syria any more than it wanted savvy about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Anti-diplomacy reaches its tentacles into every aspect of our current foreign policy. It is not incompetence. It is simple aggression.

Here are two false dichotomies that must be dispensed with both in Israel and in the United States: 1) that a rapprochement with Syria must lead to a sell-out of Lebanese democrats and of Palestinians, and 2) that in order to deal with Syria they must be willing to cut off Hamas, Hezbollah, and Iran—effectively all their major alliances.

Both of these false dichotomies assume that there is one, and only one, reactionary voice in Syria, and that it is the voice of Syrian expansionism and unprincipled use of terror. But I have learned this is only one voice inside the universe of Ba'athist leadership, and it is in fact a shadowy position that is despised by many others in leadership positions.

The liberal Ba'athist voice at very high levels is looking to a normalization of relations in the region that will allow the Syrian economy to thrive, modernize and integrate in such a way that the people will want to stay with the current leadership. And the one way to get there is the return of the Golan and a just Palestinian settlement that will allow Syria to maintain its pan-Arab image. Secondly, the liberal voice despises the abuse of Lebanon, sees it as against Syria's long-term interests, but will also not allow an aggressive American posture to make Lebanon



Marc Gopin, above, is an ICAR Professor.

into an anti-Syrian base.

When you are bargaining with a tough customer you always appeal to the liberal side of their internal debates, because your aim is to challenge them, to put them on the defensive, and to see whether the liberal or the militant voice comes out on top.

It is the same with the issue of Syria's allies. The liberal Syrian position is that Iran, Hezbollah and Hamas are marriages of convenience, but that they are also vital to Syria's stability for the time being. The counter-offer from the West then is to challenge that liberal position and say, "Ok, I get that you will

not cut off Hamas, Hezbollah, and Iran. But you can signal to us that you will be cooperating with your allies more and more only on defensive postures not aggressive ones, and we, correspondingly, will reduce our aggressive aims of isolation and regime change." In other words, tit for tat, steady confidence building that moderates Syria's role in the conflict.

This we could sell in Damascus. Israel should be the first to send the signals, but I reiterate to my Israeli colleagues that if you try to cut a separate

Continued on Page 8

ICAR Co-Hosts Career Fair with SPP

By Jenny Lock, ICAR M.S. Student and Events Coordinator, jlock1@gmu.edu

The School of Public Policy and the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) at George Mason University hosted a career fair on Tuesday, March 4, 2008, on the Arlington Campus.

This year we had 28 employers in attendance and 25 ICAR students. Our students arrived prepared with resumes and were all dressed professionally. Staff could tell through the hum of excited voices and wide smiles of both students and employers that great connections were being made. Employers noted that they were quite impressed with the quality of ICAR students in attendance and several mentioned that they would like to hold information sessions and interviews at ICAR later this spring. ■



Above: ICAR M.S. students speak with a representative from the United States Agency for International Development. Photo: Michael Shank.



Above: ICAR M.S. student Eve Tangco speaks with an FBI representative. Photo: Michael Shank.

US-Israeli Policies Not Yet Working

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deal with Syria and stiff the Palestinians, it will backfire. President Bashar al-Assad cannot turn his back on the Palestinian cause without undermining his entire legitimacy. It is time then to face a comprehensive peace. If Israel has courage now with the Syrian track, and they inform the so-called



Above: [From left to right] Hind Kabawat, Grand Mufti of Syria Sheikh Hassoun, and Marc Gopin. Photo courtesy of Marc Gopin.

pro-Israel lobby of Israel's clear intentions to normalize their northern border for the first time since the founding of the state, my experience in Washington suggests that a weak White House and Congress will sheepishly follow. This approach will strengthen the liberal Ba'athist voice, or at the very least force Syria to show its colors. ■

ICAR Launches Mentor Program

Continued from page 2

want to come." Tommy reported that his first meeting with Lester in mid-March was "amazing". The first part of the meeting was a personal resume clinic in which Lester "consulted me in improving my resume by helping me determine the important parts of my background and strengths," said Tommy. "Lester described his background and his work



Above: Designers of the mentoring program, ICAR M.S. and Ph.D. Representatives to the Advisory Board Matt Shugert and Yves-Renee Jennings, respectively.

experience and said I could ask him anything and he would help if he could." Tommy is looking forward to being able to call on Lester for advice as he nears graduation and afterwards. Having a mentor, Tommy said, "is a huge asset". For more information, or to sign up, please contact Matt at mshugert@gmu.edu or Yves-Renee at yjenning@gmu.edu. ■

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US National Intelligence Estimate Lacks Evidence

By Ivan Sascha Sheehan, Ph.D., ICAR Visiting Professor, isheehan@gmu.edu

USA Today's article on April 6, "Intel report shows security in Iraq improving," cites senior military officials suggesting that a "new classified intelligence assessment on Iraq says there has been significant progress in security since the last assessment was delivered in August." Regretfully, a more accurate analysis based on the evidence indicates



Above: General David Petraeus at Pentagon Briefing. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

otherwise. A recent surge in Shiite violence in southern Iraq by militias loyal to Muqtada al-Sadr, a rise in insurgent attacks on coalition forces and supply convoy lines in the strategic Khyber Pass in Afghanistan, and daily reports of soldiers whose lives have been taken with little political progress to justify their sacrifice is enough to remind us that the improvements noted in this

recent assessment are not good enough.

Senators Ted Kennedy and Carl Levin have called for an unclassified summary of key findings from the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE). The Senators are certainly justified in their request. I think they should go further. An immediate investigation into the data that underpins the report's findings is also warranted and the results of the investigation should be supplied in an unclassified format to the American public.

It is troubling that National Intelligence Director Michael McConnell has chosen to withhold unclassified NIE reports from the American people since

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Landing Careers as Consultants

By Samantha Levine, ICAR Development Assistant, slevine2@gmu.edu

ICAR does not offer a language program, but students who graduate with a degree from the Institute still need to know how to translate their skills and knowledge for potential employers. That task was a primary focus of the third ICAR Career Intensive, which was held on March 28 and explored the fields of organizational conflict and consulting.

"The translating of the skills we learn at ICAR into the real world is often a gap between theory and practice," said Patricia Maulden, who earned her M.S. degree and Ph.D. from ICAR and is now an adjunct faculty member. She attended the all-day session to learn about consulting and sharpen her interviewing skills. "I am not partial to interviews and never know quite what to say," Patricia explained. "But not only did I get to practice, I got feedback, which was particularly valuable."

Students from every corner of the ICAR program attended the session, which is part of the new series of intensives that began in October 2007. The initiatives are designed to improve students' preparation for job searching and provide industry-specific information, said Julie Shedd, ICAR's director of student services and graduate admissions. Julie worked with Erin Ogilvie, assistant director of student services and graduate admissions, and Michael Shank, ICAR's government relations adviser, to design and implement the program. In addition to organizational conflict, the intensives have covered careers in development, security and intelligence. ICAR plans to hold at least four intensives next year.

Each intensive includes a discussion on transferring conflict analysis and resolution skills into the



Above: [Left to right] Stan Bradley (US Department of Defense), Rachel Barbour (National Mediation Board) and Alma Abdul-Hadi Jadallah (Kommon Denominator) talk with ICAR students during Career Intensive on Organizational Consulting. Photo: Michael Shank.

given field, as well as resume reviews, mock interviews, and conversations with professionals from that field. The latter proved especially enlightening for first-year M.S. student Karen Cotter. "They encouraged us to be authentic in our pursuits, and that kind of surprised me, as opposed to being more calculated," she said. "That was really encouraging."

"Part of my message was to go ahead and step out, do what you want to do," said Lou Kerestes,

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network



Chris Shoemaker, above, is ICAR's newest Advisory Board member.

Dr. Chris Shoemaker: Question and Answer with ICAR's Newest Advisory Board Member

By Samantha Levine, ICAR Development Assistant, slevine2@gmu.edu

Dr. Chris Shoemaker is the newest member of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) Advisory Board. Since 1997, he has served as the Senior Vice President for Strategy at L-3 Communications Services Group and one of its companies, MPRI. Dr. Shoemaker has led MPRI's efforts in developing stable governmental institutions in post-conflict nations. Before entering the private sector, Dr. Shoemaker spent more than 20 years in the US Army, including four years in the White House on the National Security Council staff. Recently, Samantha Levine interviewed Dr. Shoemaker on behalf of ICAR News.

Samantha Levine: What unique perspective do you bring to the ICAR Advisory Board?

Chris Shoemaker: The combination of a lifetime of military experience and a decade of experience in the private sector gives me a perspective on the practical side of conflict resolution and how ICAR might make a contribution. Right after the Dayton Accords in 1995, I spent a year in Bosnia to try to bring together, in a working Ministry of Defense, the implacable enemies: the Bosniacs and the Croats. On a daily basis, I had to attempt to adjudicate matters that were

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ICAR Students Study Zapatistas

Applied Practice and Theory Team Visits Mexico

By Amanda Tyson, ICAR M.S. Student, atyson1@gmu.edu

This year there is one international Applied Practice and Theory (APT) team, studying the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, Mexico. The Zapatista movement is a group of mainly indigenous Mexicans who have been actively struggling to exercise their right to work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace since the start of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994. After dialogue with the Mexican government came to a standstill, the Zapatistas formed autonomous communities, which they still rule independent of the official government.

The international APT team is a group of four M. S. students, Elizabeth Clawson, Crystal Ruple, Sofey Saidi and Amanda Tyson, advised by Dr. Karina Korostelina. An important element in selecting this particular conflict as the subject of their APT was the desire to visit a conflict zone to gain a true understanding of the issues. Prior to the trip, the group developed a research design including interview and survey questions.

The team was able to visit Chiapas, Mexico, over spring break to interview local experts. The team conducted 15 interviews of experts in Mexico and in the Metro region. The majority of the interviews were with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in San Cristobal, the town where most of the NGOs that focus on the Zapatistas are based. In addition to NGOs, the team interviewed academics



Above: The ICAR APT Team in Chiapas, featuring [Left to right] Amanda Tyson, Elizabeth Clawson, Sofey Saidi and Crystal Ruple. Photo: Karina Korostelina.

and was in communication with government officials. Despite the sensitive subject matter, the NGO members were willing to help the students and provided not only extremely interesting answers to the interview questions, but aided in everything from scheduling interviews to locating the next interview site and contacting other groups. Currently, the group is working on transcribing the interviews and analyzing the results to produce a final paper.

The highlight of the trip

was the visit to the Zapatista community.

Through the help of one of Sofey's friends, the team was able to visit a Zapatista community and

interview representatives of the Oventik Good Government Council, one of the five ruling bodies of the Zapatista territory. Upon leaving Oventik, the group stopped at San Andrés, where the accords between the Zapatistas and the Mexican government were signed in 1996. San Andrés is now a community that is part Zapatista and part non-Zapatista

and an interesting picture of how Zapatistas continue to live in their own communities amid the oppression they still feel from the government.

The group had previously visited two non-Zapatista indigenous communities, San Juan Chamula and Zinacantan. The most poignant difference between them and the Zapatista community at Oventik was the different roles of women and children. Throughout Chiapas, street vendors, mainly women and girls, were selling artisan products. In the Zapatista community, however, these vendors were conspicuously absent. It was obvious that women were on more equal footing with men. In fact, the Zapatista representative who talked with the team was a woman. It was also apparent that the children were not expected to sacrifice their education to sell products.

Overall, the trip was an amazing experience and will contribute greatly to the research of the APT team. Visiting the area gave insights into the conflict that could not be gained in the US. To learn more about the conflict and the trip to Chiapas, contact Amanda at atyson1@gmu.edu. ■



initiatives

ICAR Hosts Consciousness and Conflict Resolution Symposium

By Susan Allan Nan, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, snan@gmu.edu

events

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) held a one day symposium at Point of View on April 7, 2008, on "Consciousness and Conflict Resolution".

The event featured presentations by ICAR Faculty Andrea Bartoli, Susan Allen Nan, Jamie Price and

Solon Simmons. The presentations stimulated lively discussion amongst participating additional ICAR Faculty, ICAR Advisory Board Members, ICAR doctoral students, the ICAR Director, faculty from other universities, and leading conflict resolution practitioners. A generous grant from the One Foundation made



Above: ICAR Professor Jamie Price presents on the concept of consciousness with other ICAR professors, including (pictured here) Susan Allen Nan, Solon Simmons and Advisory Board member Ambassador John McDonald. Photo: Tetsushi Ogata.

the symposium, and the research that informed it, possible.

Susan Allen Nan presented a research paper arguing that at its core, conflict resolution is about increasing consciousness. Consciousness can be seen as the base of conflict resolution theory and practice. Conflict resolution practices are effective to the extent that they support shifts in consciousness. Consciousness-raising spreads awareness of the existence of oppression, exploitation, or other lack of respect for the human dignity of an individual or group, and then conflict becomes visible.

Through conflict resolution, participants in conflicts can develop increasing awareness of their own needs, the needs of others, and ways of meeting everyone's needs. In conflict resolution processes, we can shift our understanding of self and other so that we shift from dehumanization to rehumanization, from hatred to compassion, and from a focus on self-in-isolation to self-in-relationship within an interrelated whole.

Discussion at the symposium was wide ranging. Many comments focused on conflict resolution practices that support shifts in consciousness, as well as the ways shifts in consciousness can shape concrete changes in the material suffering of those involved in conflicts. Solon Simmons highlighted four aspects of consciousness at work in conflict contexts: theoretical, evaluative, narrative, and associative consciousness.

The symposium conclusions outlined many areas for practical research aimed at improving our abilities to resolve conflicts and increase consciousness. Next steps include publishing papers presented at the symposium and planning a broader symposium to engage more diverse perspectives in a deepening of this emerging conversation.

Interested friends of ICAR are invited to join the Consciousness and Conflict Resolution working group to participate in future related activities. Email Susan at snan@gmu.edu for more information. ■

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email eogilvie@gmu.edu.

