# A Publication of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

# Phased Self-Determination: A Way Out for Kosovo?

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

hile the world's sole surviving superpower remains fixed on global terrorism, civilizational clashes, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, another complex challenge is playing itself out in the Balkans, but passing largely unnoticed. This is the question of the final status of the Serbian province of Kosovo, with its predominant Muslim Albanian population — the last remaining problem from the genocidal dissolution of former Yugoslavia during the 1990s.

The lines have been drawn between the Kosovar Albanian position of (a) full independence versus Kosovar Serbs'/ Belgrade's position of (b) "substantial autonomy." Former Finnish president Martti Ahtisaari, the Special Representative

of the UN Secretary General for Kosovo, has responded to this complex issue by recommending what amounts to "phased independence" under European Union (EU) auspices as the only viable way out for the Kosovo problem. However, this is perceived by many, including some in the EU as well as Serbs, as a zero-sum gain for the Albanians and loss for the Serbs.

That at least some Serbs might respond with violence to even a "phased independent Kosovo" has been suggested by the recent formation of a nucleus of a Serb paramilitary unit under the banner of Knez Lazar, the 14th century Serb leader defeated on the battlefield of Kosovo by the Ottoman Turks. Although members of this group have recently been arrested by Serb authorities, Kosovo remains for many Serbs a potent, vital component of their identity. On the other hand, if the dominant Albanian population of Kosovo does

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Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari meets Kosovo President Fatmir Sejdiu. Photo: UNMIK/DPI

# ICAR Receives \$102,000 Gift

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

r. Thomas J. Scott II, a longtime friend of ICAR and the founder of the Center for Policy Negotiation in Boston, has left a \$102,000 bequest to ICAR to benefit the John W. Burton Endowment Fund. The interest from the Burton endowment is used to provide student support, faculty intervention assistance, publications and outreach support, and to fund elements of ICAR's operational needs. Mr. Scott passed away on March 20, 2007.

Mr. Scott was born in 1920 in Providence, R.I., served in the Navy during World War II, and graduated from Harvard University in 1946. He had a long and distinguished career in the fields of energy policy and negotiations. In 1971, he served as the president and CEO of Buckley & Scott, a heating oil distribution company in Needham, Mass. During the 10 years he spent with the company, he served as the president of the Center for Energy Policy in Boston, Mass. In 1980, he became president of the Center for Policy Negotiation, which specializes in public policy conflicts related to energy, air and water pollution, and development.

Mr. Scott's interest in ICAR stemmed from his admiration of the work of John W. Burton, a pioneer in the field of conflict resolution and a former ICAR faculty member. Mr. Scott's relationship with ICAR deepened over time; in 1994, he and ICAR Prof. Rich Rubenstein co-hosted a conference on understanding xenophobia and ethnic conflict.

The \$102,000 bequest from Mr. Scott is particularly important for ICAR because it will help build long-term endowment funds to support students and faculty far into the future. "This is a tremendous gift to ICAR and will provide vital support to expand the services and publications of our faculty and students," said ICAR Director Sara Cobb. Mr. Scott's gift will allow ICAR faculty and students to further

\*This is a tremendous gift to ICAR and will provide vital support to expand the services and publications of our faculty and students. \*\*

—SARA COBB, ICAR DIRECTOR

pursue their dual goals of advancing scholarship and refining practice in the field of conflict analysis and resolution. The entire ICAR community

gratefully acknowledges the contribution Thomas Scott has made to our institute and the future of our field.

If you would like to make a donation to the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, please address it to:

> ICAR Donation c/o Lucy Dorick 3401 Fairfax Drive, MS 4D3 Arlington, VA 22201 Email: ldorick@gmu.edu

Current fundraising campaigns include student financial support and Point of View, ICAR's campaign to create and fund an international research and retreat center at Mason Neck, Virginia. Funds can be specified for a specific campaign, or designated for use in the general ICAR campaign.



Ruckstuhl, above, is a doctoral student at ICAR.

# **Graduate Students Win Dissertation Proposal Fellowship**

By Ryann Doyle, Published in Mason Gazette, 07/20/07

Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowships by the Social Science Research Council, allowing them to focus on and develop their dissertation proposals this summer. The students will receive up to \$5,000 as a stipend for pre-dissertation research.

Sandra Ruckstuhl, a PhD student in Mason's Conflict Analysis and Resolution Program, is using the grant money to develop a case study focused on conflict and cooperation in water management in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Specifically, she will be looking at political economies and political ecologies of institutions.

She expects to work with the staff of nongovernmental agencies, donor agencies, the Bosnian government and others who are working or have worked on water management projects. She aims to have her dissertation completed by May 2009.

This summer, Ruckstuhl is serving as a consultant for the World Bank in Washington, D.C., on water resources management from a social scientist's perspective. She will be working on projects in the West Bank/Gaza and South Asia. She will also be studying for her comprehensive exams in August. Afterwards, she plans to go to Bosnia to work on her dissertation.

## **Panel Examines U.S.-Iran Relations**

## **ICAR Hosts Policymakers in Discussion at National Press Club**

By Daniela Stevens, Published in Mason Gazette, 04/26/07

he First Amendment Lounge at the National Press Club was filled to capacity on Monday when members from the international and national media, Mason students and faculty and the general public listened to a panel discussion on averting armed conflict between the United States and Iran.

The event was hosted by Mason's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) and moderated by ICAR professor Richard Rubenstein.

Opening the discussion, Rubenstein pointed out that the tense relationship Iran has with the United States began in 1953, when Iranians looked to America as a friend sent to distance them from Russian and English exploitation.

"When the U.S. ended up acting much like its former exploiters, the relationship was never again the same," said Rubenstein.

Although panelists disagreed on Iran's decision to continue with its nuclear program or whether or not unilateral or multilateral sanctions were appropriate or effective, they did agree on two things: that the United States was not in a good position to go to war with Iran; and by engaging in diplomatic dialogue on different levels, war could potentially be prevented.

Panelist Trita Parsi, president of the National Iranian American Council, pointed out that in addition to dialogue, changing the paradigm of the balance of power that currently exists in the region into a more European model, based on collective security, would focus the countries' interest on more productive matters than war. "The U.S. relationship with Iran is taking place in a





region where there is no security ... collective security should be pursued, in all instances, through dialogue," he said.

Another panelist, Rep. James Moran (D-VA), did not hide his negative view of the situation and the current White House administration.

"There are not enough American people, or even congressmen who understand that we cannot go to war with Iran. They don't even realize that Iran is not an Arab state, that it is three times larger than Iraq and has a population of over 71 million people. We do not have the capacity to engage in military action in Iran, and it would be insane for us to do so."

Rep. Moran continued, "Besides discourse and collective security, the key forward to a more stabilized relationship with Iran is a new, more rational administration that doesn't rely on threat in order to feel powerful. My only hope is that the Iranian people don't judge the

American people by our president and that we don't do the same to them."

Moran agreed with fellow panelist Rep. Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD) that Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is not an ideal diplomat or leader either.

The panelists agreed that the current relationship between the United States and Iran has deteriorated to a point that military confrontation, perhaps provoked by other incidents in the Persian Gulf, now seems possible. They also believe that greater discourse, collective security and diplomacy are needed to potentially save the lives of hundreds of thousands of people.

Other panelists who participated in the discussion were Joseph Montville, chairman of the board for the Center of the Study of World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict at Mason and Diplomat in Residence at American University; and Jake Colvin, director of USA Engage.

# Congressman Moran Urges **ICAR** Graduates to Engage, **Not Stand Idle**

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

n May 19, 2007, delivering the commencement address for the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), U.S. Representative James Moran (D-VA) implored graduates to engage in a range of domestic and foreign policy conflicts rather than sit idle on the sidelines. Presenting for a packed Harris Theatre on George Mason University's Fairfax campus, Moran began by first heralding ICAR as "an academic program whose unique focus on peace through understanding and reconciliation may be the most important academic curriculum in the country," then lauding the graduates as "far better than virtually anyone to make a profound difference in the direction of world affairs."

Outlining some of the United States' most pressing conflicts, Moran called for graduates to



U.S. Representative James Moran (D-VA), pictured above, at ICAR graduation ceremonies.

**Upcoming ICAR Community Events** 

For more info on events, email jlock1@gmu.

September 15: Welcome Dinner 5:30-9:00 pm, Law School (Invite Only)

September 15-16: Alumni Symposium

Law School

October 14-17: Partnering for Peace: Transatlantic Concepts for Conflict Resolution in Public Policy (Invite Only)

October 22: Lynch Lecture, Guest Speaker Lee Hamilton 6:00-9:00 pm, National Press Club

October 27: Development Career Intensive 10:00-4:00 pm, Truland Bldg, Room 555

November 8: Open House

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

help forge positive solutions on the salient issues of the day, e.g. immigration, Guantanamo, and the nation's growing economic disparity. The foreign policy solicitation was no less vigorous, listing Darfur, Iraq, Afghanistan, climate change, and Palestine/Israel as conflicts in grave need of the type of assistance ICAR graduates can offer. Conflicts like these were precisely the types of situations that cried out for people of ICAR insight and intellect.

Stressing the timeliness of involvement, "I hope some of you will be able to facilitate a different approach to such seemingly intractable conflicts before it's too late," said Moran.

Moran was firm about the consequences of nonengagement, stating that "If you choose, instead, to stay on the sidelines...choosing to observe rather than to determine our planet's fate, then those who

are too easily succumbed to the purist appeal of fundamentalist doctrine, or the simplistic approach of military violence to resolve differences among nations, or the manipulation of the truth to achieve partisan political goals, they will in fact prevail."

Closing with a reference to Elie Wiesel's work, Moran reiterated his overarching challenge to the ICAR graduates.

"The most tragic times in human history," said Moran quoting Wiesel, "were brought about not as much by the propagandists or the killers or the dogmatists, but because they were times of transition and too many good people chose personal security or existential non-engagement and left it to others to determine the course of history."

A message with a profound lesson, no doubt, for the field of conflict analysis and resolution.

## **Online Analysis**

he ICAR News Network, developed by ICAR staff Michael Shank and Paul Snodgrass, is a new online forum featuring current analysis by conflict specialists at ICAR. The forum addresses some the world's most salient and intractable conflicts and provides critical next steps for constructive engagement.

Hosted on the ICAR website, the ICAR News Network posts short analytical pieces, guided by the theories and principles of the field of Conflict Resolution and written by ICAR faculty, alumni and students.

The ICAR News Network provides a resource for Washington policymakers and think-tanks, business leaders, NGO and UN representatives, news agencies and others interested in quality, substantive analysis of current global and domestic conflicts.

Submissions reflect only the author's viewpoint and are reviewed by ICAR staff to ensure highest quality. Forum topics include local, national and international conflicts. Current topics on the ICAR News Network include the following:

- Afghanistan
- Diplomacy
- Egypt
- Environment
- Global Peace Index
- Immigration
- Iran
- Iraq
- Islam
- Kosovo
- Nuclear Proliferation
- Pakistan
- Palestine-Israel
- Somalia

For ICAR faculty, students or alumni interested in submitting analysis, please email icarnews@ gmu.edu or go to ICAR's website for more information.

