

Ethics, Conflict, and Resolution

By Daniel Rothbart, Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, drothbar@gmu.edu

The dominant theme for this year's Point of View conference, which will be held on the Arlington Campus in Founders Hall Room 125 on February 14 and 15, will be Ethics, Conflict, and Resolution. All speakers are experts within their respective fields, and Laurence Susskind, a prominent figure within the field of conflict resolution, will be the keynote speaker. The principal goals of this conference are to reflect critically upon the value commitments that make up conflict analysis and resolution and to examine their implications to develop new ideas, strategies, and goals for our work. The following topics will be addressed: Value judgements and reflective practice; Alternative approaches to ethics; Gender, ethics, and conflict; Reflections on basic needs; The



Banksy Palestinian.
Photo: Flickr user Ryan Riedel.

moral lives of conflict actors; Power; Tensions of Peace and Justice; Inquiry into the ethics of knowledge production; Codes, conventions, and professional constraints; Culture and the political economy of funding; Human rights and conflict. During the conference, a normative perspective is taken on these topics.

Underlying this perspective is a fundamental notion that our field, both analysis and resolution, is axiological. What exactly does this mean?

The axiology of conflict does not demand blind obedience to the "priests" of moral wisdom who are searching for the fount of universal moral truths. Nor does axiology require that we elevate our minds to the lofty heights of "pure" moral reasoning without regard to the lived experiences of

conflict actors. An axiology of conflict requires that we probe the ways in which conflict actors make meaning, digging beneath the conflict dynamics, excavating the social landscape, and looking beneath the shallow layer of "facts" to examine the actors' value commitments that lay seemingly dormant. [I believe that insight into conflict axiology draws upon the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein concerning his insights about the deep grammar of our language. A deep grammar of conflict calls for attending to the conditions, characteristics, and forms of life that explain how terms are used within a community of speakers. So, what is the deep grammar of the conflict parties? What is our own deep grammar?]

Conflict resolution is normative by nature. The aspiration for positive change rests on the normative ideals about pro-social (read: humanitarian) patterns of behavior, thought, and emotions. Attempts to engage, entice, enhance, and empower the conflict parties to address their grievances without violence must recognize the practitioners' adherence to the value of peace and justice.

Continued on Page 7

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: S-CAR and UN Resolution 2122
- 3 Initiatives: Where the Rubber Meets the Road
- 4 Events: S-CAR World Café Film Series
Current Affairs Initiative
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances
Alumna Opinion: Displaced Kashmiri Pandits
- 6 Spotlight: Nicholas Van Woert
Spotlight: Charles Crawford

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 2122:

Creating New Opportunities and Challenges for S-CAR

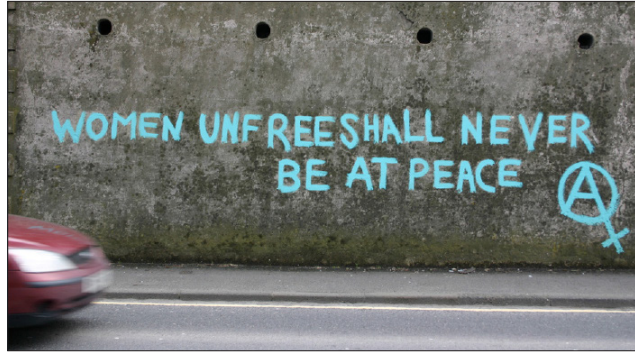
By Fariba Parsa, Visiting Scholar at the Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict, fparsa@gmu.edu

The United Nations Security Council on October 18, 2013 adopted Resolution 2122, aimed at strengthening women's role in all stages of conflict prevention and resolution. This resolution is rather significant as it looks to increase and reinforce the role that women can play at the negotiation table. It is also very unique as all the 15 members of the Security Council agreed to focus on women's leadership in conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

All United Nations-established commissions have been asked to include information on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls. The Council as such recognizes with concern that, without a "significant implementation shift," women would remain under-represented in conflict prevention and resolution, protection and peacebuilding for the foreseeable future." The United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has also urged the Council to deal with the full range of violations of women's rights during conflict, saying that peacekeeping mandates should support national prosecution for serious international crimes against women."

Some important highlights of UN-Resolution 2122

are that it "recognizes the need for timely information and analysis on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peacebuilding and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution..." as stated in Article 2. Article 7 "recognizes the continuing need to increase women's participation and the consideration of gender-related issues in all discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of armed conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding" and in this regard, the Council continues to encourage states to "develop dedicated funding mechanisms to support the work and enhance capacities of organizations that support women's leadership development and full participation in all levels of decision-



"Women Unfree" - Graffiti on wall of Magee College, Derry.

Photo: Flickr user Harriet Barber.

making." Article 8 "stresses the importance of those Member States conducting post-conflict electoral processes and constitutional reform continuing their efforts, with support from United Nations entities, to ensure women's full and equal participation in all phases of electoral processes, noting that specific attention must be paid to women's safety prior to, and during, elections."

This vital need, expressed by the UN-2122 Resolution, is

exactly what S-CAR can contribute to the world. A response to this resolution is in accord with the central question we read in George Mason University's Strategic Plan 2014-2024. It reads: "How can George Mason University become not necessarily the best university in the world, but the best university for the world?" We read also in the Strategic Plan that "George Mason University is an innovative and inclusive academic community committed to create a more just, free and prosperous world. One of the seven values stated in the Strategic Plan is: "Diversity is our strength; we include and embrace a multitude of people and ideas in everything we do and respect differences." The Mason Idea in the Strategic Plan states "We educate students to create, as well as to carry out jobs; become agents of positive changes..." This commitment for innovation, diversity and educating "agents of positive change" is a strength of George Mason University.

UN Resolution 2122 as such presents S-CAR with new but not insurmountable challenges. This is an opportunity to show how S-CAR can be best for the world and how S-CAR can support skills for women's leadership in conflict resolution. S-CARs focus should not only be on producing knowledge about gender and conflict but also developing capacity for educating current and future leaders that will focus on gender based negotiation skills. The impact of this initiative will be one where the education of both women and men at the national and international level, will lead to an increase in current as well as future negotiators well versed on gender subjects in conflict resolution. Women especially in the Middle East have very limited access to decision making institutions. There are thousands of women in this region who seek to achieve political influence to build peace and security. One of the approaches to strengthen women in this region in conflict resolution is exactly educating them in leadership and negotiations skills.

The question now is what will S-CAR do with UN Resolution 2122 and how will it impact the world? ■

Recent S-CAR Achievements

Kevin Avruch's book, "Context and Pretext in Conflict Resolution: Culture, Identity, Power and Practice" was named by the Conflict Research Society (UK) as one of two "CRS Books of the Year 2014"

Dean Pruitt was awarded the 2012 Ralph K. White Lifetime Achievement Award by the Society for the Study of Peace conflict

Dean Pruitt and Sung-Hee Kim had their book "Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate and Settlement" translated into the Chinese language and published for use in the People's Republic of China

Danait Tafere was awarded the United Nations Association of the National Capital Area's Graduate Fellowship 2014 (UNA-NCA)

Soolmaz Abooli - was offered a White House Fellowship

Charles Martin-Shields was offered a Fulbright Fellowship

Where the Rubber Meets the Road:

When Migration is not just a Subject, but a Human Struggle for Global Justice

By Marcelle Bugre, Dual Degree Graduate of Ms from S-CAR and MSc from University of Malta, marcel_bugre@ymail.com

Growing up in a semi-extended family in a rather homogenous Roman Catholic community in the South of Malta, I knew the norms and behaviours expected of me, especially those related to gender and social class. However, ever since I was little I knew my path would take me beyond Malta and I was prepared for the reality that I would not be able to meet the expectations of my family and community. I embraced these struggles and in return I received

the gift of friendship and community with people all over the world. Today I am married to a Ghanaian, Ahmed, and together we pastor an international evangelical Christian church in Malta, New Life Christian Centre. Ahmed is also the Director of the Foundation for Shelter and Support to Migrants (FSM), which he set up in 2010 to provide services for male asylum seekers. After completing the Conflict Analysis and Resolution and Mediterranean Security Programme offered by the University of Malta and S-CAR in 2013, I started working as a Project Development Manager with FSM, where we are embarking on projects that focus on vulnerable migrant groups in Malta and their needs. Ahmed and I have three children who are very much part of our work, and who carry this legacy in their life and future in Malta.

Our work started in 1997 when we migrated to Belgium to study in a Christian Seminary, during which time we worked with a Filipino community made up of domestic workers. It was difficult for us as non-EU migrants to integrate in Belgium, especially as parents of one child with a second on the way, due to restrictions on employment, social and health services. My situation was partly resolved when I returned briefly to Malta for the birth of my daughter, but there were many migrant women who could not do the same. Through our many encounters with migrants, Ahmed and I became aware of the needs of undocumented and irregular migrants who were living and working in Belgium and, as a result of their status, at great risk of poverty, abuse and neglect. In the midst of these struggles the church provided a place of safety for many different people to come together and share their lives. We started teaching, organizing church ministries, and educating leaders to understand the various needs of men, women and children in their communities.

Problem solving is very important in the church context. Migrants usually have many issues in their personal lives, families and communities due to the lack of information, confidence, and resources necessary for addressing



Marcelle and Ahmad with the New Life Christian Center. Photo: Marcelle Bugre.

problems on their own. Working in a multicultural setting in a church requires knowledge and the experience of learning to problem solve in such a diverse context, especially in how to address gender and inter-generational issues. Although international churches always face the possibility that groups leave to form their own group usually based on cultural similarity, it is often the case that homogenous groups also experience internal conflicts. Sometimes church members may grow tired of the monotonous is-

sues within their group and want to find a more interesting platform from which to grow, learn and find support. Therefore it is important for international churches to keep a healthy balance between multi-cultural expression, and the need of specific groups to express their own culture and language. In Malta this became the model for our present church where people learn to appreciate other cultures, while creating spaces for the expression of one's own language and culture.

Returning to Malta in 2001 was a difficult time for our family. Re-integration was a humbling process considering that we lacked the resources many people expected us to have. I was pregnant with our son, Ezekiel, and I found it particularly hard to return because my life experience had changed me, and I felt that people in Malta would not understand or accept this change. During this same period, boat arrivals from Libya started increasing, carrying large numbers of asylum seekers mostly from sub-Saharan countries. Ahmed and I started visiting detention, which is a closed camp where all migrants were kept, except children and vulnerable persons, for a period of up to 18 months. Although the situation has improved today, I can remember for many years the miserable conditions in which these people were kept, and the various risks people were subjected to because of these conditions.

Because pregnant women were allowed to leave detention, men and women sometimes made arrangements in order for them to be able to leave detention as a 'family.' The stories of many asylum seekers reveal this reality, and that progressively these arrangements were made in Libya, so that women got pregnant early enough to be allowed to leave detention on arrival to Malta. This situation made it difficult for pregnant women leaving detention to integrate and work in Malta, because of the lack of access to flexible childcare services, and because many men abandoned these relationships on getting their freedom.

Continued on Page 7

initiatives

Spring 2014 S-CAR World Café Film Series

By Alaa Kamel, S-CAR MS Student, akamel2@gmu.edu

In August 2013, the John Burton Library in collaboration with the centers and working groups at S-CAR, started a World Café film series meant to provide a space for students to have alternative discussions, outside the structure of academia about issues facing individuals. As Oscar Wilde once said, "Education is an admirable thing, but it is well to remember from time to time that nothing that is worth knowing can be taught." Based on this theme, a well selected list of movies and documentaries that touched on themes such as race stereotypes in Europe as seen in *The Intouchables*; LGBT rights in Uganda as seen in *Call me Kuuchu*, and the hidden politics of the United Nations as seen in *U.N. Me* among others, were selected and shown to the S-CAR community. Although the messages that these movies and documentaries conveyed were powerful, the added value to those films was in the rich discussions that accompanied their viewing.

Based on the success of this initiative from the first half of the academic year, the World Café film series will proceed with another well selected group of films and documentaries through Spring 2014. The series will continue to shed light on issues ranging from the most unbearable



S-CAR students at World cafe film series.
Photo: S-CAR.

deprivation of basic needs to the most unacceptable desecration of one's entity. When the fight for education gets mixed up with the fight for survival and becomes a revolutionary movement led by children who want to learn, as seen in *Girl Rising* (to be shown on 1/28/14 2:00 to 4:00 pm), or when two individuals take it upon themselves to rob 56,000 citizens of the right to vote, as seen in *American Blackout* (3/11/14 2:00-4:00 pm), or even when the strongest

military body in the world robs its members of the security and freedom it claims to fight for, as seen in *The Invisible War* (4/8/14 2:00-4:00 pm); people will fight. The fight may come from the camera lens of a man in Palestine who refused to stop filming as he helplessly watched the building of a fence which divided his land, as seen in *Five Broken Cameras* (4/22/14 2:00-4:00 pm) or it may come through the tears of a child soldier in Sierra Leone forced to shoot his father, as seen in *Johnny Mad Dog* (on 3/25/14 2:00-4:00 pm). The existence of corruption and brutality is not new news to anyone, nor is the existence of those fighting for civility and justice. This film series delivers the viewer from the broad and general bird's eye view of the selected issues to a clearer cognizance of the intricacies woven into the fabric of each issue. The full list of films and brief descriptions can be found here: scar.gmu.edu/events/film-series. ■

Approaching Current Affairs from a Conflict Resolution Lens

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

With the beginning of this semester, the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution is opening its doors to a new form of dialogue. As a student led initiative, the "Current News through a Conflict Resolution Perspective," aims to bring together the diversity that encompasses S-CAR to encourage intellectual discussions about the world around us.

This initiative which will be held twice a month and explores the "news of the day," from various newspapers and analyzes what impact conflict



Claudine Kuradusenge Photo: Mason Creative Services.

resolution can have on the reported events. It also encourages S-CAR students to apply the concepts and frameworks studied in class to real and current conflicts. This initiative will also hope to engage with people from different backgrounds and perspectives to express their ideas and opinions on local and global issues to enrich the school and help create a network and marketplace of ideas essential for the development of the field.

The first dialogue will take place on February 6th, 2014, at 1:00pm in the John Burton Library. For more information, please contact Claudine Kuradusenge at ckuradus@gmu.edu. ■

Upcoming Events

Tuesday, February 6, 2014

Current News Through a Conflict Resolution Lens
1:00pm - 2:00pm

Tuesday, February 11, 2014

2014 S-CAR & SPP Career Fair
2:00pm - 5:00pm

Friday, February 14, 2014

Point of View Conference: Ethics and Conflict Analysis and Resolution
9:00am-5:00pm

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

S-CAR World Café Film Series

1. *Girl Rising* - January 28, 2014
2. *Bling* - February 11, 2014
3. *Iraq in Fragments* - February 25, 2014
4. *American Blackout* - March 11, 2014
5. *Divorce Iranian Style* - March 21, 2014
6. *Johnny Mad Dog* - March 25, 2014
7. *Mugabe and the White African* - April 4, 2014
8. *The Invisible War* - April 4, 2014
10. *5 Broken Cameras* - April 22, 2014
11. *XXY* - May 6, 2014

Note: films start at 2:00pm in the John Burton Library located on the 5th Floor of the Metropolitan Building. Light snacks will be provided. For more information go to: scar.gmu.edu/events/film-series

Alumna Opinion: Past Policies and Continued Predicament of Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

By Sudha Rajput, S-CAR PhD Alumna, srajput2@gmu.edu

The magnitude of the phenomenon of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is a daunting humanitarian challenge with upwards of 28 million in displacement (UNHCR, 2013). Conflict-induced displacement results in psychological, cultural, socio-economic, and political transformation of those displaced. Such was the displacement of the 250,000 Kashmiri Pandits (KP), a Hindu minority community in India's Kashmir Valley (Valley), which ruptured the fabric of this community in 1989. This article unfolds the socio-economic costs of past policies and the continued predicament of this community.

KPs accounted for 5% of the population of the Valley, in the state of Jammu & Kashmir (J&K), within a majority Muslim population. "Since late 1989, J&K has been in the grip of a vicious movement of Islamist extremist terrorism" (Gill 2003, 1-2). The Indian authorities claim that in the 1980s, the Islamic guerillas in the Valley, trained and funded by neighboring forces, waged a separatist war dubbed as an indigenous freedom struggle. Anti-India campaigns were followed by police firings and curfews. The year 1989 is marked as a time after which "the guns are never silenced...and Srinagar turns into a war zone" (Pandita 2013, 73). Those voicing pro-India policy became the target of the militants. The KPs, as they professed a different faith, were "specifically targeted, perceived to be symbolizing Indian presence in the Valley," (Rai, 2011). Those who fled now form the pool of 250,000 displaced KPs (IDMC 2010) dubbed as "Migrants."

Most fled to neighboring Jammu and others to Delhi. Having lived in Kashmir their entire lives, their ancestral roots and emotional ties resided in the Valley. Those displaced were teachers, professors, doctors, singers, farmers, businessmen, males and females, young and old, between the ages of three months and seventy years. There were those who were ready for retirement, and those who were yet to enter school. They owned land, orchards and farm animals. These families have a story to tell, their voices and their cultural expressions shed light on how they envisioned their future on the day of their departure from their "land of birth." Some "basing their trust in God," hoped that they will return when the Valley "regains its civility," and could not fathom a future outside of the Valley. Others were convinced that they were denied "their last rights to die in homeland" (research participant). As the everyday policies disproportionately excluded this community (structural violence, Galtung, 1996) it became more difficult for them to protect themselves against death threats.

Similar to other displaced communities, Colombia, Mexico, Myanmar (Meertens 2003, Shinnar 2008, Fuller 2009) challenges were overwhelming. The unplanned move was daunting for those who had never left the Valley before. Metamorphosis of having become anonymous migrants from the respectable traders and proud owners of homes and orchards, and the exposure to camp life traumatized them. For some, the most troubling experience was the exposure to societies with "diluted" values that embraced "inter-caste marriages." The policies that emerged revolved around positioning this crisis as an outcome of a "temporary disturbance," resulting in policies serving the "transitional needs." However, the families position the crisis as "irreversible," having permanently damaged their community. Given this divergence, the policy portfolio has yielded mixed outcomes, some policies falling short of intended goals, some in direct contradiction and some adding to families' predicaments.

Moving out of their villages for the first time reflected a loss of home and identity. The national response through "township" like settlements did not reduce their sense of

homelessness and identity. After 23 years, families lament the loss of their ancestral homes; the "transitional accommodations" only jeopardized their sense of permanence. Arrival in new cities meant new challenges, as the locals realized that the stay of the KPs was not temporary, they "developed an antipathy towards this community" (Pandita 2013, 134). Locals made a case to push the families out of their communities, and the officials responded by relocating them to the "migrant quarters."



Sudha Rajput Photo: Sudha Rajput.

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

East China Sea Dispute is Ripe for US Mediation

Dennis Sandole, S-CAR Professor
Financial Times 1/30/14

Somalia Needs War on Poverty

Michael Shank, S-CAR PhD Alumnus
U.S. News

'Ceasefire' is the Syria Word We Need to Hear

Marc Gopin, S-CAR Professor
Huffington Post 1/3/14

Lessons from Afghanistan

Lisa Schirch, S-CAR PhD Alumna
Sojourners 1/1/14

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 16 occasions since the last newsletter. These 4 represent the latest at time of publication. For a complete list please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

press

Continued on Page 8

Nicholas Van Woert, S-CAR and University of Malta Dual Degree

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

Nicholas Van Woert is a graduate of the dual degree Master's program in Conflict Analysis and Mediterranean Security offered by S-CAR and the University of Malta. He came to the field of Conflict Resolution with a background in history and a desire to apply the lessons of the past to the problems of the present in an effort to contribute to the discussion on conflict and international development. Nicholas tells me, "I would never want to be the voice, but rather a perspective on a round table that will help those responsible for making decisions on projects benefiting communities around the world." To achieve his goal, Nicholas began volunteering with Communities Without Boundaries International (CWBI) after taking a course on reflective practice with Maneshka Eliatamby, CWBI's Senior Vice President and Chief Program Officer, and S-CAR Ph.D. alumna.

Nicholas is currently a Program Associate with CWBI and is primarily engaged on the Youth Without Boundaries (YWB) initiative, a program responsible for empowering youth around the world to create and implement sustainable, community based projects. He states, "The best experience of CWBI is having the opportunity to meet so many people from around the world. Connecting with people from different backgrounds and exchanging



Nicholas Van Woert. Photo: Nicholas Van Woert.

stories makes my position at CWBI so worthwhile. The stories I have heard from individuals can be heart breaking, but at the same time, I hear stories that give me hope for the future."

He is also engaged with another international NGO, Spirit of Soccer (SOS), and currently acts as their social media specialist. Spirit of Soccer uses the sport as a tool for education to teach children in conflict and post-conflict zones about landmines, explosive remnants of war, and unexploded ordinance. SOS's most recent program set up at the Zaatari Refugee Camp in Jordan, works with children from Syria and teaches them how to identify an explosive item and what steps should be taken in the event that they find one.

In the future, Nicholas hopes to continue working with communities to identify their needs and develop programs to fulfill those needs. He aims to further his work with CWBI to create a network of colleagues around the world interested in tackling issues like the Millennium Development Goals. "We must recognize that we have the power to make the future what we want and it is important to gain perspective from as many different people as possible."

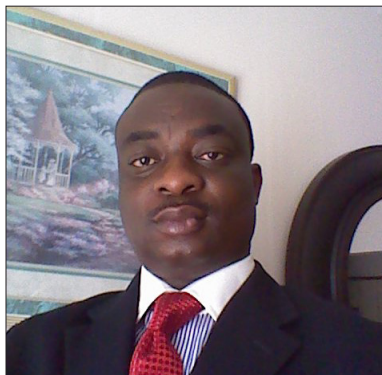
Information on Communities Without Boundaries International can be found at <http://www.cwbi.org/>. Check out Spirit of Soccer's webpage at <http://spiritofsoccer.net/>. ■

Charles Crawford, S-CAR Certificate and MS Program

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

Charles Crawford is part of the new cohort of Masters students, admitted to S-CAR in the spring of 2014. Charles is also currently enrolled in the S-CAR certificate program where he is mainly focusing on the evaluation of conflict resolution programs as well as problem solving workshops. As he said "I believe that receiving diplomas in both categories [certificate and masters] at S-CAR would strengthen my theory, research and practice background."

Charles is originally from the West African nation Liberia, where he experienced over 14 years of civil war. "No one should experience any type of war the way I did in Liberia. The whole experience robbed me of my youth, my education as well as my dignity." Charles is very grateful that he did



Charles Crawford. Photo: Charles Crawford.

not lose his life like many of his friends and family did during the conflict and he is determined to channel his energies into being an ambassador to promote non-violent concepts in conflict resolution. As he noted, "sometimes when I realize that individuals are hell bent on pursuing violence as a way of conflict resolution, I get incensed. I immediately point them to my home [Liberia] and show them the scars that will take a few generations to heal."

After S-CAR, Charles would like to return to Liberia and help his country in its efforts to build and strengthen their peacebuilding programs. Although a lot of work and people are already involved in this process, Charles still believes that many more people are needed. "The intensity of the conflict took most of us by surprise. It is only with the 'all hands on deck' maxim, that a more stable and durable Liberia would be realized." ■

Ethics, Conflict, and Resolution

Continued from page 1

Do we find axiology in conflict analysis? Some would say “No,” since conflict research is, should be, value-neutral—unaffected by the researchers’ moralistic sentiments. I believe that such a boundary between the ‘is’ and the ‘ought’ of conflict cannot be sustained. In our attempt to understand and explain conflict, we analysts tacitly interweave the “is” of protracted violent conflict with our ideas of “ought” and “ought not.”

Consider a simple experiment. Try to extract the normative content from detailed case studies of genocide, human rights abuses, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and bigotry. It cannot be done without bizarre distortions. Read, or reread, the Human Rights Watch reports of mass violence in Darfur, the witnesses’ accounts of genocidal violence in Rwanda, the testimonies of victims of brutality before the Commission of Tribunal of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa, and the indictments by the ICC for crimes against humanity. Notions such as genocide, human rights, crimes against humanity, and others cannot be reduced to value-neutral properties such as features of bodily movements. These notions are charged with normative content.

Consider Vamik Volkan’s notion of chosen trauma. The intense feelings of humiliation, vengeance, and hatred linked to chosen traumas foster violent reactions against those who presumably perpetuated their suffering. Similarly, Johan Galtung’s notion of structural violence as systematic inequality between the “haves” and “have-nots” cannot be understood as morally neutral. The suffering of the “have-nots” represents a radical injustice that is life-threatening. While chosen traumas are social psychological maladies and structural violence is systematic injustice, both are real and morally negative. So, the axiology of conflict interlinks value judgments with the mean-



Daniel Rothbart. Photo: Mason Creative Services.

ings of many conflict-related encounters.

For another example, consider the meaning of violence to actors. Going beyond the notion of violence as a physical force, we find that conflict actors assign binary meaning to violence through normative categories, like purity or danger, friend or foe, virtue or vice. For conflict actors, the implementation of violence against an adversary is rationalized as avenging a moral offense or injustice, honoring “our” God, or securing the homeland, among many other possible meanings. At the core of such rationalizations are strong moral concepts, and what makes them so strong is that they are situated deeply in notions of identity and difference. Enemy militants are characterized negatively—vicious, power-hungry, depraved, or obsessed with evil. Protagonists are identified positively—virtuous, heroic, brave, and honorable. In acting justly, protagonists are positioned

as morally pure, adorned by God, living in the image of our sacred figures, and endowed with virtues given only to those born in the sacred homeland.

Within conflict axiology, one important topic centers on the conflict protagonists’ normative reflection on horrific experiences. There is a common need for many protagonists to address “What is the right thing to do for myself and for others?”. Some conflict actors rationalize their campaign of violence as necessary in a larger campaign against the enemy. Others may engage in acts of compassion by offering sanctuary to potential victims. It is from this perspective that one might say that protracted conflicts have their own normative pathways on which participants may tread, some being militant pathways while others are more humanitarian. No matter which one is chosen, these pathways comprise varying elements of a conflict actor’s moral life. ■

Where the Rubber Meets the Road

Continued from page 5

In 2008 I started an undergraduate programme in Social Policy at the University of Malta, and while studying I used the internship opportunities of the course to continue working in various aspects of the migration field. I worked with Malta Red Cross in detention, and also with a local development organization, KOPIN, in designing and applying for projects for the empowerment of Somali women in the open centers. In 2011 I took advantage of an international exchange programme, to spend a semester studying at George Mason University while working with Farmworker Justice in Washington DC, an organization that advocates for the rights of migrant farmworkers.