May 8: ICAR Information Session for Prospective Graduate Students

6:00-7:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

RSVP: eogilvie@gmu.edu, 703.993.9683

May 17: GMU Commencement

10:00 am, Patriot Center, GMU Fairfax Campus

May 17: ICAR Convocation

2:30 pm, Dewberry Hall, GMU Fairfax Campus

May 18: ICAR Hosts Mason Forum on Climate Change

Workshop at Point of View

10:00-4:00 pm, Point of View

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>

News Network: Opinion

Public Health's Voice in Climate Change Debate

By Erin Ogilvie, GMU M.S. Student

World Health Day, April 7, marked the 60th Anniversary of the World Health Organization (WHO). This year focused on the need to protect health from the adverse effects of climate change. WHO chose this topic in recognition that climate change will continue to be a threat to global public health. As a global health M.S. student at George Mason University, this position speaks volumes for me. It is time for those in public health to have a voice in the climate change conversation.

According to Margaret Chan, WHO Director-General, "The warming of the planet will be gradual, but the effects of extreme weather events—more storms, floods, droughts and heat waves—will be abrupt and acutely felt. Both trends can affect some of the most fundamental determinants of health: air, water, food, shelter and freedom from disease." The short- and long-term effects of weather-related disasters can lead to population displacement, compromising health and destroying lives. Displacement is associated with a range of health issues, including social isolation and mental disorders and, in many cases, reduced socioeconomic status. In the world's most vulnerable nations, public health crises such as HIV/AIDS or chronic malnutrition, combined with the disastrous effects of climate change, will have catastrophic outcomes.

The WHO reports that stresses on natural resources such as water or fertile land for agriculture, lead to competition between populations. Along with factors such as poor governance and ethnic rivalries, competition can inflame tensions. The need for public health experts to develop conflict analysis and resolution skills is long overdue. Currently, there are food riots around the world in response to the growing food costs.

The WHO recognizes that developing nations will be hardest hit. It is estimated that approximately 600,000 deaths occurred worldwide as a result of weather-related natural disasters in the 1990s, some 95 percent of which took place in developing countries. While developing nations may be hardest hit, this should not deter from the fact that the issue is *global* climate change with corresponding effects on *global* health. Countries such as the United States and China are two of the world's biggest environmental polluters and it is unfortunate that the developing nations will be the ones who suffer the most.

As people pay more attention to climate change, experts from multiple disciplines should collaborate in seeking solutions. The 2008 message has encouraged my interest in public health, conflict and climate change. Analyzing the relationships and dynamics of these three areas will support effective and integrated approaches to prevent, prepare for, and act in, future public health and natural disasters. ■

New Book

Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis

SAGE Publications
Ho-Won Jeong, ICAR
Professor



Book Description

This book provides students with a framework for studying conflict diagnosis, analysis and transformation. It introduces the concepts needed to develop conflict analysis tools as well as the social and psychological features central to understanding conflict behavior. The second part of the book comprises comparative case studies that illustrate different patterns of conflict processes and examine the efficacy of conflict transformation and intervention strategies.

Recent ICAR Articles, Op-Eds and Letters

When Peace Agreements Create Spoilers: The Russo-Chechen Agreement of 1996

By Julie Shedd, ICAR
Ph.D. Student
Civil Wars, June 2008

This Earth Day is Different

By Michael Shank, ICAR
Ph.D. Student, and Rep.
Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD)
The Hill, 04/22/08

Poppy Destruction Drives Farmers Towards Taliban

By Michael Shank, ICAR
Ph.D. Student
Financial Times, 04/12/08

Ethiopia's Convergence of Crises

By Terrence Lyons, ICAR
Professor
Current History, April 2008

Approaching Tibet

By Ross Gearllach, ICAR
M.S. Student
Foreign Policy in Focus, 04/09/08

US and Israel Should Talk to Hamas (1)

By Marc Gopin, ICAR
Professor
CS Monitor, 04/04/08

US and Israel Should Talk to Hamas (2)

By Scott Cooper, ICAR
M.S. Student
CS Monitor, 04/04/08

Jewish Arabs and a New Middle East

By Marc Gopin, ICAR
Professor
ME Online, 03/29/08

Holocaust Memories

By Carlos Sluzki, ICAR
Professor
Washington Post, 03/29/08

Seamus Tuohy

By Jenny Lock, ICAR M.S. Student,
jlock1@gmu.edu

Outgoing President, Graduate Students in Conflict Studies (GSCS): GSCS is the representative body, to the administration and faculty, for all Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) graduate students. GSCS addresses issues of student concern and its officers, elected by the student body, have an active role on various departmental committees including the Advisory Board, Faculty, and Curriculum committees. The co-presidents of GSCS work together to oversee GSCS activities and committees. Being co-president of GSCS changed Seamus Tuohy's second year at ICAR in fundamental ways.



The experience with GSCS was positive for Seamus. The opportunity to work closely with a group of passionate students and faculty who hold the student voice in high esteem was well worth the extra work that came with his position. Seamus describes ICAR as the sort of school where you get out what you put in. The more involved you are as a student, the more you get in return. He felt included in the ICAR community, in part, because he spent so much time here. Between various student positions on the Arlington Campus, GSCS, and membership in multiple working groups, he was able to gain access to a level of community at ICAR others don't often reach.

Seamus is most excited to bring with him the dedication of the group of students who have gotten involved with GSCS's various programs and the faculty who put energy, thought and care into the events and decisions put forward by GSCS.

With thoughts toward future involvement in research or academia, Seamus chose to work on a thesis as his integration option. Using the Los Angeles Police Department (Rampart Division) scandal as a case study, Seamus explored how structural composition impacts cultural and individual understandings of acceptable behavior, and the way that groups within structures enact conflicts. When asked to describe his time at ICAR in one sentence, Seamus said, "The drive and passion of those I have met here has incited me to challenge myself in my understanding of both the complexity of conflict and the creativity necessary for resolution." ■

"ICAR is the sort of school where you get out what you put in. The more involved you are as a student, the more you get in return."

—SEAMUS TUOHY

Terra Tolley

By Deanna Yuille, ICAR Graduate Admissions
Assistant and M.S. Student, dyuille@gmu.edu

Incoming President, Graduate Students in Conflict Studies (GSCS): Imagine finding yourself constantly in a disaster zone, surrounded by conflicts with long histories. This is why incoming GSCS president Terra Tolley decided to pursue studies in conflict analysis. After traveling to Cambodia, Rwanda, and the Balkans, she returned to the US to carry out disaster relief work in the Gulf region. While there, she came to the realization that she would like to transfer her understanding of the volatility of post-disaster zones into a degree. Therefore, she has been immersing herself in both her studies and continuing her work on risk and impact assessment since she joined the program in 2007.



Terra's future goals include developing peacekeeping efforts surrounding environmental issues and natural resources. This is due to the fact, she says, "that when I went overseas to work, I got so attached to the area and the people I worked with. I can imagine why land and its use is

an important thing to the people that live there." She mentions that she has particular interest in the Balkans region and envisions doing a project on peace parks, which are protected areas that span across the boundaries of multiple countries, where physical political borders have been abolished. Terra adds that these parks are ideal multinational communities that can be used for education and peacebuilding.

Terra will soon be participating in the Mindanao Peacebuilding Institute in the Philippines through the global studies program, which is a new opportunity to learn about another culture and increase her skills in grassroots peacebuilding. Terra finds it natural to work in different communities, given her background in anthropology and human rights. Assuredly, she will continue to be an asset to the ICAR community in her new role as she uses her abilities to represent the voices of the students. ■

US National Intelligence Estimate Lacks Evidence

Continued from page 1

August. While his justification that intelligence analysts should be able to speak freely without fear that their words will be printed is under-



Ivan Sascha Sheehan, above, is an ICAR Visiting Professor.

standable, it is not the intelligence community that is the concern. The real concern arises when policymakers are allowed the opportunity to manipulate, without accountability, the findings of such classified assessments in the pursuit of cherished political objectives.

It is also worrisome that the recent estimate was issued in advance of congressional testimony by General David Petraeus and US Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker. The last NIE was also issued preemptively in advance of congressional testimony.

The Economist reports that as many as 84 percent of foreign policy experts do not believe that we are winning the war on terror. Why are so many foreign policy experts troubled by government assessments? The answer is that the highly politicized nature of terrorism incident data used by government officials to make national security estimates is a matter of considerable debate and opens questions as to the accuracy of the reports.

What exactly is being measured to judge this so called "progress"? Is it the number of incidents? The lethality of attacks? The frequency or dispersion of transnational terrorist activity? Moreover, where does this data come from and who collects it?

The commitment of US troops in harm's way and the considerable cost of US military efforts in both Iraq and Afghanistan—now estimated in the hundreds of billions—require that we make accurate assessments grounded in evidence, not politicized statistics.

Consider this: Between 2001 and 2004, as the Bush administration reported progress in the war on terror, my own quantitative analysis of terrorist incidents provided data proving that US counterterrorism strategies were escalating the frequency and lethality of attacks through a policy of preemptive military action.

In fact, during the period from the onset of the war on terror in October 2001 through December 2004, there was a 74 percent increase in the number of transnational terrorist incidents and a 168 percent increase in the number of deadly incidents when compared to the previous eight years.

The NIE, which is meant to offer

the broad consensus of senior analysts within the intelligence community, has reportedly changed little since the last estimate nine months ago. How this could be the case, given the considerable efforts of coalition forces, including a surge in troop presence, is unclear.

What is certain is that until government officials are willing to release key data on which their assessments are based, the public should remain skeptical of reports that suggest progress in the war. It is time the American public stands up and demands an accurate analysis of the efficacy of US counterterrorism strategies by political officials before more lives are lost without justification. ■

ICAR Hosts Cleanup at Point of View

By Amanda Martin, Assistant to the Director, amartinv@gmu.edu

This month several ICAR staff and students participated in the Alice Ferguson Foundation's 20th Annual Potomac River Watershed Cleanup. The ICAR volunteers picked up litter along the shoreline of Thompson Creek and Belmont Bay at Point of View and removed over 300 pounds of trash from the waterway. In total, the event saw over 5,000 volunteers working along the Potomac River watershed, collectively removing over 131 tons of trash.

The Alice Ferguson Foundation (www.fergusonfoundation.org) founded and has coordinated the Potomac River Watershed Cleanups for the past 20 years to address the Potomac River's significant trash problem. Their goal is to celebrate a Trash Free Watershed by 2013. They are spearheading the Trash Free Potomac Watershed Initiative, engaging elected officials and stakeholders throughout the region to work collaboratively toward this goal. For more information, please visit www.trashfreepotomac.org. ■



Above: ICAR students pose with trash collected at the cleanup at Point of View. Photo: Amanda Martin.



Above: ICAR M.S. Student Monica Flores. Photo: Amanda Martin.

Dr. Chris Shoemaker: Question and Answer

Continued from page 2

seemingly trivial in their dimensions, but were significant in their implications. I was ill-prepared to do that and had to learn on the fly. I had to figure out the kinds of things that ICAR is working on, in a disciplined, structured manner.

Levine: What is the role for conflict resolution in the US military?

Shoemaker: The ability of the US government to bring some practicalities of conflict resolution to Iraq, in light of the three factions, is spotty. Agencies of the government have been unable to step up as vigorously as they should have, so a lot of the responsibility for the up-close-and-personal work of conflict resolution has fallen by default to commanders on the ground. It's not the neatest solution. Soldiers are not trained to do the conflict analysis or resolution that effective programs require. But the military has had to become conversant just because there was nobody else around to do it. It's not a question of what is desirable, but what is reality on the ground right now.

Levine: Where can conflict resolution professionals make the most significant contribution in the fields of post-conflict reconstruction and democratic transitioning?

Shoemaker: To understand the nature of conflicts. That is not by any means easy or obvious. There are often subtleties and culture-specific issues that do not lend themselves to rapid or easy understanding. That must be built into the institutions and the mechanisms for formal or informal conflict resolution. We would rather use these mechanisms than those that come out the barrel of gun. ■

Landing Careers as Consultants

Continued from page 2

who served as one of the presenters. He earned his M.S. degree from ICAR and is now vice president of The Ambit Group, a management consulting firm. He said the intensives are critical for ICAR graduates because "there are still not a lot of job titles out there with what we do, so people have to be creative and perhaps create markets where they don't quite exist." Rachel Barbour, another ICAR M.S. alum, advised the students to focus on networking, informational interviews and practical experience to stand out from the crowd when searching for work in a competitive job market.

The other professionals who participated in the intensive were Alma Abdul-Hadi Jadallah, who earned her Ph.D. from ICAR and is president of her own company, Kommon Denominator, and Stan Bradley, chief of the Investigations and Resolutions Division at the Department of Defense.

Even though Karen still has another year to go at ICAR, she said the intensive helped her "make plans and fine-tune them. It also opened up more possibilities. After the career intensive, new doors were opened just by talking to the presenters and to Julie. It helped me see that there are more opportunities." ■



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The Lessons from South Ossetia: Respect Matters

By Susan Allen Nan, Ph.D., ICAR Professor, snan@gmu.edu

We in the conflict resolution field knew what needed to change to prevent a war over South Ossetia or Abkhazia, yet the course towards war continued. Preventing future unnecessary wars requires us to share our insights so broadly that we bring about a fundamental shift in the way the world thinks about



Above: South Ossetian refugees in a camp in North Ossetia. Photo: Wikimedia.

international relations. The war in South Ossetia shows we need to shift popular thinking away from the doomed project of a *Pax Americana* to what I call a *Pax Respectus*, that is, international relationships based on a fundamental respect for all people's needs and dignity.

A mutual lack of respect between Georgians and the Abkhaz and South Ossetians contributed to the emergence and continuation of the frozen conflicts, and sparked the

recent fighting, while a mutual lack of respect between the U.S. and Russia fueled the Russian will for a show of force.

The slogan "Georgia for the Georgians" circulated during the period when Georgia sought independence from the Soviet Union. Abkhaz and South Ossetians found the Georgian authorities curtailing their autonomy, and sought independence. Fighting broke out, leading to deaths in each group as well as massive population shifts. For fifteen years, the Abkhaz have enjoyed de facto control of Abkhazia, and the South Ossetians of South Ossetia, while Georgia had, until

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- 7 Graduate Certificate Celebration at Point of View

Why Media Matters at ICAR

By Sara Cobb, Ph.D., ICAR Director, scobb@gmu.edu

As the Russian tanks rolled into the city of Poti, Georgia, pundits emerged in the media, providing perspectives on the history of the conflict in the region, its relation to oil, and its context vis-a-vis global politics, providing predictions on the success of the mediated agreement. While certainly interesting, most of this analysis reinforces and intensifies existing polarizations in the region and in the world. There is little in the way of analysis or recommendations that address the long-term transformation of this conflict. We need "conflict resolution" perspectives in the media, where these views tell a new story, one that contributes to de-escalation, as well as new strategies for political leaders.