## **New Books\***

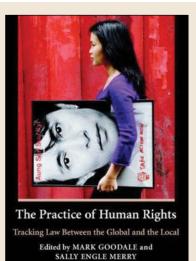
#### The Practice of Human Rights: Tracking Law Between the Global and the Local

Cambridge University Press Edited by Mark Goodale, ICAR Professor, and Sally Engle Merry

#### **Book Description**

rawing on anthropological studies of human rights work from around the world, this book examines human rights in practice. It shows how groups and organizations mobilize human rights language in a

variety of local settings, often differently from those imagined by human rights law itself.





## **ICAR Bookstand\***

#### In the Moment of Greatest Calamity: Terrorism, Grief, and a Victim's Quest for Justice

Princeton University Press By Susan Hirsch, ICAR Professor

#### **Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict**

Lexington Books Edited by Daniel Rothbart & Karina Korostelina, ICAR Professors

#### Thus Saith The Lord: The **Revolutionary Moral Vision of Isaiah and Jeremiah**

Harcourt Trade Publishers By Richard Rubenstein, ICAR Professor

#### **Peace and Security in the Postmodern World**

Routledge

By Dennis J.D. Sandole, ICAR Professor

#### **Zones of Peace**

Kumarian Press

Edited by Landon Hancock, ICAR Ph.D. Alumnus & Christopher Mitchell, ICAR

Professor Emeritus

\*Available on the ICAR Website

## New Working Papers\*

#### **Managing Protracted and Deep Rooted Conflicts** in the U.S. Senate

By Richard A. Cocozza, ICAR Ph.D. Student

## **Consensus Among Stakeholders: A Call for** Change in Virginia's Involuntary Civil Admissions

By Sandra Cheldelin, ICAR Professor, Monica S. Jakobsen, ICAR Ph.D. Student, and Deanna S. Yuille, ICAR Masters Student

## Recent ICAR Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

#### A New Opening for Mideast Peace

By Marc Gopin, ICAR Professor, and Rep. Jim Moran (D-VA) Baltimore Sun, September 4, 2007

#### **Middle East Muddling**

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor International Herald Tribune, August 31, 2007

#### How to Challenge Iran's Militancy Without Using Arms

By Marc Gopin, ICAR Professor, and Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-NY) Christian Science Monitor, August 23, 2007

#### In Pursuit of Turnround on a US Policy Catastrophe

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor

Financial Times, August 16, 2007



## Khadija O. Ali

hadija O. Ali, a doctoral student at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, is being spotlighted this month for her tireless efforts to bring peace and stability to Somalia. Ali, a former member of the Somali Transitional National Parliament and a Minister of State at



the Transitional National Government from 2000 to 2002, recently briefed the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee on the conflict in the Horn of Africa.

Organized by the African subcommittee, Ali discussed critical next steps for the United States in dealing with Somalia's Transitional Federal Government, Ethiopia's troop presence, African Union peace-keeping forces, the national reconciliation conference and

the moderate Islamic leadership in Mogadishu.

Complementing her policy advocacy on the Hill, Ali provides frequent conflict analysis on the situation in Somalia for several media outlets including the *Arab News* and *Daily News Egypt* (two of the largest English language newspapers in the Middle East and northern Africa respectively) and *Foreign Policy in Focus*, an online foreign policy journal in the United States.

Additionally,
Ali regularly
convenes and
facilitates dialogue
among the SomaliAmerican diaspora
vis-à-vis critical
next steps for
resolving the conflict in Somalia.
Most recently,
Ali co-organized
a meeting of
150 diaspora in

Meedless to say, the most rewarding aspect of my job is working with our students, whose depth, caliber and personal experiences with conflict translates into students who are genuinely interested in pursuing the somewhat non-traditional degree of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and adventurous enough to pursue the maze of opportunities this degree prepares them for.

-LISA SHAW

Columbus, Ohio, to forge a declaration concerning Somalia; a statement that ultimately called for the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops, neutral peacekeeping forces, reconciliation processes involving all stakeholders, and a fairly elected government. Ali's doctoral dissertation is on the role of political leadership in post-conflict peacebuilding processes in transitional societies. Comparing Mozambique and Somalia, her research will examine how and why certain political leaders/systems are able to bring peace and stability while others are not.

## **Lisa Shaw**

CAR is proud to announce that the undergraduate Conflict Analysis and Resolution Program (CAR) advisor, Lisa Shaw, received the George Mason University 2006-2007 Advisor of the Year Award. Lisa, a 2007 Masters graduate from ICAR, is now the Student Services coordinator for the undergrad-

uate program. Her region of interest throughout her graduate studies has been Latin America with particular emphasis on the Chiapas conflict in Mexico, immigration from Central America.



and the impact of immigration on non-traditional receiving communities in the United States. Her thesis is entitled *Beyond the Border: Public Policy and Irregular Migrants in Northern Virginia Municipalities*.

"I feel the study is significant because non-traditional small towns and cities in the United States are beginning to deal with the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, and may benefit from an analysis of

factors that contribute to conflict within communities around the issue of immigration," says Shaw.

As a member of ICAR's Latin American and Caribbean Working Group (LACWG), Lisa developed an idea to create an event around the issue of immigration in local communities. As a team, the LACWG worked for eight months to create a dialogue in Manassas/Prince William County, Virginia with a community that has been experiencing increased tensions regarding the number

of undocumented immigrants in the community, and the legislation being produced at the city and county level.

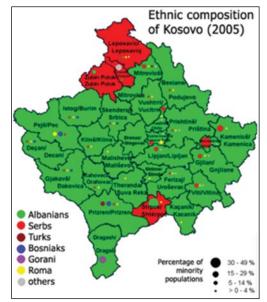
"Needless to say, the most rewarding aspect of my job is working with our students, whose depth, caliber and personal experiences with conflict translates into students who are genuinely interested in pursuing the somewhat non-traditional degree of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and adventurous enough to pursue the maze of opportunities this degree prepares them for," Shaw said.

### A Way Out for Kosovo

Continued from page 1

not receive even "phased" independence, then they are likely to unilaterally declare their independence or otherwise be the source of renewed hostilities in the Balkans, with potential for spillover to Bosnia-Herzegovina and elsewhere

in the region



(e.g., Macedonia which has a sizeable Albanian minority).

Is there not a way out here for Kosovo and the region or are we stuck with a failure of imagination and another likely descent into ethnopolitical warfare?

Let's suppose that we — the "concerned international community" — were to conduct an "experiment" and map the trajectories of implementing both of these strategies. In the shorter term (10-15 years), both trajectories look similar. It is only in the 15-25 year time frame for effective post-conflict peacebuilding that the trajectories diverge into "full independence" or "substantial autonomy." Suppose then that a reframing of Ahtisaari's plan as "phased self-determination" captures the overlap of these shorter term trajectories.

If that were, indeed, the case, then we could implement the *phased self-determination* reframing of the Ahtisaari plan, in lieu of either of the two original positions, for 10-15 years. This would buy time for effective post-conflict peacebuilding and for Kosovo to have been absorbed into the European Union where it might not matter too much who "owns" it — especially if *all* Kosovars had access to the security and recognition of their *identities* and in general, to the "good life" traditionally experienced in "virulently ethnocentric

systems" only by dominant majorities at the expense of marginalized, often oppressed minorities.

This reframing of Ahtisaari's proposal does not dismiss, but rather builds upon it to render the process culminating in Kosovo's final status as less likely to lead to a resumption of genocidal conflict in the Balkans. It is also compatible with French President

Sarkozy's recent attempt to persuade his G8 counterparts at their annual summit in Heiligendamm, Germany, to delay for six months the UN Security Council vote on Kosovo's final status in order to provide more time for further negotiations. Significantly, this is what the Russians (Serbia's primary ally) want in order to preempt their threatened veto should the vote come up, in their view, prematurely.

That the EU has recently decided to restart negotiations with Serbia's new pro-reform government about its eventual entry into the EU, a year after the EU ceased such negotiations because of Serbia's apparent resistance in locating and handing over to The Hague Tribunal indicted war criminals, is a further sign that such a reframing could actually succeed! With both Kosovo and Serbia in the EU, "ownership" of the province should become a moot point.

But should ownership remain an issue, Serbia could then be allowed to retain *dejure* sovereignty over Kosovo while the dominant Albanian population enjoys *defacto* sovereignty by "leasing" the province from Belgrade, with funding provided by the international business community which

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# ICAR Faculty Awarded University Distinction

uthor of "Thus Saith the Lord", "Aristotle's Children", "When Jesus Became God", and other books and articles, and professor at George Mason University's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), Richard E. Rubenstein can now add the title of University Professor to his already impressive resume.

To be nominated for this distinction among full-tenured faculty at Mason, faculty members must have an international scholarly reputation, a strong record of research, and a recognizable influence on their individual fields. This year, the university's Board of Visitors named 18 new University Professors, one of whom was Rubenstein.

When asked about the award, Rubenstein said "It's always nice to be recognized by one's university, but this has a special meaning to me, since it is also a way of recognizing our field, not just one professor's work. Conflict analysis and resolution is clearly coming of age."

In addition to working on a new book tentative titled, "Why We Fight, and How We Can Stop: New Insights from the Field of Conflict Resolution," Rubenstein is organizing a major international conference in October to examine the role of the conflict resolution field in public policymaking. The conference, "Partnering for Peace: Transatlantic Concepts for Conflict Resolution in Public Policy," is co-organized by ICAR and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and is the first time U.S. and European conflict resolution professionals are convening to explore best practices in shaping public policy.



# Celebrating 25 Years of Pioneering Theory, Research, and Practice at ICAR

or 25 years, our faculty, students and alumni have addressed deeprooted conflicts wherever they occur — in metropolitan Washington D.C., across the United States, and on the international stage. We have been leaders in the field since our founding: ICAR was one of the first groundbreaking "Theory Centers" funded by the Hewlett Foundation. We created the world's first Master of Science and doctorate in conflict resolution, and we recently expanded our programs to serve undergraduate students and mid-career professionals.

### A Way Out for Kosovo

Continued from page 7

would benefit from stability in the region. This would be accompanied by the Ahtisaari plan's guarantees for protection of the human rights of Serbs and other minorities in the province, plus the promise of Kosovo's eventual entry into the European Union along with Serbia and other states of the Western Balkans.

This reframing would be far more likely to succeed than the Athisaari plan as currently formulated — the difference being between "phased *independence*" for the province (which sets off alarm bells in Belgrade and Moscow) and "phased *self-determination* for all in the province (which remains sufficiently vague but *hopeful enough* to merit further attention).