On returning to Malta I focused my Social Policy dissertation on the experience of Filipino domestic workers in Malta, as this was the first undergraduate research of this kind. The purpose was to expose policy gaps and group vulnerability to academics, Filipinos, organisations and relevant authorities. Today Ahmed and I continue our work, supporting and empowering vulnerable migrants and their communities. Conflict resolution studies can be very beneficial for Malta, but more needs to be done to connect the benefits of this programme with the expansion of strategic conflict resolution and peacebuilding in Malta and in the Mediterranean region. ■

Displaced Kashmiri Pandits

Continued from page 5

These townships meant to provide a close-to-home like experience, resulted in the moral hazard of robbing them of the needed services, and families resent “living in a vacuum without political space and rights” (research participant, Rajput, 2012).

Economic policies also created a dilemma. The pressure of securing adequate means of livelihood often spills into the host communities. To alleviate such pressures, policies included “temporary use” of the shops, by retaining the shop ownership, the government prohibited the users from altering the shops. Further socio-economic ills stem from the “migrant” label, which locals used to “dictate rules for inclusion/exclusion” (Tilly 2005, 6-7). The most enduring of the predicament has been the issue of return, entrenched in national policies and families’ own stance. The families remain in a state of dissonance (Festinger 1957), reluctant to commit to a “mixed society” or return to a society that “humiliated their identity” (research participant). Given the elapsed time, the government’s own stance remains ambiguous. On the one hand, they view this community as “migrants” who left “of their own volition” where the right of their return is a non-policy issue. Positioning the crisis as a “temporary disturbance,” exempts them from rehabilitation in new communities. However, the families praise some policies as having made a positive difference. Under the “Special Allocation for Children of Kashmiri Migrants,” KP children availed themselves of education benefits. This empowered the children with survival skills and

kept them from becoming victims of the streets and child labor, prevalent in many displaced communities (Aker et al. 2006). The prolonged absence from their homes has meant a shift in how the families reflect on the changes. For some, these changes reflect as growth and achievements, for others a disconnected identity.

Policies remain a function of how the elite positioned this crisis and the consequent narratives (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). The physical act of displacement that occurred at one point in time set off a spiral of social and economic repercussions. Regardless of the personal stories triggering their departure, the exact date and time of their “shameful departure” is now ingrained in their psyche. After 23 years, those who dream of returning admit that the social fabric of their society has changed forever and that society can never be trusted again. The policy solutions exclusively addressing the rift between the KPs and the locals, through “townships,” have missed the larger structural context, needed to restore the long-term aspirations of the families. The predicament of this community needs to be understood as symptomatic of a larger problem that requires structural reform in the Valley. Kashmir faces internal clashes among factions about the future of the State, with the fate of the Valley in limbo. Since being evicted from their homes, in 1989, the families remain in exile, with the vision of returning becoming more blurry with each passing year. ■



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Ukraine: The Struggle for Power and Identity

By Karina V. Korostelina, Associate Professor of Conflict Resolution, ckoroste@gmu.edu

The decision of the Ukrainian president to turn away from the European Union has led to mass street protests. But that decision was only a triggering event, not the main motivation for the current unrest. Despite the mass media's presentation of the current situation in Ukraine as a conflict between a pro-Russian government and pro-European anti-totalitarian popular opposition, the reality is much more complex and multilayered. One dimension is ethnic and regional differences in the perception of the nation and the contested and controversial process of imagining a national community. The second dimension is antagonism of the people and the government in the extremely poor economic conditions, corruption, and impoverishment of the population. The third dimension is a contradiction between liberal ideology of the



A man waving a Ukrainian flag in front of riot police.
Photo: Flickr user Lubomyr Salamakha.

ethnic, and linguistic differences between regions. The contestation of Ukrainian national identity impacts internal conflicts between ethnic and regional groups. Undefined Ukrainian national identity influences foreign policy and defines the vector of international relations, including relations with Russia and the European Union.

Second, the absence of a clear national idea is strongly

interconnected with the democratic and economic development of Ukraine. The promise of president, Yanukovich, to combat corruption as a major problem in Ukraine was never fulfilled: glaring conflicts of interest among senior officials, combined with delays in the passage of anticorruption legislation, fueled public skepticism about the leadership's ability to combat graft in 2010. According to Transparency International's corruption perceptions index, Ukraine's rank among the 178 surveyed countries changed from 134th in 2010 to 144th in 2012. The Heritage Foundation's 2013 index of economic freedom put Ukraine in the 161st place out of 177 surveyed states. Forbes placed Ukraine in the fourth place among the world's worst economies.

Third, the national identity is deeply rooted in ethnicity and culture while the civic foundations of national identity are less developed. Based on the legacy of Soviet ethno-federalism and the incorporation of ethnic identity into the state passport system, the development of the nation has become perceived in ethnic terms. Democracy is very weak and civic society is still in an embryonic state, having virtually no influence on the government.

Continued on Page 7

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: Sudan at the Crossroads
- 3 Initiative: S-CAR Speaks
- 4 Event: Community, Transparency and S-CAR Student Association
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances.
Visiting Scholar Opinion: The Struggle for West Papuan Independence
- 6 Spotlight: Christy Cheesman
Spotlight: Ihsan Gunduz

commentary

Sudan at the Crossroads:

Using Education to Resolve 48 Years of Conflict

By Adeeb Yousif, S-CAR PhD Student, aabdela2@gmu.edu

After completing her Masters degree at George Mason University, Megan Greeley, an S-CAR alumna, joined an international NGO, with a field office located in the Sudanese capital, Khartoum.

Megan, who has always been very committed to the field of conflict resolution, engaged in other consultancy and peacebuilding matters outside of her official job. During one such consultancy, Megan met with the Director of the Peace and Development Studies at the University of Bahri in Khartoum about how to make the school more sustainable. Megan's suggestion was that she would liaise on behalf of the Director in contacting S-CAR for technical and professional assistance. She subsequently contacted faculty members at S-CAR, in particular Dr. Daniel Rothbart, who has done substantial work in the Sudan.

From the 6th to the 14th of February 2014, Dr. Buthaina Ahmed Elnaiem, a professor at the Department of Economics, College of Social and Economic Studies, University of Bahri visited S-CAR. During her visit, Dr. Buthaina had the opportunity to meet and interact with some faculty members as well as students. She concluded her visit with the statement "this is the right place to be to learn how to help resolve the Sudanese conflict." Some of the ideas that came out of that initial meeting involved a redesign of their curriculum, developing an online education, and finally getting a library resource center. Although nothing official has been done yet, a number of individuals kindly donated some books to the program at the University of Bahri. The feedback that came back from the University is that the book contributions have been making a great difference in increasing students' knowledge and skills about conflict analysis and resolution.

The University of Bahri is not a new school in the Sudan, although its original name has changed. The school used to be called the University of Juba, which was founded in 1975 as part of the Addis



Educating the Youth in Sudan. Photo: Adeeb Yousif.

Ababa Agreement that ended the first war, fought between 1956 and 1972. Unfortunately, the second war, which was fought between 1983 and 2005, forced people to migrate. The University of Juba, the only institution in South Sudan at that time, had to do the same. The secession of South Sudan from the Sudan in 2011 meant that the school had been permanently

relocated to Khartoum. The Sudanese government subsequently renamed the school to the University of Bahri.

Being Sudanese, the question that I continually ask myself is why my country, throughout the 58-years of independence, has been embroiled in protracted civil conflicts for about 48 years. The only seemingly peaceful period was a ten-year break which Johann Galtung, a peace researcher, might even refer to as the "negative peace" period. Millions of lives have been lost during this period, of which many have been women and children. Coupled with that, many people have been forced to flee their homes, with some becoming internally displaced persons or refugees in other countries. The conflict has also affected infrastructure, the economy, and the environmental as well as education and health systems. The current exploration between the S-CAR and the University of Bahri, I believe, is a step in the right direction as it offers hope for Sudan in terms of looking for avenues to stem the tide of perpetual violence that is plaguing the country. The general objectives of the proposed collaboration should provide the platform for an alternative to the use of violence to resolve conflicts. Education is vital, as it can be a gateway to development, security, prosperity, understanding, acceptance, respect and peaceful coexistence.

I cannot think of a better sustainable solution for the conflict in Sudan, or in any other African country, than education and human rights education. The majority of people need to learn and be fully aware of their rights and how to put their rights and duties into practice. Neither humanitarian intervention nor political solutions can exist if there is no respect for human rights, respect for each other, in a multi-racial, multi-culture, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious society with everyone equally enjoying peaceful co-existence and development. ■

S-CAR Speaks:

The School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution's Weekly Video Podcast Project

By Gedeon Patrick Hakizimana, S-CAR PhD Student, ghakizim@gmu.edu

As students, faculty members, scholars, and practitioners of the S-CAR community, continue to look to engage in and undertake initiatives to tackle both domestic and global issues, the focus of the weekly video podcast project, dubbed S-CAR Speaks, will look to engage with those individuals about their work and their efforts in both the field and in academia.

This project, which was started in the Spring of 2012 by Cassie Ammen, the Communications and Events Associate at S-CAR and Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, a PhD student at S-CAR, was designed to be a monthly video podcast series. Their work for that academic year included a session with students talking about the KONY 2012 video, a discussion on Somalia's current problems, the Russian elections and subsequent riots, and an initiative to create a platform for talking about gun regulation in the state of Virginia, among many others. With the popular and a very successful first year of the S-CAR Speaks project, the format was changed from a monthly podcast series to a weekly one, due to the number of initiatives that students and faculty were undertaking. This expansion also led to Catherine Walsh and Soolmaz Abooli joining the team.

For this academic year, S-CAR Speaks will primarily focus on projects as well as commentaries from individuals familiar with



Patrick Hakizimana, S-CAR Speaks Producer. Photo: S-CAR

current developments surrounding issues such as the ongoing 'Arab spring' unrest still unravelling in other parts of the Middle East and North Africa, the breakout of civil war in South Sudan, the religious conflict taking place in the Central African Republic between Christians and Muslims, and, more recently, the unrest that turned most parts of the Ukraine into a war-zone. As scholars committed to conflict resolution, we must engage in conversations, analysis, the study and the reflection of actions and inactions in order to develop better theories or revise old ones to continuously

improve upon our work. Thus, S-CAR Speaks is a platform for the S-CAR community to discuss and analyze current conflicts and their resolution as well as present their projects that they are engaged in all over the world. The vision is that one would be able to apply theory to practice from the classroom experience to a real life event. In the words of Nelson Mandela, "Education is the

most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world."

S-CAR Speaks is usually recorded on Monday or Tuesday. The videos are edited and put on the website and are usually about 15 - 20 minutes long. Individuals can also publish their analysis and projects in S-CAR News following the podcast. For this academic year, the format for S-CAR Speaks will be modified to accommodate individuals who are not affiliated to S-CAR but whose work are related to the field and the school. Individuals can also personally reach out to such individuals and either decide to interview them or have one of our hosts do it. For more information, please contact Patrick Hakizimana at ghakizim@gmu.edu or The John Burton library at scarlib@gmu.edu. ■



Soolmaz Abooli, S-CAR Speaks Host. Photo: Soolmaz Abooli



Catherine Walsh, S-CAR Speaks Host. Photo: S-CAR



Cassie Ammen, S-CAR Speaks Producer. Photo: Mason Creative Services

initiatives

Community, Transparency, and the S-CAR Student Association

By Dilafruz Khonikboyeva, S-CAR MS Student, dkhonikb@gmu.edu

WHAT should young people do with their lives today? Many things, obviously. But the most daring thing is to create stable communities in which the terrible disease of loneliness can be cured."

The "counterculture's novelist" has many things to teach us as students at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and world citizens, but this particular Kurt Vonnegut quote is the most poignant for us. A sense of community as we enter, grow, and prepare to leave S-CAR is of paramount importance in quelling the loneliness of academic writing, job searching, and finding our place within the field.

We would like to help fulfill this desire for a strong, coherent sense of community in our academic life and career trajectories. Throughout February, we have campaigned, staged, and completed an election of an Interim Executive Committee. This group, consisting of a President, MS/Certificate Liaison, PhD Liaison, and a Treasurer, will oversee a Constitutional Committee that will lay the framework for an accountable, transparent, and fully functioning Student Association in Fall 2014. We have official school recognition and funding to support students. Most importantly, we hope we have your trust and buy-in

to create a community to deal with the challenges present at S-CAR, in Washington DC, and in the field.

Your newly elected officials are Alexandra Schaerrer, Van Schmidt, David Younes, and myself. As a first year PhD candidate and international student, Alexandra is very aware of the concerns of her cohort, particularly access to advisory options, dissertation processes, publishing opportunities, and funding availability. As the PhD Liaison, the hope is that she is able to set a precedent in access and unity of information to aid incoming

classes.

Van Schmidt is not only a second-year MS student but also a previous certificate student. He has experienced the challenges involved in starting and working through both programs. As the MS/Certificate Liaison, he would like to be a source as well as a collector of information that leads to an institutional knowledge to aid students in both programs.

David Younes is a second year MS student who brings a wealth of knowledge from his time in the Peace Corps and the Department of Treasury's Office of the Inspector General. In his role as treasurer, David will emphasize fiscal responsibility, effective oversight, and complete transparency in dealing with funding provided by GMU to the Student Association.

As a former undergraduate alum and a current second year MS student, the need for community has gained urgency as I have come to realize the importance of a strong Student Association as the basis for a strong Alumni Network. In my role as President, I hope to marry this knowledge of S-CAR with my position as the Chief of Media Relations and Strategy at USAID's Center for

International Development to ensure that students are aware of the Student Association and engage because they realize it exists to serve them and their needs.

From picking classes to writing a thesis or dissertation, a community like the Student Association should be able to provide information about publishing and support students through funding. This support and service, we hope, will incorporate a strong Alumni Network that can guide students through grants, writing, and area expertise.

The learning process and need for community continue past our time as active students at Mason.

As we strive to provide a foundation for future incoming students and ourselves as alumni, we hope you will engage with us to tell us what your wants, needs, and expectations are. With this sense of community, we can confidently move forward in the "many things" we should be doing with our lives. Feel free to talk to each of us individually or write us: scarstudentassociation@gmail.com or <https://www.facebook.com/scarsagmu?fref=ts>.



S-CAR Student Association Executive Team. From left to right: David Younes, Dilafruz Khonikboyeva, Alexandra Schaerrer and Van Schmidt.
Photo: S-CAR.

Upcoming Events

Tuesday, March 18, 2014

The Egyptian Constitutional Referendum- The Divisiveness of the 98%
2:00pm - 4:00pm

Tuesday, March 18, 2014

Dialogue & Difference (Fairfax)
7:00pm - 9:00pm

Tuesday, March 18, 2014

Undergraduate Program Brown Bag Lecture
12:00pm-1:30pm

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

Scholar Opinion: The Struggle for West Papuan Independence

By Herman Wainggai, S-CAR Visiting Scholar, hwainggai@gmu.edu

New Guinea, the world's second largest island, sits on the Pacific Rim, a few degrees south of the equator and approximately 150km north of Australia. Originally connected to the mainland of Australia, this island for over a thousand years was home to hundreds of groups of Melanesian and Austronesian people. In 1885, the island and its people were divided by a partition agreement between the Dutch, English, and German colonial governments. This partition split the island into Papua New Guinea (in the east) and Indonesian-occupied West Papua (in the west), and it remains so even to this day. Among the many problems that indigenous Papuans are currently facing are that Indonesia, with the help of multinational corporations, has been extracting the natural resources of the land rapaciously without any benefit ensuing for the people in terms of improving their standard of living. Many of the leaders who have been involved in peaceful campaigns for freedom for West Papua have either died in prison or now live in exile. Despite the Indonesian occupation, enforced by the military for over fifty years in what has been a no-go zone to the international community, the people of this forgotten land have been struggling for freedom from oppression and they have confidence that the moral and legal injustice of their country's theft will be eventually overturned.

Like other nations, Papuans search for democracy, justice, and equality, but West Papua continues to be haunted by what has been called a "memoria passionis," or a collective 'memory of suffering.' On one hand, this refers to the complexities of the suffering experiences of the West Papuans under the control of the Indonesian government. On the other hand, the Memoria Passionis is a theological term referring to the redemptive sufferings of Jesus. This faith-construct imbues many West Papuans with a sense of identity, purpose, and meaning in a life of afflictions and subjugation. In that sense, it is analogous to the early black American experience of slavery in America, finding cultural expression in their spirituality. An example is the notion that "nobody knows the trouble I have seen, nobody knows but Jesus." This has enabled them to celebrate 'life in the midst of death' and transform defeat into hope of victory, hate into love, violence into peace and the inhuman dispensing of wrong into commitment to justice. The ongoing conflict, as such, inspires West Papuans to endeavor to solve their 'memoria passionis' through non-violence.

In 1962, the Kennedy administration devised the New York Agreement, signed between the Netherlands, Indonesia, and the United Nations, whereby the Indonesian governance replaced a relatively benign Dutch-colonial administration. The Papuans themselves had no say in this decision, which satiated President Sukarno's appetite for more land (416,000 square kilometers), pacified President Kennedy's fear of communism, and allowed American business interests to initiate the Freeport-McMoran

gold and copper mine. During this transition period from Dutch colonial administration to Indonesian administration there were approximately 700,000 indigenous West Papuans and around 300 tribes, speaking at least 250 languages. Under Indonesian rule, the Papuan population has threatened to be overwhelmed by non-Papuans, mostly government-sponsored internal transmigrants and free settlers. A demographic study in 2010 titled "Slow motion genocide or not?" showed the indigenous population at 48%, down from 96.09% in 1971, with an annual growth rate of only 1.84%, compared to a non-Papuan rate of 10.82%. A statistic that increases the motivation of the independence activists is the projection that by 2020, West Papuans will be "a small and rapidly dwindling minority," the Melanesian proportion constituting, at most, 28% of the total population.

From the beginning of the Indonesian soldiers marching in, the West Papuans endured a harsh and authoritarian rule under President Suharto. Large scale atrocities were carried out, particularly in the highlands where there were low level military resistance. In the 1980's, arrests and incarceration of nonviolent political prisoners continued, where some leaders were sent to lengthy prison sentences of ten and twelve years. More recently, on October 19, 2011, over three hundred civilians were arrested at the conclusion of the Third West Papuan National Congress, including Edison Waromi and Forkorus Yaboisebut,



2012 Demonstration for independence.

Photo: Herman Wainggai.

the appointed Prime Minister and President, respectively. Waromi and Yaboisebut are two of over fifty political prisoners currently in West Papuan gaols. Despite this re-run of suppression of their aspirations, this will not deter Melanesians from nonviolent struggle until self-determination within a democratic framework is achieved, and recognition, respect, and support from the international community is gained. Although West Papua was granted the "Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua in the form of a Separate Government" in 2001, little has changed. Special Autonomy was touted to the international community as a "decentralization" program, but after more than a decade, the level of hardship in relation to sickness,

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

'Less Violent' Does Not Have to Mean 'Apathetic'

Marc Gopin, S-CAR Professor
Washington Times 2/25/14

CrossTalk: Geneva 2 Intentional Failure?

Richard Rubenstein, S-CAR Professor
Russia Today 2/19/14

Faculty Spotlight on Innovation: Susan Hirsch & Agnieszka Paczynska

Notes of Excellence Newsletter, Issue 012
2/14/14

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 16 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent the latest at time of publication. For a complete list please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

press

Continued on Page 8

Christy Cheesman, CAR Undergraduate Student

By Innocent Rugaragu, S-CAR PhD Student, irugarag@gmu.edu

Christy Cheesman is a Conflict Analysis and Resolution major at George Mason University. Her concentration is in community organizations and she intends to work for a non-profit organization in DC in the very near future. Christy is a sophomore from Williamsburg, Virginia, and last semester she completed a non-profit studies minor as well as an internship with The National Center for State Courts Arlington Office. She is also a proud member of the Mindful Living LLC and a sister of Gamma Phi Beta.

"Conflict Analysis and Resolution is important to me because I have learned that the majority of conflicts can

be solved if people work together," she said. She would as such like to take the practices she has learned and encourage more non-profit organizations to collaborate in the work of conflict analysts and resolutionists. As she said, "when one combines minds and resources, anything is possible." Christy also noted that she took every moment as an opportunity to learn. "I have grown the most in situations where I was out of my comfort zone, and I would like to keep pushing myself. I am eager to experience new things and learn about cultures other than my own. The more I see the more I realize I know nothing!" ■



Christy Cheesman.
Photo: Christy Cheesman.

Ihsan Gunduz, S-CAR MS Student

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

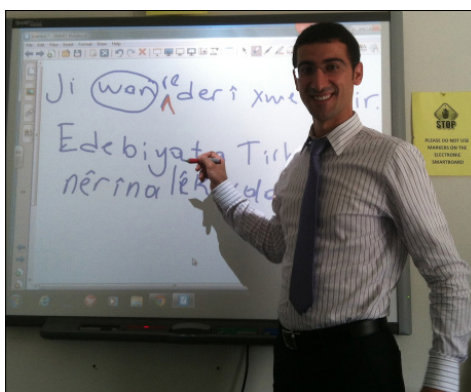
The words, "In cases of protracted conflict, an act of violence always has unanticipated consequences. Its effects far exceed the objectives of strategists and perpetrators" were what first drew Ihsan Gunduz to the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. As he said "I felt a very deep connection in reading the book titled *Identity, Morality, and Threat* authored by Daniel Rothbart and Karina Korostelina [both professors at S-CAR], as it explained a lot about the conflict that I was born into."

Ihsan grew up in a conflict zone as an internally displaced person in Turkey because of the Turkish-Kurdish conflict. The conflict, as he indicated, had its origins in the Turkish nation-state building after World War I and the exclusion of the minorities such as Kurds from this monolithic creation of the nation state. Ihsan's views on the conflict has been more about finding ways to have both Kurds and Turks learn to live together peacefully and find a way to reconstruct the national identity of Turkey to include all minorities because "the violence has done nothing but

to put a social boundary between both Turkish and Kurdish communities, which is hurting both our national identities and with it cultural, social, political, and economic development."

Ihsan's work thus far has been on teaching history in Turkish high schools, working for a non-profit organization called the American Kurdish Information Network (AKIN), and working as a language analyst and a consultant for various organizations. "These experiences, coupled with my current pursuit of a Masters degree at S-CAR, are positioning me to be better equipped to try to find creative ways for which the Turkish-Kurdish conflict will be a thing of the past."

Ihsan is focusing his studies on revision of history textbooks, peacebuilding, and identity, but after school, one of the projects he aims to undertake is to write a manual for history teachers on how to promote peace and teach more inclusive history of all the people of Turkey. "Perhaps this may be the first course for reconciliation for both Kurds and Turks if they can read about one another." ■



Ihsan Gunduz teaching. Photo: Ihsan Gunduz.

Ukraine: The Struggle for Power and Identity

Continued from page 1

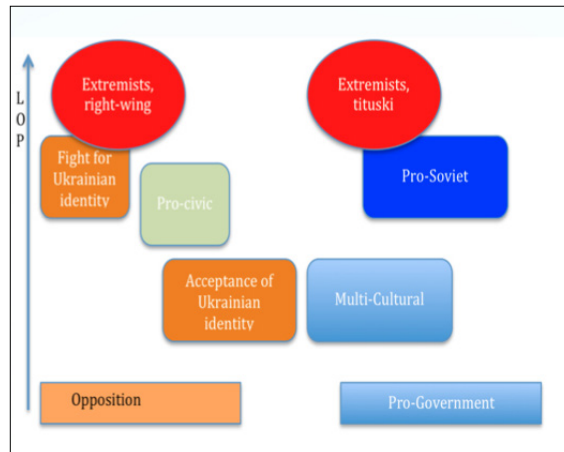
Finally, Ukrainian identity depends on the establishment of a clear distinction from Russia, at the same time this identity remains closely tied to Russia. It is extremely sensitive to changes in Russian policy. The arrogant imperial actions of Russia strengthen the divide between the two countries while economic cooperation increases positive sentiments toward Russia. While in 2012, 83% of the Ukrainian population had positive attitudes toward Russia (with regional differences of 91% in Eastern and Southern regions and 63% in Western regions), only 14% wanted to reunite with Russia.

This complexity of issues is reflected in the high heterogeneity of the opposition. There are several opposition groups with very different narratives. The most active is the group promoting the “Struggle for Ukrainian Ethnic Identity.” They describe Ukraine as a homogenous culture of ethnic Ukrainians with enclaves of pro-Soviet Russians that have resulted from colonization and immigration. Ukraine for them is a post-colonial, post-genocidal society that was able to survive, preserve its culture and language, and achieve independence. They believe that Ukrainian culture, language, and history remain under threat from the pro-Soviet population and the present government, which is supported by Russia. The major divide in the society is between authentic Ukrainian democratic values and pro-Soviet Russian totalitarian ideals. They join the opposition to protect Ukrainian language and history from pro-Soviet influences and to create policies that empower the Ukrainian ethnic group. Some of this group, including members of the “Svoboda” party, are involved in extremist actions.

They are joined by a group that promotes Ukraine as multicultural civic state with coequal ethnic groups that should build a civic, not ethnic, concept of national identity. This society for them is the product of the efforts of all Ukrainian citizens, united by the idea of independence. They see the threat to their ideas from both Ukrainian and Russian nationalists as well as the pro-Soviet population. They protest paternalistic and totalitarian government and believe that Ukraine’s common identity should be grounded in inclusive ideas of citizenship and should reflect the plural voices of Ukrainian history.

The third group that forms the opposition shares the narrative “Recognition of Ukrainian Ethnic Identity.” They see Ukraine as a homogenous culture of ethnic Ukrainians with small ethnic minority groups: Russians, Crimean Tatars, and Hungarians. The society is united by the deep democratic traditions of Ukrainian culture, which differs from Russian totalitarianism. The Russian-speaking population enjoys sufficient opportunities in Ukraine; tensions are provoked only when Russia is trying to manipulate the issues. They are on the streets to defend Ukrainian independence from the Russian influence in politics, economics, and culture in Ukraine.

The population that supports the government is also hetero-



An illustration of the positions of the different groups in the current conflict. The LOP is the level of participation in the current unrest. Diagram: Karina V. Korostelina.

geneous. One group supports a vision of Ukraine as a country with a dual identity comprising two coequal ethnic groups. People supporting this narrative are proud of their Ukrainian-Russian culture and heritage, see the country as divided by regional differences, and believe that Ukrainian nationalists are the ones responsible for escalating tensions in the country. They see the opposition as a threat to the Russian language and culture as well as the position of Russians in the structure of power.

The second pro-government group professes a pro-Soviet narrative and provides positive assessment of the history of the Soviet Union. Ukraine is thus portrayed as a multicultural society where

all internal conflicts are provoked by nationalists. They believe that Soviet Ukraine was a tolerant brotherly nation based on the common identity of the Soviet people (Sovetskii narod), but now nationalists are imposing their vision of history and society on the whole country and are ruining the peaceful nation. Some of the most extremist pro-government activists belong to this category and some, including the “Tatuski” group, are being paid by the country leadership.