At the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), faculty and students are actively presenting a "conflict resolution" perspective on current conflicts around the world. For example, Professors Dennis Sandole and Susan Allen Nan have recently been doing media interviews on the



Above: ICAR Professor Dennis Sandole interviewed on the topic of the Russia-Georgia conflict for CTV News. Image courtesy of CTV News.

conflict in Georgia. Professor Solon Simmons has been providing regular analysis of the presidential campaign, in light of his research on the culture conflict within the U.S. ICAR student Sam Risk and Professor Mark Gopin have done media interviews that highlight the role of identity and religion in the Middle East. Faculty and students published a blitz of letters to the editor, over the past year, in the *International Herald Tribune*, *Washington Post*, *Economist*, *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, as well as op-eds in the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and *The Hill*. And YouTube hosts several pages of media interviews by ICAR faculty and students.

ICAR's media presence is, in large part, due



Above: ICAR Professor Solon Simmons interviewed on the topic of American politics and US presidential campaigns for Al Jazeera television. Image courtesy of Al Jazeera TV.

to the media expertise and enthusiasm of Michael Shank, Communications Director at ICAR. With his background in journalism, working in the policy community on the Hill in Washington D.C., Michael brings not only expertise in communications, but in the politics of policymaking. And on top of all this, Michael is a doctoral candidate at ICAR, so he is able to help hone the "conflict resolution" perspective on world events.

While research, which feeds our curriculum, is our core practice, we must ensure that we generate relevant research pertinent to resolution of conflicts today, and those of tomorrow. We want to impact, through our research, the course of events, reducing violence, ending genocide, and promoting sustainable peace. The world today cannot afford

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Above: ICAR doctoral student Maneshka Eliatamby de Silva interviewed on the topic of Sri Lanka for BBC World News. Image courtesy of BBC World News.

ICAR-OAS Summer Workshops

Conflict Processes in Latin America and the Caribbean

By Mery Rodriguez, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, mrodrigb@gmu.edu

Inequality, resource distribution, political disarray, class, poverty, protracted social conflict, structural violence—this is not a list of subjects for a lecture. It is the reality of the conflicts in Latin America and the Caribbean. The specifics of the resolution of those conflicts have become the projects that 14 Latin American and Caribbean academics and practitioners brought to the Institute in June 2008.

For the sixth time, the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), in partnership with the Organization of American States (OAS), held its summer workshop with scholars and professionals from all over Latin America and the Caribbean. The strategic partnership between ICAR and the OAS has given the Institute a constant presence and made an impact in the region. Since 2000, ICAR students, alumni, and associates have worked with professors Christopher Mitchell and Wallace Warfield in organizing two-week events during the summer, in which 12 to 15 participants come to the Institute to share and learn about conflict resolution in their home countries. The participants are brought by



Above: Facilitator Alicia Pfund working on an exercise. Photo: Harbey Pena.

the OAS who, for the sixth time, awarded ICAR with the project through its Professional Development Scholarship program.

ICAR's team works on a volunteer basis with the certainty of an amazing learning experience that can only come from a room full of people who care about their field and have first-hand knowledge of their region. Participants have now formed a network with over 400 members, keeping alive the spirit of the workshops and maintaining a website that enables the sharing of information about events, job offers, and the state of conflict



Above: Participants at Point of View. Photo: Harbey Pena.



Above: Workshop participants in conversation with OAS representative in Washington D.C. Photo: Harbey Pena.

analysis and resolution in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We have explored different subjects each year such as deeply divided societies, media coverage of violent conflict, the environment, and the need to link theory and practice. With this wide variety of interests, the workshop has become a window of opportunity for the participants to have new insights about conflict analysis and resolution. ICAR students have been offered a chance to present their work and create connections that have proved enriching and have further advanced the field of conflict resolution in this important region of the world.

The ICAR-OAS summer workshop has demonstrated that by working together as a community with shared knowledge and goals, we can make a difference while learning and giving students the opportunity to grow in their own practice as facilitators and conflict experts. ■



Above: Participants pose on GMU's Fairfax campus. Photo: Harbey Pena.

initiatives

ICAR Graduate Orientation Welcomes 121 New Students

By Erica Soren, ICAR Events Coordinator and M.S. Student, esoren@gmu.edu

Events

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) welcomed over one-hundred new faces to its community last week during its annual new student orientation. The occasion spanned three days beginning with the Certificate

Student Orientation and ending in a two-day session designed for M.S. and Ph.D. students.

This year's incoming students featured a diverse group of individuals with varied interests and backgrounds. One of these students is James Filipi, incoming M.S. student from Omaha, Nebraska. James commented on his journey here to ICAR, "I had taken an amazing class in



Above: New ICAR graduate students introducing themselves at orientation. There are 15 new Ph.D. students, 68 new M.S. students, and 38 new graduate certificate students. Photo: Paul Snodgrass.

Religion, Violence and Conflict Resolution, and happened to run into the professor at a human rights lecture. I told him what I wanted to study and asked him where he would recommend. He said George Mason University."

Faculty and alumni welcomed our newest additions to the ICAR community. This year, faculty got a sense of our incoming students during informal introductions, which highlighted where each student was from and their interests here at ICAR. Afterwards, students had the opportunity to get to know our faculty in what turned out to be one of the most enjoyable moments of the event. "Meeting with and hearing from the professors was great. I thought it was fantastic to find that the faculty had senses of humor," said James Filipi.

As orientation came to a close, the students were asked to participate in a facilitation exercise with current students

and alumni. The purpose of this social exercise was to reflect on their path leading to ICAR and what they hope to gain from their time here. James Filipi shared his thoughts, "While at ICAR, I hope to get involved and make use of as many resources and activities as I can. It excites

"I hope to get involved and make use of as many resources and activities as I can. It excites me that there is so much going on in the ICAR community."

—JAMES FILIPI

me that there is so much going on in the ICAR community, from working groups, to lectures and other presentations. I hope that I continue to meet fantastic people, make contacts and network, and enjoy as much as I can of the ICAR community." ■



Above: ICAR Director Sara Cobb welcomes the new graduate students. Photo: Paul Snodgrass.

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email esoren@gmu.edu.

September 13: ICAR Welcome Dinner

7:00 pm, Hazel Hall, Arlington Campus

RSVP: esoren@gmu.edu, 703.993.9402

September 16: Book Discussion and Signing with ICAR Advisory Board Member Ambassador John McDonald

6:00-7:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

October 18: CRDC-Sponsored AmenPeace Concert and Film Screening

7:00-10:00 pm, Original Building, Room 329

October 28: Discussion with ICAR's Visiting Scholar Noelle McAfee

4:30-6:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>

New Book

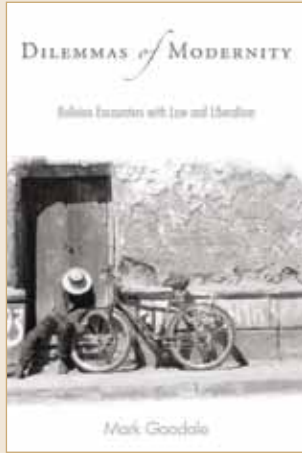
Dilemmas of Modernity

Stanford University Press

Mark Goodale, ICAR Professor

Book Description

Dilemmas of Modernity provides an innovative approach to the study of contemporary Bolivia, moving telescopically between social, political, legal, and discursive analyses, and drawing from a range of disciplinary traditions. Based on a decade of research, it offers an account of local encounters with law and liberalism. Mark Goodale presents, through a series of finely grained readings, a window into the lives of people in rural areas of Latin America who are playing a crucial role in the emergence of postcolonial states. The book contends that the contemporary Bolivian experience is best understood by examining historical patterns of intention as they emerge from everyday practices.



New Book

Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Routledge

Edited by ICAR Professor Dennis J.D. Sandole, Sean Byrne, Ingrid Sandole-Staroste and Jessica Senehi

Book Description

This volume provides a comprehensive overview of the core concepts, theories, approaches, processes, and intervention designs in the field. The central theme is the value of multidisciplinary approaches to the analysis and resolution of conflicts. This consists of moving from the study of analytical approaches to understanding the deep-rooted causes of conflict, to third-party intervention approaches to preventing or ending violence, and to resolving and transforming conflict. *The Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution* is a benchmark publication with major importance both for current research and for the future of the field.



New Book

The Shifting Grounds of Conflict and Peacebuilding

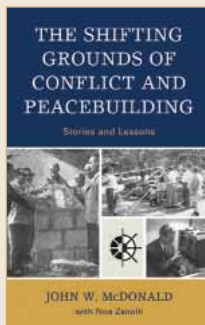
Lexington

Ambassador

John W. McDonald, ICAR Advisory Board Member

Book Description

The Shifting Grounds of Conflict and Peacemaking contains the professional life lessons of Ambassador John W. McDonald and offers his insight into international issues, providing frank and informed discussion on the environment, women's rights, the global water crisis, sustainable resources, international development, and, above all, peace.



Recent ICAR Articles, Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

The Lessons of the Russian-Georgian Conflict

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
New York Times, 08/22/08

Future for Ossetia

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
The Guardian, 08/20/08

Can We Envision and Build a Peaceful Caucasus?

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Financial Times, 08/19/08

The War in Georgia

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Washington Post, 08/19/08

Global Peace Index Ranking Doesn't Flatter the U.S.

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, and U.S. Representative Gregory Meeks (D-NY)
Richmond Times-Dispatch, 08/10/08

Ethiopia: Domestic and Regional Challenges

By Terrence Lyons, ICAR Professor
CSIS Africa Policy Forum, 08/07/08

Brownback's Hypocrisy

By Paul Snodgrass, ICAR M.S. Alumnus
The Hill, 08/05/08

Female Suicide Bombers

By Julie Shedd, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate
International Herald Tribune, 07/31/08

Game Emblematic of Party Politics

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate
Roll Call, 07/23/08

Mukasey's Disturbing View on Holding Gitmo Detainees

By Ross Gearllach, ICAR M.S. Student
The Hill, 07/23/08

Franklin Dukes

By Zoe Rose, ICAR Graduate Admissions Assistant and M.S. Student, zrose@gmu.edu

Dr. Franklin Dukes, a Ph.D. graduate from the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), is an experienced facilitator, trainer, and mediator in the environmental conflict field. In 1990, Frank became the Director of the University of Virginia's Institute for Environmental Negotiation (IEN), which is committed to building a sustainable future for communities in Virginia and beyond and provides mediation and consensus building services concerning the natural and built environments. Along with a research component, IEN has substantial training in conflict resolution; two years ago a manual on collaboration was developed and supported by environmental advocates and conflict

practitioners. Building collaborative processes to address environmental concerns is at the core of Frank's efforts to bring a voice to both environmentalists and affected communities.

Stemming from his training at ICAR as a doctoral student, Frank brings experience in facilitating problem-solving workshops and community dialogues to develop consensus on issues such as water quality or food security. These conflict resolution methods allow for both Virginia's leaders and local populations to explore environmental issues, learn from each other, and help move communities beyond conflict to collaborative problem solving.

Frank believes strongly that conflict is not inherently bad, but can reveal injustice, force change and secure the mechanism to address environmental issues—a philosophy which likely guides the focus of his current work at the local and state policy levels. He has worked in numerous communities on a wide range of issues including water supply in contaminated sites and handling conflict between different users in the national forests.

Starting this semester, Frank will teach a class on Environmental Principles, with the intent to gain traction at ICAR in this field. If all goes as planned, Frank hopes to develop an environmental certificate program, enriching both the field and ICAR. ■

Hosein Tarabeih

By Zoe Rose, ICAR Graduate Admissions Assistant and M.S. Student, zrose@gmu.edu

As an environmental engineer, Hosein Tarabeih is adamant about enriching the conflict resolution field. As an Arab-Israeli, Hosein researches news method to manage environmental disputes at the local level. On sabbatical, serving as a visiting scholar at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), the focus of Hosein's work is to manage environmental conflicts in Israel, a task that Hosein notes is very complicated due to the strenuous ties between Arabs and Israelis. Hosein believes a culture of co-existence can be formed through a hybrid model, composed of Western elements along with traditional Arab/Israeli methods.

Specifically, Hosein would like to incorporate alternative dispute resolution methods with the ongoing work of the Sulha Peace Project, inspired by an indigenous process of mediation, or *sulha*. Environmental *sulha*, therefore, would prepare people for peace at the grassroots level by integrating workshops and sacred interfaith rituals from Arab and Jewish traditions.

ICAR's impact on domestic and international conflicts struck a chord with Hosein as he plans a multi-cultural center focusing on environmental conflict in Israel. Hosein hopes to emphasize to local community members and decision-makers how the environment can affect the social context. The involvement of ICAR, with a rich background in conflict resolution, would provide a stepping stone for addressing environmental issues between Arabs and Israelis.

When asked how he heard about ICAR, Hosein replied that his organization in Israel hosted several students when they visited. His goal, while at ICAR, is to be involved in the community and take courses to help connect practice and technique with theory. Hosein has his eye on Frank Duke's course on environmental conflict and is invigorated that ICAR has ventured down this path. ■

“Environmental *sulha* would prepare people for peace at the grassroots level by integrating workshops and sacred interfaith rituals from Arab and Jewish traditions.”

—HOSEIN TARABEIH



The Lessons from South Ossetia: Respect Matters

Continued from page 1

Russia's August 2008 recognition of the republics, maintained a de jure authority over the territories in the eyes of the international community. During this period, the Abkhaz and South Ossetians announced no desire to live with the Georgians, and gave no nod of respect to the Georgian memories of a history of a multi-ethnic Georgian empire. On both sides, wounds festered without recognition of the underlying needs involved.