Accordingly, further details would have to be worked out on just what the exact differences are between "phased self-determination" (this reframing of the Ahtisaari plan) and "phased independence" (the Ahtisaari plan), in responding to the need for bold thinking and action on the Kosovo issue as a basis for enduring peace, security, and stability in the Balkans, with implications for similar conflicts elsewhere.



# **Institute for Conflict Analysis** and Resolution

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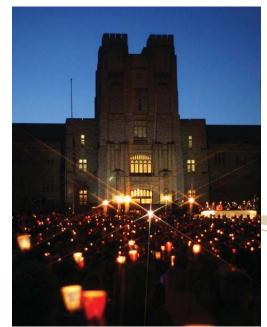
# Rethink Needed in Virginia Mental Health Services

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

he tragedy of Seung Hui Cho's murder and suicide has reverberated across the country, yet many of the responses to Virginia Tech's disaster will not prevent similar incidents from occurring because they fail to address the complexity of the problem—in Virginia and other states—in dealing with persons with mental illness. The current system is deeply flawed and needs fixing.

The recent Virginia Tech Review Panel's report identifies 21 ways that things went wrong. Fingers are wagged at University officials—administrators, counselors, campus police, Dean of Students—for communication failures, lack of leadership, inadequate record keeping, confusion about possession of firearms on

campus, and an inability to inform the public in a timely and comprehensive manner when such an event occurs. It makes sense that colleges across the country learn from Virginia Tech's incident and put into place appropriate changes to improve organizational systems. [Our university has created Mason on Alert—a Web site to inform people of internal or external crises.]



VA Tech Candlelight Vigil. Photo: Wikipedia Commons

However, the panel's report and campus changes do not address what we must do when persons with mental illness are in deteriorating phases—as was the case of Seung Hui Cho.

Mental health providers at Community Services Boards (CSB)—professionals responsible for mental health services in the community—know that our system is not working and asked ICAR last year to

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# French, Cumbie Visit ICAR

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

ongtime ICAR supporters
Drucie French and Steve
Cumbie visited ICAR this
month to welcome Dr. Andrea
Bartoli as the new Drucie French
Cumbie Chair in Conflict
Resolution. When Drucie and
Steve established this Chair at
ICAR nearly two decades ago,
they became pioneers in providing long-term financial support
to the fledgling field of conflict
resolution.

"The Drucie French Cumbie Chair is the perfect environment for the growth of integration of theory and practice," said Dr. Bartoli, who was named to the post in July, 2007 after a two-year search. "I am honored to be working in this capacity and contributing to the study and practice of peacemaking."

Drucie was chair of the ICAR Board of Advisors and great friend of Ed Lynch. For more than a decade, she was intimately involved in ICAR's work, familiar with faculty and students, and well-versed in the importance of ICAR's endeavors. As she and Steve increasingly saw the need

to build the field of conflict analysis and resolution, they generously gave of their time and money to sup-

port the cause. The prestigious Drucie French Cumbie Chair provides funding for a senior-level faculty member in conflict analysis and resolution. Dr. Mary E. Clark was the first ICAR instructor to hold the Chair followed by Dr. Chris Mitchell who served for more than 10 years.

Drucie and Steve are accomplished in their own fields.
Drucie obtained her Ph.D. in Mythological Studies from the Pacifica Graduate Institute.
She is an author, lecturer, and president of the Foundation for Mythological Studies, an organization focused on creating a "renewed interest in the cultural heritage of mythologies."

She is also a board member of the Archives and Research Center at the Pacifica Graduate Institute. She serves on the

The Drucie French
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practice.

ANDREA BARTOLI,
ICAR FRENCH CUMBIE CHAIR

Board of Visitors and the Women's Leadership Council at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Steve is president of NV Commercial,

a commercial real estate development and property management firm in Northern Virginia. He is also president of Metro Realty Group, chairman of NVRetail, and a partner of Corporate Oaks.

In addition to his real estate work, Steve is a commissioner of the Virginia Port Authority and chairman-elect of the INOVA Foundation Board of Trustees. He has served on the boards of Virginia Public Building, Fairfax Symphony Orchestra, and Imanco, which provides consulting services to the Inova Health Systems Foundation.

"Drucie and Steve are one of the most generous couples that I know," said ICAR Director Sara Cobb. "I applaud their early leadership support of the field and am thrilled that Dr. Bartoli received this very distinctive honor."

# Dr. Andrea Bartoli: Excerpts from the Welcome Reception Adress

By Andrea Bartoli, ICAR French Cumbie Chair, abartoli@gmu.edu

CAR has a long tradition. It might not seem so to so many here but for the relatively new field of conflict resolution ICAR is landmark. With rank and prestige comes responsibility. The field is in need of redefinitions, of new conceptual frameworks, of new explorations. No other school or institute is as well placed as ICAR to serve this process well, collaboratively, rigorously, effectively. No other institute has the same reach, history and location. No other institute can count alumni and faculty with a dedicated focus. In a moment in which we are moving away from techniques, the field requires a renewed sense of engagement of other disciplines while developing its own core understanding of how conflict occurs, and of the processes associated with the emergence of peace.

I am convinced that here with so many dedicated colleagues we will succeed in redefining the methods that will help us to generate robust theories and best practices. Peace is not an easy dream: it is a profound desire of the human spirit and a need of multitudes, made poorer by the violence and destructiveness of the war. Peace doesn't come in withdraw, in a fearful fleeing from the dangers of history. Rather it comes from courageously engage the powerful and the powerful to be, making politics shrewdly, effectively, committingly. Thanks.



Andrea Bartoli, above, is ICAR's new French Cumbie Chair..

## **ICAR Launches New Online Forum**

## **Over 300 ICAR Members Registered**

By Paul Snodgrass, Technology Assistant and Webmaster, psnodgra@gmu.edu

he new ICAR Community
Network and Forum was
launched on August 31st and
within three weeks, over 300
members of the ICAR community have joined. This new online
forum is based upon infrastructure offered by ning.com and
features a popular social networking format with robust user
generated content. Users are able
to share text, photos, videos, and
more in a variety of contexts such
as individual user pages, blogs,
forum discussions, and within
groups.

Groups have been created within the network for the faculty, GSCS (Graduate Students in Conflict Studies), the alumni chapter, undergraduate program, certificate program, as well as for working groups, projects, specific courses and social activities. In total, there have been 33 groups created so far.

The Discussion Forum features postings by scores of people includes entries ranging from announcements of events (ICAR and external), courses, grants, scholarships, and conferences to discussions on current events and items for sale. This is the easiest way to spread the word to the ICAR community about almost anything you can think of. Pages created by individuals add a layer of personal connection and help with the matching of names and faces in our growing community. This is also a great way to share stories and experiences about your work and life with people who are scattered across the globe.

The network is searchable, making it easy to find members of the ICAR community with particular interests and specialties. For alums, it's a great way to find ICAR folks who are practitioners



Image Above: ICAR Forum Homepage, Image on Lower Right: ICAR Groups

in your area and classmates from previous years.

The ICAR Community
Network and Forum hopes to be
a digital connection between all
of the people, past and present,
associated with ICAR who are
learning and working in the field
or simply want to stay connected.
Here are a tally of the total postings so far:

- ICAR Announcements and Upcoming Events (56)
- Discussion (16)
- Course Announcements (3)
- Grants, Scholarships, and Fellowships (47)
- Conferences and Calls for Papers (11)
- External Events (16)
- Housing and Items for Sale Bulletin Board (4)

Says ICAR Masters student and forum user, Vanessa Brake, "As a recent graduate of ICAR I have found the new networking site very useful for keeping in touch with my course mates that have since left the DC area. I have also utilized the network to meet other Alumni, to plan meetings with ICARites who share my interests, to discuss current issues,

as well as to connect with faculty. I'm glad that I can still be kept in the loop on ICAR's progress and events, even if I'm no longer a student. Its a wonderful way to keep ICAR as a community, and not just another department of a school."



Created by Paul Snodgrass

# ICAR'S First Annual Alumni Symposium Hosts Two-Day Conference for 100 Graduates

By Julie Shedd, Director, Student Services and Graduate Admissions, jshedd@gmu.edu

PUBLES

CAR celebrated its 25th year with an Alumni Symposium gathering over 100 alumni, current students, faculty and staff for two days of panel presentations, discussion and networking. 12 panels brought alumni practice and experience into the spotlight on topics such as teaching, civic planning, public policy, career development, water conflict and using collaborative technologies. Current ICAR faculty moderated each panel made up of two to four alumni or current students sharing expertise and sparking discussion.

This year's symposium was the first time ICAR had hosted such an event, brining together alumni of all the different degree programs. After 25 years of excellence in teaching, the ICAR alumni community has grown to over 500 alumni, including graduates from the Master's, Doctoral,



[Pictured left to right] ICAR Professor Susan Allen Nan (ICAR M.S. '95) moderates the Mediating and Negotiating panel at the First Annual Alumni Symposium with panelists Mary Hardiman (M.S. '90) and Bruce Engelbert (M.S. '95).

Undergraduate, and Graduate Certificate Programs. Video of the different panels will be edited and put on the ICAR Community forum in the coming months so alumni who were not able to attend the symposium can here what was said.

The Security and Intelligence panel exemplified the longevity of ICAR's programs. Panelist, Suzanne Devlin was a member of ICAR's first cohort, graduating in 1985. Lynn Kunkle was a Master's student in the mid-90's and Tim Adgent represented the 2007 graduating class. These panelists were able to touch on issues and concerns that correspond with the needs of all alumni, from the first to graduate to the most recent.

ICAR's activities and dedication to the local community came out in the Civic and Community Planning panels and the DC Issues panels with presenters Juliana Birkhoff, Bill Potapchuk, and Gary Willoughby sharing their experiences of working on local community and economic development issues ranging from transportation policy to education reform.

The first day of the symposium coincided with ICAR's annual Welcome Dinner. A record crowd of over 130 new and returning students, faculty, alumni, staff and friends of ICAR packed Hazel Hall's atrium for an evening of scholarship presentations, welcome addresses, and networking. Dr. Jamie Price, Director of the Shrive Center housed at ICAR was the key note speaker.

Two new scholarships were inaugurated this year, the Faculty Scholarship represents the

Continued on Page 8

## **Upcoming ICAR Community Events**

For more info on events, email jlock1@gmu.

October 14-17: Partnering for Peace: Transatlantic

Concepts for Conflict Resolution in Public Policy

October 22: Lynch Lecture, Guest Speaker Lee Hamilton

6:00-9:00 pm, National Press Club

RSVP: lynch@gmu.edu

October 27: Development Career Intensive

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

November 8: Open House

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

**November 17:** Security Career Intensive

10:00-4:00 p.m., Truland Bldg, Room 555

Register: icarjob@gmu.edu

## **News Network**

## Displacement, Identity and Violence

ICAR News Network: 9/17/07 By Ali Erol, ICAR Cert. Student

As Iraq grows more violent, there is less attention paid to how the ongoing violence affects how people live, eat, sleep and even breathe. There are discussions about allocating the resources, remapping the borders, making new borders between sectarian groups, displacing people, putting troops here and training Iraqis there, giving money to these groups and cutting money from those and so on. These tactics were employed since the beginning of the war and it is apparent now that they were not so successful. In fact, there are alternative ways to soften the conflict in Iraq without perpetuating sectarian violence.