To address this complexity and mitigate the conflict, it is important to introduce both agonistic dialogue and develop a shared society. Agonistic dialogue rests on the ideas of agonistic pluralism that converts antagonism into agonism that implies a deep respect and concern for the other, promotes engagement of adversaries across profound differences, and involves a vibrant clash of democratic political positions. In divided societies, agonistic dialogue becomes an essential practice that contributes to building relationships and expands understanding between groups. Dialogue in divided society should not illuminate conflict, but rather transform the nature of that conflict. Thus, agonistic dialogue practice is less about finding the ‘truth’ or some form of consensus about the history of the conflict, but rather about seeking accommodation of conflicting positions.

The development of shared power and shared society will ensure legitimacy of the new government. A simple transfer of power to the opposition will lead to a new swing of pendulum and decrease its legitimacy for Ukrainian population. The new government should be formed as a coalition of all parties and major groups in Ukrainian society and should promote the idea of shared society. A shared society supports equality of all cultural, ethnic, and religious identities, recognizing their values and interdependence. This approach addresses divisions between groups and creates positive connections between communities. Accountable governments and inclusive decision-making, including administration, representative bodies, an accessible judicial system, free and fair elections, and equal access to basic services, help develop trust and positive social engagement. The development of a shared society in Ukraine must be collaborative, adaptive to social environment, and include all stakeholders in the consensus-oriented efforts to build a peaceful and inclusive society. ■

The Struggle for West Papuan Independence

Continued from page 5

maternal deaths, poverty, and education in Papua are still the worst in Indonesia. This is largely the result of embezzlement and corruption by Indonesian government officials. The Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency claims that \$US9m allocated for the development of public facilities—schools, health centers, bridges, hospitals, irrigation networks—has been embezzled. The elected representative body of Papuans rejected Special Autonomy in 2010. Various schemes have been put up since to try and ‘solve the Papuan problem’ and the Papuan people have met the current proposal for a Special Autonomy Plus with scepticism and indifference. Indonesia’s colonization and military occupation of West Papua was achieved by, and still continues, thanks to the governments of the UK, Australia and the US, and it is facilitated by the world’s largest copper and gold mine owned by Freeport-McMoRan Copper and Gold, Inc., a US corporation.

In addition, for more than 50 years, some of the world’s largest transnational mining corporations have been exploiting West Papua’s oil and minerals, including Union Oil, Amoco, Agip, Conoco, Phillips, Esso, Texaco, Mobil, Shell, Petromer Trend Exploration, Atlantic Richfield, Sun Oil and Freeport, Oppenheimer, Total SA, Ingold, Marathon Oil, Bird’s Head Peninsula, Dominion Mining, Aneka Tambang, BHP, Cudgen RZ, and Rio Tinto (formerly RTZ-CRA). The exploitation of natural resources by extractive industries has a history of resulting in catastrophic damage to human and environmental health and local ways of life. Mystifyingly, the mainstream global media has, with occasional exceptions, virtually ignored the military and corporate injustices perpetrated upon the indigenous population of West Papua.

West Papuans have resisted the Indonesian occupation since the 1960s, but resistance and self-determination were taken to a new level when 5,000 academics, church leaders, and senior tribal leaders established the Federal Republic of West Papua (FRWP) on 19 October

2011. During a four-day congress, registered representatives and thousands who had not registered flocked to participate in the debates and processes. The organization of an independent West Papuan political force was an integral and courageous step in a long and costly liberation struggle.

The Indonesian government responded predictably: military and police, many in armored vehicles, as well as snipers, hidden up in trees around the field, opened fire. Four students and two PETAPA (Guardians of the Land of Papua, a civil guard organization) were assassinated. Participants, including the executives of the new state, were kicked and beaten with batons, bamboo sticks, and rifle butts; then tortured into leaping, like frogs, across the oval. 800 were arrested and 300 detained. Indonesian intelligence’s notorious interrogation techniques resulted in at least twelve fractured skulls. President Yaboisembut, Prime Minister Waromi, and three organizers of the congress, had committed treason under Article 106 Article of the Indonesian Criminal Code, and were incarcerated for three years (2012—2015).

Since then, more activists and journalists have been tortured, assassinated, and thrown into jails, where they are denied access to medical and legal services and rarely allowed to exercise or shower more than once a week. After the Sydney Morning Herald published its investigation, “They’re taking our children; West Papua’s youth removed to Islamic religious schools in Java for re-education” (4 May 2013), President Yudhoyono offered to release all fifty Papuan political prisoners (rather than launch an enquiry into the stolen children). The offer of release has been rejected by the prisoners, including the now famous long-term detainee Filip Karma, yet the hopes for independence of the thirty political prisoners in Abepura Prison are not dashed. They have demanded instead that “the whole of Papua be released.” ■



School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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The Yemeni National Dialogue: Setting a Standard for Other Arab Countries?

By Alma Abdul-Hadi Jadallah, PhD, S-CAR Adjunct Professor and UN Expert; served at the Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary General to Yemen Jamal Ben Omar in 2013, ajadalla@gmu.edu

In 2011, Yemeni men, women, youth and children demonstrated and protested against the government of Ali Abdallah Saleh, insisting on his resignation and the dissolution of his government. The country was at the brink of civil war when the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) agreement (2011) was proposed, stipulating that the president resign, a transitional government be formed, and a national conference be held with the parties who are signatories to the GCC initiative, and a new constitution to be written and followed by national referendum and elections.

The Yemeni National Dialogue Conference (NDC) ended officially after ten months of deliberations among



NDC Plenary Session. Photo: Alma Jadallah.

565 delegates, and under the auspices of the United Nations and its Special Advisor to the Secretary General Jamal Ben Omar. On January 21, 2014, the conference closed with an outcome document containing close to 1,400 recommendations and principles intended to shape the future State of Yemen. Yemenis are proud of this achievement. President Hadi described it best in his

remarks at the closing plenary: "It is 100 percent Yemeni and not the product of any foreign interference" (source: www.ndc.ye). With a ninety percent rule for agreement, the delegates reached consensus on all principles and recommendations listed in the document, including Yemen becoming a multi-region federal system.

The NDC was the first experiment in the Arab world of its kind. It set out to provide a process to help Yemenis reflect

on the past, discuss the present, and chart a road map for Yemen's future. With the full support of the international community and in accordance with Security Council Resolution 2140, the dialogue served as an intervention and a conflict resolution process that saved Yemen from its downhill descent into civil war. Some analysts described it as one of the only negotiated and most inclusive transitional and public participatory processes in the history of the region.

The environment in Yemen was by no means conducive to the success of such a process. Yemenis were facing political, social, humanitarian, environmental, and security challenges. Politically, Yemen was struggling on how to address a secessionist movement in the South, a Shiite rebellion in the North, and the influence and dominance of a handful of powerful and wealthy families. Security challenges were of great concern, with Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) taking full advantage of a weak central government and weak security and military apparatus.

Continued on Page 7

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: Conflict Zone, Comfort Zone
- 3 Initiative: SSWIPE - Southern Sudanese Women's Initiative for Peace Education
- 4 Event: Celebration of Achievements
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances.
Student Opinion: The Revolution Will be Tweeted
- 6 Spotlight: Jackie Finch
Spotlight: Wilfredo Magno Torres III

Conflict Zone, Comfort Zone:

Pedagogy, Methodology, and Best Practices in Field-Based Courses

By Alexandra Schaerrer, S-CAR PhD Student, aschaerr@gmu.edu; Susan Hirsch, S-CAR Professor of Conflict Resolution and Anthropology, shirsch4@gmu.edu; and Agnieszka Paczynska, S-CAR Associate Professor, apaczyns@gmu.edu

On February 22 and 23, 2014, the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution welcomed 33 participants from ten national institutions to participate in a workshop entitled *Conflict Zone, Comfort Zone: Pedagogy, Methodology, and Best Practices in Field-Based Courses*. Convened by SCAR's Undergraduate Experiential Learning Project, which is directed by S-CAR faculty members Susan Hirsch and Agnieszka Paczynska, this innovative round-table included a wide variety of participants from different theoretical and epistemological backgrounds, including representatives from Georgetown University, George Mason University, Nova Southeastern, UC Irvine's The Olive Tree Initiative, Volunteers in Asia, the Connecticut Center for Nonviolence, Southern Connecticut State University, the University of Kentucky, Carlow University, Chatham University, and Providence College.

The workshop explored experiential learning and in particular field-based courses that take students out of the traditional classroom setting. Presentations focused on the ethical dilemmas students and instructors encounter in such courses, different approaches to course-design, and methods of evaluation and assessment of student learning. Participants discussed the challenges of teaching courses in conflict and post-conflict settings and the ways in which academic institutions offering such courses take on issues of accountability and responsibility for student learning, as relates both to partners in host-countries as well as to people directly affected by the conflicts. The workshop participants critically examined various experiential learning and field-based course models, theoretical frameworks, and case studies in order to better bridge the gap between theory and practice and, most importantly, move towards the development of 'best practices' for developing and implementing field-based courses in conflict analysis and resolution.

Ethics within Inequity

By moving students out of the traditional classroom, field-based courses provide students with a unique opportunity to 'link theory to practice.' Workshop participants discussed how such courses allow students to explore the ethics of practice in the real world and be sensitized to social disparities and power asymmetries in communities in which they engage in practice. At the same time, the very nature of field-based courses presents a number of ethical dilemmas. One of the key challenges that the participants discussed revolves around the 'time-frame' and 'local collaboration' nexus, focusing in particular on the tension between the

ethical imperative of working with communities and the constraints of achieving community-based reciprocity given the short duration (usually 3-6 weeks) of field-based courses. In many instances, this tension can create pressure for development of a transactional course model, in which economic constraints and assessment measures supersede ethical aims and considerations, and 'experience' is treated as a commodity, which is marketed and sold to students as transformative. In such cases, the local communities are positioned as the 'source' of that experience and training for students. Such course models can reinforce structural power asymmetries by benefitting students at the expense of local communities,

and some courses might amount to little more than an exercise in parachute peace-building and/or conflict tourism.

In order to move beyond transactional models, the panelists offered examples that shift who owns, orchestrates, and benefits from the experience by bringing in local community members as full participants in as reciprocal a relationship as possible. By designing programs geared towards 'full participation,' these initiatives shift from a model that posi-

tions local people as a source of data (with students doing the analysis and interpretation) and instead focuses on exchanges of knowledge and cross-cultural collaboration. An important goal of such learning is no longer limited to the experience alone but the development of collaborative knowledge, thus encouraging students to reflect upon their own positioning vis-a-vis their local counterparts as well as each other. The main objective of such a model is to create spaces whereby students can repeatedly interrogate experiences, bringing in and probing the interrelationship of culture, power, and position. In this model, students critically investigate the boundary between academics, activism, research, and practice. Workshop participants explored practice as an intellectual enterprise, particularly as pertains to the political economies of these programs, and raised hard questions about how such cross-cultural programs can operate ethically in contexts that are fundamentally unequal and embedded within broader asymmetrical power systems, whether in the United States or abroad. Workshop participants gave clear examples of how courses focused on social justice in U.S. communities must also address student and faculty assumptions about poverty, class, incarceration, and security.



Columbia Field Course. Photo: Agnieszka Paczynska.

Continued on Page 4

SSWIPE:

Southern Sudanese Women's Initiative for Peace Education

By Jenny White, S-CAR MS Student, jwhite11@gmu.edu

The Southern Sudanese Women's Initiative for Peace Education (SSWIPE) is a project that seeks to facilitate peacebuilding in South Sudanese communities by engaging women as community members, utilizing dialogue to find common ground, and teaching peace education while meeting students' practical needs. Through a partnership with Abukloi School, SSWIPE will be helping to provide jobs to local women in Rumbek, South Sudan who are willing to cook meals for the students at Abukloi. This will encourage students to get an education, while providing a space to learn about the culture of South Sudan from women's perspectives. SSWIPE will also be working with teachers at Abukloi to facilitate the creation of a peace education curriculum tailored specifically to the culture and conflicts in Rumbek. The goal of SSWIPE is to discern the connection between women and sustainable peacebuilding in South Sudan and to facilitate the development of a peace education curriculum that helps to build a transformed community.

I created this project because my life has been impacted by the Second Sudanese Civil War. One of the Lost Boys of South Sudan, Joseph, lived with my family for several years while attending college, and his stories challenged my worldview and helped me to see the causes and culture of conflict through a new lens. The Lost Boy community here in the US often discuss the importance of education and the need for a space to explore the common ground shared by the various political parties and tribes in South Sudan. Joseph once told me that if women were to come together and advocate for peace, "nothing could stop them." As a student in the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, I have been given the resources to discern whether or not this is true and, in some small way, to be able to facilitate the development process for Southern Sudanese



Welcome to Rumbek. Photo: Flickr User More Altitude.

Sudan is to learn as much as I can about the people and the culture of Rumbek. I will be traveling there in June to conduct interviews of women, teachers, and community leaders in the area to garner a clearer sense of the elements of peace education and con-

conflict resolution work that best suit this community. I am hopeful that this research process will help me to stay mindful of the small role I have in the larger vision of this project. I am bringing with me only the specific skill set I have learned at S-CAR, with which I hope to facilitate this work. At the beginning of this project it was easy to make assumptions about what is needed or wanted in Rumbek, but I am swiftly realizing that is not the space I should fill. I am looking forward to the opportunity to learn from the people of Rumbek and to build on the insights already provided by theorists and practitioners in the field.

At first I was intimidated by the variety of directions in which this project could go, but I now feel a sense of excitement about the possibility of authentic collaboration with the Rumbek community in designing it. Already, I have learned so much about what it means to be working in a community. I thought initially that I needed to have answers, but I am learning that I must first be curious and trust that the answers will come through research and partnership. I am grateful to have the opportunity to put some of the skills I have learned at S-CAR to work and to try to give back to Joseph and the rest of the Lost Boy community who have taught me so much. ■



Jenny White. Photo: Jenny White

initiatives

Re-framing Engagement

The challenges of field-based learning are distinct from those that students and instructors encounter in the traditional classroom. Once students are working in a community, they encounter real people and real conflicts. The workshop participants explored how best to prepare students to engage in practice in these contexts where decisions often need to be made quickly and under pressure, when there are no opportunities for 'do-overs,' as can happen during simulations or role play activities in the traditional classroom, and when 'mistakes' made can have negative and lasting implications for the community, students, and the academic institution-community relationship. A key question students explored was how to teach students to recognize the limits of their knowledge and of what their interventions can achieve. For those students who are deeply committed to social justice, perhaps the greatest challenge is to recognize and respect the power dynamics in the community in which they are working and appreciating that as outsiders they can do more harm than good if they try to advocate for complex changes in the very limited time frame of a field-based course. By jumping in with the aim of solving a problem, a number of participants noted, students may inadvertently exacerbate tensions. Instructors face the challenge of helping students to understand their circumscribed role as practitioners and that they are not entering a community to

'solve' a community's problems but rather to facilitate the community's moving toward addressing its conflicts.

The workshop participants critically evaluated the responsibility of the academic community to produce prepared practitioners and to develop 'best practice' frameworks that treat field-based courses as integral to the overall program of study for a nascent practitioner, rather than as a discrete event. Taking this perspective means setting a premium on pre-trip awareness-building, as students can often mistake culture as uni-dimensional and consequently fail to recognize that culture is diverse and shaped by power relations. Pre-trip activities can acquaint students with unfamiliar norms and values that local community members might hold and that might be a source of conflict. Students unprepared for what they might experience can be transformed negatively during experiential learning; students can actually use the experience to validate pre-conceived notions, biases, and stereotypes. Effective preparation involves engaging and confronting students' pre-trip assumptions and the tensions these might create, given that interaction across lines of difference, such as religion, language, class, gender, and culture in practice necessitates moving beyond superficial understandings toward intersubjective experiences that seek to probe the nature of assumed differences.

Continued on Page 8

Annual Celebration of Achievements

By Cassie Ammen, S-CAR Communications and Events Associate, cammen@gmu.edu

April 23rd 5:30-8:30

SPRING CELEBRATION OF ACHIEVEMENTS

Upcoming Events

Tuesday, April 15, 2014

Fifth Annual Undergraduate Conference
2:00pm - 4:00pm

Friday, April 18, 2014

How to Conduct an Effective Job Search
Workshop
10:00am - 12:00pm

Wednesday, April 23, 2014

S-CAR's Annual Spring Celebration of
Achievements
5:30pm-8:30pm

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

S-CAR's Annual Celebration of Achievements is almost upon us: a night of celebrating and building the S-CAR community, of hearing about ongoing projects and the research of faculty, students and alumni; and to acknowledge the achievements and awards in the con-



Cassie Ammen. Photo: Mason Creative Services

flict resolution field.

Please join us on April 23rd from 5:30-8:30 featuring presentations and material displays. There will be a cash bar and light appetizers served. The reception begins at 5:30 in conference room 5183 of the Metropolitan Building, and the presentations will begin at 6:00pm. ■

Student Opinion: The Revolution Will be Tweeted

By Pablo Ramirez, S-CAR Undergrad Student, pramire2@gmu.edu

Call me if you know anything else," I remember asking my father as I walked by Southside frantically refreshing my Twitter feed. He answered back in a reassuring tone that told me I shouldn't worry, that this apparent protest in Venezuela was probably nothing.

How wrong we would all be. Just a few minutes ago, while scrolling through my Twitter feed, I noticed an unusual influx of tweets coming from my friends in Venezuela. I had lived in the country from 2001 to 2009 and hadn't been keeping up with the news over the past few months. They seemed to be mentioning some protest, and that pro-government forces were attacking them. I immediately opened up *El Universal*, a major Venezuelan newspaper, and saw nothing. Surely, if such a reputable news source had said nothing, then the claims by my friends were probably just what my father had insinuated: nothing to worry about, or just a case of the boy who cried wolf.

To my surprise, that was not the case. During the day, more tweets emerged with confusing information, but the news outlets remained silent. And in these past weeks, communication has only worsened.

On February 12th, the protests in Caracas took a deadly turn as three people were killed after a peaceful protest the same day I called my father. In the coming days, the protests grew in size as students and members of the opposition group Table for Democratic Unity (MUD) called for an increased peaceful presence in the street in order to demand a change in the government, answers for the three dead, and even more recently as a result of the protests, to demand that the jailed protesters be freed. In response, President Nicolás Maduro orchestrated a country-wide media blackout; Colombian news agency NTN24, which was reporting from within the nation, was removed by authorities, and the president issued a threat to not allow CNN en Español to report in the country, only to later recant the threat. Because of this, most of the news and communications available has come through Twitter and other social media sources.

Shortly after these developments Agora, a group affiliated to S-CAR, held an open discussion on freedom of speech, and immediately after the discussion I felt compelled to write about my perspective on the Venezuelan crisis, not only as someone who has been constantly interacted with the crisis through Twitter, but as someone who has been fascinated by how Twitter has shaped the message and course of the protests, as well as with what this can mean in escalatory conflict. Two recent examples are the social media trends at the height of the Arab Spring or even more recently in

Ukraine.

As the protests developed after the events of "12F" (February 12th), I was in the dark as to what was going on. The vast majority of tweets that my friends sent out either read as confusing announcements of where the next rally would be held, frantic tweets in all caps about what sections of the city were hearing gunshots or noticing anti-protest tanks, or charged rhetoric calling for either violence or peace. In this regard, the lack of any news outlets proved how powerful a media blackout, even with Twitter, could be. I was thousands of miles away, and the only updates I was receiving were 140 character quibbles that I couldn't confirm or prove as fact or deny as fiction. The people soon found ways around this. During the third night of protests, for example, many of my friends began retweeting a link to a live-feed that someone had set up on Ustream. With the link I was able

to watch a blurry camera feed of Caracas, listening to shots and insults in Spanish. During the rallies, people began to take pictures of the protests, accompanied with descriptions of the scene and a time stamp to prove that the picture was real. Another friend retweeted an article on how to protect oneself from many methods that anti-riot police might use. I was able to see this all developing live. In the context of Venezuela and other movements, it is not hard to see how the Twittersphere played a role, however large or minor. Not to be overlooked is the fact that Twitter also affected the rhetoric and overall message coming out of Venezuela. Many users were able to share pictures showing 'collectivos' and members of the National Guard violently attacking unarmed student protestors, for example, allowing for the opposition to raise awareness of the human rights violations currently being committed by Maduro's government. ■

Continued online at: scar.gmu.edu/newsletter-subject-revolution-will-not-be-tweeted

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

Rwanda- A Country Still in Need

Michael Shank, PhD, S-CAR Alumnus
U.S. News 4/08/14

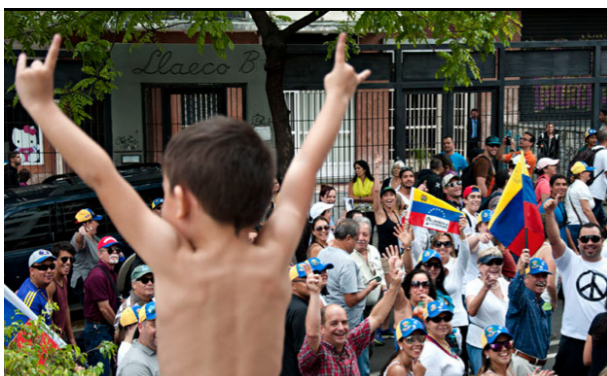
Full-Immersion Simulation as a means for Fostering Skills for International Peacebuilding:

The Atlantic Hope Experience
David J. Smith, S-CAR Adjunct Professor
ACResolution Magazine 3/27/14

Oil is at the Heart of the Ukraine Crisis

Michael Shank, PhD, S-CAR Alumnus
Politix 3/24/14

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



A child shows his support to the Venezuelan Political Opposition. Photo: Flickr user Sojon.

press

Jackie Finch, S-CAR Career Advisement Services

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

To better serve its students and community, S-CAR is welcoming a new addition to its team. With more than ten years of experience, Jackie Finch has joined S-CAR as a career counselor. She first obtained her bachelor's degree in social work and later on got her Master's degree in counseling and guidance. Education has always been one of her passions and she has worked in many American schools as a career and academic counselor. Her experiences, though, are not limited to counseling students. Due to her husband's career, she also had to go through job searches numerous times. Originally from Chicago, IL., she sees herself as "a citizen of everywhere," especially because her husband's employment has pushed her and her family to



Jackie Finch. Photo: S-CAR.

reside all over the U.S. Therefore, what she is bringing is first-hand experience, and her knowledge of the job market and employers' expectations.

To improve students' opportunities to enter the competitive job market, Jackie offers diverse workshops on resume-building and cover letter writing, portfolio, life planning, job search strategies, and so on. Her office hours are Tuesdays to Thursday, from 11am to 6pm.

A mother of four daughters and grandmother of three, Jackie is a life enthusiast.

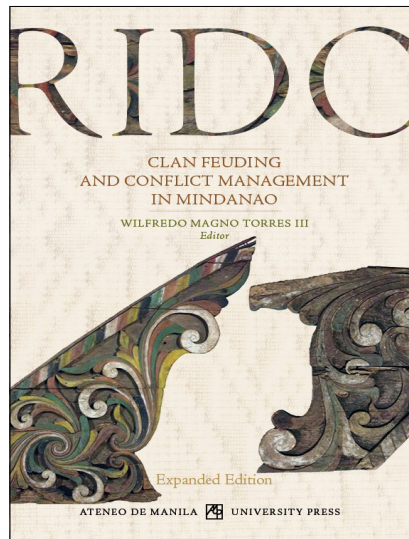
After 34 years of marriage, she believes that life is about love. Her mantra is "Do what you love and love what you do." In her free time, she loves yoga, art, cooking, and traveling. She loves watching movies and NCIS (over and over). We welcome her to S-CAR with her extremely positive attitude. ■

Wilfredo Magno Torres III, S-CAR PhD Student

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

On Friday March 14, 2014, The Asia Foundation, with support from the Southeast Asia Studies Program and Johns Hopkins University, held a book launch for *Rido: Clan Feuding and Conflict Management in Mindanao*. As Wilfredo Torres, one of the editors of the book and a PhD student at S-CAR explained to me, "Rido is a type of conflict characterized by sporadic outburst of retaliatory violence among kinship groups and communities. It can occur in areas where government or central authority is weak and in areas where there is a perceived lack of justice and security. Many armed confrontations in the past involving insurgent groups and the military were triggered by a local rido."

Wilfredo is an anthropologist with over a dozen years of experience in peace development initiatives. Before coming to S-CAR, he managed The Asia Foundation's conflict management program in the Philippines. In this capacity, he designed, supported, and coordinated conflict management projects in close collaboration with partners of the Foundation that wanted to help improve relations between communities and security forces. Wilfredo's decision to pursue his PhD in conflict analysis and resolution was borne



Book - Rido: Clan Feuding and Conflict Management in Mindanao. Photo: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

out of three questions: "How do we know if our peacebuilding projects are making any difference? How do we measure our impact? How do we come up with more institutionalized responses to rido (clan conflicts) and other localized community level conflict?" To Wilfredo, despite a commitment and passion for project implementation, he noted that measuring their effectiveness and attributing community peace outcomes to projects had been a constant challenge for the program he managed. "I have gained a lot of experience from my conflict management work and I am sitting on a wealth of information which I want to make sense of" he said. He believes that studying at S-CAR is an excellent opportunity for him to reflect and think more about his

work experience, and to become exposed to new ideas to further enrich his chosen vocation.

"I was not disappointed after taking CONF 801, our introductory course to the field of conflict analysis and resolution. It made me realize my place and role in the conflict analysis and resolution field, and this has inspired a new outlook for me, especially in the way I can now look back at my previous work and how it relates to the greater scheme of things." ■

The Yemeni National Dialogue

Continued from page 1

AQAP spread fear and chaos in Yemeni cities, and also posed a threat to Yemen's neighbors, allies, and regional stability as a whole. In addition, Yemenis were very concerned and angry about the use of drones and the death of civilians that resulted from their use as a weapon to neutralize AQAP. More importantly, the humanitarian picture was bleak, with a third of its population living under dire economic conditions in spite of rich oil reserves. The country is notably poor in ground water and has very low water reserves; more than a third of its population is deprived of access to clean drinking water.

Moving forward the NDC faced many challenges, including persistent questions related to its legitimacy. Criticism included the government's inability to address the on-going violence and acts of sabotage that continued across the country while conference delegates deliberated at the luxurious Movenpick Hotel.

NDC delegates formed nine working groups dealing with issues such as the conflict in the North, the conflict in the South, transitional justice, and statebuilding. Daily incidents threatened the dialogue and the working groups' ability to complete their work. Inside the Movenpick and at designated hallways, NDC delegates held daily sit-ins, 'wakfa lhtijajia,' in response to news of bombing of civilians, incidents in violation of human rights, news of violent acts committed against women, and abductions and assassinations occurring across the country, including targeted threats of attacks on its own members. The same hallways were also used to commemorate national events such as the 1994 Union of Yemen, the 2007 formation of the Southern Secessionist Movement Al Hirak, and the wars against the Houthis in the Northern city of Saadeh in 2004, 2008, and 2009. NDC delegates had to learn about each other, how each of the different ethnic and religious communities experienced each other, and more importantly, the impact of the economic disparities and social and political divisions on their daily lives.