Since the end of—or brief reprieve from—the Cold War, the U.S. has, with a misguided triumphalism, refused Russia respect for its need for security and the identity of a valued member of the international community. Expanding NATO to Russia's borders and plans for a "defensive" missile shield in Poland threaten the former enemy. And the August 2008 condemnation of Russia as an international pariah and announcement of no further NATO-Russia Council meetings serves only to alienate Russia further. Meanwhile, with the arrogance of a self-appointed world policeman, the U.S. acted without U.N. Security Council approval to bomb Serbia, invade Iraq, and recognize Kosovar independence, showing no respect for international consensus.

Numerous conflict resolution initiatives sought to change these dynamics. Individuals on all sides of these conflicts came together to respectfully develop mutual understanding and respect for the needs of all involved. Some of the participants shared their new understandings with their home communities. But despite attitudinal change documented in each society, leadership in all of these areas continued to seek a



Susan Allen Nan, above, is an ICAR Professor.

security built on military might rather than neighborly goodwill.

Can you imagine if in your neighborhood you sought a security based on having more guns than your neighbors? You would not feel very secure walking on your own block. Instead, in our individual lives, most of us develop a friendly exchange with our neighbors. We know someone will notice if our mail starts spilling out of the mailbox or

if our windows are busted in, and someone will offer help when our grocery bag splits open and apples start rolling every which way. There's a basic shared respect for each other's security and human needs. No one tries to rule the neighborhood.

We need to develop norms of international relations that more closely mirror healthy neighborhoods and the

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Graduate Certificate Celebration at POV

By Erin Ogilvie, Graduate Admissions and Student Services Director, eogilvie@gmu.edu

This year's graduating certificate class at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) gathered at Point of View on August 3 for an afternoon of reflection and celebration of their achievements. The graduate certificate program director, Mara Schoeny, addressed the graduates along with their friends and family members. Students completed their certificate track with a field-based project. Projects this year included: assisting the county-wide Arlington County Diversity Dialogue Initiative, an El Salvador War College Seminar Facilitation: Foundations for Effective Crisis and Consequence Management, and the design and delivery of a Risk Communication and Conflict Resolution training program. The graduate certificate program is a year-long program at ICAR designed for working professionals in the field of conflict analysis and resolution and also for those who are looking for a career change. The four specializations in the program include: Conflict Analysis and Resolution Advanced Skills; Conflict Analysis and Resolution for Prevention, Reconstruction, and Stabilization Contexts; Conflict Analysis and Resolution for Collaborative Leadership and Community Planning; and World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution. For more information on the certificate program, please contact icarcert@gmu.edu or call 703-993-1300. ■



Above: Graduate Certificate Students at Point of View. Photo courtesy of Ali Erol.

The Lessons from South Ossetia

Continued from page 7

basic respect afforded all residents. These norms need to reach not only throughout the peacebuilding community, but into leadership. The conflict resolution community needs to expand into the political leadership too. We need conflict resolution-oriented presidents, prime ministers, parliamentarians, congresspersons, and ambassadors. Who from amongst the ICAR alumni will run for office or take a senior government position?

In the Caucasus, leaders must be willing to take into account the needs of not only the recognized states, but also the Abkhaz, Ossetians, and other ethnic minorities with human rights and political grievances. Leaders need to make space for previously marginalized voices and hear their messages. Rather than consider what the western media have dubbed the "Russian-Georgian war", we need to look at all the complexity of the "War Over South Ossetia", recognizing that the South Ossetians matter too. If all peoples can participate in crafting settlements that meet their needs, as well as others' needs, then there will be no motivation to return to war. But if any party is not allowed to be part of the solution, that party will remain part of the problem.

As one of the founders of our field, Kenneth Boulding said, what exists is possible. There are many non-warring and peaceful societies in history and in today's world too. A *Pax Respectus* is possible, especially in the Caucasus where honor remains common to all the cultures of the region. ■

Why Media Matters at ICAR

Continued from page 2

to have the light of conflict resolution under a bushel and ICAR is working to ensure that it shines brightly in the media, as well as in more traditional academic domains.

For a detailed listing of our interviews and articles, go to http://icar.gmu.edu/ICAR_Newspage. ■



Above: ICAR Professor Marc Gopin interviewed on the topic of the Middle East Peace Process for CTV News. Image courtesy of CTV News.



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US Transportation System Found Structurally Violent

By Richard E. Rubenstein, J.D., ICAR Faculty, rrubenst@gmu.edu

For the past few years, debate has been raging among Virginia officials on how to solve the state's transportation crisis. The governor offers plans to build more roads and improve public transit. Some legislators and community activists object

that the plans are too expensive and would require large tax increases. Others believe that they do not go far enough towards

establishing a long-term transportation policy. There are crucial issues missing in this discussion—issues that conflict analysis and resolution may help to illuminate.

To most in Richmond, the problem can be summed up quickly: too many automobiles on too few roads. The policies that public officials suggest reflect pressures brought to bear by a number of influential groups, including commuters who spend too much time and



Above: Drivers trapped in a traffic jam creep along slowly. Photo: Wikimedia.

money getting to work, community residents who find shopping or visiting friends a traffic-ridden ordeal, businesses trying to attract choosy employees to "gridlock city," developers seeking to extend urban and suburban settlement, environmentalists attempting to slow the pace of development, and taxpayers struggling to keep taxes down. Defined as a struggle among interest groups, the conflict seems to present a limited range of solutions: build more roads, get cars off the road via improved mass transit, ride-sharing, etc., and either raise taxes or find some other way to pay for these changes (such as "privatizing" HOV lanes and charging fees

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Inside This Issue...

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- 3 Initiatives: Faculty Development in West Bank and Liberia
- 4 Events: Welcome Dinner
- 5 Press: Gazette Story, Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor
- 6 Spotlight: Khadidiatou Lusby and Sarah Herschler, Exemplary ICAR Members
- 7 CRDC-Sponsored Event

Army Chaplaincy Comes to ICAR

By Sara Cobb, Ph.D., ICAR Director, scobb@gmu.edu

This fall inaugurates the launch of the *US Army War College Senior Service Chaplain Fellowship Program* at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR). This fellowship is intended to expand Army Chaplaincy advisory capabilities, supporting both the field commanders in their need to understand and intervene non-violently in religious conflict, but also supporting the Army's Chaplaincy in their effort to develop curriculum and case research toward enhancing the education of Army chaplains. These twinned and layered goals, serving the needs of commanders in the field of operation, as well as serving the needs of the chaplains, who in turn serve the needs of service men and women, are the foundation of the research program for the fellowship.

This year, Chaplain Ira Houck is recipient of the *US Army War College Senior Service Chaplain Fellowship* at ICAR. Chaplain (LTC) Ira Houck is an active duty Army Chaplain; he is also an Episcopal priest, ordained in 1980, entering active duty in 1992. He is a veteran of Iraq, Afghanistan, Korea, and served in Special Operations and Military Intelligence commands with duty in the Caribbean region and South America. Chaplain Houck is the author of "Developing Ministries to and with People



Above: Ira Houck is the recipient of the US Army War College Senior Service College Chaplain Fellowship. Photo courtesy of Ira Houck.

with Disabilities," (Pittsburgh Theological Seminary Doctoral dissertation, 1991).

The Army Chief of Chaplains selected Chaplain Houck to expand Chaplaincy advisory capabilities. While at ICAR, Chaplain Houck will be completing coursework to obtain a certificate in World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution. In

fulfillment of one of his requirements for his fellowship, he will also be conducting research on the nature of religious conflict, towards the development of an analytic framework that could be used to support decision making in the field and geared toward reconciliation and conflict resolution. As Chaplain Houck notes, "The Chaplaincy, through application of new discoveries in behavioral science, conflict analy-

sis and resolution, human needs theory, and gestures of reconciliation and atonement, can amplify and improve the command's ability to deal with dimensions of the U.S. mission impacted by religion."

As Director, I am delighted with the creation of this Fellowship; it opens a door for ICAR to provide frameworks for understanding the complex

"We certainly want to do all that we can to ensure that leaders, military and political alike, will have the analytical tools to be able to interrupt cycles of violence and avoid becoming, themselves, agents in conflict escalation."

—SARA COBB

relationship between religion and conflict, frameworks that can positively impact the decisions of military leaders in the field, reducing violence and promoting conflict prevention. We certainly want to do all that we can to ensure that leaders, military and political alike, will have the analytic tools to be able to interrupt cycles of violence and avoid becoming, themselves, agents in conflict escalation. ■



Faculty Development Initiatives

Conflict and Post-Conflict Settings: West Bank and Liberia

By Sandra Cheldelin, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, scheldel@gmu.edu

What is the role of higher education in the midst and the aftermath of civil wars? When a majority of the most talented leave the country or are killed, or are denied access by closing borders, what is the impact on the next generation? With limited resources, is it possible to make long-term changes? These are some questions that guided my involvement, with Gene Rice, in two initiatives that focused on the role of higher education and specifically faculty development (also known as capacity building) as a sustainable intervention strategy. They took place in the West Bank and in Monrovia, Liberia.

With no doctorate-level and only a few masters-level programs in any of the dozen Palestinian universities throughout the territories, and with the closure of the borders in Gaza last year, options for access to higher education is in crisis. The leadership of Amideast, funded by USAID and the Open Society Institute, is trying to address some of this by a multi-year investment in a Palestinian Faculty Development Program. This summer they convened faculty from eleven Palestinian universities for an academic colloquia on *A Vision of Teaching Excellence*, followed the



Above: ICAR professor Sandra Cheldelin with Gene Rice in Liberia. Photo courtesy of Sandra Cheldelin.



Above: ICAR professor Sandra Cheldelin poses with Gene Rice and participants in the Palestinian West Bank. Photo courtesy of Sandra Cheldelin.

next week by our workshop on *Cultivating a Collaborative Culture*.

The second and more elaborate project was created by a partnership between the Association of American State Colleges and Universities and the University of Liberia, funded by the "Friends of Liberia." Our primary task is to help the education and government leaders develop a viable higher education system for Liberia, post-civil war. This would include the creation of three "middle colleges" to be located in rural areas of the country.

We also conducted a pilot faculty development program that, if successful, will become the foundation of a National Faculty Development Institute. The Institute is likely to be housed on the University of Liberia campus but open to faculty of all colleges, public and private.

There are a number of similar challenges facing these two countries. The growth of the student bodies is staggering. In Palestine, for example, there are approximately 130,000 students with a projection of 225,000 in

2018. The challenge of access and quality places faculty responsible for coping with these often competing tensions. With few economic resources, they are investing in human capital. This will require faculty to become and stay current with research and scholarship in their respective disciplines. Few faculty, currently, have advanced degrees. Both countries need technological infrastructures to provide access within and outside their countries.

While the evidence of trauma is palpable, the stories in Palestine are filled with themes of humiliation, sadness and anger, and a majority of the faculty, staff and students in Liberia are survivors who have witnessed atrocities. We were surprised at the resiliency present in both groups and the level of hope and optimism they maintain.

The faculty response was consistent: continue providing faculty development programs and help create structures for faculty to obtain advanced degrees and access to scholars in their fields. ■

initiatives

ICAR's Fall Welcome Dinner Chronicles 25-Year History

By Erica Soren, ICAR Events Coordinator and M.S. Student, esoren@gmu.edu

events

The Welcome Dinner this year was a huge success with 137 new students, faculty, staff, alumni, advisory board members and donors in attendance. Guests were officially welcomed by the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) Director Sara Cobb after a social session of



Above: ICAR professor Dennis Sandole shares insights on the Institute's founding. Photo: Amanda Martin.

light hors d'oeuvres and drinks. Sadly, this is Sara's last year here at ICAR. She eloquently and appropriately used the dinner as a forum to reflect on her time here as the director of the Institute. Her comments were heartfelt and spot on for the occasion. She incorporated the faculty in her address to provide an overview of the evolution of the Institute, from its inception to the present. Comments were made by Professors Dennis Sandole, Kevin Avruch, Rich Rubenstein, Sandra Cheldelin, and Terrence Lyons.

Dr. Chris Shoemaker, Vice President of Strategy at MPRI and a proud member of our Advisory Board, was our featured speaker this year. His speech, entitled "Conflict Resolution: Up Close and Personal," focused primarily on the meaning and importance of institutions to analyze conflict. "Conflict Resolution at the most basic level is about relationships with people," Shoemaker said. He deftly illustrated how important humor can be in resolving conflict with a personal story from his experience as a mediator in Bosnia. He proceeded with five major points. First, it is essential to understand the nature of conflict. Second, direct personal contact is key in resolving conflict. Third, find common ground and expect the unexpected. Fourth, build institutions that mitigate and subdue conflict. Fifth, conflict can be analyzed, it can be resolved, but it takes patience, persistence and professionalism to do it.

The evening closed with the awarding of several scholarships presented by Dennis Sandole, Julie Shedd and Michael Shank. The award recipients included M.S. student Terra Tolley for the



Above: ICAR Ph.D. candidates Saira Yamin and Martha Mutisi. Photo: Amanda Martin.

Adrian St. John Scholarship, Ph.D. student Yves-Renee Jennings for the *Alumni Scholarship*, Ph.D. student Tetsushi Ogata for the *Truk Family Scholarship*, Ph.D. student Mohammed Cherkaoui for the *James H. Laue Memorial Scholarship*, M.S. student Monica Flores for the *Brenda Rubenstein Award*, Ph.D. student Samuel Rizk for the *Faculty Scholarship*, Ph.D. student Ekaterina Romanova for the *John Burton Scholarship*, Ph.D. students Gina M. Cerasani and Jana El Horr for the *Mary Lynn Boland Award*, and Ph.D. student Saira Yamin for the *Eleanor Roosevelt Student Scholarship*. Congratulations to all of the award recipients. ■



Above: [From left to right] ICAR visiting scholar Dean Pruitt, ICAR professor Dennis Sandole, France J. Pruitt, and ICAR director Sara Cobb. Photo: Amanda Martin.

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email esoren@gmu.edu.

October 18: AmenPeace Concert and Film Screening

**Sponsored by the Center for World Religions,
Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution at ICAR**

7:00-10:00 pm, Original Building, Room 329

October 28: Discussion with ICAR's Visiting Scholar

Noelle McAfee on New Research Projects

4:30-6:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>

Gazette Article on ICAR

CAR Boasts Two Fulbright Scholars

By Nick Walker, Mason Gazette Writer

Published 08/25/08, Mason Gazette

The number of Mason scholars winning the Fulbright award continues to increase. One Mason scholar was selected in 2006 and three in 2007. One Fulbright winner is Nicole Goodrich, a current Ph.D. student in Mason's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR). She will travel to Sierra Leone to perform field research for her dissertation and volunteer work for two NGOs. Leaving in September, she expects to be there through next June.