The New York Times article by Sabrina Tavernise [September 17, 2007] covers the rather untouched fields of the Iraq conflict. One can conclude that dividing an entire country neighborhood by neighborhood not only causes trauma in the population, it also makes people associate with a sectarian/ ethnic identity they regarded little before. Ripping Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds from their homes and giving them new neighborhoods to live only increases the lack of communication between groups and thus augments a more radical in-group bonding and a more radical out-group hatred. This will only result in an unfortunate but predictable increase of violence.

A perfect example of the magnitude of violence that can result from separating and displacing people was found not so long ago in Rwanda. To understand how similar the conditions in Iraq are to Rwanda, one needs only to read Tavernise's stories about people being killed by their neighbors and the hatred generated by such events. The violence in Iraq has already cost tens of

## **New Books\***

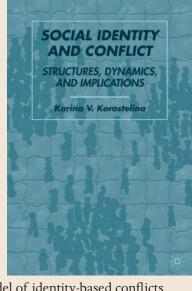
#### Social Identity and Conflict Structures, Dynamics, and Implications

Palgrave Macmillan Press Karina V. Korostelina, ICAR Professor

#### **Book Description**

his book presents the conception of a system of social identities, including the system's structure, development and dynamics, and explores the influence of cultural dimensions and identity salience on attitudes, behavior, and the structures of

consciousness. The "Four C" model of identity-based conflicts provides fresh opportunities for analyses of the role of identity in conflicts and violence. .



known paradigm of dehumanizing and humanizing the other. But rather than a cliché response to severe hatred and violence among groups, this paradigm tells us how important it is to know that one can share certain feelings with an out-group, such as victimhood, fear, glory and accomplishment. Social activities thus can serve as a catalyst for the sharing of these kinds of feelings and perhaps heal deep scars and reduce ongoing violence..

thousands of lives while affecting, both physically and psychologically, many more in Iraq and the US. As anger and hatred accumulates in displaced communities, the magnitude of the violence may grow bigger as time passes.

What, then, can be done, in order to sooth the trauma and slow down this process of increasing violence? People need to be reminded that they are facing or opposing those who used to be their neighbors, friends, classmates and teammates. The worst way to organize this kind of a reminder, however, is to bring people together without any catalyst and expect them to communicate verbally. Perhaps, starting on a grassroots level, connecting people through schools, sports and through other means of social exchange can offer an eventual healing process.

In *Bloodlines*, Vamik Volkan gives an account of how an Egyptian and an Israeli confronted each other during a meeting. When the Israeli psychiatrist mentioned to the Egyptian historian that she was scared, the historian did not believe that an Israeli could harbor the same emotions, or could tolerate sharing a sense of victimhood (Volkan, 1997). This surfaces the

## Recent ICAR Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

#### Biofuels are Helpful but no Panacea for Relieving America's Dependence on Oil

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student, and Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD) and Rep. Lynn Woolsey (D-CA) *The Hill*, September 27, 2007

#### **Congo Must be Wary of Chinese Deals**

By Nnena Ahukannah, ICAR Masters. Student *Financial Times*, Septembe 25, 2007

#### **Pioneers Can Secure Our Future**

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student, and Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD)

Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 13, 2007

#### The U.S., India and the Elusive 123 Deal

By Saira Yamin, ICAR Ph.D. Student Foreign Policy in Focus, Septembe 7, 2007



## Ivan Sascha Sheehan Maneshka Eliatamby

van Sascha Sheehan, a visiting professor at ICAR and a recent PhD graduate of the institute, is spotlighted this month for his groundbreaking work in evaluating the effectiveness of U.S. counterterrorism strategies. Despite the proliferation of terrorism and counterterrorism literature, few ana-

lysts, have conducted quantitative research to understand the impact and efficacy of counterterrorism strategies. Dr. Sheehan is among the few.

Last month, testifying in the Senate Russell Building for congressional staff, Sheehan highlighted the conclusions from his forthcoming book by Cambria Press: When Terrorism and Counterterrorism Clash: The War on Terror and the Transformation of Terrorist Activity.

In the book (publish date: 11/2007), Sheehan's analysis begins by studying events from the War on Terror including the war in Afghanistan, the Iraqi offensive, the capture of Saddam Hussein, and the making

public of Iraqi prison photos at Abu Ghraib, and the subsequent correlation they have with the intensity, lethality, and regularity of global terrorism. Sheehan investigates this "cause and effect" relationship by using statistical analysis of longitudinal data which

gives strong quantitative legitimacy to his claims. The final product is important in not only providing the largest ever cataloguing and organization of terrorism over the past decade (1992-2004) but also because of its implications for US foreign policy.

Additionally, Sheehan teaches a three-credit course on counterterrorism at ICAR, scheduled for the winter and summer ses-

sions. Says Sheehan of the class, "It's my belief that the multi-disciplinarity of our field provides us remarkable leverage to facilitate discussions between individuals with diverse perspectives and unique expertise, dialogue that might not otherwise ever occur. As an emerging field we're fortunate not to be constrained by the dogmas and paradigms of some more traditional disciplines. This allows us to "think outside the box" and develop new and innovative solutions to urgent problems that require attention."

his month, ICAR puts the spotlight on one of our Ph.D. students, Maneshka Eliatamby.

Born in Sri Lanka, Maneshka was faced with an identity conflict growing up with parents of different ethnic backgrounds; her father, Tamil and her mother, Singhalese. Her awareness of war came at

the early age of just 4 years in learning about the war between the Sri Lankan Government and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

Upon arriving at ICAR, one of the first



faculty members she met was Dr. Dennis Sandole. Maneshka states that Dr. Sandole "shaped my thinking here [at ICAR]" in that they both share similar interests in understanding the root causes of terrorism.

As a Masters student at ICAR, she pursued her interest of understanding terrorism- especially female terrorists and women who go from being the

victim to the victimizer. "This idea of a female terrorist goes against the stereotypical view of a woman only being the peacemaker" states Maneshka. Her studies and research is geared towards the understanding female involvement in collective violence by using the situation in Sri Lanka.

Active in the student community, Maneshka is a founder of the Conflict and Gender Working Group and a member of both the Terrorism Working

Group and the South and South East Asia Working Group.

Maneshka's contributions to the ICAR community and the field of conflict resolution have impressed both her colleges and faculty. Now an ICAR PhD student, Maneshka continues her research in understanding the root causes of terrorism. "I want to teach and also be practicing in the field. I like the idea of bringing experience to the classroom- I don't think I would be a good teacher without the practical experience".

The multi-disciplinarity of our field provides us remarkable leverage to facilitate discussions between individuals with diverse perspectives and unique expertise, dialogue that might not otherwise even occur. As an emerging field we're fortunate not to be constrained by dogmas and paradigms of some more traditional disciplines.

—IVAN SASCHA SHEEHAN



### **Rethink Needed in Virginia Mental Health Services**

Continued from page 1

convene a series of stakeholder dialogues to identify what is broken and suggest it can be fixed.

Persons with mental illness, family members, police, magistrates, professional service providers and hospital staff—70 in total—participated in a series of meetings and verified that systemic changes need to be made at the local and state levels beginning with clarifying current legal language regarding whether or not an individual poses "imminent danger" to himself or the community. If so, he can be involuntarily committed to a hospital (report available on ICAR Web site: http://icar.gmu.edu).

Participants unanimously said that individuals with mental illness avoid commitment at all costs, as Cho did sixteen months prior to the shootings when he was ordered by a judge to receive involuntary commitment. Involuntary commitment is too traumatic and too demeaning, and families, while often the first to recognize signs of deterioration, cannot commit their adult children. The process reacts to a worse-case scenario while prevention-oriented processes are ignored. Currently, there is no early-warning system that helps detect mental illness crises. Priority is given to emergency response—not emergency prevention. Cho's lack of treatment is an excellent example of this poor prioritization. There was no space in the system for Cho because until the shootings, there was no crisis point.

Participants at our dialogues also agreed on a number of other proposed changes. Legislators must revise the definition, criteria, and scope of law governing the involuntary admissions process so that it addresses all stakeholder concerns, especially the family members. There needs to be a continuum of intervention strategies available and offered earlier, including a variety of outpatient treatment options. While CSB professionals and hospital providers stand ready to offer more comprehensives services, funding remains an obstacle. Adequate and affordable legal support for family

members to ensure the overall welfare of the individual is also needed. Equipped with legal advocacy, the individual may be more inclined to enter the commitment process willingly. Without it, youth like Cho will stay far away.

Guaranteeing public safety and preventing, detecting, and responding to mental illness are no easy tasks. Initiatives have been underway since 2005 to reconsider the laws regarding involuntary commitment, favoring and supporting voluntary treatment in the community or at a hospital. All that is needed is the commitment and

resources to support these changes.

Efforts are currently underway to dedicate space in Norris Hall—the "ground zero" of Virginia Tech—as a Center devoted to "the study of international peace and crime prevention." Of course there is a need in our troubled world to educate people about conflict and alternatives to violence. This is an excellent gesture to the family and loved ones of those who lost their lives. But there must also be processes that detect early warning signals and provide access to alternative psychological services to involuntary commitment. Then we are more likely to prevent another Cho-like

# ICAR Faculty Book Presention: US Ambassador to OSCE

n Thursday, July 5, 2007, ICAR Professor Dennis J.D. Sandole made a presentation on his new book, Peace and Security in the Postmodern World: The OSCE and Conflict Resolution, at a reception held in his honor by Ambassador Julie Finley, Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The event took place at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna, Austria, site of negotiations and other meetings of the 56-country OSCE, the world's most comprehensive regional security organization which helped facilitate the ending of the Cold War.

"In his book, Dr. Sandole analyzes responses to questions he put to rep-

resentatives of the various delegations in 1993, 1997, 1999, and 2004, on (a) the causes of the genocidal wars in former Yugoslavia during the 1990s; (b) lessons learned from those wars and how the international community did or did not respond to them; and (c) how to redesign peace and security in Europe to ensure that such wars -- with their implications for global terrorism -- never happened again.

"In his comments prior to presenting signed copies of the book to each delegation and members of the OSCE Secretariat, Dr. Sandole mentioned that the books were made available by a grant provided by the Office of the Provost of George Mason University Dr. Peter Stearns."





# Celebrating 25 Years of Pioneering Theory, Research, and Practice at ICAR

or 25 years, our faculty, students and alumni have addressed deeprooted conflicts wherever they occur — in metropolitan Washington D.C., across the United States, and on the international stage. We have been leaders in the field since our founding: ICAR was one of the first groundbreaking "Theory Centers" funded by the Hewlett Foundation. We created the world's first Master of Science and doctorate in conflict resolution, and we recently expanded our programs to serve undergraduate students and mid-career professionals.