The National Dialogue Conference rules and regulations, written and set by a Committee of Yemenis and international experts stipulated that no one party could dominate any decision making. With a 90 percent requirement for consensus on any ruling, the



Alma Jadallah, UN Expert-served at the Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary General to Yemen - Jamal Ben Omar in 2013 .
Photo: Alma Jadallah

deliberations required negotiations across competing worldviews and identities and helped form non-traditional alliances on issues of concern. With Yemen in the international spotlight, Yemenis deliberated their traditions, cultures, and religious values, as well as their role and influence on their ability to fulfill Yemen's commitments to international treaties. Issues concerning basic human rights, management of disputes and tribal conduct had to be discussed to address the gaps caused by weak governance.

Daily, the working groups would deliberate on issues pertaining to their mandate. They invited national and international experts to provide technical support. They had to evaluate their decision at a historical moment in Yemen's history. They had to defend their ideas, learn how to persuade, and negotiate and advocate for their ideas without intimidating the other. More importantly, they had to face Yemen's past failures in dealing with ideological differences and disputes.

Yemen continues to face political, social, and most importantly, security challenges. Nevertheless, a conflict resolution process and model has been created and tested, and there is plenty of evidence that it held the country together during very difficult and challenging times.

Though time will be the judge of the NDC impact and its long-term success, the following observations are worth our attention and can inform future practice. The NDC (a) confirmed that dialogue based on mutual respect of its members can help traditionally hostile groups find common ground and work towards a shared goal; (b) demonstrated that a well-designed process can ensure access of historically marginalized groups such as women and youth to the negotiating table; (c) helped break social barriers and the formation of new shared identities in a historically conservative culture like Yemen; (d) highlighted the importance of the international community and the role of multilateral organizations in facilitating a large-scale dialogue process and confirmed the importance of their role as guarantors; (e) emphasized the importance of technical expertise to help build local capacity where and when needed, especially when and where there have been historical inequities in education among the participants; and (f) confirmed the power of the citizens' engagement and the power of a transparent and inclusive process.

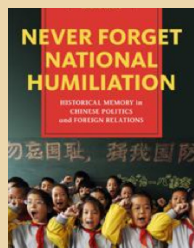
The Yemeni experience is far from perfect, but has certainly allowed the people of Yemen to imagine what is possible, even when all seemed out of reach.

The Yemeni experience could serve as a model for the rest of the Arab world. Though each country's experience is unique, countries like Bahrain, Libya, Algeria, and Egypt have much to learn about the value of an inclusive peace processes and the potential of participatory processes in problem solving. Countries initiating change to meet the aspirations of their citizens have testimonials from the NDC about the value and power of the collective.

There is much to learn from the NDC experiment and the power of the process in bringing healing, reconciliation, and hope for a better future. ■

Book Award: -

The book *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations*, written by Zheng Wang, an S-CAR Alumnus, was just awarded the International Studies Association's the Yale H. Ferguson Award for best book of year. This award recognizes the book that most advances the vibrancy of international studies as a pluralist discipline. The paperback version of the book will be published in April and its Japanese version will be published in May.



Conflict Zone, Comfort Zone

Continued from page 4

The Olive Tree Project at UC Irvine begins to involve students months before they embark on an intensive trip to many communities in the Middle East. As students work together to raise funds for their trip, they learn not only about the communities they will visit, but also about the perspectives of diaspora populations in the United States. The need for preparation is not limited to students, however, as faculty need to be prepared for much more than the academic aspect of the course in order to avoid risk, unpredictability, contrary reactions, and uncomfortable situations. Faculty from S-CAR noted that classroom-based experiential learning activities can provide opportunities to raise some of the key issues prior to a trip.

Towards Best Practices

A clear goal of these discussions is to develop 'best practices' that are both accessible and implementable by instructors across a range of fields that operate such courses in conflict and post-conflict settings. Such a publication would be geared



Liberia Field Course. Photo: Agnieszka Paczynska.

towards sharing insights from active practitioners, academics, administrators, and local partners in order to provide a guide for starting or expanding a program that would address how to generate funding, construct pre-trip preparation, post-trip reintegration and best-practices in choosing local community partners and reciprocal sustainability. This project has further sparked interest in generating new frameworks, methods, and processes for project evaluation which would take into account the intent and product of field-based courses. As the expectations of what 'learning' entails has changed theoretically, students, instructors, institutions, and funders need to see illustrations of what evaluation looks like in practice. Since the creation of successful and ethical field-based courses necessitates a process of pre- and post-testing for such community projects, a guide that includes critical discussions of best practices, pedagogy, methodology, and real case-study evaluations would be an invaluable addition to the CAR field. Workshop organizers hope to publish the presentations and additional commentary in an edited volume in the near future. ■



School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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Bring Back Our Girls!

By Dr. Maneshka Eliatamby, Senior Vice President & Chief Program Officer of Community Without Boundaries International (CWBI) and S-CAR Alumna and Adjunct Professor, meliatamby@cwbi.org

The kidnapping of 278 school-girls is one of the most recent in a series of attacks by Boko Haram, a militant Islamic Group from Nigeria's north. Attacks from the group have steadily increased since it began an insurgency five years ago; 1,500 are said to have died this year alone. With no end to the assaults in sight, what does the peace and conflict field have to offer as solutions? Communities Without Boundaries International, Inc. organized an international panel of peace and conflict experts to discuss this and other questions on Tuesday, May 13th 2014 at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University. A number of academics, civil society members, Nigerian



#BringBackOurGirlsNow gathering at Union Square in New York City. Photo: Flickr user Michael Fleshman.

Diaspora members, students of peace and conflict, and well-wishers attended the event. In addition, several people from across Africa, the United States, and the Balkans viewed and participated in the discussion via Google livestream.

The symposium, moderated by Johnny J. Mack, President

of CWBI, included practitioners, academics/scholars, and civil society members, both live in the United States and via Skype from Nigeria. These included Chom Bagu, Country Director, Search For Common Ground; Sani Muazu, President, Motion Picture Association of Nigeria; Dr. Sylvester Okere, Continental African Leadership

Council; Christopher O'Connor, National Endowment for Democracy; Professor Carl Levan, American University in Washington, DC and Dr. Maneshka Eliatamby, Program Director, Communities Without Boundaries International, Inc.

The panel took both micro and macro views of the issues that they see as currently plaguing Nigeria, leading to the kidnapping of the girls from the Chubok School in Borno State.

In summary, the panel identified the following as major issues facing the country:

1. International and government attention has been limited to the issue of the abducted girls, ignoring other critical factors associated with the conflict;
2. Lack of a comprehensive understanding of the situation on the ground that is depictive of the complexities of Nigeria, including its multi-ethnic and religious backgrounds;

Continued on Page 7

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Managing Humanitarian Crisis: The Atlantic Hope Experience
- 3 Initiative: Psychosocial Trauma and Healing Class
- 4 Event: Beyond Crimea: The Evolution of the Crisis in Ukraine
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances. Student Opinion: Memory in Reconciliatory Leadership
- 6 Spotlight: Looking to Change the World: The 2014 S-CAR Graduating Class

Managing Humanitarian Crisis:

The Atlantic Hope Experience

By Ernest Ogbozor, S-CAR PhD Student, eogbozor@gmu.edu and Andrew Baer, S-CAR MS Student, abaer3@gmu.edu

The weekend of March 15, 2014 will be long remembered by Cathia Soughe, a student at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Cathia was one of many graduate students from three programs; Kennesaw State University Georgia, University of North Carolina Greensboro and George Mason University, that took part in a humanitarian simulation exercise “Atlantic Hope” held at the Indian River State College (IRSC) in Fort Pierce, Florida from March 13 – 16th, 2014. Atlantic Hope prepares students for international peace-building operations by applying conflict resolution techniques to manage a complex humanitarian crisis similar to recent situations in Syria, Haiti, Pakistan, and Indonesia. The graduate students were deployed to a simulated field camp environment in the fictional country of “Atlantica” to work for International Humanitarian Action (IHA), a mock international relief organization similar to the Red Cross, Medicines Sans Frontiers (MSF), or Catholic Relief Services.

As Cathia said, “On the morning of March 15th, we were deployed to a village in the north of Atlantica to conduct damage and needs assessment after a bombing campaign by rebel groups. As the first team in the village after the horrible incident, we did not know what to expect.” Atlantica experienced devastation from both a natural disaster (earthquake) and internal armed conflict; the impact of which left the communities in ruins. Cathia continued, “Upon arriving at the village, we knew that a lot of damage had been done. We saw damaged buildings, cars, blood stains and most of the population had scattered into the forest. Only Rebecca, a sister of the village’s mayor and a handful of others had stayed behind. Rebecca showed us around and told us that they wanted to rebuild. She took us to the marketplace and told us how it used to be a cornerstone of the village. But all we could see were the remains of what used to be vibrant places in the villages.”

Cathia had just undergone a difficult trip through customs at the Atlantican airport the night before, along with a series of briefings on security, international humanitarian law, team building, and negotiation techniques. The briefings were snapshots and reflections of what Cathia had learned in the preparation course, CONF 665: Conflict Resolution in Complex Humanitarian Crisis.

Equipped with skills for negotiating agreements and access to victims, Cathia was prepared to engage the actors in Atlantica towards a peaceful resolution and help to address basic needs in the affected villages. The simulation exercise consisted of three “lanes”: village needs assessment and peace-building, humanitarian camp management, and a detention visit to the notorious Black Swan prison.

Cathia noted, “At the end of our tour, and after talking with the mayor and the priest, we made a map and highlighted the important landmarks. We talked about the real needs, not just the superficial ones, and we debated the real work that needed to be done. We even talked about our capabilities and what we can’t fix so that we didn’t make any promises we couldn’t keep.” Cathia and her group members noted, “As humanitarians we

should always think about what’s next. What’s going to happen to these people once we leave? It’s not just about providing food and water but about listening to them, advocating for them, finding better ways to help in the long run.”

Cathia and her team were also involved in camp management: creating humanitarian space and providing emergency relief to people affected by the conflict in Atlantica.

Atlantic Hope included a scenario centered on assessing prison conditions and visiting prisoners held by opposing armed factions in the fictional Republic of Atlantica. Trainees playing the role of members of IHA are tasked with negotiating prisoner access and conducting assessments in accordance to the

principles of International Humanitarian Law and best practices of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The mock prisons were staffed by role-player prisoners, guards, and wardens who have undergone extensive training and were tasked with creating a challenging learning experience for participants. Cathia and her team successfully negotiated access to the Black Swan prison to interview the detainees, including PoWs from the Atlantica conflict. They then were able to exchange messages between detainees and their family members to restore family links. The team also facilitated the exchange of prisoners between the Government of Atlantica and the rebels as a mark of the willingness of the parties to reduce hostilities.

Humanitarian responders work in complex, potentially dangerous settings. By replicating a crisis situation over a condensed timeframe in a controlled environment, the Atlantica exercise provides a learning space where participants can try out new behaviors, test their knowledge, and develop responses to emergent demands and opportunities. In the simulation, students respond to roleplayers and events as they would in a real life situation. Skill areas relevant across the humanitarian and conflict resolution fields include situation assessments, negotiating operational spaces, minimizing risk to communities and partners, exercising critical judgment, developing collaborative and coordinated responses, and self-management and adaptation under pressure.



Atlantic Hope Exercise. Photo: Ernest Ogbozor.

Continued on Page 3

This kind of teaching exercise began in 2000, after the Indian River State College (IRSC) developed a sequence of courses that lead up to an annual capstone field-training exercise. Atlantic Hope was initially designed to host between 20 to 40 undergraduate students and provide participants with a hands-on opportunity to work as members of a mock NGO (International Humanitarian Action or IHA) operating in a fictional country (Republic of Atlantica) experiencing both intra-state conflict and a natural disaster. Participating universities, or “consortium” schools, have included Northwest Missouri State University, Northern Oklahoma College, the University of Florida, Washington Adventist University, and Indian River State College, among others.

The first graduate-level prototype program was held in March of 2013 with student participation from Kennesaw State University, George Mason University, and the University of North Carolina, Greensboro. Graduate faculty from all three institutions participated in pre-training coursework, field assessments, and participant team advising, with additional support by students

and alumni from American University, IRSC, George Mason University, and Anne Arundel Community College as well as staff from the American Red Cross, who participated as consultants and Controller Evaluators. The S-CAR faculty planning and leading the simulation were Dr. Cindy Mazur, David Smith and Dr. Mara Schoeny with S-CAR students Ernest Ogbozor, Andrew Baer, and Caroline Sarkis planning and roleplaying. Graduate trainees from previous Atlantic Hope years have the opportunity to return in a role play, simulation design, and/or controller/evaluator capacity to transform their past experiences as trainees into a trainer position. The program has maintained strong support from the administration of IRSC and the Consortium for Humanitarian Services and Education (CHSE). For those interested in pursuing disaster relief, developmental, humanitarian, and peace-building careers in a field and policy-making capacity, CONF 665: Conflict Resolution in Complex Humanitarian Crisis stands as one of the most practical, hands-on courses offered at George Mason University's School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. ■

Psychosocial Trauma and Healing Class

By Gedeon Patrick Hakizimana, S-CAR PhD Student, ghakizim@gmu.edu

Dr. Al Fuertes's new Conflict 695 class titled “Psychosocial Trauma and Healing” grabs at your humanity within a given context. It is an engaging and very well-taught but very difficult class, because it addresses the subject of human pain. Individuals and communities that experience and live through conflict frequently become traumatized by events and pain associated with human conflict. When individuals and communities become traumatized, the events of the past remain, lurking as a shadow, influencing the present. This is important because conflict resolution practitioners who think they are helping parties with a current conflict may not realize that there is past trauma, a ghost flying around the room, that is also party to and influencing the conflict and must be dealt with in order for there to be resolution—otherwise the ghost returns and continues to haunt the present.

Despite trauma and healing being recognized as an important aspect of Conflict Resolution since the field's inception, this is the first class that has been offered to specifically explore the many categories and levels of trauma and the practice of trauma healing. Dr. Fuertes feels that this is an important class for S-CAR students, particularly future practitioners because, “conflict usually results in some form of human trauma and when this trauma is left unhealed it breeds more conflict which results in further cycles of conflict and traumatization in the future.” Many conflicts that are happening now days he explains, are “the result of something that happened many years ago, but the trauma from these events have never been healed.”

Dina Rubey, an S-CAR Master's Student, echoes Dr.



Psychosocial Trauma and Healing Class.
Photo: S-CAR.

Fuertes's sentiment that in order to break and to heal cycles of conflict, the trauma that people experience in these conflicts must be addressed. She states that this class has been pragmatic and practical for her as a practitioner and, even more importantly, as a human being.

Dr. Fuertes has engaged in psychosocial trauma healing around the world, particularly Melanesia, North-east and Southeast Asia, and his home country of the Philippines. In the class he goes back and forth between teaching about trauma and healing and demonstrating the methods and techniques he uses when engaging in

actual trauma healing. In one exercise, students were asked to bring physical metaphors to describe their concept and understanding of trauma. One student brought an unclear mirror to symbolize the difficulty of seeing one's self clearly when traumatized; another brought in a large stone to symbolize the weight that is carried from trauma. All were unique and powerful and helped students to think about the unthinkable .

This is why this class grabs at your humanity—not only is trauma and healing rich and deep as an academic subject matter, but Dr. Fuertes engages and demonstrates actual trauma healing with the students, the students engage the subject not just academically but from the deep well of their own human experience. It reminds students that as human beings we all carry some kind of pain. Students leave the class knowing and feeling the heaviness of trauma and also with a hope that the mirror can be made clear, the stone laid down, and the specter put to rest. ■

initiatives

Beyond Crimea: The Evolution of the Crisis in Ukraine

By John DeRosa, S-CAR MS Student, jderosa@gmu.edu

THE Student Association and Advisory Board of the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) sponsored "Beyond Crimea: The Evolution of The Crisis in Ukraine" on April 23rd, 2014. Thanks to the tireless efforts of S-CAR students Sean Heravi (MS), Ellen Galadava (MS), Dilafruz Khonikboyeva (MS), David Younes (MS), and Alexandra Schaerrer-Cumming (PhD) and Advisory Board member Christine McCann, a distinguished panel of experts was organized to analyze the development, challenges, and opportunities for conflict resolution for the on-going crisis in Ukraine.

Dr. Michael Shank, PhD alumnus and S-CAR Adjunct Professor moderated an insightful discussion between Ambassador (Ret.) John Herbst, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine and current Director at the Center for Complex Operations; Dr. Karina Korostelina, Associate Professor at S-CAR; Colonel (Ret.) Lawrence Wilkerson, former Chief of Staff for Secretary of State Colin Powell; and Dr. Idil Izmirli, Crimea Analyst for the Jamestown Foundation and Adjunct Professor at S-CAR.

Ambassador Herbst opened the discussion submitting that the root of the crisis lay in domestic Ukrainian conflict factors yet escalated when Russian President Putin's vision of Ukraine as either an internationally neutralized or a rump state was challenged by the outcome of the "Euromaiden" Revolution. He submitted that an unresolved challenge facing Ukraine will be whether it can reclaim territory annexed by Russia.

Dr. Korostelina credited the conflict factors to the enlargement of NATO, unresolved worldwide self-determination movements, no common civic

Ukrainian identity, and salient primordial ethnic identities. She submitted that Ukraine represents three pillars of Russian identity: Russian Orthodoxy, the expansion of an empire, and victory in World War II. Considering the weight of identity on this conflict, she proposed a

conflict resolution approach that promotes a shared Ukrainian society.

Reflecting on his current efforts to broker improved U.S. relations with Iran, COL Wilkerson challenged the community to develop empathy with the conflict parties to begin to understand an appropriate approach to conflict resolution.

Dr. Izmirli offered a lengthy list of early warning signs of the Crimean crisis simmering before the conflict escalated. She also outlined a list of human rights abuses in Crimea and the problems facing Crimean Tatars.

Dr. Shank invited everyone to consider the general disregard of international law and violations of state sovereignty and territorial integrity on the

part of world powers when contrasted with the actions of Russia.

A spirited audience challenged the observations of the panelist and exhibited a pessimism regarding the appropriate conflict resolution approaches. Reflecting on the ominous hundredth anniversary of World War I, Professor Dennis Sandole asked the panel if we were sleepwalking into another world catastrophe as tensions escalate. The consequences, the panel members concluded, would be a tremendous cost that the Atlantic community is not prepared to pay. Despite debates over hard or soft power approaches, outlook on institution building, and the construction of a shared Ukrainian civic identity, the audience was encouraged by Dr. Izmirli's observation of Crimean Tatars sharing their mosques for Ukrainian Orthodox services currently excluded by the pro-Russian authorities in Crimea.

The evening concluded with a reception during which incisive reflections were shared over light refreshments and wine graciously furnished by Kerry McKenney of the S-CAR Advisory Board. ■



Beyond Crimea: The Evolution of the Crisis in Ukraine panel. Photo: S-CAR Student Association.

Upcoming Events

Wednesday, June 11 - Monday, June 16 2014
Developing & Implementing Culturally Inclusive Conflict Resolution Education Policies & Practices in K-12 & H.E.

June 11 - June 12, 2014
Pre-Conference Trainings (9am - 5pm each day)

June 11 - June 12, 2014
Main Conference (Keynotes and workshop)

June 15 - June 16, 2014
Seminar for Colleges & Universities Developing Peace and Conflict Studies Programs

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

Scholar Opinion: Memory in Reconciliatory Leadership

By Innocent Rugaragu, S-CAR PhD Student, irugarag@gmu.edu

The theme of this year's Rwandan Genocide commemoration is "Remember, Unite, and Renew." As I reflect on this forward-looking theme, I find myself asking: "Is it possible for us to commemorate the genocide without being biased? As we look toward the future, is it possible Rwanda and all of humanity can hold a sacred space of remembrance for the victims of the genocide, as we unite and renew our individual and global commitment and the words, 'Never Again' truly denounce genocide? If we dispense with politicizing the commemoration, and ask ourselves, what do we all need, just as human beings; to re-create a collective narrative, to develop the type of leadership and engage an international community in helping us all to reconcile? The 1994 genocide targeted Tutsi and moderate Hutu, some peacekeepers, and anyone the pro-genocide leadership saw as an obstacle to executing their plan. The genocide impacted every Rwandan and deeply touched the life of every human being who dealt with the genocide and its aftermath. The scope of the genocide surpassed the scope of anything imaginable on the part of the genocide leaders. I am convinced that, if the leaders of the genocide really understood the ramifications of perpetrating the genocide on innocent people in Rwanda, they would have tried to stop it. The genocide not only destroyed the targeted people and their families, but also had a horrific impact as well on the psyche of the international community who chose to stand by and allow almost 1 million people to be slaughtered. Without excusing anyone from accountability, or without sounding like Jesus ("forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing"), I find the consequences of such horrendous crimes to the perpetrator to reflect Socrates wisdom that, nobody does wrong while he or she knows. The rational choice would have been to unite for coexistence and possibly reconciliation.

As Rwanda continues to overcome threats to her existence and to promote reconciliation, the power of memory and reconciliatory leadership is more important than ever before. The power of a collective narrative based on fear and hatred toward another group coupled with bad governance made the genocide possible. It has been 20 years since the genocide and Rwanda needs to develop a national narrative built on the constructive memories and good governance. We need to team up in an inseparable way to reconcile the country and lead it to a mature democracy. My own experience, as far as conflict resolution and transformation are concerned, is that there seems to be a correlation between good leadership and

reconciliation on one hand and violent conflict, war, and genocide with bad leadership on the other hand. Twenty years after the Rwandan genocide, I've come to believe that, just as our bodies need food, water and air in order to survive, our families, communities, and country also require a collective narrative based on memories fueled by positive interactions and reconciliation in order to live well. Similarly, as our cars need a good engine and a good driver to take us to our final destination, we also need good governance and leadership to renew our commitment to honor all the victims of the Genocide, mass killings, and violent conflicts as we renew our commitment to "Never Again" and reunite for sustainable peace and reconciliation.

The term 'power' refers to the ability to direct or influence the behavior or actions of others. Memory on the other hand is a dynamic process that we use to acquire, store, retain and retrieve information that we can use for reconciliatory leadership. Such memory and leadership need to be sensitive to the pain and loss of genocide while taking 'Never Again' seriously. Learning from our own experiences as Rwandans, the leadership use of destructive memories has never made us happier, richer, or safer but has dehumanized us. For example, the killers' memory was blinded by destructive hate memories of annihilating life instead of enhancing its vitality. For the past 20 years following the genocide, most Rwandans have been working hard to sensitively encode the new memories of change to painful embrace truth, forgiveness, sustainable peace, and reconciliation.

The historical truth and ethical consideration must guide our constructive memories. With sensitivity, empathy, compassion and interdependence, we have to continue de-coding some of the biases and illusion of validity that hinder reconciliation efforts.



Rwanda Photo: Flickr User Esther Havens.

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

Doctoral Student Goes to Hollywood to Teach Peace Techniques Less

University News: George Mason University
5/29/14

Anthropologist Searches for Way to Measure peacebuilding Success

University News: George Mason University
5/28/14

Entitled to Protection, Palestinians Should Join ICC, Now

Ibrahim Sharqieh, S-CAR Alumnus
Huffington Post 5/27/14

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 11 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent the latest at time of publication. For a complete list please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

press

Looking to Change the World: The 2014 S-CAR Graduating Class

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

On Thursday, May 15, 2014, the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) held its convocation ceremony at George Mason University's Center for the Arts in Fairfax. This year, S-CAR graduated 83 students from the undergraduate program, 72 from the Masters program, and 8 from the PhD program.

As Tom Brokaw, a renowned American television journalist, once said, "Your certification is in your degree. Think of it as your ticket to change the world." A number of students who graduated in the spring of 2014 from S-CAR's undergraduate, certificate, masters, and PhD degrees, have already set out to achieve just that. Speaking about his experience in the Masters program, graduating student Chris Nace said, "My [Masters] experience was great because I had the freedom to fuse special education



A group of S-CAR students from the Spring 2014 Graduating Class. Photo: Dilafruz Khonikboyeva.

Jenny White, a graduate of the undergraduate program, noted that one of her favourite things about being in the program was the relation that existed among the people studying at S-CAR. "Conflict analysis, to me, has become a study of relationships at all levels. It has taught me that to truly change the world, I have to

change myself and do my best to serve as a model of peace practices." Jenny was recently awarded a grant to carry out a project in South Sudan that will look to engage in peace-building by involving women as community members and using dialogue to find common ground. "I am very excited about starting my project."

Seth B. Cohen,

who graduated from the PhD program and whose dissertation was titled "Partnering for Peace: Practitioner Stories of Global North-South Peace Building Partnerships," spoke about the need to discuss ones ideas with different professors to find the right guidance to get through the program successfully. "I got some really sound advice from different professors and ultimately was able to find a committee that supported my focus on the relationships that existed between practice and theory in conflict analysis and resolution. Dr. Sara Cobb, who was my Committee chair, was instrumental in challenging me to think critically about my work and guiding me through the dissertation writing process in a timely fashion." Seth currently works for the Conflict Resolution and Public Participation Center of Expertise at the Institute for Water Resources, which is the part of the Corps of Engineers dedicated to water resource management. "The best parts of my job are when I am facilitating meetings with stakeholders on challenges like flood risk management, collaborative problem-solving and unique challenges like working with Native American tribes." "In the future I hope to get back to more grassroots conflict transformation and peacebuilding work."

Congratulations to the graduating class of Spring 2014, and all the best to all those in the conflict analysis and resolution field, working on changing the world. ■

Iranian Women Working Group

Iranian Women Working Group is 1) a research group of Iranian students, faculty, scholars and other Iranian women professionals such as journalists and film makers who like to share their research or their experiences about women's issues in Iran. The group seeks to give feedback and support members in their projects. 2) This group is organizing events with speakers both from GMU and outside about women, gender and conflict in Iran. 3) Finally this group raising funds for a scholarship for two Iranian students from GMU or Iranian women living in VA to study conflict resolution at S-CAR.

If you are interested to be connected to Iranian women working group or if you want to know more about this group contact Fariba Parsa at fparsa@gmu.edu.

been an author of DCPS's sixty-three transition courses, which teach conflict resolution, self-advocacy, workforce preparedness, and community-based instruction."

Bring Back Our Girls!