"I'll be looking at gender violence during the civil war there and trying to determine predictors of the use of sexual violence in a civil-political war context. I hope to interview male and female survivors of the war—both perpetrators and survivors of sexual violence—and listen to their commonalities."

Goodrich will also be volunteering for NGOs in the cities of Freetown and Bo, where there is a lack of medical care for women who have genital injuries resulting from childbirth or sexual violence. "I'll also travel around the community; try to build relationships and trust. I know there will be days that will be challenging, but I'm looking forward to it." Goodrich has master's degrees in international peace and conflict resolution and in social science education. She previously taught public school in Atlanta's inner city.

In January, Idil Izmirlı will be traveling to Crimea, Ukraine, on her Fulbright scholarship. In addition to winning the scholarship, which she applied for independently, Izmirlı is also the recipient of the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Award for 2008-09.

Izmirlı, M.A. Sociology '99, is currently working on a Ph.D. through ICAR. In Ukraine, she will be closely watching the ongoing Russian conflict with Georgia in addition to attending to her regional research on the peninsula. "With the recent Russian attack, the Ukraine is in danger too," Izmirlı says. "I'll be investigating the dynamics of the conflict, especially in Crimea, which differs from the overall Ukraine." Over the past five years, Izmirlı has conducted research and taught courses in Crimea. In 2005-06, Izmirlı was awarded the International Research and Exchange Board Individual Advanced Research Opportunities Grant.

In addition to teaching, Izmirlı has collaborated with Crimean local and regional NGOs to lead workshops on media, culture, and immigration in the Ukraine. Some of her work is featured in the book *Migration, Homeland and Belonging in Eurasia* by Cynthia J. Buckley and Blair Ruble. ■

Recent ICAR Articles, Op-Eds and Letters

A Whole, Different View

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, and U.S.

Representative Danny Davis (D-III.)

The Hill, 09/30/08

Cyprus Could Learn from Malta

By Alfred Farrugia, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate

Famagusta Gazette, 09/19/08

Energy Is at the Heart of Many Recent Conflicts

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate

Richmond Times-Dispatch, 09/16/08

The Omar El-Bashir Indictment: A Precedent for Global Accountability?

By Danny Kaysi, CAR Undergraduate Student

Daily Star Egypt, 09/14/08

Obama, McCain Don't Grasp Roots of Pakistan's Instability

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate

The Hill, 09/12/08

US Airstrike in Pakistan

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate

New York Times, 09/10/08

Congress Must Extend Tax Credits for Renewable and Efficient Sources

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, and U.S.

Representative Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD)

The Hill, 09/10/08

Crime and the Economy are Directly Related

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate

Financial Times, 09/05/08

Drill Here, Drill Now? No: Sustainability Lies Elsewhere

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, and U.S.

Representative Jim Moran (D-VA)

Richmond Times-Dispatch, 08/30/08

press

Khadidiatou Lusby

By Lisa Shaw, CAR Undergraduate Student Services Coordinator, lshaw2@gmu.edu

As a native of Senegal, Khadidiatou (Khady) Lusby was drawn to the CAR Undergraduate Program by a combination of factors. As a student and



young adult working in rural Senegal, Khady was exposed to conflicts revolving around ethnicity, language, religion and gender. Prior to entering Mason in 2006, Khady conducted fieldwork with the National Census Bureau in Senegal teaching couples about family planning in rural areas. During her fieldwork, Khady developed strategies to conduct dialogues between men and women regarding the use of family planning as an acceptable practice in their culture. She also had similar experiences working with the World Bank and USAID.

Another factor in her decision to join the CAR Program was Khady's admiration of her father, a respected community leader who had the gift of transforming spiraling and intractable conflicts between individuals or families into works of progress leading to reconciliation. When she came across the CAR program during her transfer orientation, she found the program to be a perfect fit for her academic and personal interests.

In addition to her coursework, Khady is also involved in leading and organizing a variety of development projects in her hometown of Nioro du Rip. In response to the lack of economic opportunities and the recognition that youth from the region are leaving the area, Khady and her family have created the Nioro Agribusiness Development Project to enable women of the community to grow watermelons and other crops and to use the proceeds to support their children and families. To make the project sustainable, Khady and her husband are reaching out to community organizations in the U.S. to help provide funding to build a wall around the land and an irrigation system and also to provide some basic agricultural tools and new seed varieties.

Khady's unique experience, maturity, and leadership abilities were instrumental in her being chosen as one of twenty undergraduate students selected to participate in the Mason Fall 2008. ■

Sarah Herschler

By Zoe Rose, ICAR Graduate Admissions Assistant and M.S. Student, zrose@gmu.edu

First-year ICAR M.S. student Sarah Herschler is eager to understand what it is about our society that makes people so stressed. Her interest in

human behavior stems from her father's study of psychology. Following his footsteps, Sarah started as a psychology major at George Mason, but quickly changed it when she discovered sociology.

Sarah began to connect the dots between personal problems of the individual and collective problems of the society and was able to use this "systems thinking" to tackle societal issues. As an undergraduate minoring in conflict analysis and resolution, Sarah soon realized the usefulness of conflict theories when the tragedy at Virginia Tech struck.

During discussions in Dr. Wallace Warfield's CONF 300 class, Sarah was concerned about the media's focus solely on Cho's psychology. Instead of separating Cho from the rest of society, Sarah wanted to explore whether the community at large



was responsible. She had little doubt that Cho's horrible and tragic decisions were a cornered response to stress, noting that the campus culture and community could have been more inclusive. Taking the college step can be overwhelming to some students, and feeling connected to the student body is crucial in establishing a peaceful environment. Sarah believes this can be achieved through dialogue, reaching out to fellow students to work

through tough issues. In order to be what her peers needed, Sarah understood the importance of having confidence and skills to facilitate group conversation. That's when she found ICAR's program. Sarah realized that conflict analysis was a way of thinking and a toolset she wanted in her life and career. Avid to facilitate in the future, Sarah believes our society needs people who will use dialogue to move toward facing conflict instead of avoiding it. ■

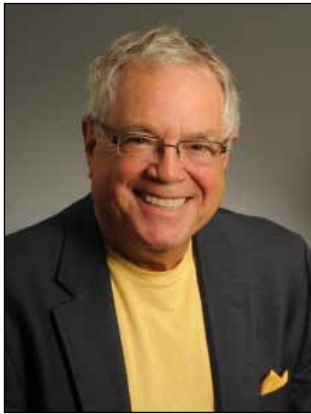
“Taking the college step can be overwhelming to some students and feeling connected to the student body is crucial in establishing a peaceful environment.”

—SARAH HERSCHLER

US Transportation System Found Structurally Violent

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for their use). The assumption common to all proposed policies is that our transportation system will rely primarily on private automobiles operated and paid for by their owners.



Richard E. Rubenstein is an ICAR and University Professor.

But take a look at the true dimensions of the transportation crisis. For starters, consider the commuting problem. Washington D.C. is tied with Los Angeles and Chicago for longest average time spent getting to and from work. It is not unusual for commuters to spend two hours or more each day inching through traffic. This is no mere inconvenience for workers in our region and other metropolitan areas; it represents a substantial and increasing decline in their standard of living.

When U.S. employers and the Bureau of Labor Statistics announce average worker wages, they count only the hours spent at the job site. Once, U.S. labor unions demanded "portal to portal" pay on the theory that their members were actually working for the employer's benefit from the time they left for work until they returned home. After World War II, they were forced to abandon the fight. The result: as commuting time increases, which it continues to do, the income of working people (per unit of real time worked) decreases substantially. How people would scream if their employers suddenly announced a five percent cut in income. But a mere increase of 15 minutes per trip, to and from the job, has exactly the same effect. And this does not factor in skyrocketing fuel prices and auto repairs, or the fact that policing, maintenance, and construction of new highways comes out of the same worker's pocket—as a taxpayer.

Now let us add another element rarely discussed in debates about commuting: the incredible carnage on our highways. Each year, 40,000-50,000 Americans—almost as many killed in the Vietnam War—die in traffic accidents. Each year, the number of those seriously maimed or injured exceeds 300,000. The neurology wards of our hospitals are filled with brain-damaged victims of auto accidents. "Motor

vehicle injuries are the leading cause of death and acquired disability for children after age one," says the Center for Injury Research and Prevention. They are the leading cause of death and disability for young adults. The National Transportation Safety Administration estimates the total costs of this legalized butchery at \$150 billion per year—and this says nothing about the price paid in

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Palestinian, Israeli Peacemakers at ICAR

By Natalie Baum, ICAR M.S. Student and CRDC Intern, nbaum@gmu.edu

With wisdom beyond their physical years, Eliyahu and Ghassan, arm-in-arm, rocked in unison. Their self-made music, preserved in the depths of their soul, tapped and floated about the room elucidating the experience for us all. It seemed only at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), protected within the walls of academia, could this free flow of heart-to-heart disclosure be witnessed. But no, Eliyahu McClean and Ghassan Manasra, Jew and Arab respectively, effect change through human connection throughout Israel, Palestine, and the world. Their repertoires of successful peacebuilding accomplishments confirm that not only within the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution does this magic unfold.

Eliyahu McClean is the director of Jerusalem Peacemakers, a network of religious leaders and grassroots peacebuilders in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Ghassan Manasra is the director of the Islamic Cultural Center in Nazareth, a center promoting tolerance and interfaith dialogue. Eliyahu is a leader in such bridge-building projects as the Abrahamic Reunion, the annual "On the Way to Sulha" initiative (the most recent gathering on August 26-28 brought together over 3,000 people) and monthly inter-religious, Israeli-Palestinian peace gatherings in East and West Jerusalem. Ghassan is an M.A. student in Islamic Studies from the Hebrew University and a Fulbright scholar who will be teaching at the Catholic University in Washington D.C. this fall. Eliyahu McClean and Ghassan Manasra spoke about the grassroots peace processes between Israel and Palestine at ICAR on September 10th. The event was hosted by the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution. ■



Above: [From left to right] ICAR Professor Marc Gopin speaks with Ghassan Manasra and Eliyahu McClean. Photo courtesy of Natalie Baum.

US Transportation System Found Structurally Violent

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human suffering and destroyed families.

Conflict theorists describe systems like these as structurally violent. Johan Galtung, who coined the phrase, described it as the result of social structures which empower a few groups and disempower most others. The transportation system based on the private automobile is essentially irrational: private cars promise freedom, efficiency, comfort, mobility, and a higher standard of living, but when used in the world of commuting, business travel, necessary shopping, and getting to school, they deliver death and destruction, a lower standard of living, decreasing mobility, and a mind-numbing enslavement to the traffic jam.

How do we solve this deeply destructive form of social life? Some might say that the problem is insoluble, given the enormous private investments committed to automobile manufacturing, sales and repairs, petroleum companies and gas stations, highway construction, and related industries. But the sense that there is no possible alternative to the way our economy and social lives are currently organized is what keeps us trapped in an irrational, increasingly destructive system. It is also what leads us to misconceive social conflict and the possibilities of conflict resolution.

The "transportation-industrial complex" does not appear directly as a party to the debate in Richmond, but it is a party to the real social conflict over transportation, which (like

intense current conflicts over energy production, financial institutions, and the military-industrial complex) pits powerful, entrenched private interests against emerging public needs and demands. This conflict cannot be resolved by building new roads or by improving the public transit system. Its solution may well require reconceptualizing and converting our privatized transportation system to one in which transportation for public purposes (including shopping and getting to work) is provided primarily by public facilities, while private cars are used for recreation and pleasure.

Whatever shape the ultimate solution may take, it seems that building more roads, while private automobile use increases, and creating new public transit facilities, while Metro ticket prices soar, won't solve the real transportation crisis. What is needed are regional and national discussions, including all stakeholders, of what the alternatives to the current system are, what they would cost, and how to distribute those costs. Such dialogues could be facilitated by conflict resolution experts who are increasingly interested in helping people deal with structural conflicts. To convince political leaders to take a deeper and more inclusive view of the conflict when they are accustomed to dealing with more visible and (apparently) manageable interest group disputes is not an easy task. But the ultimate health of our society, on and off the highways, depends upon it. ■



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Forgotten and Misunderstood: Social Change in Latin America

By Mark Goodale, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, mgoodale@gmu.edu

Much of Latin America is in the midst of a period of profound transition and uncertainty. The end of the Cold War dramatically changed an important geopolitical calculation: the role and influence of the United States in the region.

Throughout the 1990s, the

Clinton Administration readjusted the U.S.'s long-standing approach by pushing for the restoration and consolidation of democratic governments, the neoliberalization of national economies, and the creation of robust civil societies often driven by an emerging human rights discourse.

The coming of the Bush regime and the events of September 11, 2001, brought a temporary re-militarization of the relationship between the U.S. and many Latin America



Above: Mural says "Evo remains, my revolution advances." Photo: Mark Goodale.

countries—for example, the expansion of the multi-billion dollar aid project known as "Plan Colombia," the passage of the heavily interdictive Andean Counterdrug Initiative, and the return of U.S. covert and conventional forces to the remote border regions of the Peruvian, Bolivian, and Brazilian Amazon—but the shift in relations had proven irreversible.

Without the logics of the Cold War to shape and circumscribe both bilateral relations and projects for social change within individual Latin American countries, the region has become an incredibly dynamic

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- 6 Spotlight: Jana El Horr and Hussein Yusuf, Exemplary Members of the ICAR Body
- 7 ICAR at ACR Conference

ICAR's Relationship With Turkey

By Dennis Sandole, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, dsandole@gmu.edu

Recently, I spent two weeks as a Fulbright Senior Specialist in Conflict Resolution with the M.A. Program in Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR) at Sabanci University in Istanbul, Turkey. Sabanci is located on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, approximately one hour driving time from "downtown" Istanbul.