## **ICAR Alumni Symposium**

Continued from page 4

commitment of ICAR faculty to continued fund raising to support ICAR students.

The Alumni Scholarship stemmed from the many contributions made by ICAR alumni to the student

scholarship fund. Both scholarships were awarded to students with excellent academic records and strong potential for contribution to the ICAR and Alumni communities. Additionally, three ICAR staff members, Erin Ogilvie, Jenny Lock and Deanna Yuille were awarded Achievement



ICAR Associate Director Kevin Avruch offering remarks at Welcome Dinner.



**Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution** 

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# A Publication of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

# Rehumanizing American Justice: New Strategies

By Susan Hirsch, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, shirsch4@gmu.edu

ast January, American C-140 planes launched attacks on southern Somalia killing not only Islamic Courts leaders in flight from the Ethiopian army but also bystanders and livestock. Initially, news outlets reported that the strikes killed another intended target, Fazul Mohamed, accused of bombing U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. A few hours later, an Associated Press reporter sought my reaction as a survivor of the 1998 bombing and the widow of a victim. She asked whether Fazul's death made me feel that "justice has been done". Arguing that killing and justice should never be equated, I reminded her that, in July 2001, four embassy bombings suspects had been convicted and sentenced using a recogniz-

able form of justice: U.S. federal court. That same day, AP reported that the strikes had not killed Fazul but had wreaked havoc in the region.

In the U.S.-led war on terror, incommunicado detention, abductions and disappearances, denial of medical care, solitary confinement, unique and arbitrary proceedings, many forms of torture, and other violent

tactics short of killing have been used to bring suspects to justice in profoundly dehumanizing ways. These tactics position suspects outside the realm of humanity yet within the law. For instance, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani is among the many terror suspects who have experienced legal dehumanization. Also indicted for the embassy bombings, Ghailani was arrested in Pakistan in 2003 and then disappeared.

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Camp X-Ray, Guantanamo Bay. Photo: Wikipedia.

## Inside This Issue...

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- 3 Initiatives: Burton Library Receives Boost with New Staff and New Hours
- 4 Events: Lee Hamilton Keynotes 20th Annual Lynch Lecture at Press Club
- Press: New Books, ICAR NewsNetwork Analysis and Press Clippings
- 6 Spotlight: Lauren Bergmann and Sally Moreland, Two Exemplary Members of the ICAR Community

# **Point of View Opening Event**

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

his fall, Joan and Gene Smith, life-long friends of the Lynch family and chairs of the Point of View Campaign, hosted the opening event at Point of View for friends and colleagues. Under a white tent and with a view of a glorious sunset over Belmont Bay, the Point of View (POV) Master Plan and future vision for the site were unveiled to a group of more than 50 potential supporters.

Bill Lynch led the evening with a thoughtful tribute to his late parents, Ed and Helen, who donated their 40-acre estate to ICAR to build a research and retreat center for conflict analysis and resolution. Gene Smith highlighted the wonderful contribution of the Lynch family and his personal commitment to helping make this project a reality. Jeff Bushman and Pete O'Shea, the architects working on POV, walked the group through the conceptual design of the new facility after which ICAR Director Sara Cobb gave an inspirational vision of ICAR and POV. George Mason University President Alan Merten concluded the evening with a full endorsement of POV and its mission.

"Ed and Helen Lynch could see the potential for Point of



Above: Drawing of Point of View Overlook onto Belmont Bay.

View to be a place for transformative conversations, a place for dialogue, reflection and reconciliation, a place where people representing constituent groups and even nations trapped in hatred and fear could come, learn and develop new relationships with others," said Dr. Cobb. "They trusted the ICAR faculty, alums and students to contribute their expertise in the hard work of building peace."

ICAR Ph.D. students Min Oo, Silvia Susnjic, and Vandy Kanyako were awarded the first POV Housing Fellowships for doctoral students. Min and Silvia moved to POV at the beginning of the semester to work on their dissertations. Vandy will move in early next month. "This is my

dream place to write my dissertation," said Min. "I used to imagine living in a place where I can write, while enjoying nature. My dream comes true at Point of View." Silvia added that the "idyllic landscape of Point of View bestows upon me a sense of tranquility which enables me to direct my intellectual capacity in creating a personally meaningful and academically rigorous dissertation project. I feel honored and privileged to have the opportunity to live in such a beautiful environment and re-harmonize myself with nature."

A few weeks after the Master Plan unveiling, ICAR students enjoyed their first event at POV with a recreational bonfire on October 13th.



Above: Drawing of Passage Entrance into Point of View.

## Master Plan: A Signature Design

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

n the seclusion of Belmont Bay and using the Lynch home and its surrounding 40 acres, ICAR will build a 52,000-square-foot natural research and retreat complex, the first in the world dedicated to conflict analysis and resolution. The complex will consist of three distinct areas that can accommodate up to 100 people, including 35 overnight guests. The site will include a signature Integrated Practice Center, a Retreat Complex and

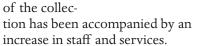
a Scholarly Research Center. In addition, the complex will provide: open dining and recreational facilities; a woodland amphitheater overlooking the Bay; a meditative ritual space with reflecting pool; large indoor and open-air meeting spaces; small, secluded and fully-equipped meeting rooms overlooking the Bay; state-of-the-art communications systems; a case-based data library and reading rooms; an archive documenting the 25-year history of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution; and residential cottages for visiting scholars and graduate fellows. The facility will be built in three phases.

## Fresh Look for ICAR's Burton Library

## **New Staff, New Hours and New Materials**

By Paul Snodgrass, Technology and Communications Coordinator, psnodgra@gmu.edu

n the past several years the John **Burton Library** has grown from a few shelves of donated books to more than four thousand records. Since its move to the Arlington Campus in 2004, the library has become a useful place for students to study, conduct research, and share ideas. The growth



There are two new faces in the library and one returning from last year. Gee Kethusegile is a second-year Master's student and returns from last year. In addition to her library duties, she also provides student support services. Lindsay Jones is also a second-year Master's student. Ross Gearllach is a first-year Master's student who can also be found at ICAR's front desk.

Together these talented students are busy reorganizing the collection, making it more accessible, useful, and enjoyable to the ICAR community. The have streamlined important library functions, making it easier to support the research needs of students and faculty.

ICAR faculty, working with the library staff, have helped to increase the number of course books available in the library. Now a great many of the assigned readings are on reserve for use inside the library.





ICAR professors Chris Mitchell, Karina Korostelina, and Dean Pruitt have lent their support and guidance to the library's function and continue to help envision its future. Some of the library's resources are now being transferred to Point of View, where the Burton Library will serve as an archive for the field of conflict analysis and resolution, holding newsletters and memoranda from ICAR and other conflict related programs and organizations. Cases of "Track Two" diplomacy interventions by practitioners and primary source material on conflict resolution initiatives will be housed there and accessible to researchers.

Additionally there is a new computer workstation with a document scanner, business card scanner, and special software for creating and editing PDF documents. Software applications will be added to this workstation as needs are identified.

The library strives to meet the needs of students. It is always

in need of donations of books and materials related to the study of conflict—and particularly proud to showcase the work of students and former-students. The donations of Dissertations, Theses, APT and Internship reports, books, articles, and other useful content are always welcome. These products are useful for research and serve as examples for colleagues at ICAR.

#### Fall 2007 Hours of Operation

Monday: 12:00 to 4:00; 7:30 to 9:00

Tuesday: 1:00 to 9:00
Wednesday: 1:00 to 9:00
Thursday: 1:00 to 9:00
Friday: 12:00 to 4:00
Saturday: 12:00 to 4:00
Sunday: Closed
Phone: 703-993-1301
Email: icarlib@gmu.edu

#### The Burton Library Team:

Lindsay Jones, Librarian; Gee Kethusegile, Library Assistant and Student Services Assistant; Ross Gearllach, Library Assistant and Front Desk Assistant.



# Lee H. Hamilton Addresses U.S. Diplomacy at 20th Lynch Lecture

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



n October 22, at the National Press Club. ICAR celebrated the 20th Annual Lvnch Lecture featuring the Honorable Lee H. Hamilton. For a gathering of nearly two hundred faculty, staff, students and friends of ICAR, Mr. Hamilton's reflections centered on

Pictured from left to right: ICAR Professors Richard Rubenstein, Sandra Cheldelin, Solon Simmons and Wallace Warfield, with Lynch Lecture keynote speaker Lee H. Hamilton. Photo: Paul Snodgrass.

the Importance of Diplomacy when Dealing with Intractable Conflicts.

ICAR established the lecture series to bring the idea and theory of conflict analysis and resolution to the attention of the entire University community and to express our gratitude to Edwin and Helen Lynch. The lecture series serves as a way to expand our thinking about deep-rooted and protracted conflicts. This

year we looked for insights on what to do about the ruptures in U.S. relationships with leaders and members of other countries and communities around the world.

Mr. Hamilton was an excellent candidate. Serving for 34 years in the U.S. House of Representatives as chair and ranking member of many committees, Lee is perhaps best known for his role as Co-Chair (with former Secretary of State James Baker) of the Iraq Study Group and Vice-Chair of the (9/11) National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. Lee is now the President and Director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Hamilton began by contextualizing diplomacy: that it is no panacea and that it has limitations. Offering nearly a dozen tenants of diplomacy, several challenging U.S. foreign policy strategy (see http://icar.gmu.edu for full speech), he urged a loosening of pre-conditions to negotiation: "Demanding that certain conditions be met before we come to the negotiating table is a path to failure. Often, it strengthens the hand of radicals

within regimes, and weakens the hand of those that America would like to strengthen." He also spoke to what conflict interveners already know—that all parties must be brought to the table—when reflecting on the Middle East: "I don't see how we deal with those problems whether it is the chaos in Iraq, the Arab-Israeli dispute, nuclear proliferation, or the instability in Lebanon—if we only talk to our friends, but not our adversaries. Exclusivity, that is excluding parties that have an interest, is also a path to failure."

Noting the Iraq Study Group's recommendation to engage Iran and Syria, he reflected on similar experiences in thawing the Cold war. He spoke of the long lists of deep grievances between Russia and the U.S., and how representatives addressed these grievances by giving speeches at each other: "And then something began to happen. I don't know how long it took us, 10, 15 years. But then we put away the set speeches and we began to talk with one another. And we got to know one another.

Continued on Page 8

## **Upcoming ICAR Community Events**

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

**November 6:** Prospective Students Information Session

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

RSVP: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu.edu

November 8: Analysis of the Conflict in Oaxaca

Latin American and Caribbean Working Group

1:00 pm, Truland Bldg, Room 555

November 8: ICAR Open House

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

November 17: Security Career Intensive

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

RSVP: icarjob@gmu.edu

**December 6:** Prospective Students Information Session

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

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

## **News Network**

### ew Language Needed in **US-Russia Relations**

ICAR News Network: 10/25/07 By Kate Romanova, Ph.D. Student

The ongoing negotiations between Russia and the United States on the missile defense system in Eastern Europe continue to fail. Statements with mutually exclusive goals only push each other further away. The gap steadily grows larger, adding only more disagreement and irritation. Political analysts admit that the relationship has reached its lowest point since the Cold War. Yet, the end is not nigh, improvement is possible.