Continued from page 1

3. Lack of understanding of Boko Haram and its movement, birth, evolution, leadership, and membership;
4. Lack of educational and economic opportunity in the north and northeast of the country even if one is employable, leading to disgruntled populations, especially youth, and recruiting opportunity for Boko Haram;
5. Lack of opportunity for youth, of youth empowerment and their participation in civil society;
6. Lack of opportunity for Nigerian people to voice their grievances and issues and to be heard by governance structures;
7. Lack of opportunity for the girl child, including educational opportunity, especially in the north and north east of the country;
8. Lack of robust civil society that is representative of the country's diverse populations;
9. Lack of accountability of government and non-state actors alike to civil society;
10. Lack of collaboration between the government and opposition parties, which contributes to instability of political structures, especially in the northeastern states of Borno and Adamawa;
11. Consistently slow government response to issues, including violence and abduction of girls;
12. Lack of culture that values life in Nigeria; and
13. Nigerian military history of human rights violations.

Recommendations & Next Steps:

1. The government and international community must recognize that the abduction of girls is one among a list of issues that Nigeria and its people are facing;
2. Develop comprehensive understanding of the situation on the ground that is depictive of realities, including the multi-ethnic and religious nature of the country;
3. Study and establish better understanding of the birth, evolution, leadership and membership of Boko Haram;
4. Establish robust educational and economic opportunities in north and northeast;
5. Recognition of youths' role in achieving peace and sustainable development, and establishment of structures that enable youth participation and voice in civic activity at local and federal levels;
6. Establishment of structures that enable people of Nigeria to voice their concerns and needs to civil society and govern-

- ment structures;
7. Need to establish viable educational and economic empowerment opportunities for girls and women, especially in north and northeast;
8. Build a diverse and robust civil society responsive to whole population that is supported by international organizations;
9. Empower civil society to hold government and non-state actors accountable;
10. Foster collaboration between President Goodluck Jonathan's government and opposition parties;
11. Faster and more effective government response to issues such as abduction of girls and various forms of violence, including poverty;
12. Move from a traditional security paradigm to a human security paradigm and create culture that values life. This would include establishing human rights, conflict resolution, peace and nonviolence education curriculum for communities, civil society, and government; and
13. Establish human rights, conflict resolution, peace and non-violence education curriculum for Nigerian military.

CWBI's peacebuilding and sustainable development program in Nigeria include the following projects:

1. Nonviolence, conflict resolution, peace and sustainable education for Nigerian youth and girls in partnership with Chom Bagu of Search for Common Ground-Nigeria and Sani Mu'Azu will work together;
2. Youth Without Boundaries program carried out in collaboration the African University of Science and Technology in Abuja;
 - a. Provides nonviolence, conflict resolution, peace and sustainable education to Africa's leading engineering students;
 - b. Chika Education and Development Project developed and carried out at Chika Village in Galadimawa, Abuja;
3. Working with the Nigerian government to establish inter-continental mentorship program;
4. Working to establish a robust civil society: CWBI and its partners in Abuja, Kano, Kaduna, Jos and other north and northeastern states of Nigeria will work to engage local partners and help establish a robust civil society; and
5. Develop peacebuilding and economic development partnerships between Nigerian Diaspora leaders and local Nigerian communities. ■



Johnny Mack, President of CWBI; Christopher O'Connor, National Endowment for Democracy; Dr. Maneshka Eliatamby, VP CWBI; Gbemi Disu, CWBI Board; Dr. Sylvester Okere, Continental African Leadership Council; Professor Carl Levan, American University. Photo: CWBI.

Memory in Reconciliatory Leadership

Continued from page 5

For reconciliation to take place, scholars have come to recognize that "divisive ideologies must be replaced with positive ideologies that work toward unifying people." The pluralistic society has many benefits as well as healing and reconciliation at the personal and state level. To add to this, John Paul Lederach, a Professor of International Peacebuilding, asserts that reconciliation requires moral imagination of something new and a space where peace and mercy, justice, and truth meet and function. In my opinion, such reconciliation becomes like peeling an onion or giving birth. The process might be or is painful but the results take away the sad pain of such process. As a country we should support the positive efforts that bring us together while guarding against the negative ideologies that paralyze us as a country. The role of leadership, which is basically the ability to influence, matters in building a constructive powerful memory for reconciliation. As John Maxwell writes, "Everything rises and Falls on leadership." And as James McGregory Burns, a Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government concludes, "Only leadership can overcome the abuses of leadership." Burns's wisdom resonates with my own experience as an African student of violent conflict in history, and a participant observer in the Rwandan case in particular. My experience thus far is that only good leadership can make up for bad leadership at all levels especially governance.

Leaders are often called upon to repair the physical, emotional, psychological, cultural, spiritual financial, and property damage caused by former leaders, and to reunite people torn apart by the consequences of bad leadership such as genocide. Therefore, 20 years after the genocide, the way in which we move forward together as Rwandans in the difficult journey of constructing a positive national narrative and reconciliatory leadership will be vital. It will help us to bypass the barriers and obstacles to sustainable peace and reconciliation.

So, as we aspire to Remember, Unite, and Renew - the key ingre-

dients to the joys of peace - the wisdom of Ivan Klima that losing our memory is losing ourselves should guide our sensibility to each other's pain as people. The power of constructive memory and reconciliatory leadership will provide a realistic hope for sustainable peace in Rwanda.

Finally, Rwanda can create a new cultural narrative that excludes division between Rwandans and includes equity, justice, empathy, interdependence, collaboration and a shared identity. Memory and leadership for reconciliation in Rwanda must extend beyond the borders of her state and reach the Rwandan Diaspora in neighboring Congo DRC, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, and elsewhere around the globe. We must rebuild relationships and trust with other African countries as well as the international community. If we reframe Rwanda's national narrative to be one that benefits Rwandans through education, vocational training, inclusive service-oriented economy and sustainable socio-economic growth, rather than one defined by violence and mistrust, we will build trust and be able to revisit the hard questions about restorative truth, mutual acceptance of responsibility, contrition, and, ultimately, political and personal reconciliation. ■

Awards and Grants

1. Thomas Flores, Assistant Professor, School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, received a grant for the project "The Arab spring and Globalization: Diffusion of Ideas and Models."
2. Elavie Ndura, Professor College of Education and Human Development, received a grant for the project "Advancing Sustainable Peace and Development Through Education in the African Greta Lakes Region."
3. Pete Cuppernull, who graduated this spring, received the Critical Language Scholarship and will be headed to Oman this summer to study Arabic.
4. Austin Price, a junior, received a Boren Scholarship to study in China next year.



School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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Peace Practice Online in a Time of War

By Marc Gopin, James H. Laue Professor of World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution & Director, Center for World Regions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution, mgopin@gmu.edu

Practice is a messy, miserable reality that deserves its own independent study. What do we do in times of war? This has dramatically changed for me and many others in just the last year or two, where every war seems to be bringing individuals together online to a level of intimacy, collaboration, and care unprecedented, and others to a level of hatred unprecedented. Then there are shades of gray, where how you frame your disagreements, your texts, your cries, your screams, your pleas, your ruminations in the dead of night, all of it yields surprising communications across enemy lines, in all of the many and variegated enemy systems that overlap in international conflicts. A string of people from one side of the conflict becoming the only lifeline for a family on the other side.



Peace in the Middle East. Photo: Flickr user Grant Neufeld.

My experience this summer is of the Gaza War of 2014, the most recent of many Israeli wars that I have lived through with pain, beginning in 1973 at the age of 15. In the synagogue, on the Day of Atonement, I exited, went to the hallway and cried for about an

hour, having just returned from my own exhilarating independent adventure in Israel, knowing that some of the young people I met were facing death now. I tried to go and die there, but my terrified parents prevented me from leaving Boston with the help of my rabbi. So many wars since, my heart is still bruised, and my will still stubborn and stiff-necked to be in solidarity with life, though the lives I care about have expanded and changed.

The Gaza war has been so concentrated and so brutal and so all encompassing that it catapulted me to a new way of communication, through wisdom and poetry. I still am not sure why, but I sensed that many people were so bewildered by the quantity of wars this summer that they needed from me, as I needed from myself, not analysis (though I wrote that too) but something deeper.

So I want to share with you a small fraction of what I wrote to my social network followers who were looking to me for guidance. Most importantly for conflict resolution theory/practice, I want to share briefly in italics why I wrote that. You will find that the genre of wisdom literature is purposively brief, incomplete, but meant to clarify deeply one aspect of murky reality. Fundamentally, the method is best understood through positive psychology and empathic peacebuilding.

Here goes, and take from it what you wish about me or my reaction to war:

Continued on Page 2

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Interning at the Student Safety and Wellness Office
- 3 Initiative: S-CAR Workshop in Bogota, Colombia
- 4 Event: Arlington Campus Welcome Week
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances.
Student Opinion: Spratly Island and South China Sea Simulation Exercise
- 6 Spotlight: Profiles of S-CAR's New Faculty
Asaka Ishiguro, MS Student

Interning at the Student Safety and Wellness Office

By Jackie Finch, S-CAR Career/Academic Advisor, Student Services, jfinch4@gmu.edu

Kristen Woodward, an alumna of S-CAR, works for Fairfax Public Schools as a Conflict Resolution Specialist in the Student Safety and Wellness Office. She started out as an intern and has assisted in developing and expanding a successful Peer Mediation and Restorative Practice program that impacts hundreds of students, teachers, counselors, and families throughout the community. "Students who participate in peer mediation training learn conflict resolution skills that help them resolve their own conflicts and help students understand and manage conflict. Understanding restorative practices encourages students and staff to build and strengthen relationships and to view conflict through a restorative rather than a punitive lens." (quote from FCPS publication)

Danielle A. Davis, a current S-CAR student has been a Graduate Intern working with Kristen in developing



(left to right): S-CAR Alumni and Conflict Resolution Specialist Kristen Woodward, Former S-CAR Dean Andrea Bartoli, Conflict Resolution Specialist, Joan Packer and S-CAR student Intern Danielle Davis. Photo: Jackie Finch.

conflict resolution curricula for grade school students. Danielle is also conducting research to evaluate the mediation programs and to measure the effectiveness of these learned skills and make recommendations to develop and enrich partnerships to strengthen conflict resolution efforts and improvements. She is going to be working for the Student Safety and Wellness Office as a result of her successful internship with them.

Danielle's, membership in the first returning peer mediation class at West Potomac High School in 2005 and the encouragement of her mentor inspired her to pursue a degree in S-CAR. She is able to share with students and staff the same mediation skills that were taught to her years ago!

Is there any question about the importance of an Internship? If there is an area of interest or a set of skills needed to be developed, this is the way to go! Some internships are paid and, some are not. Either way, it is a great way to build on your resume, network, and contribute to the field (maybe even get hired!). There are hundreds of internship sites in this geographic area. If you are interested in an internship contact Lisa Shaw, Director of Student Services and Field Experience, at lshaw2@gmu.edu and start researching your possibilities! ■

Peace Practice Online in a Time of War

Continued from page 1

SILENCE: The defeat of violence is silence, for in silence there is observation, and observation yields reason, humility and compassion.

To provoke listening online between enemies through an artful combination of reason and empathy, our magic formula for peace.

REVENGE: Revenge and compassion are the same. Both are crying mothers with raw hearts. But one gives birth to Hell, and the other to Heaven.

To negotiate the images of mothers some of whom were committed to revenge and others to the opposite, to provoke empathy for both.

HATRED: When you oppose hatred with hatred you cannot win. Only hatred wins. Embrace those who hate and undermine their hatred from within.

To sharpen the practicality of empathic messaging between enemies.

VIOLENCE: Violent victories by violent people are no victories at all. They just rearrange the map of nonviolent resistance.

To comfort my nonviolent Arab and Jewish friends. Despite their feelings of impotence, when the bombs

stop they once again will be the only hope.

HUMAN BEING: When I decided that every human being is created in the image of God I became an orphan. There is no tribe that truly believes that.

To encourage my peaceful spiritual friends from Saudi to Brooklyn that they are not alone in feeling orphaned by militarized religious structures goading to war.

MOURNING: I do not mourn for Jewish children. I cannot. Only for children. Does that lessen my mourning? My pain? My love?

To encourage a Jewish hermeneutic of universal care, to move beyond imposed tribal guilt from family and culture.

SILENCE: The defeat of violence is silence, for in silence there is observation, and observation yields reason, humility and compassion.

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Continued on Page 4

S-CAR Workshop in Bogota, Colombia

Conflict Resolution in the Exploitation and Management of Natural Resources

By Alicia Pfund, Luigi Einaudu Fellow at S-CAR's Center for Peacemaking Practice, apfund@gmu.edu

The tenth Summer Workshop on Conflict Resolution in Latin America and the Caribbean was held in Bogota, Colombia between June 5th and 13th 2014, in partnership with the School of Political Science and International Relations of the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. The activity was organized by the Latin American Initiative at the Center for Peacemaking Practice.

As in previous years, the Workshop was supported by travel scholarships from the Organization of American States, who paid the cost of travel for four of the workshop participants. The course was taught by three Latin American professionals and three faculty members from S-CAR, together with colleagues from the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (PUJ) who were also responsible for organizing the event locally.

Fifteen participants from ten countries in Latin America prepared and sent in advance a summary of a case they were either working on or were familiar with in the management or exploitation of natural resources. The sharing of cases brought a wealth of information to the group, whose members could see the similarities and differences among the countries.



A relaxed moment in front of the Javeriana building. Photo: Alicia Pfund.

The participants were organized and worked in four groups. On June 12th, each group presented its cases, showing the process of mapping, timeline, analysis of multiple actors and their roles, diagnoses and intervention designs. Cases included oil and mining exploitation, forestry, water supply, and eolic energy development. Several cases were located in indigenous areas, presenting added ethnic and cultural variables to the conflicts.

After the workshop, participants are keeping in touch with each other to further support their work. They have signed up at the S-CAR's Red

Latinoamericana site in Facebook, where they can all see the postings from the Latin American Initiative, as well as post their own announcements and questions. In addition, participants received contact information of all professors for further consultations.

The mix of members from ten countries, different professions (engineers, architects, science professors, geologists, architects, and social scientists) was a very positive aspect of the workshop, as was the mix of private sector, government, and NGOs representatives. The experience widened their perspective to allow them to see beyond their own point of view. As one participant put it, they received "a bath of humility." It was gratifying for the professors to see the transformation of participants throughout the eight days. ■

S-CAR Class Spotlight: CONF 795-002: CR Skills for the Long Haul Friday October 17, 6:00-9:00pm; Saturday October 18, 10:00am-5:00pm

Course Description: Providing students with skills to engage in CR in the human rights field without burning out or becoming too distant from the emotional content of conflict. Students will develop these skills during practice sessions:

- Avoiding becoming the caricature of the "fly-in expert": Learning strategies for preparing for CR in places you have never been through focus groups and interviews
- Telling Stories: The use of stories in CR can motivate participants to rethink their perspectives on conflict and also give you a sense of continuity as you bring your experience and wisdom from past work to new situations
- Responding to Difficult Questions, Comments or Outbursts: How we respond to difficult comments are pivotal moments in CR. We will practice skills for responding in the moment.
- Coping with Vicarious Trauma: Learning skills for understanding and coping with the wrenching stories of emotional and physical trauma we hear in human rights and CR work.

Instructor: Steve Wessler

S-CAR Class Spotlight: CR Curriculum Development in Higher Education CONF 695-004, Tuesdays 7:20-10 p.m.

Course Description: If your future plans include teaching at the college or university level, you will want to take CONF 695-004, Conflict Resolution Curriculum Development in Higher Education. The course will deal not only with conflict resolution coursework and programs at the college/university level, but also look at the best pedagogical approaches in higher education, topics and content covered in curriculum, looking for a teaching job, and the overall college/university environment. Course requirements include developing a course syllabus, engaging in a teaching demonstration, participating in a mock curriculum committee meeting, a research paper, and creating a portfolio.

Instructor: David J. Smith, JD, MS

initiatives

Arlington Campus Library Welcome Week

By Mary Oberlies, Social Sciences Liaison Librarian, moberlie@gmu.edu

The Arlington Campus Library, located on the 2nd floor of Founders Hall, welcomes you to the start of the 2014-2015 academic year. Drop by before or after your classes on Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday (August 25-27th) for cookies, giveaways (hello mini stapler!), and aliterature about library services. We will have a table in front of the library staffed by the librarians, so come and say hi!



2013 Welcome Week Library Table. Photo: Mary Oberlies.

As an added bonus, we are also holding a raffle for several gift cards. To enter, like or follow us on Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram and share what you love about the library. As an extra bonus, if you take a selfie in your favorite library space and share it with us, your name will be entered in our raffle twice!

Instagram: <http://instagram.com/arlingtoncampuslibrary>; Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/ArlingtonCampusLibrary>; Twitter: <https://twitter.com/GMUACL>.

Peace Practice Online in a Time of War

Continued from page 2

REVENGE: Revenge and compassion are the same. Both are crying mothers with raw hearts. But one gives birth to Hell, and the other to Heaven.

To negotiate the images of mothers some of whom were committed to revenge and others to the opposite, to provoke empathy for both.

HATRED: When you oppose hatred with hatred you cannot win. Only hatred wins. Embrace those who hate and undermine their hatred from within.

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VIOLENCE: Violent victories by violent people are no victories at all. They just rearrange the map of nonviolent resistance. *To comfort my nonviolent Arab and Jewish friends. Despite their feelings of impotence, when the bombs stop they once again will be the only hope.*

HUMAN BEING: When I decided that every human being is created in the image of God I became an orphan. There is no tribe that truly believes that.

To encourage my peaceful spiritual friends from Saudi to Brooklyn that they are not alone in feeling orphaned by militarized religious structures goading to war.

MOURNING: I do not mourn for Jewish children. I cannot. Only for children. Does that lessen my

mourning? My pain? My love?

To encourage a Jewish hermeneutic of universal care, to move beyond imposed tribal guilt from family and culture.

REBELLION:

Rebellion is only freedom when there is a path, and the path is compassion. Otherwise the new master is hate. Rebellion is the

mirror image of the oppressor, unless there is vision, and unless the vision is compassion.

To discourage rebels from Syria to Tel Aviv to Gaza from mistaking hate for a plan, for a nonviolent vision of the future, this being a principle weakness of progressive rebellions.

SACRIFICE: An Abraham is always pursuing teenagers to slaughter and fulfill his vision, a Voice is always suggesting alternatives, while Sarah and Hagar drown in a sea of tears dying inside. God of Abraham: Show us the lamb to be offered instead of our slaughtered teenagers.

To redirect religious vision toward a nonviolent God in the midst of war.



Upcoming Events

TBD

Arlington Campus Soccer Tournament
(S-CAR vs Public Policy vs Law School)
5:00pm - 8:30pm

Wednesday, September 10, 2014

Alumni Brown Bag with Drustva Delgadillo
12:00pm - 1:30pm

Saturday, September 13, 2014

S-CAR Annual Welcome Picnic- Bon Air Park
4:00pm - 6:00pm

Friday, October 17, 2014

2014 Fall Internship Fair
12:00pm - 2:00pm

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

Continued on Page 7

Student Opinion: Spratly Island and South China Sea Exercise

By Ellen Galdava, S-CAR MS Student, egaldava@masonlive.gmu.edu

The summer of 2014 is shaping up to be “hot” for the global peace and security field, not only due to the new reports on the catastrophic effects of climate change, but also because of the recurring and emerging violent conflicts. The scope of human suffering seems almost too much to handle, and students and professionals in the field of conflict resolution are facing a horrible truth the world is not continuing on the familiar trajectory towards greater peace enjoyed since the end of the Cold War. The crises in the Ukraine and the Middle East once again, shows the importance and hardship of our field. People in conflict resolution feel inherently tired and sad because of the stories of hatred, trauma and suffering they hear about every day in the media. It is so hard to enjoy summer holidays once one is exposed to so much turbulence.

What can we do? Is there a place for peace in the world? Can CR practitioners do anything to prevent violence and emerging conflicts? After graduation, are we ready to soothe the wounds of the hundreds and thousands of victims around the globe? Do we have enough skills to ensure successful negotiation and mediation among stakeholder parties? These questions have been on my mind after reading the news and writing peace and security reports for my internship at the International Peace and Security Institute (IPSI) in Washington DC.

Starting my internship at IPSI has been a wonderful experience. Passionate and energetic intellectuals at IPSI strive for making a difference in the world with a core belief that education can mitigate violent conflicts. One of the primary tools for peacebuilding processes is to empower the new generation of peacekeepers with skills of negotiation and mediation. In addition to the various simulations and workshops run by IPSI, it has two currently running symposia in Bologna, Italy and Hague, The Netherlands. These symposia are concentrating on transitional justice and conflict prevention and negotiation. For IPSI and its staff, it is important to facilitate the transfer of knowledge and skills to a global audience from the world's premier political leaders, academic experts, practitioners, and advocates. The Institute develops comprehensive training programs, advances scholarly research, and promotes efforts to raise public awareness of peace and security issues through its weekly

peace and security reports.

One of the interns' tasks is to do a group project. We have the freedom to choose any subject area, develop the project and run it. Teams of six amazing interns with diverse interests, backgrounds and experiences, have decided to run a simulation on the South China Sea dispute. The simulation will be a role-play negotiation exercise. We strongly believe that in this chaotic world, where violence is erupting in different parts of the world, knowing theory is not enough. Future CR people should know and practice negotiation skills that will assist them after graduation. This was the main reason that our team decided to concentrate on the process-oriented negotiation on South China Sea.

Core importance for us is to run a simulation that will help graduate students and professionals in the DC area acquire dispute resolution tools, techniques and strategies for successful negotiations. The most important component of our simulation on negotiation is that we desire to make it gender diverse. Females are most of the time excluded from the peace process and from negotiations and their participation is limited.

Spratly Islands and South China Sea Role-play Simulation

Why did we choose the South China Sea problem as our topic? First, the number of parties involved and the number of civilians impacted by the problem played a huge role. It is estimated that half a billion people from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines live within 100 miles of the South China Sea coastline. Civilians rely on the water's fisheries and trade routes, while national governments are interested in the waters' impressive oil and natural gas reserves.



Ellen Galdava. Photo: Ellen Galdava.

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

An Online Occupation

Roi Ben Yehuda, S-CAR PhD Candidate
The Times of Israel 8/03/14

Gaza Memo to Congress: Talk to Hamas

Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumnus
Huffington Post 7/31/14

Gaza Becomes Syria: Middle East Geopolitics 2.0

Marc Gopin, S-CAR Professor and Aziz Abu-Sarah, Executive Director, CRDC
+972 Magazine 7/28/14

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 46 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent the latest at time of publication. For a complete list please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

press

Continued on Page 8

Profiles of S-CAR's Three New Faculty Hires



Dr. Tehama Lopez Bunyasi is an incoming Assistant Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PhD University of Chicago, 2009). She comes to Mason from Ohio University, Athens OH. Dr. Bunyasi's work focuses on politics with an emphasis on Latino politics, racial attitudes, identity conflicts and the politics of immigration. She strengthens S-CAR's commitment to work on U.S. domestic and racial conflicts, and more broadly on issues of social inequality and conflict.

Dr. Pamina Firchow is an incoming Term Assistant Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PhD Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (HEID), Geneva, Switzerland, 2009). She comes to Mason from the University of Notre Dame, where she was a Professor of Practice. Dr. Firchow brings to us expertise in peacebuilding practice and policy, post-conflict dynamics (transitional justice, demilitarization), and Latin America. She also brings to S-CAR an ongoing Carnegie Corporation grant, "Everyday Peace Indicators Project," which she is principal investigator.



Dr. Arthur Romano is an incoming Assistant Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PhD University of Bradford (UK) 2012). He comes to S-CAR from a previous term position in the School, and before that as research fellow at the Center for the Study of Genocide, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights at Rutgers University. Dr. Romano brings a strong record in conflict resolution practice in environmental issues (mining in West Virginia) and violence. His dissertation research focused on capacities for peacebuilding, peace education, and experiential learning – an emerging area of interest at S-CAR – in the US and Japan.

Asaka Ishiguro, S-CAR MS Student

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

Asaka Ishiguro is an MS student from the Fall 2013 cohort at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Originally from Japan, she developed a keen interest in the field of conflict analysis and resolution through her work for a non-profit organization in Tokyo. Her work included helping to coordinate youth dialogue programs for Israeli, Palestinian, and Japanese students, to help them build upon good relationships so that when they returned home, they could use that bond to foster peaceful relations in the region. According to Asaka, "after a training session, one of the exchange students told me that although many people had written off the conflict in her region as unresolvable, the work that the non-profit organization that I worked for and other organizations around the world were doing would continue to inspire them to keep looking for a peaceful resolution to the conflict." Such hope, she noted, moved her to want to learn more about how to resolve conflicts peacefully, and this led her to the program at S-CAR.

Outside of taking classes, Asaka is also working for the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy, &



Asaka Ishiguro. Photo: Asaka Ishiguro.

Conflict Resolution (CRDC) at S-CAR. "I really love my job responsibilities. It puts me in contact with so many grassroots movements and individuals engaged in commendable selfless peace projects to make the world a peaceful place and I am grateful to be a part of it."

After completing her degree, Asaka would like to continue her professional development by working in regions in which she has no experience, such as in Africa and Latin America. "I think there is a lot that I can still learn on the ground to complement what I already know, so that when I return to my country, I can set up an organization that can tackle issues all over the world. I have come to realize that

conflicts are never linear and they boast a complexity about them that sometimes only experience can help to identify and then resolve."

Asaka finds inspiration from a quote by Soseki Natsume, one of her favorite authors, who once said, "It is painfully easy to define human beings. They are beings who, for no good reason at all, create their own unnecessary suffering". Asaka notes: "I like this quote because if human suffering is created by humans, then it can also be destroyed by humans, and this is what I work towards each day." ■

REVENGE: Revenge for death never comes from victims, but from those who live for the revenge of death. Their lives are death. Listen rather to victims for signs of life.

To honor families of victims in Israel/ Palestine in whose name so many kill, while ignoring their message of life and peace.

INVESTMENT: Harsh reality: Spend peanuts on peacemakers, and billions on weapons industries, then expect your children to die.

To simplify conflict analysis to its most basic common sense for policy makers who follow me.

SAVAGERY: It is the savage in all of us that is the real killer to be chained. We dismiss the terrorist and waltz back into war.

To level the war, to prevent projection.

BOMBS: When you burn someone to death, the lungs breathe the fire. But this is as true of a bomb from the sky as it is from a torch.

To concretize the human experience of excessive force as a war crime that has yet to be codified in our international codes, this as a way to demonstrate the crime of bombs for both fighting sides.

DANCING: Warriors dance death at night around a pit of fire, burning their lungs, while angels wait for daylight, so they too can dance.

To remind my peacemaker friends that their day for dancing will come again.

LEADERSHIP: Leaders are followers, and followers are leaders. Neither knows that. They play their respective roles, the blind leading the blind.

To remind everyone of their personal power and responsibility, a fundamental tenet of C.R. over political science.

LOVE: If you want the joy of loving humanity, / you must endure the sorrow of losing loved ones. The more you love, / the more you lose. / If you are not prepared, / bitterness will swallow you. / If you prepare yourself for loss / Then the light of love will endure. / Conquer the darkness dividing you from enemies, / When the men with guns slink into the shadows, / Exhausted and defeated.