Sabanci's CAR Program was established in Fall 2000—exactly one year prior to 9/11—by the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution's (ICAR) first international Ph.D. graduate, Dr. Nimet Beriker, in consultation with former ICAR professor Dr. Daniel Druckman and myself. Over the years since the program's inception, a number of ICAR faculty (including Drs. Dean Pruitt, Daniel Druckman, Christopher Mitchell, Kevin Avruch and myself) have visited the university as guest lecturers.

During my recent visit to Sabanci, I gave lectures for Dr. Beriker's integration class, Dr. Betul Celik's course on culture and conflict and Dr. Riva Kantowitz's introductory course. In addition, I gave a University-wide lecture on "Turkey's Unique Role in Nipping in the Bud the 'Clash of Civilizations'."

Sabanci is one of a growing number of private universities in Turkey in which all courses (with the possible exception of Ottoman History) are taught in English, primarily by Turkish professors with doctoral degrees from Western (usually American) universities. English language primacy allows graduates of these institutions, who tend to be outstanding, to be globally competitive. It also allows Sabanci's CAR Program—the only one of its kind in Turkey and the region—to be attractive to potential students from other countries. Hence, Sabanci's CAR



Above: Sabanci Mosque is the largest in Turkey, built in 1998 and financed by the Sabanci family who founded the Sabanci University in 1999. Photo: Wikimedia.

Program has included students from Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Iran, Israel, Kenya, Poland, Romania, the UK and the U.S.

Two of Dr. Beriker's former students are currently completing their Ph.D. work at ICAR: Ulas Doga Eralp and Talha Kose (both from Turkey). A third, Athanasios Gatsias (from Greece), recently joined ICAR's Ph.D. Program. This, plus my visit, indicates that the ICAR-Sabanci relationship continues to thrive.

As so it should, given Turkey's unique multi-level positioning as (a) a long-time NATO member currently negotiating entry into the European Union; (b) a cultural bridge between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East; (c) a Muslim, but secular, country with a well-established Jewish community and a positive relationship with Israel, currently

acting as a mediator between Israel and Syria on the issue of the Golan Heights; (d) a model for other Muslim states, especially in Central Asia; (e) a source of positive initiatives toward Armenia (and vice versa) in finally dealing resolutely with Turkey's historical conflict with Armenians worldwide, as exemplified by Turkish President Abdullah Gul's recent visit to Armenia; and finally (f) an engine for the transmission of EU values and norms into the South Caucasus, site of Russia's recent war with Georgia over South Ossetia.

Indeed, for these and other reasons, Turkey is well poised to advance the goals of national, regional, and global peacemaking and peacebuilding. Sabanci's CAR Program can play a meaningful role in this regard and, through its continuing relationship with Sabanci's CAR program, so can ICAR. ■

Building Bridges Across Programs

Graduate Students in New Roles Teaching Undergrads

By Susan Hirsch, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty and Undergraduate Program Director, shirsch4@gmu.edu

Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) graduate students have been in on the ground floor of the development of CAR, the Institute's undergraduate program, and have contributed significantly to its growth. In the four years of its existence many graduate students and ICAR alums have taught courses for the CAR Program, and some have served as graders or course assistants. These students and alums bring tremendous enthusiasm and cutting-edge knowledge of the field into the undergraduate classroom. In the coming years, ICAR graduate students will play increasingly important roles in teaching and program development.

Last year, CAR established its first Graduate Teaching Assistantship (GTA) and awarded it to Mery Rodriguez. CAR's first GTA taught sections of *CONF 101: Conflict and Our World* and served as an academic advisor to CAR majors and minors. Also last year, CAR began a major initiative in curriculum revision, and Mery led the effort by conducting a thorough review of *CONF 101*.

For 2008-09 academic year, the ranks of CAR teachers are swelled by three new GTAs. Each GTA teaches one course per term



Above: ICAR doctoral candidate Min Oo teaches an undergraduate class for the Conflict Analysis and Resolution program. Photo: Kyle Mitzner.

and advises students in addition to working ten hours a week on a project. Min Oo finds *CONF 101* a great context for teaching students to think critically. He is developing assessment tools to be used in individual courses and to evaluate the program as a whole. In teaching *CONF 240: The Social Dynamics of Terrorism*, David Alpher seeks to personify the "reflective practitioner." Talha Kose is spearheading a curriculum review of CAR's most popular course, *CONF 340: Global*

Conflict and its Resolution, and developing units to involve students in simulated international conflict resolution processes.

Critics of higher education question whether graduate students are as effective in the undergraduate classroom as more experienced teachers. CAR's emphasis on teaching basic social science theories and methods, and such general skills as analytic writing and critical thinking, can pose a challenge to graduate students steeped in the specialized knowledge required to complete a Ph.D. Mindful of the need for pedagogical training, ICAR has twice offered *CONF 695: Teaching Skills for the Undergraduate Classroom*. The ICAR faculty also decided to develop a more comprehensive approach to preparing graduate students for classroom teaching and also for mentoring their progress as teachers. This initiative, spurred by the growth of the CAR Program, positions ICAR as a leader in conflict analysis and resolution pedagogy. ■



Above: ICAR doctoral candidate David Alpher talks with CAR major Kyle Mitzner on the Mason campus. Photo courtesy of Lisa Shaw.

initiatives

ICAR Working Group Explores African Ethnoscape at POV Talk

By Martha Mutisi, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, mmutisi@gmu.edu

Events

On September 27, 2008, the scenic and serene Point of View center (POV) at Mason Neck was characterized by a buzz of human activity coming from the Virginia and Washington D.C. metro area. This was a gathering of intellectuals and practitioners from Africa and other nationals, who have the development of Africa at heart,

who gathered to deliberate and brainstorm ways to erase the myth that Africa is a dark continent.

Members of the Africa Working Group (AWG) at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) and interested stakeholders came together at POV for the first ever joint retreat and seminar. The working group is an organization comprised of students, faculty, alumni and practitioners who

are interested in Africa. The event provided the opportunity for participants to reinvigorate debate on and celebrate conflict resolution initiatives in Africa. In his opening remarks for the POV event, ICAR professor and group advisor Dr. Wallace Warfield reiterated the importance of the group in steering ICAR's

and other stakeholders' interest towards Africa as a region and subject of focus in policy, development and conflict resolution.

Point of View was the ideal location for an event of this caliber. The full day event allowed for some critical discussion, reflection, networking and imaging of the future. In line with George Mason's theme of building community, the event provided the opportunity for AWG members and



Above: Attendees at ICAR's African Working Group Event at POV. Photo courtesy of Martha Mutisi.

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email esoren@gmu.edu.

November 11: Celebration and Launch of the *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*

5:00-7:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

November 13: Launch of the 2008-2009 ICAR Advisory Board Mentoring Program

7:15-8:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

November 18: Brown Bag Lecture Featuring Rafi Nets-Zehngut on Palestinian Refugee Issues

5:00-7:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

November 20: ICAR Open House and Auction

6:00-9:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>



Above: Members of the Africa Working Group picnicking at Point of View. Photo courtesy of Martha Mutisi.

non-members to spend some quality time together, engaging in serious discussion on critical issues but also concretizing future plans for the academic year.

The presentations focused on conflict resolution initiatives in Somalia, Liberia, Ghana and Sudan, acknowledging the role of the local leaders and

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ICAR STUDENT OPINION

November 4: A Vote for Your Future

By Jason Reader, ICAR M.S. Student

November 4, 2008, will be remembered centuries from now when the histories of these times are written. The next president faces a myriad of convergent leadership challenges and opportunities that are unique to this historic moment.



First, the global financial crisis is beginning to look more and more like another Great Depression. In one year, the Dow Jones Industrial Average on the New York Stock Exchange shaved off 40 percent with most of it occurring in the first week of October.

Presidential leadership will be necessary if the United States and other nations are to discover new avenues of cooperation that will ensure more peaceful and productive relations down the road. Economic cooperation will also save taxpayer dollars on both sides of the Atlantic.

Second, NASA's James Hansen and over one-thousand other international scientists have warned us that we have less than ten years to stop global warming before it is too late. Warnings of more frequent and stronger Katrina-type storms are enough to curdle your blood just thinking of New Orleans and the failure of leadership from President Bush.

The world is increasingly cooperating towards a future of green technology that will see cheaper and more renewable sources of energy, air that we can actually breathe, and conserved land ripe for adventure. Presidential leadership will be needed to steer the U.S. along the world's path towards a greener future.

Finally, enough people in America and the world think that we should overcome our racial, ethnic, and gender divisions. Barack Obama, if elected, will be the first ethnic/racial minority chief executive and head of state for any Western nation. If John McCain is elected, Sarah Palin will be the first female vice-president of the United States.

Consequently, I hope the histories will show that born now is a world of humanity devoid of the archaic divisions of race, ethnicity, and gender. The next president will have an opportunity to lead the charge in erasing these archaic divisions. I can now imagine a world where a person's success is measured by their merits and not their appearance.

The only thing I implore you to do is vote. It does not matter if your vote is for Senator McCain or Senator Obama. Your vote is your voice in history. Your participation in this election is a vote of confidence in America, a vote to overcome the "isms" that divide us, and a vote for your future. ■

Recent ICAR Articles, Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

The Call for Change In the White House Is an Understatement

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, and
U.S. Representative Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD)
Roll Call, 10/28/08

Palin's Makeover

By Nawal Rajeh, ICAR M.S. Student
Washington Times, 10/25/08

Veterans Have Earned and Deserve Help and Respect

By Katie Bowen, ICAR Undergraduate Student
Roanoke Times, 10/21/08

Obama: The Model Candidate for American Muslims in 2008

By Jana El Horr, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Al Hayat, 10/15/08

Talking to the Taliban

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate
The Guardian, 10/14/08

At the Heart of the Faith Healing Debate

By Lori-Ann Stephensen, ICAR M.S. Student
The Oregonian, 10/13/08

U.S. Should Send Aid to Both South Ossetia and Georgia

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Christian Science Monitor, 10/09/08

Slogan Diplomacy

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Washington Times, 10/05/08

We Do Need Change - In U.S. Policy in Mideast

By Marc Gopin, ICAR Professor
Washington Jewish Week, 10/01/08

press

Jana El Horr

By Zoe Rose, ICAR Graduate Admissions Assistant and M.S. Student, zrose@gmu.edu

As this year's recipient of the Mary Lynn Boland award, a Fulbright scholar, and founding member of the Center for Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding, I asked Ph.D. student Jana El Horr what else she would like to accomplish. Her response was simple: "My next big goal is to finish my dissertation in addition to learning five new languages." This is one full plate, and there is still more. Jana is the International Peacebuilding Fellow at the American Islamic Congress and is spearheading efforts to strengthen Arab-Muslim participation in the Darfur movement. Jana has worked extensively with issues of conflict resolution in the Middle East and organized youth training seminars on issues of leadership,

youth empowerment, and human rights. Recently, Jana met with U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to discuss Lebanon and what steps are necessary to promote an indigenous movement for democracy promotion in the country.

On youth issues more generally, Jana acknowledges that peacebuilding approaches are ever-changing, especially when faced with new technology. "Facebook has proved to be a more efficient way to rally youth around issues than emails or ads, and we need to keep up with it," says Jana. Methods for outreach are constantly changing and Jana is at the forefront in using new technology.

On her time at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), Jana hopes the Institute "will broaden the scope of issues they are involved with in the Middle East," emphasizing that Middle East research at ICAR often focuses on the Arab-Israeli conflict, while there are other conflicts in the region that need to be addressed—including sub-Saharan conflicts, Syrian-Lebanese relations, and human rights abuses in Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Jana's efforts in resolving conflict are at the core of ICAR's goals. As an example, Jana recently published a training kit with the Council of Europe addressing issues of cultural diversity and minority rights in the Euro-Mediterranean region. Students like Jana, who are involved in both the theory and practice of conflict, exemplify the knowledge and experience that breathes life into ICAR. ■

"Facebook has proved to be a more efficient way to rally youth around issues than emails or ads, and we need to keep up with it."

—JANA EL HORR

Hussein Yusuf

By Zoe Rose and Hussein Yusuf, ICAR M.S. Students, zrose@gmu.edu and hyusuf@gmu.edu

Hussein Yusuf's life changed forever in 1991 when insurgents drove his family out of Somalia. His family returned to Somalia several times after, whereupon his father set up feeding stations for refugees. Upon return, Yusuf was forbidden by his father from joining the tribal militias and to this day sees himself as a refugee. At the age of 18, Yusuf fled to Yemen where he volunteered with the Church of Christ and worked later with Partners for Development, an implementing partner for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In lieu of formal high education, Yusuf was able to use his research and language skills to benefit his work with refugees.

Hussein's work included interviewing refugees for repatriation and providing financial assistance and data regarding housing, medicine and food. As a committed service provider for internally displaced persons and refugees, Yusuf dedicated more than eight years working with numerous rescue organizations. Adamant about never forgetting the feeling of being a refugee, Yusuf continues to pursue studies all the while reflecting on his childhood.

As a current M.S. student at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), Yusuf is humbled to be in an environment where he can shed light on the issues which divide the world. Loyal to his country of birth, Yusuf hopes ICAR will help him explore and resolve the conflict in Somalia. He believes that the process to solve Somalia's conflict must involve individuals who understand the country's historical oppressions, folklore, and mythical roots of the people.

Hussein's main objectives for his research are largely driven by stories of lineages, oppressions, power, identity, and European colonialism. He hopes that ICAR will help him produce research that will contribute to lasting peace in Somalia. ■



Forgotten and Misunderstood: Social Change in Latin America

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hodge-podge of experimentation, social conflict, and post-neoliberal possibility. The waning of U.S. influence in the region was accelerated by the concentration for much of the last eight years of both diplomatic and military resources in the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia as part of the "war on terror." The result was that Latin America became, as Michael Reid of *The Economist* has written in a recent book, a "forgotten continent." Leaving aside the error in geography, Reid's larger point is entirely correct: without latter-day Che Guevaras (and the ideology of global communist revolution) nipping at our southern borders, Latin America devolved in the minds of many U.S. policy-makers into a vast and undifferentiated region of Third World countries whose greatest significance for the U.S. was that it was the source of both much-desired and much-reviled undocumented labor.