The countries must first come to terms with their differing views on national and global security. While the purpose of the U.S. missile defense shield is the obvious bone of contention. there are much deeper problems.

The major cause of the deteriorating relationship is the erroneous frame through which each country is viewed. Unless there is a significant shift in this view, escalation is inevitable. Changing the trajectory of the relationship requires the abandonment of the

Cold War as the reference point. Constant reinforcement of the Cold war relationship—i.e. better or worse—reinforces old stereotypes. It does not allow one to see beyond the old framework. Using it as the barometer to determine the degree of friendship/animosity produces Cold War assessments.

To encourage constructive cooperation, a different type of measurement should be applied, oriented to the future rather than the past. Russia today is not Russia of the 1990s or even of President Putin's first term. The tribulation of the post-Soviet era

## **New Books**

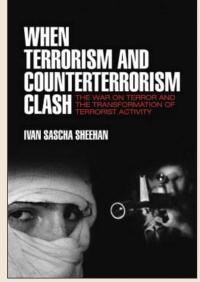
#### When Terrorism and Counterterrorism Clash The War on Terror and the **Transformation of Terrorist Activity**

Cambria Press Ivan Sascha Sheehan, ICAR Visiting Professor

#### **Book Description**

This is the first publication showcasing compelling data on the impact of the current war on terrorism on the level, lethality, and frequency of transnational terrorist activity around

the globe. The author has painstakingly examined, with precise numbers, the impact of the use of preemptive force in the War on Terrorism, a study that has never been done before.



is over. Paying off the national debt restored pride by removing dependency on foreign aid. High oil prices and rich national resources, allowed Russia to pay ahead of schedule. It was a significant mark of liberation and national recovery. Now with

> economic and political stability, Russia is more assertive about her position in the world, exemplified by recent warnings of withdrawal from several military or arms control agreements, an impossibility in the 1990s. Yet, the current

political, economic and social confidence-building is more a sign of stabilization and recovery from the disastrous consequences of the breakup of the Soviet Union. It marks the emergence of new Russia, rather than a return to Russia of the Cold War era. To advance the possibility of successful negotiations, the U.S. must first recognize that a new Russia is at the table. Though new, the underlying motives of both countries remain the same: security then, security now. And the best answer to the security dilemma is cooperation.

Kate Romanova is an

ICAR Ph.D. Student.

## Recent ICAR Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

#### **US Prison System Needs Overhaul**

By Paul Snodgrass, ICAR Tech. and Communications Coordinator Richmond Times-Dispatch, 10/16/07

## Winds of Change in Holocaust

By Manar Fawakhry, ICAR Masters Student Baltimore Sun, 10/16/07

#### The Soil that Saves

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Foreign Policy in Focus, 10/04/07

#### Partitioning Iraq III-Advised

By Paul Snodgrass, ICAR Tech. and Communications Coordinator The Hill. 10/02/07

#### **Iran and Cultural Diplomacy**

By Suzanne Buchanan, ICAR Certificate Student Washington Times, 10/02/07

#### **Grand Bargain Needs to Reach Beyond Realpolitik**

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor Financial Times, 10/02/07



## Lauren Bergmann

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

any roads lead to ICAR. For Lauren Bergmann the most recent turn in that road began when she decided that law school was not for her (at



least not for now) and chose to pursue education in the field of conflict resolution. While at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, she worked in a restorative justice program and liked the concept as a complement to our current systems of justice. As she puts it, "the justice system alienates both the victim and the offender from the process and restorative justice lets people know how they feel and helps them reconnect with the community."

Lauren is the winner of the James H. Laue Memorial

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local community on victim-offender

on the local level is important to me

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back on their feet. The system is pretty

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to be done there to help people get

to help improve it. 99

-LAUREN BERGMANN

reconciliation programs...Working

Scholarship which is dedicated to one of the founders of the program in the interest of continuing his research interest in the area of peace and justice. Her description of her experiences in restorative justice holds up to Laue's ideals.

Now that Lauren has begun her first year as a Master's student at ICAR, she is enjoying the diversity of ideas that each person brings with them and also the privilege of receiving the award. For her, this experience can be a stepping stone into a future career, a number of opportunities to travel, or perhaps both. Although Lauren

is still forming her own views of what it the field of "conflict" entails, she looks forward to being able to shape her own viewpoints as she goes through the program.

Said Lauren of her future plans, "I am interested in working with a local community on victim-offender reconciliation programs, helping victims to be a more integral part of the justice process as well as helping the community do a better job of reintegrating former offenders. Working on the local level is important to me and right now there's so much work to be done there to help people get back on their feet. The system is pretty unforgiving at the moment and I want to help improve it."

## **Sally Moreland**

By Jenny Lock, Events Coordinator, ilock1@gmu.edu

ally Moreland was one of the two incoming M.S. students chosen to receive the Laue Scholarship given in memory of James H. Laue and his

dedication and service to the field of education and in particular, ICAR.

Sally has known that she wanted to attend graduate school for conflict resolution since her first year of college. She majored in



Political Science, but minored in conflict resolution and peace studies. Sally was not only active within her school community, however, she was also active in her community as a volunteer mediator with Catholic Charities of York, PA.

Sally looked at several different graduate programs in conflict resolution, but was impressed that at ICAR, Conflict Resolution was not housed under another office, but rather was a stand-alone program. She is interested in taking courses focusing on international conflict and is particularly interested to learn more about Northern Ireland, where she spent the spring semester of 2006, and the Balkans. She is also very interested in the

ways in which religion can provide a healing tool in post-conflict situations. Her work as a volunteer in victim-offender mediations opened her eyes to the variety of areas in which conflict resolution can be helpful and also helped her recognize a desire to get the tools and theories of conflict resolution to a broader audience, including school-age children.

Eventually, Sally would like to be a professor of conflict analysis and resolution because she feels so passionately about conflict resolution that she wants to pass that passion and excitement on to the next generation of practitioners and theoreticians, but she sees that as a distant goal which will be prefaced by a great deal more field experience.

### **Rehumanizing American Justice: New Strategies**

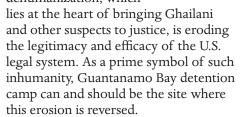
Susan Hirsch, pictured above,

is an ICAR Professor.

Continued from page 1

Human rights groups speculate that he was interrogated, and tortured, in a secret prison. A year ago, Ghailani

surfaced and, along with 13 other detainees, was brought to Guantanamo Bay detention camp. The Military Commission case being prepared against Ghailani can use evidence obtained through coercion and suppress claims that he was tortured enroute to Guantanamo. Legal dehumanization, which



From its inception Guantanamo's critics have decried the whole endeavor as inhumane, unjust, and unnecessary. Strong protests over denying detainees habeas corpus protections reject the idea that the U.S. could refuse to acknowledge the human beings held in custody. In recent months, personnel changes at the Justice Department and vows by Congress to reform the Military Commissions Act and other Bush administration policies portend that the tide might be turning. But unrelenting opposition toward trying terror suspects in open courts confirms that the dual frames of the global war on terror and national security continue to shape U.S. policy and produce justice options that have yet to renounce dehumanizing practices. Testifying last month at his nomination hearing to replace Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, whose cavalier approach to torture garnered less criticism than charges of political influence, Judge Michael Mukasey refused to admit that waterboarding is a form of torture that his department will no longer countenance.

A growing crisis over the fate of Ghailani and other prisoners at Guantanamo might force swifter and more drastic change. The impasse created by Congress's refusal to appropriate sufficient funds for Military Commission proceedings and court

battles over their structure and legality seemingly demands a new approach. The return of detainees to their nations of origin can be stepped up beyond the 400 already quietly repatriated. For those detainees against whom actual evidence exists prosecutions in U.S. federal courts could be prepared. But even granting all detainees due process that bypasses

the Military Commissions and culminates in shutting down Guantanamo would do little to repair a justice system compromised through years of deploying violent and dehumanizing tactics.

Taking a leaf from conflict texts rather than law books, those involved in refashioning American justice for a post-Guantanamo era would do well to focus not only on bringing legal institutions in line with the Constitution and human rights principles but also on restoring relationships. Four types come to mind: 1) Relations between the U.S. and those falsely abused and accused. The U.S. missed a chance to do this by refusing to join Canada in apologizing to Maher Arar, a Canadian detained at a New York airport and sent—with the approval of both governments—to Syria, where all parties knew he would

Continued on Page 8

## Open House to Feature Working Groups

ovember 8th is ICAR's Third Annual Open House. This event brings together students, faculty, alumni, and friends of ICAR for an evening of networking and socializing. The event does not have a formal program, so everyone is welcome to drop in for as little or as long as they are able. We'll have appetizers and drinks and information on ICAR's ongoing student and faculty projects for this year.

ICAR's student working groups will be on hand to share their fall semester programs. The Public Policy Working Group recently concluded a four day policy conference, in coordination with ICAR professor Richard Rubenstein and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, titled "Partnering for Peace: Transatlantic Concepts for



Public Policy Working Group Initiative. Pictured, left to right: Former U.S. Rep. Howard Wolpe, ICAR Public Policy Working Group Advisor Richard Rubenstein, U.S. Rep. Danny Davis, and FES Director Almut Wieland-Karimi. Photo: Paul Snodgrass.

Conflict Resolution in Public Policy". The conference brought together policymakers and conflict resolution practitioners from the U.S. and the European Union to discuss how to integrate conflict resolution into policymaking processes. The Middle East Working Group recently hosted a roundtable featuring members of the Israeli-Palestinian Bereaved Families for Peace to talk about grassroots peace efforts between Palestinians and Israelis. This, and more, will be on display at the Open House. We look forward to seeing you Thursday, November 8th from 6:00 pm-9:00 pm in the Truland Building, Room 555.

### **Rehumanizing American Justice**

Continued from page 7

face torture. Apologies to those harmed would be a small but highly symbolic act. 2) Relations between detainees and their families and attorneys, the media, and the public. Bringing the accused into a social world, albeit controlled to avoid compromising security, is a first step toward acknowledging their humanity. 3) Relations between the U.S. and a distrustful and disdainful world community. This could be accomplished by unconditionally and unequivocally renouncing assassinations, disappearances, torture, and similar dehumanizing tactics. 4) Relations between the U.S. and the community of nations. Here, nothing more complicated than embracing international human rights laws and treaties is required.

Images of the goggled, orange-jumpsuited Guantanamo detainee and the naked, terrified Abu Ghraib prisoner have come to symbolize American injustice. Replacing these images with more recognizable depictions of holding suspects legally accountable is an imperative goal. Yet it will have impact only if undertaken along with repairing broken relationships and thereby rehumanizing American justice. Susan F. Hirsch is the author of In the Moment of Greatest Calamity: Terrorism, Grief, and a Victim's Quest for Justice.