To prevent burnout as the losses begin.

BALANCE: Balance in empathy is a political matter of life and death.

To combine the peaceful power of pro-social emotions with the power of reason to take more than one point of view.

NOTE TO SELF, MIDDLE EAST, AND HUMANITY: Only the yelling is heard, / When you are yelling. / Writing can be yelling.



Marc Gopin. Photo: Marc Gopin

To simplify the Socratic way of reason and nonviolence.

SEMEN SEEDS: Gestures of kindness are semen seeds. Men get busy, it will make you inherently happy and bear you many children.

To transform men's violence in war.

DEFIANCE: In war, / In an age of war, / The act of ultimate defiance is, /

To make another human being feel wonderful. *To empower*

Who is courageous? / Those who can turn an enemy into a friend on Facebook. / Who is wise? / He who conquers his own worst impulses on Facebook.

To guide better dialogue through cultural allusions, in this case Jewish ones.

REFLECTIONS IN MY MIDDLE EASTERN MIRROR: Compassion fatigue. / Strange Expression. / What is the fatigue? /

Too much suffering, / Too many people crying, / Too many dead bodies, / Too many people, / Demanding that I love them, / But only them, / That I see only their tears, / As they fall upon the bloodied bodies, / That

once laughed, / And danced, / And cheered. / Ask me for compassion, / And I will refuse. / Ask me who are you? / Ask a peacemaker, / Who / the /fuck/ are/ you? / Look at that goddam mirror, / Do you know any more? / Or does everything bleed red, / In the cracked mirror, / Which you broke, / In a fit of rage? / Ask me again, / Ask me if I am Compassion? / Ask me, / Go ahead and dare to ask /

My enraged eyes, / And my bulging neck veins, / And my bloodied cheeks. / Ask me if I Am / Compassion? / Then you will come to me, / Then you will see me, / Then I will see me, / I will find me, / I will find you, / I swear to God, / I will find you, / Whether you want to be found or not, / And I will find them, / And you will find them. / Because compassion is a fiery ghost. / I don't have it, I cannot, I have none left, / Except an atom that runs my engine. / And that atom, when it splits, / There is endless energy, / For me, for everyone. / I am energy, I am compassion, / And there is no limit, / And there is no fatigue. / Compassion for everyone, / Or Die. Just die. / You cannot live, / You cannot endure the violence, / You cannot overcome the darkness, / Without splitting the atom of compassion, / That is your soul.

To dignify and empower the torturous middle space of the peacemaker. ■

S-CAR Recent Awards

Chris Nace was named the Employee of the Year for DC Public Schools. (DCPS).

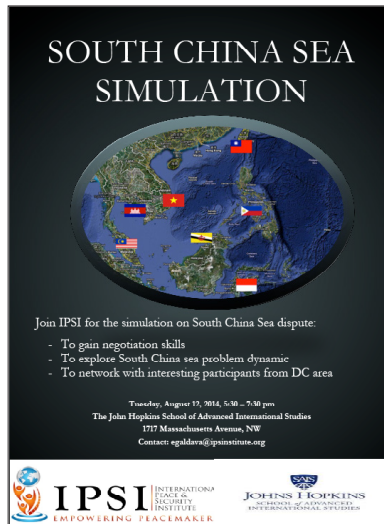
S-CAR Fellow from the Army War College, LTC Brad Davis, won the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff writing award for a paper he wrote while at S-CAR titled "Opportunities in Understanding China's Approach to the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands"

Spratly Island and South China Sea Exercise

Continued from page 5

For larger nations, the resource-rich waters represent energy security, while smaller countries in the East Asia and Pacific region view the waters as a new economic opportunity. Secondly, the East Asia and Pacific region has seen large-scale militarization in response to China's growing power. Arms trade with nations like Russia has dramatically increased as nations attempt to expand and modernize military capacity. For instance, military weapons such as the Kilo-class diesel submarines fueling the growth of Vietnam's navy come from Russia. In addition, in the second half of 2014 Russia will deliver four Su-30MK2 fighters to Vietnam, which could potentially become weapons in a future China-Vietnam confrontation over South China Sea problem.

Military buildup also is present in Philippines in 2012, three Russian navy vessels (including the anti-submarine destroyer Admiral Panteleyev) arrived in Manila for a three-day port visit. According to Russia, this visit helped improve Russia-Philippines ties. These military buildups present a dangerous situation for the region, which lacks an institution like NATO to cope with regional security challenges. Therefore, the smaller countries in the region fear growing military and economic power of China and are starting to prepare for worst-case scenarios.



The dispute over the control of the sea escalated when China announced plans to build an island as well as a military airstrip in a heavily contested part of the sea near the Spratly Islands. The Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei each claim part of the Spratly Islands, while China, Taiwan, and Vietnam claim the entire island chain. Many cite historical use of the waters' islands as the basis for sovereignty, but the waters' islands are currently uninhabited and have no known indigenous population. The construction of the artificial island by China that will be used as a military base will escalate the conflict and might be a tipping point for the eruption of violence in the South China Sea.

Taking into consideration these processes, team of interns at IPSI have decided to conceptualize, design, and facilitate a negotiation simulation on the South China Sea, and we invite all interested participants to join us! Practicing negotiation skills and acquiring knowledge about the dispute in the South China Sea will be a fun, relaxing, and atypical DC event for those intrepid enough to come. The simulation will run at John Hopkins SAIS on Tuesday, August 12, 2014 from 5:30 -7:30pm.

S-CAR will provide additional information about the simulation in the following days. If you are interested please send an email to egaldava@gmu.edu or egaldava@ipsinstitute.org. Special thanks to Cameron and Intern office: Christy, Rebecca, Alex, Jessica, and India. ■



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Rethinking U.S. Strategy in Iraq

By Michael Shank, Adjunct Faculty at S-CAR, Director for Foreign Policy at the Friends Committee on National Legislation, michael.john.shank@gmail.com

Iraq continues to pose a conundrum for the international community. Many in the West feel that Iraq is perpetually ungovernable and that its quagmire finds root cause in something inherent to Iraqi culture or sectarianism. What the West fails to realize is that military interventionism has done more to divide this country than anything innate. What must be realized, if Iraq is ever going to be stable, is that the West's interventions in Iraq are the primary problem.

Whether it was President George W. Bush or Barack Obama, America's security modus operandi spawned more insecurity than it eradicated. With



U.S. Troops on the streets of Baghdad. Photo: Flickr user Zoriah.

overwhelming reliance on military tools, human security got short-changed. Three months of U.S. defense spending in Iraq, for example, at \$24 billion, dwarfed the reconstruction budget for a country with insufferably unreliable basic services (worsened by devastating Western sanctions). It is no wonder U.S. development and diplomacy

failed to deliver.

The development strategy in Iraq was hogtied by military involvement and its affiliation with U.S. private contractors. Antagonism towards U.S. troops spoiled reconstruction efforts, which quickly became targets for the insurgency. And America's top-down development strategy, as former Special Inspector General Stuart Bowen

discovered, resulted in substantial unaccounted-for contractor spending and prevented local ownership and sustainable economic infrastructure in Iraq.

The diplomacy strategy was hampered by a significant lack of religious, linguistic, and cultural expertise at Defense and State Departments. Washington was initially unable to distinguish between Sunni and Shi'a theology or identify the Islamic sect orientation of al Qaeda or the Taliban. Few U.S. administration officials could master a level-five language proficiency in Arabic, and the religious expertise to understand Salafism, Qutbism, or other, did not exist.

The under-resourcing of development and diplomacy security strategies in Iraq neglected the real security needs of Iraqis. No matter the number of troops, as long the population remained unemployed, uninsured, lacking education, electricity, clean water and sanitation, chances of securing the region were unlikely.

Continued on Page 7

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: Learning Ethnographic Field Research in Indonesia
- 3 Initiative: Conflict Analysis and Methods Capacity Building Workshop
- 4 Events: 4th Annual Peace Conference
Signing of MoU between GMU and the University of Ngozi in Burundi
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances.
Opinion: Exiting Iraq and Entering Ferguson: The Untold Arms Trade
- 6 Spotlight: Annabella Johnson, MS Student
Minhee Noh, MS Student

Student Reflections: Learning Ethnographic Field Research in Indonesia

By Jennifer White, S-CAR MS student, jwhite11@gmu.edu

This summer I was able to take the CONF 610 and 727 Research Methods course in Indonesia with Professor Leslie Dwyer. What I found incredible about the research process during this trip was how quickly I learned that research is not a passive exercise. By taking an ethnographic approach to research, I was required to better define my own sense of self and the way I view myself within the broader field of conflict analysis and resolution, all while working to answer my research question. One of the most important aspects of the experience, to me, was learning about the importance of reflexivity in research with the intent to better understand the ethics and positioning of the question I am asking.

I ended up conducting research about some of the interfaith communities in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Knowing that there had been a rise in religious violence in the area,

I wanted to see how members of interfaith organizations made their interfaith experience legible to their own faith communities.

While learning how to define the categories of interfaith and religion within the context of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, I was also learning how I categorized myself. The course was an exercise in pushing against the boundaries of those categories both personally and academically.

Since returning home, I have been asked why I needed to travel to Indonesia to get this kind of research experience. The reality is, of course, that ethnography does not necessitate leaving the country. There are plenty of opportunities for ethnography within even the DC/Metro area. Conducting research in Indonesia, however, allowed me to reconsider the ethics of research through a confrontation with culture.

There was never really a point during the trip where I forgot that I was in a new place with new cultural customs, and I was trying desperately to navigate it. There were times when it felt impossible

to view the experience through any lens other than that of my own "otherness," from the suspicion that I was being positioned by others (and, on occasion, myself) as a tourist. It felt like an ethnographic curse word, and I spent a large part of the experience trying to shrug it off, rather than recognize the historical, political, and cultural significance of that term in Yogyakarta.

It was, however, the conspicuousness I felt as an "other" that led me to questions about the ethics of my research and the ethics of my interactions. It

led me to question why I was being positioned in a certain way, and what I could do to upset both the frames being placed on me and those I was placing on others. An element of the research that aided me in disrupting these frames came from class readings and discussions on collaboration. I found that research was a process of co-discovery, rather than co-creation, with those I was interviewing and working alongside. By inviting members of the interfaith community in Yogyakarta into the questions I was asking, I felt I was able to gain a clearer understanding not only of how interfaith institutions operate

in Yogyakarta, but also the ways in which I was operating as a researcher. Rather than choosing to be fearful of presenting my research findings to the community I worked with, I attempted to share what I had learned with them and asked for confirmation that these findings seemed accurate to their experience. I found it necessary to remember that I was not the expert. Terms like researcher, subject, interpreter, and friend became muddled in this process, but I found that it invoked a sense of community around the work I was doing.

I look forward to the opportunity to do more ethnographic research here in the United States. In the past, I have found that travelling provides a chance to see the community around me with new eyes - I find myself viewing my own research here in the US this way now. In Indonesia, I learned to view research as a more holistic, self-reflexive process. Now that I am back in the U.S., I look forward to continuing to see through that lens in order to further understand myself as a researcher and practitioner. ■



From left to right standing: Jennifer White, Alice Peck, Lauren Ettinger, Katy Hicock, Melissa Smith, Mel Wewyant, Mpak Heru and Ibrahim Al-Hajjri. From left to right sitting: Nina Heru, Ibu Heru, Kate Daugherty and Kate Molski. Photo: Jennifer White.

Conflict Analysis and Methods Capacity Building Workshop

By Daniel Rothbart, Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, drothbar@gmu.edu, and Sudha Rajput, S-CAR Alumna and Adjunct Professor, srajput2@gmu.edu

Two S-CAR faculty members, Daniel Rothbart and Sudha Rajput, traveled to Khartoum, Sudan to facilitate a one-day symposium and five-day workshop entitled “Conflict Analysis Tools and Methods Capacity Building.” Supported by USAID and the international organization, AECOM, the symposium and workshop were hosted by the Centre for Peace and Development at the University of Bahri, Khartoum, and took place at the Grand Holiday Villa, near the banks of the Nile River. These events represent the first academic gathering among faculty from Sudan and South Sudan following the independence of South Sudan in 2011.

The thirty workshop participants came from Khartoum, Omdurman, Darfur, Upper Nile, Al-Fashir, Haifa (Sudan), Juba, and Bahr al Jabal (South Sudan). The participants reflected multi-dimensional diversity of gender, age, and nationality (Sudanese and South Sudanese), with some representing the United Nations Africa Mission in Darfur, IFAD, or other international agencies. Participants also represented varied academic backgrounds—Doctorates, Masters, and PhD candidates—and research interests, including the livelihood issues of marginalized communities, internally displaced persons (IDP)/refugee issues, modernization and indigenous populations, women and conflict, ethnic-based conflicts, human rights, and development.

The Symposium opened with recitations from the Holy Quran, followed by opening remarks by officials from USAID and the University of Bahri. Dr. Rothbart delivered the keynote address, entitled “Conflict Analysis: A Field in Flux.” Dr. Rajput then led a session apprising the audience of the objectives, expectations, and plan for the workshop.

During the five days that followed, Dr. Rothbart and Dr. Rajput addressed the following topics on conflict analysis: conflict theories, research design, data gathering, data analysis,

research-driven programs, and dissemination of findings. Each day’s activities included a challenging exercise designed to enhance the participants’ skills in applying the conceptual information to research. Group discussions and reporting were lively and insightful as the participants applied the lessons to local situations and balanced conceptual information with concrete case studies. For example, Dr. Rothbart and Dr. Rajput’s presentation of research-driven programs included humanitarian relief programs, development through policy reforms, societal reforms, and IDP/refugee programs. Material on “Evaluating Conflict Resolution Intervention” was well received by the participants. The workshop exposed participants to conflict-related topics that called for integration of theory, research, and practice.

The workshop’s final day focused on publishing and networking in the field of conflict analysis. Local professors from the two universities shared stories about the opportunities and challenges associated with publication and presentation of findings. Dr. Rajput shared her blog on IDP issues and offered it as a platform for the participants to brainstorm and discuss issues related to IDPs/refugees.

The participants’ grasp of the material was impressive. Their summaries of group discussions and observations about the conflicts in Sudan/South Sudan showed a commitment to conflict research in the pursuit of their individual topics. The workshop concluded with a graduation ceremony in which each participant was awarded a certificate for successfully completing the workshop. This workshop paved the way for upcoming field research in various parts of the two countries. Dr. Rothbart and Dr. Rajput’s work will continue for another two months, as they supervise the research and reporting of the participants.



"Capacity Building Workshop on Conflict Analysis Tools and Methods" Workshop Banner. Photo: Daniel Rothbart and Sudha Rajput.

initiatives

Continued on Page 8

The 4th Annual Peace Conference: Immigration & Cultural Diversity in the U.S.

By Jason Miller, S-CAR MS Alumnus and Director of Campaigns and Development, Franciscan Action Network Jmiller@franciscanaction.org

The debate over comprehensive immigration reform has been raging in Washington and across the country lately. Most recently, after inaction by Congress, the President, after saying that he would take action himself decided that he would delay any executive action on immigration reform. So far during his Presidency, his administration has deported over two million people with no end in sight.

Oftentimes, immigrants are seen as “the other” who are on the margins of society due to their legal status or inability to assimilate. While the rhetoric around comprehensive immigration reform can be heated, nationwide opinion polls indicate that a majority of Americans want Congress to pass some form of immigration reform, But they have yet to do so. Unfortunately, Congress is not doing the will of the people despite being elected to do so.

In my post S-CAR career, I do advocacy work on



Jason Miller, Director of Campaigns and Development, Franciscan Action Network. Photo: Jason Miller.

behalf of Franciscans here in Washington, D.C., including work on comprehensive immigration reform. I often wonder if anyone on Capitol Hill or in the White House hears the millions of Americans who are demanding action. It’s difficult to measure success in my line of work, and it’s clear that we have a lot of work to do to ensure that real change comes about in our government and society.

For anyone who wants to learn more about immigration reform, Hosteling International D.C. hosted an event on Saturday September 20th as part of their 4th Annual Peace Conference. This year’s theme was on “Immigration & Cultural Diversity in the U.S.” I helped to plan it over the last few years and I can promise that it is the best one to date. The

conference offered a human face to the immigration debate and celebrate cultural diversity and our shared humanity. More info: <https://hidc2014peaceconference.eventbrite.com>

The Signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between George Mason University and the University of Ngozi in Burundi.

By Sixte Vigny Nimuraba, S-CAR PhD Student, vnimurab@gmu.edu

On September 5, 2014, the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution hosted the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between George Mason University, represented by Solon Simmons, the Interim Vice President at the Office of Global Strategy and Apollinaire Bangayimbaca, the Provost of the University of Ngozi. The signing was also witnessed by Elavie Ndura, a professor at the college of Education and Human Development, and members of the S-CAR community.



Left to Right: Solon Simmons, Apollinaire Bangayimbaca and Elavie Ndura. Photo: S-CAR.



S-CAR Community at the MoU signing. Photo: S-CAR.

Upcoming Events

Wednesday, September 24, 2014

Film Screening: The Black Highway - An Ethnography film of Post Peace Social Life in Aceh, Indonesia
10:00am - 12:00pm

Friday, September 26, 2014

Resume Clinic
12:00pm - 2:00pm

Friday, September 26, 2014

Raising your Voice Against Sexual Violence: A Panel Discussion and one time only Screening of Invisible Dance
6:00pm - 10:00pm

Thursday, October 2, 2014

Real Conflict Coaching
8:30pm - 4:00pm

Opinion: Exiting Iraq and Entering Ferguson: The Untold Arms Trade

By Nicole Grim, Assistant Program Officer, Center for Global Education, ngrim@masonlive.gmu.edu.

Last month, President Obama delivered the first of what would be a series of remarks on developing events in Ferguson, Mo. and Iraq. At first glance, the police shooting and death of unarmed 18-year-old Michael Brown and execution of US journalist Jim Foley by ISIL would seem like two wholly unrelated events, like two separate worlds. That isn't necessarily the case.

While Obama continues air strikes in Iraq—hesitant to put boots back on the ground after building his legacy on pulling them out—Ferguson is struggling to find a way to deal with its repercussions.

The 1033 Program, coordinated by the Defense Logistics Agency Disposition Services, transfers excess military capability to local law enforcement—almost \$550 million worth in 2013 alone. This agreement between the Defense Department and law enforcement is not new—it was authorized in 1997 through the National Defense Authorization Act. What is new, however, is the surge of troops being withdrawn from Iraq and Afghanistan, and the large amounts of military-owned equipment coming with them.

More than 8,000 agencies participate in this program, and shortly after President Obama's remarks on August 14, USA Today confirmed that the Ferguson Police Department is among them. What we see unfolding in 'small-town, USA' Ferguson is a byproduct of our projected \$6 trillion worth of war in Iraq and Afghanistan being funneled into the hands

of police and SWAT teams around the country. Ferguson's armored vehicles, rifles, and pistols you've been seeing in the news may very well have once been held by combat troops in Iraq. While Iraq's troubled past has long been amongst religions and tribal affiliations, the conversation surrounding Ferguson is fueled by its own set of racial divisions.

Before Brown, we saw the video of Eric Garner, who was put in a fatal chokehold by police. Before Garner, it was Trayvon Martin. And, let's not forget

Alex Landau where it took 45 stitches to close his facial lacerations after being beaten by Denver police officers in 2009.

In the growing number of communities where police forces are a lot whiter than the populations they protect, local social norms and stereotypes surrounding race and racism are meeting head-on with the changing connotations of power arriving alongside the 1033 Program's guns and armored vehicles. Underlying fundamental shifts in organizational culture accompany the absorption of military equipment, and those changes have to be addressed if we want to prevent another Ferguson.

Ryan Reilly, a Huffington Post reporter arrested during the protests in Ferguson, later said that the police resembled soldiers more than officers and treated those surround-

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

September 11 - Complexities and Contradictions about the Embroil US in Syria and Iraq; Why Americans Choose War; The other 9/11

Richard Rubenstein, S-CAR Faculty Background Briefing with Ian Masters 9/11/14

Man-to-Man Chat can Avert Disaster

Dennis Sandole, S-CAR faculty Financial Times 9/10/14

Senate Homeland Security Hearing on Militarization of US Police

Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumni KPFA Radio 9/9/14

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 21 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent the latest at time of publication. For a complete list please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>



American Military or Police? The Line is Blurred. Photo: Flickr User Uncle Sams Misguided Children.

organizations to be effective, decisive, and 'heroic,' but also create unique definitions of power, authority, and control.

ing him as "enemy combatants." The Huffington Post statement remarked: "Police militarization has been among the most consequential and unnoticed developments of our time," and they're right.

In many aspects, our law enforcement and military are similar. Intensive training, reliance on hierarchy, hyper-masculinity -- these components drive

press

Continued on Page 8

Annabella B. Johnson, S-CAR MS Student

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

Annabella Busawule Johnson is part of the 2014 MS cohort, joining the S-CAR community this fall. Originally from Uganda, she has been living in Vienna, Austria, for the last few years for her work with the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO). CTBTO is an international organization affiliated with the United Nations that works to ban nuclear explosions on the earth's surface, in the atmosphere, underground, and underwater. Annabella's work entailed "software configuration management of the applications developed to enable the detection, monitoring and analyzing of data collected from the monitoring stations across the world so that no nuclear explosion goes undetected."

Although most of her professional experience has been as a software engineer, Annabella started to shift her focus to the field of conflict analysis and resolution after she wanted to use her skills in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to enhance humanitarian response to crises. Her initial research into this subfield led her to the work that the organization ICT4 Peace was doing. As she described it, "it was an exciting



Annabella Johnson. Photo: Annabella Johnson.

moment as I realized that there was a way to use my ICT skills in a programmatic way to be an enabler and source of empowerment that would allow individuals and organizations to resolve complex conflicts across the globe."

Annabella's decision to attend S-CAR at George Mason University was inspired by the University's vision of "innovation, diversity and accessibility" that fit her career interest and approach. As she said, "once I have merged my ICT skills with practical knowledge in conflict resolution, I hope to diversify my career portfolio to continue with my professional participation and contribution to the shared global mission of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies to promote peace, security, and stability on a global scale."

Outside of her work, Annabella likes to travel and read. One of her favorite authors is Chinua Achebe, whom she describes as "a very well respected and inspirational African writer who has contributed to the preservation of African culture through his educational writing that has served the diverse readership globally." As she noted, "without literary leaders like him, our children and their children may never learn of their culture. He has educated the world about African culture in a way that we can be proud of." ■

Minhee Noh, S-CAR MS Student

By Asaka Ishiguro, S-CAR MS Student, aishiguro@gmu.edu

Minhee Noh is currently enrolled in the Master's program at S-CAR. Prior to joining the program, she worked for a non-profit organization, called Japan Association for Refugees. Through her work, she met with Kurdish refugees from Turkey, and through interactions with them, was shocked by their predicament. She said, "I gained an interest in refugee issues, especially those that result from social and cultural tensions, from those interactions."

Her encounter with refugees reminded her of her own experience. Born and raised in South Korea, Minhee has been struggling with the conflict between Japan and her country. According to her, "I started to learn Japanese at the age of twelve, which was not always understood by my family and friends. [South] Koreans' reaction to Japan was sometimes very aggressive. Some do not even acknowledge the Japanese people." Having lived in Japan as well, she experienced the "other" perspective of the conflict. She said, "while political relations sometimes



Minhee Noh. Photo: Minhee Noh.

harden the attitudes of both states, cultural exchange and interpersonal interactions have been definitely changing Japanese peoples' views, especially young generation, toward Korea." This experience led her to believe that a cultural understanding can be used to rebuild good relations that can resolve conflicts. According to her, "perhaps if Turkish society had been more tolerant towards Kurdish minorities and attempted to understand them, there would not be this level of conflict there".

At S-CAR, she is exploring cultural analysis in conflict. "My school offers many classes in cultural and identity issues, and this has provided me with a lot of theories that can help me find possible solutions to my own conflict" says Minhee.

In the future, she has a strong ambition to work as a facilitator to promote understanding between culturally different ethnic groups. She said, "people ideally know the importance of understanding, but on the ground, it is extremely difficult to take the first step." Despite the challenges she may face, Minhee is full of hope of becoming a "cultural liaison" to help people resolve conflicts. ■

Moreover, the notion that successful U.S. intervention was feasible via unilateral, military mechanisms that were socially, culturally and religiously ill-equipped to navigate the ground post-invasion backfired.

Yet this is exactly how America responded this year to security threats in Iraq, as fighters from the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) seized cities across Iraq. After more than ten years of American warfare in Iraq, to no avail, more of the same won't work. Whether it is the overlooked political reconciliation, lack of accountability in Iraq's security forces or missteps in regional cooperation, Iraq will continue to witness instability unless these points are addressed.

The U.S. government's focus on military has given little space to address political reconciliation. Post-invasion, the U.S. fueled sectarian tensions by accentuating Sunni-Shiite differences when it created an Iraqi governing council based on sectarian lines. This was the first time in Iraq's contemporary history that leaders were selected based on their identification with a particular sect (before the U.S. invasion, Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds lived in mixed communities throughout Iraq).

After Iraq's demographics concentrated along sectarian lines in the late 2000s, Sunni leadership became concerned that political representation, whether in the security forces

or the government in Baghdad, was being curtailed. And while Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki exacerbated these fears by pushing out Sunnis from positions of power, the U.S. failed to prioritize this, keen to keep Sunnis fighting in Anbar province with little regard to their reintegration in Baghdad.

All of this helps explain why, in 2014, Sunni hardliners ably seized control of cities with little pushback from Sunni moderates who were also frustrated with political and economic marginalization. Given years of exclusion, many Sunnis felt like there was

little recourse but to seek violent methods of regaining power. Now, ensuring that Sunnis are given proper political, economic, and security participation in the government is critical. Inclusionary policies for the Sunni population and its tribal leaders are paramount to the stability of the country.

Adding to this, U.S. efforts to "stand up" an Iraqi security force were mismanaged. After spending \$20 billion in training, these security forces operated as another sectarian militia. Weapons trafficked freely, with insurgents brandishing the very weapons the West funneled into Iraq and Syria. The same Iraqi security forces who received U.S. training abandoned their posts, losing control of the cities. This allowed ISIS to control major cities in the north, with its wealth of water and oil resources, leaving few government security forces to control the violence or protect innocent civilians.

If America wanted to help Iraq's security situation, it would work with Saudi Arabia, Iran, and others to issue an embargo on weapons trafficking and arms exports into Iraq and Syria. This would directly implicate the U.S. due to its weapons shipments to fractious Syrian rebels and unconditional military aid to Iraq. The West must also work with Iraq's security forces to stop rampant human rights abuses, which are fueling Sunni resistance.