As the price of oil rose through the mid-2000s, producer-countries like Venezuela and Mexico began to experience double-digit revenue growth, which (much like in Russia) created a new sense of economic security that in this case could be converted into political independence from the U.S. Suddenly it was the U.S., the world's largest consumer of non-renewable energy resources, that was disadvantageously locked into an involuntary "dependency" on newly resurgent Latin American countries. Even a country like Bolivia, which discovered and then finally began to actually exploit its natural gas resources, found itself able to dictate the terms of its relationship with the U.S. without having to consider the



Mark Goodale is Assistant Professor at ICAR.

dire economic circumstances of provoking what the current president, Evo Morales, simply calls "the Empire."

Predictably, these profound economic, ideological, and social shifts both within Latin America, and in U.S.-Latin American relations, have been misapprehended and mischaracterized by U.S. government officials and members of the Beltway punditocracy alike. Leaders like Venezuela's Chávez, Bolivia's Morales, Ecuador's Correa, Brazil's Lula, Uruguay's

Vázquez, and now Paraguay's Lugo are widely lumped together as part of something that's described as a "new left" in Latin America. But as I have argued in a recent book, leaders like Bolivia's Morales have more in common politically and discursively with mid-nineteenth century liberal revolutionaries like Mexico's Benito Pablo Juárez, whose program for social change likewise revolved around the extension of what we would today

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ICAR Attends 8th Annual Association of Conflict Resolution Conference in Texas

By Erin Ogilvie, Graduate Admissions and Student Services Director, eogilvie@gmu.edu

Austin, Texas, was the host city for the 8th Annual Association for Conflict Resolution (ACR) Conference. The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) hosted an exhibit table to highlight new media outreach initiatives. Past faculty and student TV interviews were digitally displayed, and information on the ICAR undergraduate and graduate programs was distributed. ICAR's Communications Director and Ph.D. Candidate Michael Shank presented a workshop titled "Impacting Policy via Media." Mr. Shank also facilitated the process of inviting and introducing former U.S. Congressman Lee Hamilton, who co-chaired the 9/11 Commission and Iraq Study Group reports, to be the keynote speaker at the conference. Mr. Hamilton spoke about the top ten principles for conflict resolution processes. A number of ICAR faculty and alumni were present at the conference, including Rachel Barbour, ICAR M.S. Alumna, who was presented with the ACR Presidential Award for her work as the 2008 ACR Conference Committee Chair. ICAR plans to attend the 2009 ACR Conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 7-10, 2009. For more information, visit www.ACRnet.org.



Above: ICAR's Communications Director Michael Shank with former U.S. Congressman Lee Hamilton. Photo courtesy of ICAR Ph.D. student David Smith.

Forgotten and Misunderstood

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call human rights to the broad swaths of the population that had been excluded from the promises of liberalism through which the Latin American republics—children of the Enlightenment all—emerged.

What the United States must realize is that with the exception perhaps of Cuba, both the ideology of global communist revolution, and the theory of history and dialectical conflict that structures it, have dissolved in Latin America. This is what will prove to be the most important legacy of the early post-Cold War, in which the language of social conflict was reinterpreted within a human rights framework that both paved the way for the rise of leaders like Evo Morales, and tightly circumscribed the models for social change available to them once they gained power. By siding with the anti-liberal revolutionary forces in places like Bolivia—which led to the mutual expulsions of both countries' ambassadors and a further deterioration in bilateral relations—the U.S. government has (for now) failed to realize the potential in a region whose countries are modeling themselves, explicitly or not, on the Scandinavia of the 1970s, in which redistributive state economic policies were coupled with a robust human rights-based democracy, the development of social services infrastructure, the eager embrace of international norms, and a willingness to promote and develop international and interregional institutions. ■

ICAR Working Group

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traditional cultural systems in conflict resolution. All presenters applauded the notion that African institutions are occupying the epicenter of these processes and that Africa is rich in human and social capital, which can be effectively combined with the modern approaches to produce sustainable outcomes.

Participants also acknowledged the challenges of indigenous conflict resolution systems. In concluding the event, participants discussed future initiatives and stressed the need to continue building networks with like-minded organizations and practitioners. This will not only bridge the gap between theory and practice, but will also ensure that practitioners demystify stereotypical issues often raised about the continent.

The novel aspect about the event at POV is that it was characterized by a big representation of non-ICAR students, which helped build connections between ICAR, other Mason departments, and communities located off-campus.

In closing, Shannon Howard, a Mason Public Policy M.S. student who is also a member of AWG, gave a vote of thanks, appreciating the role of the AWG in reaching out to other departments and off-campus communities so that they too would experience what the ICAR family was learning. ■



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Will President-Elect Obama Offer Real Change in Wartime?

By Daniel Rothbart, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, drothbar@gmu.edu

In his victory speech on November 4, 2008, President-elect Barack Obama appealed to our best selves, reminding us of an America acting from a sense of moral principle, an America that seeks to redress injustice at home and tyranny abroad. He called us to face our current crises from a shared sense of moral purpose. But I wonder whether he



Above: Barack Obama with General David Petraeus in Iraq. Photo: Wikimedia.

intends to address a crisis of massive proportion that continues in the current military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The crisis centers on civilian suffering in war. From a global perspective the evidence of systematic devastation of civilian noncombatants is compelling. Studies show that war's weakest participants are its greatest

victims. In fact, civilian noncombatants die in far greater proportion than do combatants in wars of all kinds. The United Nations reports that civilians accounted for approximately 75 percent of war deaths in protracted conflicts occurring in the years from 1985 to 1995. And combat fatalities represent a small proportion of the total mortality that results from life-threatening conflicts that warfare generated.

A 2005 study confirmed that the majority of conflict-related deaths occur off the battlefield, typically from disease and malnutrition. For example, only six

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- 6 Spotlight: Abraham Houben and Patricia Maulden, Exemplary Members of the ICAR Community
- 7 Box: Obama's Defense Plan

ICAR Hosts McAfee on Democracy

By Sara Cobb, Ph.D., ICAR Director, scobb@gmu.edu

This year ICAR has another philosopher and democratic theorist in its midst, Noëlle McAfee, associate research professor of philosophy and conflict analysis. Noëlle joins us after having spent two years in George Mason's philosophy department, and prior to that several years on the philosophy faculty at the University of Massachusetts Lowell.

Noëlle is spending the 2008-2009 academic year with ICAR thanks to funding from the Charles F. Kettering Foundation to work on a book on the meaning of democratic politics and to help oversee the Kettering Foundation's research on media and democracy. She is also the associate editor of the foundation's journal of political thought, the Kettering Review.

In the spring she will be teaching a graduate seminar on democratic theory and post-conflict democratization, drawing on her penchant for grounding theory in real-world problems and making sure that practice is consistent with the ideals it hopes to bring about. "There's always an idea behind our practice that will shape our practice," Noëlle says, "and these ideas need to be brought to light and scrutinized. If we think that democracy equals more ballot boxes but neglect the need for public spaces to build public relation-

ships, we can end up with more division and conflict rather than less."

Noëlle's main interest is in the possibility of democracy. "I turned to philosophy after working in the public interest world in Washington in the 1980s, where I began to despair that no amount of fighting the good fight would work if people were incapable of self-government." She ended up writing a dissertation on the implications for citizenship and democracy in the works of the European thinkers, Jürgen Habermas and Julia Kristeva, becoming an expert in contemporary poststructuralist thought. "I hang out with the black turtleneck crowd, but my research is as informed by what regular people are doing in their communities to create change as it is by the more esoteric resources of philosophy."

Last spring Noëlle's fourth book was published, titled *Democracy and the Political Unconscious*. In it she looks at the causes of trauma, terror, and retribution and the resources that deliberative democratic dialogue and other public testimonies can offer. The book moves between the theoretical and the actual, from, for example, a psychoanalytic understanding of the "repetition compulsion" of the endless war on terror to the ways in which people are creating institutions in their communities to provide more space for democratic practice. ■

network



Above: Border fence between Russia and Georgia. Photo: Wikimedia.

Pursuing and Publishing a Resolution to the Caucasus War

By Susan Allen Nan, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, snan@gmu.edu

Shortly after the August war in the Caucasus, I spoke with Georgian and South Ossetian friends and colleagues there. These civil society-based peacebuilders were eager to talk with each other, but the tense ceasefire left no possibility for crossing the ceasefire line. As we talked, it became clear that an internationally facilitated meeting would be useful. While building towards a meeting at which Georgians and South Ossetians can sit together to assess the prospects for civil society

contributions to peacebuilding there, a Georgian, an Ossetian, and I wrote an article explaining why such meetings could be useful. Writing together was a conflict resolution process. We practiced careful attention to each other's concerns and creative thinking about possible options for language that would meet each author's approval. The product of this process? The article we produced has been circulated by the Common Ground News Service in English, Urdu, Arabic, French, and Indonesian and published by newspapers including the *Georgian Times* in Tbilisi, Georgia. Perhaps more significantly, the article's publication comes only weeks before we plan to sit down together with other Georgian and South Ossetian colleagues to learn together how to build peace with each other in the aftermath of war. Here is the article:

[Published, *Georgian Times*, November 25, 2008] The Caucasus war this summer pitted predominantly Christian Orthodox Georgia against predominantly Christian Orthodox Russia and the Abkhaz and South Ossetians, whose Christianity, Islam and traditional spirituality weave a complex tapestry of religions cutting across ethnic and political divides. South Ossetia witnessed ethnic and political tensions over the past two decades, which came to a head

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ICAR Mixes Masters with Social Work

GMU Graduate Students Focus on ICAR-MSW Degrees

By Wallace Warfield, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, wwarfiel@gmu.edu, and Natalie Baum, ICAR M.S. Student, nbaum@gmu.edu

The iconic and stereotypical image of the social worker as "little old ladies in tennis shoes" that flourished in the early-to-mid-20th century has long been relegated to the dust bin of history. Never true, the social worker has always been on the front lines of community development. Day or night, social workers can be found in the most devastated neighborhoods conferring with families, advising troubled youth in recreational centers, and in general, using nascent conflict resolution skills to knit the delicate fabric of a community.

Wallace Warfield: A relatively new faculty member in 1992, it came quickly to my attention that ICAR M.S. students in particular wanted a more embedded field experience as part of their curriculum. So when ICAR first gave thought to the creation of the Applied Practice and Theory program, GMU's School of Social Work was the first stop in my information gathering. The practicum has been a critical teaching tool in the social work pedagogy for many years. In fact, the GMU Masters in Social Work (MSW) places a greater emphasis on community practice than many other MSW programs—and does so internationally.

The recognition that the disciplines of social work and conflict analysis and resolution held a shared worldview of building capacity in local communities resulted in the creation of the dual degree program in 2007. The MSW theory-building and in-field skills development in social change at the family and community level fits comfortably with the ICAR M.S. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution focus on developing reflective practitioners capable of functioning in diverse settings globally. Under the three-year dual degree program, ICAR M.S. requirements would be fully completed; six credits of electives, however, would be covered by MSW required course work.

Natalie Baum: As a student of the program I was confident I would gain a varied and rich education. However, I did not anticipate experiencing a natural fusion of the two degrees for some time, certainly not in the first month. When I walked into a Fairfax County meeting to address a Restorative Justice initiative on behalf of my social work field



Above: ICAR M.S. Student Natalie Baum with participants from her field placement. Photo courtesy of Natalie Baum.

placement, Black Women United for Action, and recognized ICAR student Erin-Rose Feeley and conflict resolution education authority Marge Bleweis, I quickly understood the dual degree would offer much more than I imagined. Throughout the meeting I felt empowered by my accumulated knowledge from my studies at ICAR. Halfway through the meeting, in an unforced and relevant moment, conflict resolution vocabulary rolled off my tongue. I had melded conflict theory with social work advocacy to analyze the community conflict at hand. I felt simultaneously validated and elated. This rewarding experience early in my education affords me great comfort in knowing that in May 2010 I will graduate George Mason University armed with a dual degree education that significantly parallels the collaboration of conflict analysis and resolution and social work in real-world practice. It is anticipated that in the formative years of this program, only a few students will select the dual degree route. However, as the word spreads throughout the student body of the potential for this degree, we should not be surprised if an increasing number of students follow suit. ■

initiatives

Launch at ICAR of Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution

By Dennis Sandole, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, dsandole@gmu.edu

events

As part of its nearly 30-year effort to institutionalize conflict analysis and resolution as a multidisciplinary field for research, theory building, teaching, practice and outreach in the United States and abroad, the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) launched, on November 11, 2008, the *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution* (Routledge, 2009). The volume is coedited by Dennis Sandole of

ICAR, Ingrid Sandole-Staroste of GMU's Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Women's Studies Program, and Sean Byrne and Jessica Senehi of Canada's first and only Ph.D. Program in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Manitoba, in Winnipeg.

The genesis of the volume

was a chat between coeditors Sandole and Byrne about a collaborative project between the US's and Canada's premier Ph.D. programs that would capture much of the diversity of cutting edge developments in the field. The result comprises more than 35 chapters from a wide range of North (including Native)

American, European, Middle Eastern and other authors. It is structured in terms of (a) core concepts and theories; (b) core conceptual and methodological approaches; (c) core practices and processes;

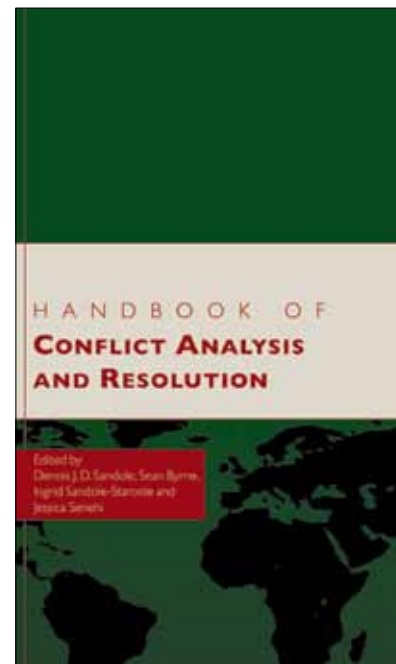
and (d) alternative voices and complex intervention designs.

The volume builds upon earlier ICAR efforts to capture, and advance the state of the field, such as (a) ICAR's first book-length publication, *Conflict Management and Problem Solving: Interpersonal to International Applications* (1987; edited by Dennis Sandole and Ingrid Sandole-Staroste, with the Foreword by Kenneth E. Boulding) and (b) *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application* (1993; edited by Dennis Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe, with the Foreword by Herbert C. Kelman).