### Lee Hamilton Addresses U.S. Diplomacy at Lecture

Continued from page 4

We got to understand one another a little better. And all through this period of time keep in mind that not one single shot was fired."

Mr. Hamilton concluded by making a case for dealing with the

complexity
of the world,
beyond the
notion of trying
to determine
good and evil,
and the critical
task of working with allies,
international
institutions,
and specifically



ICAR Professor Wallace Warfield, on left, with Lynch Lecture keynote speaker Lee H. Hamilton. Photo: Paul Snodgrass.

the United Nations. His plea for practicality and pragmatics, as an alternative to forcing others to meet our goals was refreshing, as was his pitch for the American people: "The people want us to engage in diplomacy with our adversaries, not just our friends. The people want us to reduce our dependence on oil. The people want us to maintain strong alliances. To succeed, U.S. foreign policy must have a sensitive ear always respectfully tuned to the voice of the people." Following Mr. Hamilton's remarks, a group of ICAR faculty joined him in a semicircle, to prod further on questions provoked by his remarks. And as the lecture came to a close, it became clear that this was the beginning of the dialogue on diplomacy with Lee Hamilton, not the end.



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# A Publication of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

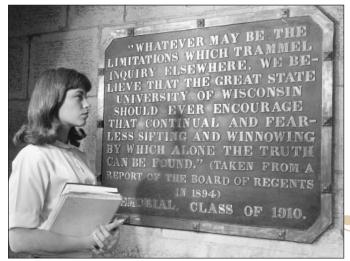
GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

# Campus Wars: Reclaiming the Socratic Legacy

By Solon Simmons, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, ssimmon5@gmu.edu

s with most conflicts of consequence, most people know of them, while many live in ways that enable them to ignore or avoid them altogether. Such is the case with the various struggles over higher education in the United States that erupted over the past century, characterized in a turn on James Davison Hunter's phrase as the Campus Wars. These struggles are the result of persistent and perhaps natural ideological tension between professors and

the broader community. The tension results from the relatively liberal or progressive political views of the professoriate and from its willingness to share those views. The fact that this tension only



Sifting and Winnowing Plaque. Courtesy of UW Madison Archives.

## Inside This Issue...

- 2 Network: ICAR Alumni Give Back
- 3 Initiatives: ICAR Launches Career Intensives in Development and Security
- 4 Events: ICAR Organizes Historic Transatlantic Conference
- 5 Press: ICAR News Network Analysis, Op-Eds and Letters
- 6 Spotlight: Silvia Susnjic and Min Zaw Oo, Exemplary Members of the ICAR Community

occasionally results in overt conflict is probably more a function of emergent political opportunities than of objective changes in political orientations.

The history of the conflict is rich. Previous waves of contest produced the controversies that led to the original declaration of the principles of academic freedom by the American Association of University Professors in 1915, academic complicity and

reaction to the intrusions of the House Un-American Activities Committee of Joseph McCarthy, and the criticisms of university practice as characterized by moral confusion, victim centered activism and epistemological relativism. Today, the American university is again a kind of battleground on which rival camps struggle over new issues. The stakes in these

Continued on Page 7

# ICAR Alumni Give Generously

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

ach year, ICAR alumni provide critical financial and volunteer support to show their commitment to the work of ICAR and its students, the field of conflict analysis and resolution, and the training of the next generation of professionals. These contributions are essential to the success of ICAR and demonstrate a very strong connection between the institute, its students and alumni. Bruce Engelbert and Cynthia Irmer, two such examples, have been a part of the ICAR family for more than a decade.

Bruce, a retired federal employee, worked for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and Department of Energy for more than 30 years in the areas of environmental management, community involvement, conflict prevention and dispute resolution. Bruce helped establish EPA's first conflict resolution program, which evolved into the EPA Office of Conflict Prevention and Resolution. He is a certified mentor-mediator in the state of Virginia and president of the Northern Virginia Mediation Service. When he graduated from the M.S. program in 1995, Bruce knew that he wanted to maintain a connection to the ICAR community. In 2005, seeing a growing need for ICAR students to attain employment and set career goals, Bruce co-taught a course focused on employment opportunities in the field of conflict resolution with his wife, Cynthia Irmer (a course still taught today).

Cynthia, who received her Ph.D. from ICAR in 2003, is a conflict prevention officer at the State Department. At State, she blends her expertise in the law with theory and practice in conflict prevention, peace building, public participation, and capacity building. Cynthia has also held senior level positions at the international consulting and



Above: ICAR Alumni Bruce Engelbert and Cynthia Irmer.

humanitarian development firm PADCO, the EPA, and Gannett Publishing, and is an adjunct professor at ICAR and George Washington University.

As donors and volunteers, Bruce and Cynthia spend many hours working for the ICAR community through teaching, organizing, volunteering and donating financial resources. "It's really about service and working together and learning together," said Bruce. "We get almost as much out of our work for ICAR as the students do. It is a constant learning environment that continues to stimulate us and our work in the field. ICAR has been a wonderful community to participate and learn from. We strongly feel that we all have something to offer one another."

Above: ICAR Alumna Rob Scott.

## **Rob Scott: ICAR Board Member and Alumna**

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

ob Scott has been involved with ICAR for more than 20 years, beginning with his enrollment in the M.S. program in 1984. Since completion of his degree in 1990, Rob has been active in the field of conflict analysis and resolution as the Executive Director of the Northern Virginia Mediation Service for over ten years and currently the Disaster Attorney and Cadre Manager in the Agency for Dispute Resolution at the U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency. Rob has been very active in the ICAR community for nearly 10 years, playing a key role on the Board of Advisors and financially supporting the work of ICAR and its students. Believing that ICAR had given him a truly unique training experience that

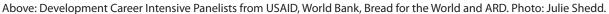
he could not have received in a more traditional program, Rob committed to help ICAR secure the funds needed to support its students and operations. He joined the Board of Advisors to further guide the institute and provide access to professional networks. "It is critical that we support the field of conflict analysis and resolution through our support and participation in ICAR," Rob said. "ICAR produces high quality professionals in our field. It is very rewarding to be a part of this dynamic, growing community that continues to train the next generation of professionals."

## **ICAR Launches Career Intensives**

## Fall 2007 Workshops Feature Development and Security

By Julie Shedd, Director, Student Services and Graduate Admissions, jshedd@gmu.edu





CAR's Career Services took another step forward this year with the inauguration of a series of Career Intensives. The day long workshops help ICAR students and alumni build the skills and knowledge to succesffully job search in a particular sector. The key component of the workshops is practice in framing academic and work experience and tailoring resumes and interviews toward specific career goals. The October 27 intensive focused on careers in Development. The November 17 intensive focused on Security and Intelligence careers. Planned intensives for Spring 2008 include Development, Public Policy, and Organizational Conflict.

Prior to the workshop, participants prepared resumes and cover letters and received individual feedback. Preparation extended to include preparing for mock interviews. On the day of the workshops, the participants and facilitators started the day with information on job searching and mock interviews and peer resume review. After lunch, professionals working in each sector joined the group to talk

about their particular career path and the skills and knowledge necessary to successfully land a job in that field. Breakout sessions provided students the opportunity for individual feedback from the professionals on resumes and practice with mock interviews. Said ICAR M.S. student Sandra Tavera, of the intensive: "Very appropriate and interesting! The panelists were honest but also encouraging. The organizations that were chosen gave us a really

Very appropriate and interesting! The panelists were honest but also encouraging. The organizations that were chosen gave us a really good idea of what we should be doing if we want to get there.

—SANDRA TAVERA

good idea of what we should be doing if we want to get there."

These workshops, limited to 10-12 students, were developed to complement other ICAR Career Services and course options. Besides the intensives, ICAR also offers resume clinics, individual

resume reviews, employer presentations, on-campus interviewing, a March Career Fair, and a onecredit Professional Development Course focused on job skills.

Career Services is grateful to the knowledgeable and enthusiastic panelists who gave up Saturday to help ICAR students and alumni. Development panelists were James VanDenbos at USAID, Sarah Mattingly at World Bank, Asma Lateef at Bread for the World, and Donna Reed at Associates in Rural Development. Security panelists were Joe Rouge at the Department of Defense, Mary Hackman at the Department of State/Overseas Security Advisory Council, Rhian McCoy at the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, and Lt Col. Suzanne Devlin at Fairfax County Police Department. Thanks also to Michael Shank, ICAR's Government Relations Advisor who teamed up to develop and present these events. Dates for the Spring 2008 Intensives will be available shortly. If you are interested in attending or presenting at these intensives, please send an e-mail to icarjob@gmu.edu.



# ICAR, Friedrich Ebert Foundation **Host Transatlantic Workshop**

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



his fall. ICAR and Germany's Friedrich Ebert Foundation co-hosted a historic meeting, the first-ever conference of European and North American experts discussing how the concepts and processes of conflict analysis

and resolution (CAR) can be used to transform foreign policy.

The three-day workshop, "Partnering for Peace: Transatlantic Concepts for Conflict Resolution in Public Policy," assembled 35 conflict resolution specialists and policymakers to make recommendations on how to make CAR practices central to foreign policy formation, international diplomacy, military-civil cooperation, and international development.



Above: Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Almut Wieland-Karimi and ICAR's Richard Rubenstein. Photo: FES.

**Upcoming ICAR Community Events** 

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

November 30: Doctoral Dissertation Defense Robin Ericson: "Bridging Solutions to the Religious and Science Conflict Over Human Embryonic Stem Cell Research

10:00 am-12:00 pm, Truland Bldg, Room 555

December 4: Shriver Seminar Lecture

Featured Speaker: Dr. Andrea Bartoli, Drucie French Cumbie Chair of Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Topic: International Conflict: Diplomacy and the NGO

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

**December 6:** Propsective Students Information Session 6:00-7:30 pm, Truland Bldg, Room 555

To RSVP, contact: Erin Ogilvie at eogilvie@gmu.edu or 703.993.9683

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

Policymakers present included Ambassador Friedrich Däuble, who is tasked with promoting conflict resolution at the German Foreign Office, Elizabeth Kvitashvili, director of USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, and ICAR alumna Cynthia Irmer of the U.S. State Department. Ambassador Howard Wolpe, director of Woodrow Wilson Center's Africa program was as an active participant, as were Andrew Carl, director of London's Conciliation Resources, Heinz Krummenacher of Swisspeace, and Martina Fischer of Berlin's Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, to name a few. These experts engaged in intense discussions on topics ranging from the main principles of conflict transformation to the lessons of "third party" interventions, current obstacles to integrating CAR approaches into foreign policy, and best methods for overcoming those obstacles.

There was general agreement that opportunities for influencing policy are multiplying as a result of the growing recognition that military force cannot solve the problems that have generated

massive violence in areas like the Middle East and Africa, and that new problem-solving approaches are needed. It was also apparent that despite recognition of some conflict resolution techniques by U.S. federal agencies, the Europeans had moved further in this direction.