Any further U.S. policy in the Middle East requires a new set of principles. No more business as usual, no more go-it-alone. Regional cooperation between Iraq and Gulf States is imperative to bringing lasting stability. Otherwise the opportunity for violent spillover expands exponentially.

As the West responds to the humanitarian crisis in Iraq, made worse by years of sanctions and intervention, or responds to an insurgent group, the U.S. should prioritize regional cooperation and development initiatives that will deliver shared security for all Iraqis. By engaging regional leaders, including Iran, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, and even tribal leaders within Iraq, the U.S. can support Iraq in alleviating the turmoil. Encouraging regional cooperation can also help reduce the barriers that impede cooperation in other sectors, such as Iran's nuclear technologies.

The U.S. can avoid repeating past mistakes by de-emphasizing its military focus. Airstrikes and drone strikes won't work. A strategy focused on political reconciliation, regional cooperation, arms embargoes and humanitarian aid that meets the basic needs of a war-ravaged nation can bring lasting security and political stability. This is how America can help Iraq. Anything else is merely a repeat of the past. ■



Michael Shank, Adjunct faculty at S-CAR, Director for Foreign Policy at the Friends Committee on National Legislation. Photo: Michael Shank

Recent S-CAR Awards

Pamina Firchow, Assistant Professor of Conflict Resolution, was awarded a \$20,000 grant from the Rotary Foundation to support her work on the edited volume "Peacebuilding in Theory and Practice".

Recent S-CAR Books

9/11 and Collective Memory in US Classrooms: Teaching About Terror by **Cheryl Duckworth**, PhD Alumna. Routledge Press (2014)

Political Insults: How Offenses Escalate Conflict by **Karina Korostelina**. Oxford University Press (2014).

Exiting Iraq and Entering Ferguson

Continued from page 5

There is one stark difference, however. The military utilizes a very polarized concept of good and evil. Their mission is to confront and kill a defined enemy. In contrast law enforcement is comprised of ‘peace officers’—they have no enemies. Their only mission is to uphold the law and to protect and defend their citizens. If those citizens are suspected of committing a crime, well, that’s for the courts to decide.

But when law enforcement is given equipment that makes them look and act more and more like soldiers, what power looks and feels and thinks like shifts right along with them. This is only amplified by a lack of training—it’s offered (not required) by the DLA, but training on these capabilities for and by law enforcement isn’t regularly tracked.

In a guest blog for the International Association of the Chiefs of Police, the Los Angeles Police Department wrote “The primary responsibility of local law enforcement when adopting and employing these [military] capabilities is to protect against embracing the core military culture and mission that was behind its original development.”

The militarization of police is not likely to slow down or stop anytime soon -- not with the Defense Department’s eagerness to “save the American taxpayer’s investment,” according to the DLA website. Unless we do something, what we will continue to see from these trends is a growing intensity of structural violence that prevents communities from achieving their basic needs. In Ferguson’s case, the civilains basic human needs will be their perceptions of trust and access to fair and honest protection. ■



School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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Conflict Analysis and Methods Capacity Building Workshop

Continued from page 3

Throughout the week’s events, the need for flexibility became quite apparent. Despite having developed a meticulous design for the workshop activities, Dr. Rothbart and Dr. Rajput were asked to modify their plans each day, sometimes requiring them to add information in expanded sessions and other times calling for a reduction of the content to quicken the pace. Yet this all went very well, in large measure because of the easy collaboration with the workshop’s architects from the University of Bahri.

During the week, the head of the USAID mission in Sudan hosted a social gathering at his home, attended by the US ambassador to Sudan. Additionally, the Vice Chancellor of the Bahri University graciously invited Dr. Rothbart and Dr. Rajput to his office for tea and a delightful dinner at a Sudanese restaurant situated on the Omdurman-side of the Nile River. Dr. Rajput’s highlight of the visit was a trip to the Pyramids, a trip that required both a 2.5 hour drive and a special permit from the Ministry of Tourism. These pyramids are located in the villages called Bagrawiyah, and in June 2011, this site was listed by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. A short camel ride took Dr. Rajput close to the pyramids. On the way back, the participants took her to a Sufi festival that was held on mosque premises. This day was an incredible way to experience the Sudanese culture. ■

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Hong Kong's Youth Protests and US Position

By Manana Swanson, Adjunct Professor and Visiting Scholar at S-CAR, mgnolidz@gmu.edu

The recent youth protests expressed through civil disobedience, boycotting of classes, and blocking of government offices in Hong Kong have captured international public attention. These protests were dubbed "Occupy Central" (named after one of its organizing bodies) or the peaceful Umbrella Revolution. The expression of discontent through peaceful demonstrations is not unprecedented in the recent history of



Protest in Happy Valley, Hong Kong Island. Photo: Flickr user Aaron Hui.

Understanding current events is easier if examining the history of Hong Kong. In 1997, Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) in the People's Republic of China, administered by the Legislative Council and the Chief Executive who is elected by the Electoral Council comprised of 1,200 representatives from a broad range

Hong Kong. Protests in 2003 in regards to the attempt of Hong Kong's Government to introduce national security legislation - Article 23 - can be called successful as they achieved the aim they intended. The unprecedented support for the unofficial referendum launched this summer by the Occupy Central movement for the universal suffrage in Hong Kong is not surprising, given the recent developments in the city's political life.

of permanent residents of the city. Hong Kong became a British colony after the first Opium War (1839-1842) when the Nanjing agreement was signed between China and Great Britain. The second agreement was signed in Beijing in 1898, when Great Britain, while extending Hong Kong's territory to the main land, leased Hong Kong for 99 years, until June 30, 1997. Hong Kong was declared a Special Administrative Region (SAR) within China on July 1, 1997.

The major documents regulating current relations between the Hong Kong SAR and the central government in Beijing are: (1) "Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong" (1984) and (2) "Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (PRC)."

Continued on Page 7

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: "Many Notes, One Symphony": Reflections from the 14th Annual ACR Conference
- 3 Initiative: The Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict at S-CAR
- 4 Events: S-CAR Student Association Elections: Profiles of the New Elected Executives for 2014-2015
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances. Opinion: Liberia's Ebola Pandemic
- 6 Spotlight: Dylan Bates, Undergrad Student and Rochelle Arms, PhD Student

Commentary

"Many Notes, One Symphony":

Reflections from the 14th Annual ACR Conference

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

The Association for Conflict Resolution (ACR) is a "professional organization enhancing the practice and public understanding of conflict resolution." The organization also looks to provide "a voice to the choices for quality conflict resolution." This year, the ACR annual conference which is in its 14th year, was held in Cincinnati, Ohio from October 8-11, 2014 under the theme "Many Notes, One Symphony: Conflict Engagers in Harmony." To emphasize the significance of this theme, ACR President Cheryl Jamison Esq., in her introductory remarks said, "This conference will provide a wonderful time learning together, building long-lasting connections, and collaborating on future opportunities for growth in the conflict resolution community."

One of the new highlights of this year's conference was the addition of the 'New Voices-Emerging Professionals' initiative. According to Jamison, "this initiative is designed to give new practitioners an opportunity to present their research and story at the conference." The seven finalists who presented at the conference were Kim Cowgill, whose presentation was titled *Intractable Conflicts in Local Sustainable Development Projects*; Asif Majid – *Conflict Energy*; Dana Caspersen – *Choreographic Conversations*; Mary Novak – *Harnessing the Power of Story*; Sharon Silbert – *Cultivating Mindfulness in the Conflict Resolution Practitioner*; Paul Charlton – *Changing Hidden Curriculum of Medical Education*; and Kerri Schmitt – *Restorative Dialogue: Healing the Heart of Conflict*. More information on their presentations can be found at: <http://www.acrannualconference.org/new-voices---emerging-professionals.html>

The keynote speaker at this year's conference was Tim Wise, a prominent anti-racism writer and educator in the United States. Some of the books he has written are *Dear White America: Letter to a New Minority* and *White Like Me: Reflections on Race from a Privileged Son*. Utne Reader also recently named Wise as "one of the

25 visionaries who are changing your world." In his keynote address, he spoke about how class, race, sexuality, and gender are all shaped by power dynamics that create systems that are very difficult to navigate. According to Wise, "when one is a member of a dominant social group, with disproportionate power in any given social setting, the ability to empathize and to even understand not the

other persons lens, but to acknowledge ones own lens and to understand that it is somehow mis-shaping ones understanding of a conflict is hard to come by." To conclude his address, he asked that all those who advocate on behalf of groups on issues such as gender, race, and class among others, should start to build bridges and work together rather than work on separate projects. "It is only through cooperation that real and lasting change can happen."

This year, the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution was represented at the conference by faculty

members Sara Cobb and Mara Schoeny, adjunct faculty David Smith, and PhD candidates Allison Castel and Sarah Federman. Sara Cobb, Sarah Federman, and Allison Castel conducted a panel titled "Narrative Practices for Conflict Resolution – Externalization and Circular Questioning." Their session focused on inviting participants of the conference "to experience narrative as a conflict resolution practice." David Smith and Mara Schoeny hosted a panel titled *Full Immersion Simulation as a Means to Building Career Ready Skills in International Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding*. This session focused on the creation of a full immersion training exercise called "Atlantic Hope" and the lessons learned from the exercise.

The conference also marked a change in the leadership of ACR, as Cheryl Jamison handed over her presidency to Nancy Flatters, a non-sitting Calgary Family and Youth Court Judge. Next year, the ACR conference will be held at the Atlantis Casino Resort Spa in Reno, Nevada from October 7 through 10, 2015 under the theme "Thinking about our thinking: from emerging research to practical application." Proposals for the conference can be submitted up to December 15, 2014 at www.surveymonkey.com/s/ACR2015_CallForProposals. ■



Downtown Cincinnati where the 14th Annual ACR conference was held. Photo: Flickr user Kabir Bakie.

The Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict at S-CAR: Events and Projects for 2014 - 2015 Academic Year

By Alice Peck, S-CAR MS Student and Program Officer, Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict, apeck2@gmu.edu

The Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict is proud to announce its exciting program of events this academic year. We are thrilled that Dr. Cynthia Enloe will give the keynote address at our annual conference in April 2015. Dr. Enloe is the Director of International Development, Community, and Environment at Clark University, and faculty in the Women's and Gender Studies, and the Department of Political Science. She is a visionary in the field of feminist international relations and the author of numerous books, including *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (2000), *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (2004), and recently *The Real State of America: Mapping the Myths and Truths about the United States* (2011). The CGC invites abstracts for the conference 'Critical Intersections: Conflict, Gender, and Power' by December 1, 2014.

The conference marks the culmination of this year's program at the Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict (CGC). Our Brown Bag series began on October 9, 2014, with Dr. Jennifer McCleary-Sills, a Gender Based Violence (GBV) specialist at the World Bank Group, who presented on GBV and the overlapping deprivations that increase a woman's risk of experiencing violence. On November 9th, the series welcomes Dr. Supriya Bailey, Assistant Professor in International Education at George Mason University, who will speak about grassroots gender empowerment in India. This series will continue in the spring with Dr. Aisling Swaine, who will lead a discussion on gender violence and security.

As well as Brown Bags, the CGC also hosts monthly Gender Salons – an informal event that provides students an opportunity to discuss and debate contentious issues in the field, practice skills, and develop relationships in a casual environment. The format of the salon is intended to provide an open space for dialogue and debate around a given topic. The first salon of the semester last month was titled *Ferguson, Masculinity and Violence*. Our next Gender Salon will meet at S-CAR on the 29th of October to discuss reproductive justice and reproductive rights.

Finally, CGC is holding two panels this year. The first addresses the challenges facing women in STEM fields, and will take place on January 12th. The second panel, on February 12, 2015, will look at legal responses to sexual violence. Both panels feature speakers from diverse fields and backgrounds. For more information about the CGC's program of events, visit gmuedu/gender.

Background to CGC

Conceived during a discussion over lunch, the Center



Alice Peck. Photo: Alice Peck

for the Study of Gender and Conflict (CGC) was founded in 2012 at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR). CGC is an intellectual community of faculty, students, and professional practitioners committed to addressing the gendered dynamics of conflict, including the direct violence of war, sexual assault, and genocide and pressing issues of political and economic marginalization. Drawing upon a decade of intensive engagement in gender-related work at S-CAR, the CGC serves as a link between the academy and the field to deepen and expand our understanding of the gendered dimensions of conflict. Recognizing that gender impacts all facets of life for both women and men, the CGC offers innovative and comprehensive

approaches to understanding and transforming gendered conflicts.

Staff

CGC is composed of both students and faculty. The Director of the center is Leslie Dwyer, Assistant Professor of Conflict Analysis and Anthropology at S-CAR. Her academic expertise focuses on violence, gender, post-conflict social life and transitional justice. Dr. Sandra Cheldelin, the Vernon M. and Minnie I. Lynch Professor of Conflict Resolution, is the principal. A specialist in group and organisational conflict, Dr. Cheldelin has worked on gender-related issues and conflict interventions in Bosnia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Georgia, the Middle East, Turkey, Liberia, and China. Elizabeth Mount, a PhD student at S-CAR, is the Executive Director. Elizabeth manages programming, development, and public/private partnerships, and her research focuses on masculinity and sexual violence. Lisa McLean is the Dean's Fellow at CGC and a new PhD student at S-CAR. As the director of CGC's program, Lisa's goals are to broaden the awareness of feminist and gendered analyses of conflict, and to directly contribute to the body of knowledge and scholarship concerning these issues. Alice Peck is a Master's student at S-CAR and the Program Officer at CGC. Responsible for overseeing the financial and administrative programming of CGC, Alice's research interests include gender and access to justice, masculinity in humanitarian intervention and discourse surrounding victimhood and vulnerability. Mel Weyant, a Master's student at S-CAR, is the media intern at CGC and works to publicise the work of CGC within S-CAR, GMU and to the broader DC community, as well as students and external partners in our projects. Mel is interested in domestic community building and the intersection of race, gender, and poverty, as well as juvenile-justice issues. For more information on events and to get involved with our work, please visit scar.gmu.edu/gender or email us at scarccg@gmail.com.

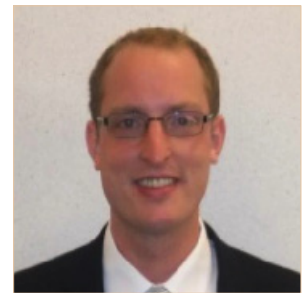
initiatives

S-CAR Student Association Elections: Profiles of the New Elected Executives for 2014-2015



Ellen Galdava is a current MS student at the School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Ellen graduated from American University in Bulgaria with a dual degree in Political Science and International Relations and Business Administration. Her past work experiences were in the Foreign Ministry of Georgia, Chancellery of Prime Minister of Georgia, Parliament of Georgia, and International Peace and Security Institute (IPSI) in Washington, DC. Currently, she is program assistant at Women in International Security (WIIS) and research assistant at the Fund for Peace. Her academic and professional interest is in conflict resolution, international negotiation, identity, and narrative. She speaks Russian and Georgian fluently. You can contact her at egaldava@masonlive.gmu.edu.

William Johnson, newly elected Treasurer of the S-CAR Student Association, is in his first year of study in the Master's Program at S-CAR. Originally from Des Moines, Iowa, he received his undergraduate degree in Political Science from Iowa State University. Professionally, William works to encourage private sector engagement in post-conflict and developing regions, as well as with programs designed to increase workforce readiness and skills programming for youth. He looks forward to engaging with students, faculty, and the greater Washington D.C. community in order to build the network and capacity of the S-CAR student body. Feel free to drop him a note at wjohns16@gmu.edu.



Alaa Kamel is a second year student in the M.S. program. In her undergraduate years she was the president of Model United Nations and Model Arab League, while participating in organizations such as Take Back The Night and Student Voice. The skills and experiences she acquired have been invaluable to her and assisted her in extending her services to her communities in Los Angeles and Egypt, and she hope to utilize these skills to strengthen the student body. Last year she was the Secretary for the Africa Working Group and came to learn about the many difficulties faced by a first year graduate student, all the working groups, and networking in DC. Currently she is working at the Food Research Action Center, and focusing on labor issues for her thesis. Contact her at akamel2@masonlive.gmu.edu.

Upcoming Events

Tuesday, October 28, 2014

Movie: The Betrayal - Nerakhoon
3:00pm - 5:00pm

Thursday, October 30, 2014

Brown Bag - Liberia: Challenges to Managing the Ebola Outbreak
12:30pm - 2:00pm

Tuesday, November 4, 2014

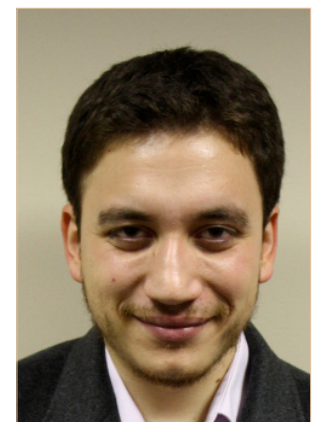
Ukraine: The Way Forward
7:00pm - 9:00pm

Friday, November 7, 2014

Research Workshop: The Arab Uprisings in Comparative Perspective
9:00am - 5:00pm

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

Hilmi Ulas hails from the island of Cyprus and is a PhD candidate. He holds a double BA degree in political science and French from Grinnell College, where he enjoyed the cold weather and tornadoes, as well as a fun campus life. Wanting to learn about how to contribute to conflict resolution in his home country (and admittedly in search of better climes) he came to S-CAR - which used to be ICAR in those ancient days - and stayed there because he fell in love with the city and the institution. Nowadays he pretends to be 'dissertating' and hopes that it will write itself by sheer willpower and hope. He would love to help S-CAR folk be more integrated and contribute to the way things work as he sees lots of potential for mutual learning and gains there. Contact him at: hulas@masonlive.gmu.edu



Opinion: Liberia's Ebola Pandemic: A Case of Institutional Failure

By Samuel Wai Johnson, Jr., S-CAR PhD Candidate and Graduate Lecturer, sjohnsl@masonlive.

As the Brussels Airlines flight lifted from the runway of the Roberts International Airport in Margibi, Liberia on the evening of September 29, 2014, I became anxiety-stricken – happy and relieved that I was finally on my way back to the US to continue my studies, but sad that I was leaving my family and my country. Liberia is once again being decimated, not by bullets this time, but by the Ebola Virus pandemic. The pandemic that first hit Liberia temporarily in February - March returned in July with renewed vigor, bringing down the entire country's healthcare system, a scenario that was unthinkable a year earlier.

Liberia was celebrating its first decade of peace following one of the most destructive civil wars in modern history. The civil war that ended officially in June 2003 left 10 percent of the country's population dead, and a quarter million as refugees or internally displaced persons. So in June 2013, Liberians celebrated what might have been an unthinkable feat – 10 years of no war! Their country was now on a steady course of peace, progress, hope, and development. Liberia's president, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf remarked during the celebrations: "The gains we are making are irreversible. Liberia is enjoying sustained peace and stability, and is experiencing robust growth and improvement in social and economic well-being." From Johnson-Sirleaf's standpoint, Liberia was a post-conflict statebuilding success story. "That is something for which we should all be proud! It means that with every passing year, we are putting the dreadful spectre of war further and further behind us," she added.

But data from the Liberia Institute for Statistics and Geo-Information Services (LISGIS) and the UNDP Human Development Report seem to paint a rather different picture about the social and economic wellbeing of Liberians. According to a recent report by LISGIS, about 79 percent of Liberians of employment age are working in "precarious circumstances" with no social protection and limited possibilities for attaining economic security. Besides, the country's human development index (HDI) remains low. Liberia ranks among the last 15 of 186 countries in the world listed in the UNDP Human Development Report 2013. With an HDI of 0.388, Liberia is below the average HDI of 0.466 for low HDI countries and below the average of 0.475 for Sub-Saharan Africa. When discounted for inequality, Liberia HDI falls to 0.251, a loss of 35.3 percent of its human development potential due to inequality in education, life expectancy, and income.

All of these difficulties are happening in the wake of a rather favorable economic growth with growth rates

of 5.3%, 6.1%, 7.9%, and 8.3% in 2009-12, respectively. Since 2006, Liberia has attracted about \$16 billion in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Liberia also received the World Bank Doing Business 2014 survey's designation as the 31st place globally and the fifth easiest place in Africa to start a business. President Johnson-Sirleaf believes that these indicators are excellent testimonies to the progress the country has made in building robust state institutions that address the contextual gaps created by the civil war – the capacity, the security, and the legitimacy gaps. These gaps impede the state's ability to deliver the public goods that guarantee the socioeconomic wellbeing of its population through long-term political protection for both the strong and the weak, performing statutory obligations that ensure both physical and economic security of its citizens and the existence of legitimate political institutions.

For the ordinary Liberian, the Liberian state has failed in the delivery of these public goods. Prior to the Ebola outbreak, the government was unable to meet its statutory obligations outlined in its annual budget with several reports of budget shortfall, as the legislators successively demanded the increase in their emoluments over the welfare of the general population as a pre-condition for the passage of the national budget. At the same time, the Liberian dollar depreciated against the US dollar, jumping from 79 Liberian dollars to one US dollar in April to an all-time high of 90 Liberian dollars to one US dollar by July. This decline in the strength of the Liberian dollar did have serious implications for the wellbeing of Liberia's poor who constitute the majority of country's population. It also indicated the extent to which Liberians have come to distrust their government as the guarantor of economic stability, and keeping the Liberian dollar as a stable store of wealth and economic security. There has also been the issue of corruption dogging public officials.



Police in Liberia looking for Ebola patients who fled a clinic. Photo: Flickr user Ogbodo Solution.

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

Go After Super Pollutants

Rep. Scott Peters (D-Calif) and Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumnus
The Hill 10/20/14

Police Militarization Must be Halted

Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumnus
Politix 10/13/14

Responding to Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Is Religious Freedom the Answer?

Marc Gopin, S-CAR faculty
Berkley Center 10/7/14

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 16 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

press

Continued on Page 8

Dylan Bates, S-CAR Undergraduate Student

By Amber Bergeron, S-CAR Undergraduate Student, abergero@gmu.edu

Dylan Bates has been an enthusiastic member and heavily involved with the S-CAR community since joining the program two years ago. Having learned about S-CAR from his hometown of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, he moved to Fairfax in order to join the program.

Since his acceptance at George Mason University, he has become a founding officer of the undergraduate student organization Agora sponsored by S-CAR, which emphasizes discussion, community, and student-led initiatives. He has also volunteered for the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy, and Conflict Resolution (CRDC), has received training from Peer Mediation Partners (PMP), and works as the Program Assistant

for the Center for the Advancement of Well-Being at George Mason University.

Dylan has a concentration in international conflict with particular interest in Latin America and hopes to be able to apply what he has learned in the program as a Peace Corps volunteer in Latin America following his graduation this upcoming spring. As someone who is always excited to be involved and try new things, Dylan has completed multiple marathons, enjoys swimming, and has recently taken up rock-climbing.

He is looking forward to these next semesters and seeing just how much Agora will be able to accomplish. He credits much of his drive and passion to his family who practice values of working hard and aiming high to achieve goals. He is excited to continue his conflict education through practice after graduation and to pursue a graduate degree after the Peace Corps. ■



Dylan Bates. Photo: Dylan Bates.

Rochelle Arms, S-CAR PhD Student

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

Rochelle Arms, a PhD student at S-CAR, first became involved in the field of conflict analysis and resolution, when she volunteered for a kick-start mediation program at her undergraduate school. "What started out as an extracurricular activity soon evolved into a full time profession, and after completing my undergrad program, I got a job as a mediator and restorative justice practitioner in Lexington, Kentucky," she said. "We worked with homicide offenders and victim survivors throughout Kentucky, preparing them for dialogues. This was very difficult and intense work, because there was so much pain on both sides." The intentions of the two groups critical to this work - victim advocates and defendant advocates - also made her work more challenging as they often disagreed on the meaning of "mending the harm."

Rochelle's work, though, earned her a Rotary Peace Fellowship from the Rotary Foundation to study in Argentina, where she focused on the application of conflict resolution methods to disagreements between indigenous people and the government. She became interested in the "cultural broker," an idea inspired in part by Kevin Avruch, the

Dean at S-CAR, in determining the ideal profiles of cultural brokers in Argentina, "who could navigate comfortably and effectively amongst indigenous activists and government officials." After completing the fellowship, Rochelle returned to the United

States, where she set up and managed the New York Peace Institute's restorative justice program. She trained mediators and established a referral system from the criminal court for misdemeanor cases (mostly minor assaults).

Although Rochelle was very happy with her career choice, she wanted to have more of an empirical understanding of why certain methods were chosen in mediation practice, as it seemed more like a "trial and error process." "I also want to understand how our biology affects the conflict

experience and what types of interventions result with a better understanding of this. I think we need more serious study of the biopsychology of conflict so that we can improve our processes for supporting people in conflict." This assessment led Rochelle to S-CAR. After she completes her degree, she will look to combine her two passions, teaching and mediation, toward becoming a true scholar-practitioner in the field. ■



Rochelle Arms. Photo: Rochelle Arms.

Signatories of the agreements respected the statements declared in the documents and the promise from the Chinese Government that the “one country, two systems” approach would not be affected for fifty years, with eventual universal suffrage for the Chief Executive and the Legislative Council of Hong Kong. The electoral reform was scheduled to take place in 2007 for the Chief Executive, but the Legislative Council failed to manage the process or to pass the law. The electoral reform was postponed until 2017 (for the Legislative Council, and 2020 for the chief administrative body of Hong Kong).

The United States Government expressed its position in the 2007 Hong Kong Policy Act through the US Department of State – “The United States has strong interests in the protection of human rights and the promotion of democracy throughout the world. In Hong Kong, the United States is committed to promoting democratic values, facilitating the development of democratic institutions, and generally supporting the advancement toward universal suffrage in accordance with the wishes of the Hong Kong people.”

The Occupy Central movement began in response to the decision of PRC to screen candidates proposed by the Nominating Committee for the position of Chief Executive. The initial organizers of the movement were the Hong Kong Federation of Students, joined by Scholarism – a movement of secondary school students and Occupy Central with Love and Peace – founded by Benny Tai Yiu-ting, Associate Professor of Law at the University of Hong Kong. The similarity to the Occupy Wall Street movement is in name only. Occupy Central is a political movement and does not target capitalism or the increased income gap. The protesters' main demand is for the people of Hong Kong to have the choice to nominate their own candidates without screening by PRC. The second demand from the protesters is for the current Chief Executive to resign. The negotiations intended between the students and the Hong Kong Government were called off on October 6. It is not clear what will happen next, though as the Chief Executive has refused to resign. Currently, the demand of the protesters for him to step down is becoming



Manana Swanson, Adjunct Professor and Visiting Scholar. Photo: S-CAR.

even more vocal. The actions of the movement and its members' highly organized behavior (cleaning, organizing garbage, hotline for students for legal assistance in case of arrest, etc.) are reflective of the history of Hong Kong and the identity of its people formed under the influence of many factors. Hong Kong has been a part of British Empire for 150 years, has enjoyed economic prosperity and boom since the 1980s in particular, corresponding with the creation of political parties, and experienced a peaceful transformation into the Special Administrative Region under China.