The volume also complements other recently published handbooks, such as:

(a) *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace: Global Conflict, Analysis, Transformation and Nonviolent Change* (four volumes), editor-in-chief, Nigel Young (2009).

(b) *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk, and William Zartman (2009).



(c) *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict* (2d Edition, three volumes), editor-in-chief, Lester Kurtz (2008) of GMU's Department of Sociology and Anthropology. (Prof. Kurtz attended the launch.)

(d) *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, edited by Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (2007).

(e) *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* (2d Edition), edited by Morton Deutsch, Peter Coleman and E.C. Marcus (2006).

Together these (and other) volumes constitute an enhanced conflict analysis and resolution library that captures the complexity, diversity, and richness of our multidisciplinary field. This enhanced CAR library is of value not only to students, teachers, researchers, trainers and practitioners in the field, but also to policymakers, especially those associated with Barack Obama: the most conflict-resolution-friendly president in American history. ■

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email esoren@gmu.edu.

December 2: Makram Ouass Dissertation Defense: The Impact of Political Alliances on Voter Prejudice in Post-Conflict Countries

10:30 am-1:00 pm, Original Building, Room 244

December 2: Joan Orgon Coolidge Dissertation Defense: Toward a Just Peace (James H. Laue's Theory of Applied Practice)

1:30-4:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

December 3: Alex Scheinman Dissertation Defense: From Explanation to Understanding: Toward a Critical Reconstruction of Conflict Resolution Theory

1:00-3:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>

ICAR STUDENT OPINION

Uniting the United States of America

By Kathryn Roberts, ICAR M.S. Student

President-elect Barack Obama ran victoriously on a platform of "change". Now that he's won with a clear majority, it's time the American people internalized that notion in order to transition from a polarized nation to a united one, with Obama at the helm. This race gave us time to firmly wedge ourselves—if we hadn't already—into political parties. Our most difficult obstacle now will be separating out these political party identifications from the stereotypes they evoke. We label Republicans as uneducated NASCAR fans with a beer in their hands and a rifle in their pick-up trucks and we judge Democrats to be elitist, granola-loving hippies looking for a government handout. For many of us, the connection between the identity and the stereotype is one and the same.

We've learned from our political leaders that the easiest way to remain loyal to our own identity is to dehumanize our opponent and rely on stereotypes to explain their actions instead. Senator McCain, for example, injected dehumanizing techniques into the campaign by refusing to look at his opponent and, most noticeably, referred to him as "that one" in the final debate, which only further encouraged a split in our country.

Politics is personal for much of the country. Consequently, the topic of politics has been banned from discussion in workplaces and family rooms in order to prevent relational rifts. This will have adverse ramifications on our country. By refusing to talk to each other, these stereotypes will continue to lie dormant until another government crisis or election season causes them to be stirred up once again.

At ICAR, we are taught to value communication between conflict parties. Let's take advantage of this brief cease-fire in order to promote humanization in our government systems. By creating awareness of this tendency to stereotype our opponent, students, faculty and alumni can foster local community awareness, as well as a more national consciousness.

On a community level, we must begin to promote this topic in discussion with friends, family and co-workers. Even though politics is often a personal identity issue, there are often common underlying values that shape our political views. On a national level, we must increase our academic presence in the media as a tool to promote humanization of political entities. We must capitalize on these opportunities now so that we are not left bickering and assigning blame the next time our country faces a challenging crisis that requires a bipartisan effort to solve. ■



Recent ICAR Articles, Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

After the Shooting Stops

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate
The Guardian, 11/28/08

A Resolution to the Caucasus War?

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor, George Khutsishvili, and Lira Kozaeva Tskhovrebova
Georgian Times, 11/25/08

Why Not a Luxury Magazine with Non-Profit Niches?

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Financial Times, 11/22/08

We Lead Developed World in Poverty and Inequality

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, and U.S. Representative Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD)
The Hill, 11/18/08

Somalia Resurfaces

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate
Foreign Policy in Focus, 11/17/08

The Break-Up Danger

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor
The Economist, 11/14/08

Poverty, Political Instability and Somali Piracy

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate
Financial Times, 11/14/08

Serbia's Surprising Turn Westward

By David Young, ICAR M.S. Alumnus and Eleanor Roosevelt Scholarship Awardee ('07/08)
World Politics Review, 11/13/08

After-Election Dialogue: Students Explore Differences

By Patricia Maulden, CAR Professor
Mason Gazette, 11/10/08

African-American in the Marine Corps Votes Obama, Respects McCain

By Jana El Horr, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Al Hayat, 11/03/08

press

Abraham Houben

By Zoe Rose, ICAR Graduate Admissions Assistant and M.S. Student, zrose@gmu.edu

Abraham (Bram) Houben, an ICAR M.S. student, obtained his Bachelors at Laurea University of Applied Science in Finland. The University is centered in the competitive region of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area and strives to strengthen international networks outside Northern Europe. Since the school is heavily focused on international cooperation, it is no surprise that Bram chose to continue his studies in conflict analysis and resolution. Studying in Finland, Holland, China, and Chile expanded Bram's perspective of conflict and he decided to increase his knowledge by heading to the U.S. ICAR filled a void; Bram says that the institution "offered a depth of courses and support that I didn't find anywhere else."

At ICAR, Bram can pursue his previous work which focused on the difficulties faced by Somali and Southeast-Asian peoples as they transitioned to Helsinki and assimilated into the new culture.

Bram's other passions include youth issues. After spending an extensive amount of time in the Caucasus and former Soviet states, Bram is particularly interested in how children from these regions are impacted by internal displacement. In effort to acknowledge the youth narrative, Bram helped to organize conferences focused on increasing dialogue between conflicting countries throughout the European Union. His work with youth was deeply enriching. Says Bram, "These programs were enlightening and seeing young people engaging in such depth of dialogue was encouraging."

After he graduates from ICAR, Bram hopes to partake in international work which allows him to get involved directly with people experiencing conflict. When asked if ICAR is sufficiently addressing all areas of conflict, Bram acknowledged that there are a lot of "forgotten" conflicts in the world which do not get a lot of international media attention, especially in the U.S. He believes that the media in the U.S. is focused too much on domestic issues and does not offer as much information on international disputes as it should. In light of this, however, Bram hopes that he, along with his colleagues, "can not only revive attention to forgotten conflicts, but be a part of their resolution as well."

"There are a lot of 'forgotten' conflicts which do not get a lot of international media attention, especially in the U.S."

—ABRAHAM HOUBEN

Patricia Maulden

By Zoe Rose ICAR Graduate Admissions Assistant and M.S. Student, zrose@gmu.edu

For Dr. Patricia Maulden, being an ICAR alum has advantages. First, as an Assistant Professor of the undergraduate program, Patricia knows how to relate to students' trials and tribulations as practitioners in an emerging field. A second advantage is the opportunity to advise students on job-hunting in a competitive marketplace. But the most exciting advantage of one who journeyed through ICAR

are the bragging rights about all the new ICAR graduates coming up through the ranks. As the conflict field grows, so too does the undergraduate program and Patricia cites the positive contributions from ICAR faculty and undergraduate staff as the reasons for the program's success.

Additionally, Patricia directs the Dialogue and Difference Project. The first project—the After-Election Dialogue—was attended by 49 students and facilitated by nine student facilitators. Patricia explains that the goal of such dialogues is not to convince but to understand. She stresses that

"the dialogue process focuses on acknowledging differences, discovering similarities, and possibly exploring how individuals or groups can reframe their relationship in order to work toward specific and mutually desirable ends." Providing the groundwork

for relationship building, the Project gives students the opportunity to learn the skills needed to move from theory to practice—the most valuable aspect.

Patricia's research interests involve generational and gendered dynamics of violence. Her theory of social militarization analyzes the sanctioning of personal and social violence through changes in socio-cultural norms, values, and practices. The generational aspect focuses on the changing roles of the adult and child, such as using children as combatants. The gender component observes the role of girl soldiers and the differentiation in treatment from that of boys during war and peace.



Will President-Elect Obama Offer Real Change in Wartime?

Continued from page 1

percent of the total 2.5 million war-related deaths in the Democratic Republic of Congo were combatants.

U.S. military leaders often describe civilians as

"objects" and their casualties as "collateral" to war's primary forces. From a militaristic perspective warfare is not "theirs" to win or lose. The plight of civilians constitutes an aspect of war that is, presumably, universal, timeless, and uncontrollable. And the polarizing rhetoric of "us against them" and "their gain is our loss" reinforces an indifference to the plight of civilians in war.

This militaristic perspective masks an anti-civilian ideology in which civilians are cast through the lens of the instruments of war. In this framing civilians are characterized as frictions to war's machines, collateral to their efficiency, and systematically eliminable to the military progress of "civilized" nations (see von Clausewitz). Just below the surface of war's rhetoric is a radical objectification in which civilians are treated as mere material bodies, atomized into isolated units, and alienated from their own (social) humanity.

Two days before Obama's victory speech, the President of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai, spoke about the devastation that coalition forces brought to his country: the bombing of an Afghan wedding party in October and a similar episode in August in which 90 civilians were killed. He could also have mentioned the fact that more than 4,000 Afghan civilians have been killed by coalition forces since the beginning of the so-called war on terror.

Is the U.S. military leadership prepared to take responsibility for such crimes and apologize to Afghanistan, the combat soldiers, and the American



Dan Rothbart is a professor of at ICAR.

public? Clearly, the true test of America's commitment to moral principle will be shown in public acts of

forgiveness and in meaningful commitments to stop killing war's weakest participants. ■

Can Barack Obama Stop the Status Quo?

By Min Oo, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, moo@gmu.edu

Senator Barack Obama, who campaigned on a willingness to talk to foes of the United States, has decisively won the presidential election. Will conflict resolution be a guiding principle in U.S. foreign policy under President Obama? Perhaps the exuberance of optimism may have overlooked the United States's power structure in international politics. Regardless of his rhetoric on change, President Obama will be inheriting some core elements of President Bush's foreign policy. The top unchanged policy will be the U.S. military doctrine adopted since the end of the Cold War.

The doctrine is set to maintain U.S.'s military superiority by keeping a significant gap between the U.S.'s military and its potential peer competitors. The second part of the doctrine aims to preserve the U.S. military's power projection all over the world—that is, the ability to strike any part of the world within a relatively short period of time.

Additionally, Obama has not scrapped Bush's preemptive-war doctrine, especially when it comes to counter-terrorism. Obama has spoken in favor of targeting Al Qaeda in Pakistan even without the authorization by Pakistan authorities.

The U.S. military strategy and preemptive doctrine have fostered a categorical arms race. To counter the U.S.'s air superiority, Russia has invented and deployed S-400 air defense system that the Kremlin claims to be more effective than the U.S.'s second-generation Patriot missile system. China has modernized its naval units, ballistic missiles and electronic warfare systems to deter the U.S.'s intervention in the Taiwan Strait if the conflict emerges. A recent RAND study suggests that the U.S.'s military is not adequate to thwart a Chinese attack on Taiwan in 2020.

Both China and Russia are exporting sophisticated weapon systems to U.S. adversaries, including Iran, a state which is likely to be nuclear-weapons powered during the Obama administration if its uranium enrichment continues as originally planned. Obama calls for the U.S.'s unwavering support to Israel and reiterates that a nuclear-armed Iran is "unacceptable."

Obama's defense plan has no indication of reducing the military budget, except Iraq-related spending. Actually, Obama's electoral victory has raised the stock portfolio of U.S. defense industries.

Since the end of the Cold War, all U.S. presidents used military force against other states for one reason or another. Unfortunately, this structural aspect of U.S. power remains unchanged under President Obama. Conflict resolution may still be in the back seat of U.S. foreign policy. ■



Pursuing and Publishing a Resolution to the Caucasus War

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in August. Each side has offered competing explanations for their military engagement. Georgian troops explain that they were fighting to repel Russian troops and secure territorial integrity. Abkhaz and South Ossetians tell us they were fighting against Georgian aggression and for self-determination. Russians say they were fighting to protect South Ossetia and Abkhazia from Georgian attacks and to establish a security buffer around them. Local peacebuilders also waged a peaceful struggle for a non-violent resolution of the disputes and lasting security for all parties involved. Beyond official "track one" government-to-government discussions, such as the Geneva talks that convened briefly on 15 October and again on 19 November, long-term peace in the Caucasus will require more creative channels of communication to rebuild relationships across the conflict's divide.

Unofficial "track two" diplomacy could augment the high-profile Geneva negotiations held earlier this week, in which participating diplomats seem to have made little progress towards an official agreement. In a process complementary to official "track one" diplomacy, ongoing relationships between civil society peace builders across the Caucasus' diverse religious, geographic and ethnic communities provide a foundation on which Abkhaz, Georgian, Russian and South Ossetian political leaders can begin building sustainable peace. Even while bombs were falling in August, and face-to face meetings were impossible, individual

peace builders reached out to each other via phone, e-mail, and through the Caucasus Forum Yahoo! online group, lamented the war and its human cost, and presented widely divergent assessments of the causes of the war. While they disagree vigorously, these peacebuilders share a fundamental faith in each other's humanity.

This bridge at the civil society level is useful, but a stable peace will ultimately require that the political leadership learn from this example. Respectful, constructive conversation is possible across the conflict's divides when political leaders are willing to recognize the humanity of the other side. These civil society leaders have developed a wealth of insights about the conflict's dynamics that could usefully inform political leaders' search for a way forward. For example, over several discussions in unofficial peace-building dialogues during the course of the conflict, a Georgian NGO leader realized the importance of building the kind of Georgia in which Ossetians and Abkhaz might want to live, a Georgia with an impeccable human rights record, inclusive democratic rule, and respect for all ethnic groups. Others learned that sovereignty is not always an all-or-nothing affair.

Remainder of article available online at icar.gmu.edu/ICAR_Newspage. Written by Susan Allen Nan, George Khutsishvili (International Center on Conflict and Negotiation in Tbilisi), and Lira Kozaeva Tskhovrebova (Association of Women of South Ossetia for Democracy and Human Rights in Tskhinvali). ■



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