The position of the U.S. Government, according to its Consulate General Statement (September 28, 2014) on the contemporary development of Occupy Central, is “consistent with the support for Hong Kong's well-established traditions and Basic Law protections of internationally recognized

fundamental freedoms” and “the U.S. Government does not take side or supports any group or individual participating in the Occupy Central movement.” The U.S. Government called for dialogue: “We encourage all sides to refrain from actions that would further escalate tensions, to exercise restraint, and to express views on the SAR's political future in a peaceful manner.” The US position regarding Hong Kong was again highlighted during the meeting of US Secretary of State, Kerry, and China's Foreign Minister, Wang Yi on October 1, 2014 in Washington DC.

Kerry expressed support for universal suffrage in accordance with the Basic Law, open society “with the highest possible degree of autonomy and governed by the rule of law.” The Foreign Minister framed the issue as an internal affair of China, and that Hong Kong authorities were capable of properly handling the situation in accordance with the law. The Government of China and administration of Hong Kong, are trying to contain the protests through peaceful means, and only limited incidents of violence when the police sprayed tear gas and pepper spray and an aggressive mob attacked some protesters, have been reported.

The US position in Hong Kong for now, is calling for the respect of human rights and freedom simultaneously, and is not rushing to support or condemn either side. This is a sensible approach from the US, in particular on the eve of the upcoming meeting of US and Chinese Presidents in November when China hosts APEC Economic Leaders' Week (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) in Beijing chaired by the President Xi Jinping. ■



Police attacking demonstrators with tear gas. Photo: Flickr user Pasu Au Yeung.

The Liberian media have been awash with reports of financial malfeasance by government officials, with little or no legal action against these officials. In a recent meeting with members of her cabinet, President Johnson-Sirleaf acknowledged the declining trust of the public in her government's commitment to the fight against corruption. Liberia is ranked 83rd among 177 countries on the Transparency International's 2013 Corruption Perception Index, an index based on public perception of how corrupt a country's public sector is.

When people are denied economic security and political participation, they will pursue every action collectively in order to regain these basic human needs. However, if such collective action as public protest or civil upheaval are not possible, people will either absent themselves from the state or governance system or the state becomes absent in their lives, even at the perils of their own lives. This has been the nature of the relationship between the state and its people in Liberia. By the time of the Ebola outbreak, the Liberian state had lost its legitimacy, become absent, while its authority continued to wither away. Nothing demonstrated this better than the huge disbelief and contempt that greeted the government's announcement of the outbreak in July. At the time, many Liberians believed that the announcement was only a ploy by the government to attract donor monies. It took weeks of reports of a rising death toll, including among members of the same families, and an intensive community-sensitization effort by local community leaders to rectify this disbelief, though the contempt for the government remained ever present.

The Ebola crisis has therefore been only a tipping point, highlighting the uneasy calm that has characterized the state-society relationship and the institutional crisis of the statebuilding process in Liberia. While the government and its international partners paint a picture of Liberia as a country with beautiful and enviable statebuilding architecture, the focus on the institutional landscape alone – the presence of a market economy, the successive elections, the operations of a criminal justice system, etc. – has negated the significance of the institutional arrangements in the country's statebuilding process. The phrase "institutional arrangements" refers to the inner workings of state institutions in addressing the issues of the distribution of political power and economic wealth. Institutional arrangements indicate whether state governance is producing fundamental changes in the lives of the population

that are conflict-sensitive – addressing the root cause of the conflict.

The focus on the institutional landscape alone makes statebuilding intervention a superficial process. Emphasizing institutional arrangements over the institutional landscape ensures that the focus of the statebuilding is concerned not only with the immediate impact of the conflict on state institutions, but extending statebuilding to addressing the root cause of the conflict. In Liberia's case, this emphasis on the institutional landscape over the institutional arrangements has ignored the significant micro issues of inequality, poverty, and deprivation, as well as whether the governance of state institutions has produced fundamental changes in the lives of most Liberians. The Liberian government has consistently increased its budgetary allocations to institutions believed to have direct and significant relationship to the wellbeing of its population: health, water and sanitation, education, and public works (i.e. physical infrastructure). The social and economic development impacts of these commendable increases in budgetary allocations are not clear, however, and there are concerns in the population that the implementation of this fiscal policy tool is extractive and not inclusive. More than 60 percent of the population live in poverty and lack access to basic social services such as healthcare, safe drinking water and sanitation, and quality education.

For a country whose conflict was generated by structural inequality, poverty, and bad governance, the emphasis on the institutional landscape is good, but the focus on the institutional arrangements should be paramount. As the country and its international partners intensify the fight against this deadly scourge, Liberia needs a serious rethink about the functioning and arrangements of its state institutions. The Liberian state needs to reorient its governance towards emphasis on the arrangements of its institutions away from the preoccupation with the institutional landscape. This is not about designing institutions beautifully on paper and announcing them at public ceremonies or in reports to international partners. This is about ensuring that the functioning of these institutions produce positive fundamental changes in the lives of Liberians, changes that address the root cause of the country's conflict. Papers and reports do not bleed, people do! And only a statebuilding intervention that is conflict-sensitive and inclusive can prevent this bleeding. ■



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Mass Incarceration in the United States: Can S-CAR Play a Role in Prison Reform Programs?

By Tehama Lopez Bunyasi, Assistant Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, tlopezbu@gmu.edu

At the risk of sounding too optimistic, it feels as if the issue of mass incarceration may finally be receiving the groundswell of mainstream attention and critique that it so badly deserves. This is not to say that the decades-old electoral mantra of being “tough on crime” has seen its last days, but with more than 2.2 million Americans behind bars, making



San Quentin State Prison: California's Oldest Prison with a design capacity of 3088. Photo: Flickr user Sean Duan.

are gathering around the water cooler to dissect the latest episode of *Orange* is the New Black and to lend their copy of Michelle Alexander's best-selling book, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Color-blindness*.

We here at S-CAR are also thinking and talking a great deal about the criminal justice system—its enormity, its inequities, its complexity—and

many of us are wondering where we, as a field, fit into the equation of reform. The possibilities for our contribution have yet to be fully imagined, but one avenue where we may play a role is in the proliferation of prison arts. This October, I attended *Marking Time: A Prison Arts and Activism Conference* at Rutgers University, and was enlightened and inspired by the way incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people are using art to cope with loss, foster hope, practice non-violence, and imagine new futures.

Continued on Page 7

Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: A Hero's Welcome:
A Program for Wounded Warriors
- 3 Initiative: Filmmaking for Social
Change Class
- 4 Event: Lynch Lecture
- 5 Press: S-CAR Op-Eds, Letters to the
Editor, and Media Appearances.
Opinion: Discriminating Against
Minorities with Voting Right Laws
- 6 Spotlight: Arsen Kharatyan, Alumnus
Spotlight: Amani Mansour, MS
Student

the United States the world's leader in incarceration, American politicians on both sides of the aisle are publicly reconsidering the trajectory of our criminal justice system. While Democrats Dick Durbin and Patrick Leahy are finding (rare) common ground with Republicans Rand Paul and Ted Cruz around drug sentencing, ordinary Americans

commentary

A Hero's Welcome: A Program for Wounded Warriors

By Shirley Souryal, S-CAR PhD Student, ssouryal@masonlive.gmu.edu

Looking back, I realize that two poignant moments served as 'seeds' that would blossom into a program for Wounded Warriors called "A Hero's Welcome." Like bookends, the first coincided with my arrival in Baghdad, and the other with my departure.

No sooner had my feet hit the tarmac than I began to look up, a lot. I looked up in amazement at the way the spectacular sun and clear blue sky greeted me every morning while a blanket of stars ushered me back to my trailer at night. I looked up at the clouds of an impending sandstorm and after the echo of a siren's wail lingered in the air. Most of all, I looked up when I felt the pounding thump and roar of helicopter rotors rattling the ground, my trailer, and my bones. It was constant. I quickly realized that not all helicopters were created equal. Many Blackhawks flew overhead without any markings on their underbelly. It was the ones that bore the bold 'red cross' that caught my eye. They were tasked with carrying injured troops to the military hospital around the corner.

Throughout the day, wherever I was, I looked up. I breathed a sigh of relief and gratitude when the helicopters bore no markings and offered a prayer, within the quietness of my heart, when they did. It was heartbreaking to realize how one moment had drastically altered the course of those men and women's lives, forever. I made a commitment to visit Walter Reed Military Hospital when I got back home and extend my gratitude to the countless injured warriors who had flown overhead.

Unfortunately, while in Baghdad, I battled a life-threatening illness. I braced for the possibility that I would not return home alive. In the blink of an eye, my life completely changed course. In what would be my final departure, I flew over Baghdad in a Blackhawk and eventually returned to the U.S. I was devastated and depleted, but grateful to be alive.

I survived Baghdad's bombs, bullets, and boardrooms yet bore the invisible scars left by the tentacles of war, solitude, and heartbreaking loss.

"Don't ask what the world needs. Ask what makes you come alive and go do it, because what the world needs is people who have come alive." Reverend Howard Thurman's wisdom inspired me. After a period of recuperation, I reengaged in

labors of love that served to promote healing, justice, and reconciliation.

Returning to photography was instrumental in recalibrating my path and reframing the narrative of my life. With renewed strength, I used my passion to raise awareness about issues of injustice and tragedy, capturing existing narratives and creating new ones in Kenya and Rwanda, as I had done in Bosnia, Northern Ireland, and Israel/Palestine. It is

through images that brave souls were empowered to speak for themselves.

My second chance at life filled me with infinitely more gratitude and empathy for our veterans, particularly our Wounded Warriors whose sacrificial service came to an abrupt halt. I grasped the pain of losing one's health, livelihood, and community in one fell swoop. I intimately understood the challenges of acclimating to life after war, including Post Traumatic Stress. For me, photographing music concerts became my balm.

Prior to my tenure overseas, I had forged professional relationships with musical artists, publicists, and promoters. Those dynamics became instrumental in allowing me to orchestrate opportunities for veterans and Wounded Warriors at Walter Reed to hear and meet their favorite musicians in concert and enjoy respite from the hospital.

Quite organically, the program blossomed, one concert at a time. "A Hero's Welcome" is both an invitation and a celebration of homecoming. Sadly, many veterans and Wounded Warriors never receive the warm homecomings of which they so deserve. One minute they are engaged in combat alongside their buddies and the next they are confined to a hospital bed having endured unspeakable trauma. Many Warriors remain in recovery at Walter Reed for up to two years and then begin the transition into a life they recreate.



Wounded Warriors with "MercyMe" Photo: Shirley Souryal

Continued on Page 8

Filmmaking for Social Change Class: Conf 795

By Danya Hakeem, S-CAR Alumna and Media Producer at Center for Food Safety, dhakeem@gmu.edu

The Filmmaking for Social Change seminar course was born out of the recognition that the peacebuilding and conflict prevention community needs to better engage with media in order to significantly impact how conflict is represented globally. Traditionally, the field has not placed great emphasis or importance on engaging with traditional media or creating it. We as conflict practitioners have the capacity to provide a unique perspective that is underrepresented in mainstream news and documentary film.

Much of the work currently being produced in the field is presented to the public in the form of reports and journal articles. Film could make our work come to life by allowing the audience to connect to the issue on a personal and emotional level. Media has an ever-expanding presence in our lives. It can be utilized to document human rights abuses, shed light on injustice, elevate a social movement, or even unite the global community. It doesn't need to be shot on the highest quality camera or edited with the nicest equipment to create change. Students leaving S-CAR should be equipped with these fundamental skills in order not to only support their own initiatives but also to train others to do the same.

Professor Michael Shank has pushed for this partnership persistently, leading courses at S-CAR on Writing for the Media, as well as engaging directly by writing and speaking extensively for mainstream news outlets like The Washington Post, CNN, FOX and many others. Danya Hakeem, a graduate of the masters program at S-CAR and a freelance media producer, has been producing films for National Geographic and local grassroots organizations worldwide that support coordination between media and the peacebuilding community. They both recognize that media is a powerful medium for effecting



From Left to Right: Devon Kardel, Danya Hakeem, Mel Weyant and Zack Erwin. Photo: Michael Shank.



From Left to Right: Danya Hakeem, Diana Guillen and Kazim Salvucci. Photo: Michael Shank.

social change and have been collaborating for nearly a year to make this initiative happen.

This course is unlike any offered in the S-CAR or Communication curriculum as it emphasizes peacebuilding and social change principles while providing students with practical hands-on skills in filmmaking. Having completed the course, the students will have learned proper storytelling techniques and essential technical skills including videography, lighting, audio recording, and editing. We want students to understand the importance of completing a

thorough research assessment, including conflict mapping and stakeholder analysis to better assess their approach, timing and audience. Additionally, in order to encourage engagement and action on an issue and thus create lasting social change, we emphasize the importance of developing partnerships with peacebuilders and NGOs specializing in the issue.

We recognize that the fastest way to learn to create a film is through practice and experimentation, so students are required to create a short film as their final assignment. While we know that it is impossible to learn everything there is to know about filmmaking for social change in two full-day sessions, our goal is for students to leave feeling comfortable with the fundamentals on how to conceptualize, research, film, edit, distribute, and

evaluate their own film. Students will be able to utilize these skills to create not only video, but print media as well. So far, the class has met for one session and the reviews have been extremely positive, with one student going as far as to say, "Thanks for one of the most enthralling classes I've taken to date." We hope S-CAR continues to support initiatives that combine media and peacebuilding in both a practical and theoretical way. Professor Shank and Danya Hakeem plan to continue their partnership through course offerings and organizational workshops for all ages and experience levels. ■

initiatives

26th Annual Lynch Lecture: John Paul Lederach

By Cassie Ammen, Communications and Events Manager, cammen@gmu.edu

events

26th Annual Lynch Lecture
Reflections of a Pioneer in the Field
John Paul Lederach
Thoughts on a Penny
Challenges to Creative Conflict in a Public Square

Wednesday November 19th; 7:20-9:00PM Founders Hall Auditorium
6:15pm Reception in Founders Hall 126

Poster for 26th Annual Lynch Lecture with John Paul Lederach. Credit: Cassie Ammen.

On Wednesday November 19, 2014, John Paul Lederach, a pioneer in the field of peace building and conflict resolution, will be hosted by S-CAR for the 26th Annual Lynch Lecture. The Lynch Lecture Series began with friends of the School and prominent Virginians Edwin and Helen Lynch, who made several substantial gifts to George Mason University, including a beautiful piece of property on Mason Neck—Point of View—and an endowed Chair in the name of Edwin's parents, Vernon M. and Minnie I. Lynch. In order to bring the idea and theory of conflict analysis and resolution to the attention of the entire University community, and in gratitude to Edwin and Helen, the School established an annual Lynch Lecture

series. Lederach who will present his lecture titled: "*Thoughts on a Penny – Challenges to Creative Conflict in the Public Square*," is well known at S-CAR for such books as *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, and *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. He is Professor of Practice for International Peacebuilding with the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame and works as a practitioner-scholar, providing facilitation, mediation and training/education, with extensive experience at national and community levels in North and Latin America, Africa, and Southeast and Central Asia. S-CAR looks forward to welcoming John Paul Lederach on November 19th to discuss "A wandering, perhaps poetic exploration of contemporary challenges and deficits facing the wider fields of conflict transformation and peacebuilding and how these correspond to the challenges of the ever more divided public square and dialogue-disabled America." We look forward to having you there as well. ■

Upcoming Events

Monday, November 17, 2014

Violence in the Middle East: Are There Alternatives to the War on Terror?
7:00pm - 9:00pm

Wednesday, November 12, 2014

Does Contemporary Armed Conflict Have Deep Historical Roots?
12:30pm - 2:15pm

Tuesday, November 18, 2014

Conference: Conflict Resolution and Civil Rights in U.S. Communities: The Next 50 Years
9:30am - 5:15pm

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

Opinion: Discriminating Against Minorities with Voting Right Laws

By Randy Painter, MS Student, School of Policy, Government, and International Affairs, rpainte2@gmu.edu



Randy Painter. Photo: Randy Painter.

There is an alarming trend of state governments instituting restrictive voter identification laws, which disproportionately affect racial minorities. Although election administration is in the jurisdiction of state governments, federal protections exist for minority voters that have suffered from a history of exclusion.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, the most significant civil rights legislation in U.S. history, explicitly prohibits racial discrimination in voting. While contemporary laws may not explicitly cite race, the effective discrimination of minority voters is undeniable. A recent GAO report examined numerous studies concluding that restrictive voter identification laws suppressed minorities, with African-Americans ten percent less likely than white Americans to possess government-issued identification. Even defenders recognize the disproportionate impact of the laws, which suppress a specific voting bloc and tilt elections in favor of one political party. These efforts decrease turnout by the thousands despite actual cases of voter error being only a fraction of a percent. These outcomes demonstrate that such laws clearly violate the Voting Rights Act.

These facts have conveniently been ignored by the strict constructionists on the Supreme Court, who recently decided that Texas could purge its rolls of more than 600 000 voters less than a month prior to an election. In her dissent, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg stated that "racial discrimination in elections in Texas is no mere historical artifact. To the contrary, Texas has been found in violation of

the Voting Rights Act in every redistricting cycle from and after 1970."

This followed a June 2013 SCOTUS decision to gut parts of the Act, empowering conservative groups to quickly enact blatantly discriminatory laws at the state and local levels without appropriate review from the Department of Justice. It also followed efforts by Texas officials in 2012 to threaten the Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) with criminal prosecution because they intended to send election observers to Texas. These observations had been regularly performed since 2002, as has been the case with all OSCE participants, but the Texas officials could not be

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

Detroit on the Brink

Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumnus
The Hill's Congress Blog 10/29/14

Dirty Energy Dollars

Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumnus
U.S. News and World Report
10/28/14

Jobs Index Shows Dismal Outlook for US Workers

Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumnus
Roll Call 10/22/14

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 12 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, please visit: <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>



February 2014 Moral March on Raleigh 56 Photo: Flickr user Stephen D. Melkisethian.

both-
ered with details after mistakenly identifying OSCE as a UN affiliate.

The Bill of Rights did not include voting rights, but the majority of amendments afterward relate to voting, including extending suffrage to women and racial minorities. Existing felony disenfranchisement laws in Iowa, Kentucky, and Florida continue to permanently strip rehabilitated citizens of voting rights. Remnants of Jim Crow policies persist as minorities are required to purchase voter identification as a precondition for voting despite such preconditions being abolished since the 1960s.

One may find solace in the Texas Secretary of State's announcement that a record 14 million people have registered to vote in the recently past election. But the question remains: Why does a country that endorses free and fair elections abroad, not live up to the standard? ■

press

Arsen Kyaratyan, S-CAR Alumnus

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

Arsen Kyaratyan first discovered the field of conflict analysis and resolution in the 90s, when S-CAR (then ICAR), was involved in projects in the South Caucasus. According to him, "S-CAR was the first U.S. academic institution that introduced peace-building initiatives to the South Caucasus which later grew to include the organization of summer schools and dialogue projects for university students from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Nagorno Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia." Arsen participated in some of these programs and from those experiences, he decided to become part of the S-CAR community in order to learn more about the field of conflict resolution.

After completing his master's degree, Arsen moved to Tbilisi, Georgia, which he said "has for the past two decades, become the main safe space for parties to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to try to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict." Together with local and international colleagues, Arsen has been working in peace building projects with Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Georgians, Abkhaz,



Gandhi Foundation of Georgia poster. Photo: Arsen Kyaratyan.

and Ossetians and the theoretic background and practical skills which he acquired from S-CAR have been of great use. "There are also ongoing peace-building initiatives run by S-CAR faculty members in the region, such as the Point of View dialogue between Georgians and Abkhaz run by Susan Allen," he said.

Together with some friends and colleagues from S-CAR Arsen is trying to establish a conflict resolution center in the Caucasus, that will deal with not only the territorial and inter-ethnic conflicts not only in the immediate neighborhood, but in the greater Middle East region as well. "We have already established a non profit organization called Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy in Tbilisi and Yerevan, which is aimed at bringing CR mechanisms and theories taught at S-CAR. This is in addition to the Gandhi foundation of Georgia, which was founded in July 2014."

One of Arsen's current passions is to bring more students from the region to study at S-CAR because he believes it will help them develop skills to help resolve their many conflicts that they are immersed in. ■

Amani Mansour, S-CAR MS Student

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

Amani Mansour, an S-CAR MS student, was recently awarded the El-Hibri peace education scholarship in October 2014. The award is given to graduate students who demonstrate a commitment to the field of peace education and conflict management. She was one of three people who received a scholarship in the amount of \$5,000.

Amani joined S-CAR as an undergraduate student and decided to continue and get a graduate degree, as S-CAR matched her passion and ambition for wanting to help build mutual understanding within polarized communities. In her first year at S-CAR, Amani took the *Dialogue and Difference* course and it taught her a lot about the effective role dialogue could have in helping people to understand each other, "to break down harsh



Kevin Avruch, the Dean of S-CAR with Amani Mansour. Photo: Amani Mansour.

enemy images." Amani's research focus is on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and theories involving dialogue, identity, power imbalances, and intractable conflict, that can help resolve the conflict peacefully. "I would like to work on peacebuilding activities in Israel and Palestine when I graduate from S-CAR."

Amani also wants to help build trust between the U.S. government and governments in the Middle East, while encouraging grassroots efforts to implement people-to-people contact projects in order to build trust between the citizens of both regions. One of Amani's passions, is to continue to research about conflict theories and introduce new resolution tools. "In my past research projects, I have found literature to be a valuable tool in building understanding between different groups. In the end, I hope to work with others to implement a positive step towards the widespread use of active listening, open-mindedness, and understanding." ■

Mass Incarceration in the United States: Can S-CAR Play a Role in Prison Reform Programs?

Continued from page 1

For men, women, and children behind bars, dance, theater, crochet, painting, poetry, song, pottery, model-building, photography, and drawing provide an outlet to express innermost thoughts and feelings that must usually be tucked away behind a tough or stoic façade. These arts are bridges to their humanity, and they are inroads to non-violent dialogue with other inmates. Throughout the conference, I heard prison program coordinators discuss how transformative these mediums are for the attenuation of violence in prison, how the life skills cultivated around the arts are helping reduce recidivism, and how violence inside the prison predictably escalates when programs like arts and other forms of therapy are suspended due to budget cuts.

One of the most memorable presentations at the conference was that of a formerly incarcerated man who had served over five years in a federal prison for non-violent drug charges. As a white man enter-

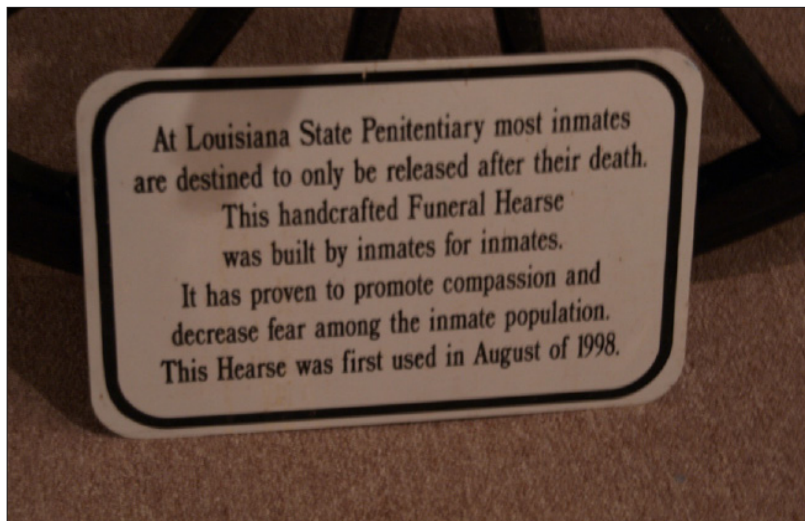


Tehama Lopez Bunyasi, Assistant Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Photo: Mason Creative Services.

ing the prison for the first time, he knew that most people were expecting him to gravitate to the Aryan Nations prison gangs for protection in this new, racially-segregated environment. Instead, he turned to art and became an “independent.” Though on his own in many ways, this man’s art began to draw curious onlookers, and their questions about his projects turned into conversations about one another. He credits his independent-artist status for facilitating friendships with several men of color who, like him, were resisting the racialized hostilities of prison through their own artistic endeavors. Now freed, he looks back at these art projects as a testimony of what he endured and ultimately transcended, and he advocates for

innovative prison reform by putting a human face on a dehumanizing and often invisible experience.

I look forward to learning more about how the field of conflict analysis and resolution can participate in the process of prison reform, and I am eager to see how we can work with communities that are disproportionately devastated by mass incarceration. Let’s keep the conversations going! ■



Angola The State Farm Louisiana State Penitentiary 2009 Maximum Security Prison Museum. Photo: Flickr user mrchriscornwell.

Special Announcement: S-CAR Alumnus January Makamba, is seeking the ruling party’s nomination to run for President of Tanzania next year. Makamba, a former personal assistant and speech writer to the current President of Tanzania, Jakaya Kikwete, says he will “focus on creating employment with plans including restarting 11 idled textile factories and making greater use of the country’s cotton crop.” Makamba holds a Master of Science degree in Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

- Tanzanian President’s Former Aide Plans Bid to Succeed by David Malingha Doya. Published in Bloomberg Businessweek, October 28, 2014.



A Hero's Welcome: A Program for Wounded Warriors

Continued from page 2

Through "A Hero's Welcome," they are given a chance to be embraced by the community they bravely served and from whom they have been separated as they heal. For those few hours, in the company of other fans, surrounded by music they love, Warriors can gradually recharge for the journey ahead. That rush of energy that surrounds them has been transformational, as are the private moments where Warriors connect with the artists whose music accompanied them through combat and recovery. The most powerful moments are those when an artist shines the light on the Warriors' presence from the stage or mentions them by name. Spontaneous applause erupts as the audience rises to their feet in gratitude and support, offering them a hero's welcome.

While the seeds were planted by my experience abroad, my true inspiration is the resilience and



Timothy Donley and Family with "The Newsboys". Photo: Shirley Souryal.

strength of a young Marine named Timothy Donley. Timothy was twenty years old when he deployed to Afghanistan. Tragically, while on foot patrol, he stepped on an IED (Improvised Explosive Device) that instantly claimed his two legs above the knees, and threatened the loss of his right arm. Timothy was transferred to Walter Reed Military Hospital in Bethesda, MD, where he has

remained for the last two years. His journey from service and sacrifice to loss and then healing has been one of the most inspirational examples I have ever witnessed. His faith is strong and his spirits remain high. Despite the devastation, Timothy uses his voice to inspire others through music.

"A Hero's Welcome" is my way of saying thank you to Timothy and countless other heroes that move amongst us every day. I believe that a connection to music helps fuel the Warriors' journeys and their incredible resilience inspires mine. ■



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