The conferees were encouraged in their efforts by Anthony Smallwood, head of public diplomacy at the Delegation of the European Commission to the U.S., who spoke at the welcoming dinner, and by Rep. Danny Davis (D-IL), who addressed the final luncheon at Hotel Washington. Workshop organizers are now discussing follow-up activities, which will likely include establishing a transatlantic network of conflict specialists and expanding discussions to include experts from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Principal organizers of the workshop were ICAR's Richard Rubenstein and Ebert Foundation's Almut Wieland-Karimi, while logistics were handled by the Foundation's Knut Panknin and ICAR Public Policy Working Group's Kate Romanova and Gina Cerasani.

## **News Network**

he Missing Two-Way Street
ICAR News Network
By Marci Moberg and Jay
Moon, ICAR M.S. Students

In an effort to win hearts and minds, the Bush administration's public diplomacy initiatives in the Muslim World have failed to do either. It squandered opportunities to gain valuable

insight into anti-U.S. sentiment, opting instead for a psychological operations-style campaign aimed at explaining the benefits of U.S. foreign policy to the Middle East. As Muslim opinion of the U.S. continues to plummet in the wake of Karen Hughes' resignation, the public diplomacy shop faces an uphill battle.

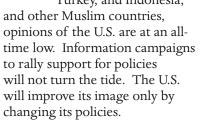
First, most initiatives are ethnocentric and fail to address serious issues. One disastrous example

was *Hi!* magazine, which targeted teenagers in the Muslim World with articles on sand-boarding, yoga, and online dating. This assimilation approach flopped because it demonstrated a lack of connection with Muslim youth. It put the cart before the horse, attempting to win them over before understanding their interests and concerns.

Second, public diplomacy must be a two-way street. The Bush administration appears to want Muslims abroad to listen while not making an effort to listen in return. As a start, officials should poll Muslim communities abroad to gain insight into general Muslim priorities and concerns about U.S. foreign policy. These results may give officials a starting point, a sobering idea of opinion on

the ground. The administration should also send a real listening tour to the Muslim world. This tour would not consist of apologist speeches, like Hughes' visits to the Arab world in 2006, or of prepared sound bites for Al Jazeera, but rather of serious inquiries and frank discussions conducted at the grassroots and business levels with the goal of understanding concerns. Such initiatives could reveal where policies have been misguided.

Third, and most importantly, public diplomacy will not fix what foreign policy has broken. The Bush administration should spend less time concerned about image and wake up to the impact that unilateral U.S. foreign policy decisions had on the Muslim World in the past six years. In a 2006 interview with the Council on Foreign Relations, Hughes admitted, "policy must match public diplomacy." In Pakistan, Turkey, and Indonesia,



The Bush administration faces a formidable but not impossible task. It should shift its focus from selling U.S. policy to the Muslim World to learning, understanding, and developing sincere dialogue with Muslims abroad. Public diplomacy efforts will not reverse anti-U.S. sentiment while foreign policies in the Middle East remain unchanged. However, if undertaken in good faith, measures such as those outlined above could alter our current disastrous course and pave the way for a new road ahead.



Marci Moberg is an ICAR M.S. Student.



Jay Moon is an ICAR M.S. Student.

## Recent ICAR Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

#### **Bold Way Out of Kosovo Impasse**

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor *Financial Times*, 11/21/07

## A New Model for American Foreign Policy

By Richard Rubenstein, ICAR Professor, and U.S. Rep. Danny Davis (D-IL) The Hill, 11/13/07

#### Pakistan Isn't Iran

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student USA Today, 11/13/07

#### Don't Thank Israel - Demand an Explanation

By Marci Moberg, ICAR M.S. Student *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 11/09/07

## Tough Stand on Musharraf Critical for U.S.'s Credibility

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student The Hill, 11/07/07

#### If You Give Separatists an Inch...

By David Young, ICAR M.S. Student Christian Science Monitor, 11/05/07

#### **Words and Consequences**

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor Washington Post, 11/04/07

#### Steer Concerned Celebrities Rather than Stifle Them

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student Financial Times, 11/01/07

#### When Will Darfur Mediators Learn

By Suliman Giddo, ICAR Ph.D. Student Sudan Tribune, 10/30/07

#### The District's Economic Divide

By Gabriel Rojo, ICAR Ph.D. Student Washington Post, 10/29/07

#### America's Push for War

By Saira Yamin, ICAR Ph.D. Student International Herald Tribune, 10/28/07





# Silvia Susnjic

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

ilvia Susnjic, an ICAR Ph.D. student, is spotlighted this month for her research on peace psychology. Susnjic first became interested in the



field of conflict resolution while studying psychology at Lewis-Clark State College. Susnjic credits her advisor, who specialized in nonviolence and peace psychology, for influencing her interest. After completing her degree in psychology, she moved on to Columbia University to research conflict resolution. Now at ICAR, Susnjic says that the Institute "seemed a normal part of the sequence, a perfect program with my interests in peace and conflict resolution and the emphasis on combining research and practice."

Susnjic is currently writing her dissertation at Point of View in Mason Neck as one of three fellows residing there. Her dissertation is on historical memory of the Bosnians, Serbians and Croats and how it influences the perception of the

other. Additionally, as chair of the Student and Early Career Working Group, part of the Peace Psychology Division of the American Psychological Association, Susnjic promotes a collaborative research project involving students and faculty interested in conducting multidisciplinary research in the field. "There is not enough research on historical memory as well as the relationship between psychology and conflict resolution," says Susnjic.

Reflecting on her time at ICAR, Susnjic states, "I am grateful to the entire faculty to have received a successful and inspiring education at ICAR, particularly professor Dennis Sandole. Professor Sandole gave me the strength to overcome all of the difficulties I faced in the past two years. He is a tireless mentor always encouraging me to 'shoot for the stars'. His guidance, encouragement and persistence have served to inspire these principles both in my academic and personal life."

After completing her dissertation, Susnjic would like to research and teach at a university in interdisciplinary studies or psychology.

# Min Zaw Oo

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

his month, ICAR recognizes Ph.D. student Min Zaw Oo. Coming to ICAR in 2001, he first completed a M.S. degree in conflict analysis

and risk-assessments of political transitions in Burma, Oo is now residing at ICAR's Point of View site in Mason Neck, Virginia, one of three Point of View Fellows completing dissertations there. He is writing his

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—SILVIA SUSNJIC

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dissertation on modeling instability in political transitions and looking at various variables that influence political transitions between 1955-2006.

At the age of 14, Oo was active in Burma's pro-democracy uprising and became a dissident

because of his participation. From 1998-2005, Oo served as the Director of Outreach and Strategy for the Free Burma Coalition in Washington DC where he trained over 80 Burmese activists in public relations and conflict resolution skills.

Today, Oo is an independent analyst and occasionally participates in Burma-related conferences and meetings. He has also lobbied the U.S.

Congress in an effort to increase pressure on the regime and organized grass-roots activism to support the Free Burma movement.

Oo is now involved with track-two citizen diplomacy initiatives to foster reconciliation in Burma. Since 2005, Oo has been working at George Mason University as a Research and Teaching Assistant where he researched for the Political Instability Task Force, an initiative funded by the U.S. government.

Reflecting on his experience as a POV Fellow, Oo says that "Point of View is a dreamy place to mix outdoor frenzy and academic life. You have to love outdoors while writing your dissertation in order to truly appreciate the Point of View."

### **Campus Wars: Reclaiming the Socratic Legacy**

Continued from page 1

campus wars are not immediately clear to an observer. Among the complaints

from vocal proponents on the right: lack of commitment to the principles of truth and objectivity, illiberalism, opposition to the canons of the western intellectual tradition. left-tilted political imbalance, excess sensitivity to the demands of minorities and women, lockstep secularism, valorization of sexual deviance. socialism, globalism, and is an ICAR Professor. even anti-semitism.



Solon Simmons, above,

In a land of big-tent politics, this breaks out as a Democratic-Republican cleavage in which victorious parties claim their spoils after hostilities have ended. This lumping leads to the admixture of odd elements and surprising coalitions. A recent meeting of right reformists at the American Enterprise Institute brought together leaders of movements with radically disparate agendas, from the abolition of campus speech codes in the spirit of the first amendment, to a project of revolutionary transformation led by a vanguard of university trustees unapologetically framed in Leninist terminology. This last feature may help make sense of campus wars activism, which derives its ends from the right, but takes its means from the playbook of the left. This is most clear in the one-man movement of David Horowitz, whose academic bill of rights is becoming familiar to lawmakers at all levels.

Reactions from within the university to these challenges are either muted or shrill. Most professors have heard little about the range of activities that may threaten their workplace, and those that have, like Stanley Katz, are tempted to avoid engagement for fear of giving the opposition attention and granting undue recognition. Others, like Michael Berube, have made minicareers out of broadside defenses that, whatever their merits, tend to reinforce the opponents' stereotypes. While it is not clear how citizens of the university

should react to these challenges, the idea that they are of little significance

> and will fall under their own weight seems untenable. In a study of a random sample of 1,417 college and university professors in spring 2006, my colleague Neil Gross and I found that perceptions of threat to academic freedom among professors appear to be higher than they were among social scientists surveyed by Paul Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens in the McCarthy era fifty years before. The sources of such threats are not entirely

clear, but the finding is arresting. Of course, in a world economy hungry for human capital and wedded to the model of scientific knowing, there is little that could permanently derail so central an institution as American higher education, but academic skeptics should recognize the scale, depth and scope of the current wave of criticism. The fronts of the wars range from website black lists, to accreditation panels, to courtrooms, to state budget committees, to quads and classrooms, to say nothing of the airwayes and therefore the dinner tables around the nation. Some of these fronts appear to be turning against the status quo under the leadership of a cadre of cavilers of whom Horowitz is most visible, but perhaps, least legitimate.

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## **Eleanor Roosevelt Student Scholarship**

nown as one of the 20th Century's most influential women, Eleanor Roosevelt was an American political leader who used her influence as First Lady from 1933 to 1945 to promote the New Deal policies of her husband, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and take a prominent role as a civil rights advocate. Eleanor founded the United Nations Association of the United States in 1943 to advance support for the formation of the U.N. and was a delegate to the U.N. General Assembly in 1945, chairing the committee that drafted and approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Public service did not stop there, as Eleanor maintained a daily "My Day" column, a nationally syndicated column published from 1935 to 1962. During those years, Eleanor



Above: Eleanor Roosevelt. Photo: Wikipedia.

wrote consistently six days a week, interrupted only when her husband died, missing four days. The column appeared in ninety papers in all parts of the nation, providing Eleanor with a reading audience of 4,034,552. The column allowed Eleanor to reach millions of Americans with her views on social and political issues, current and historical events, and her private and public life.

As Eleanor debated how to continue a public role after FDR's death, the central issue was which arena would give her the stage from which she would have the most impact. "Of one thing I am sure," she wrote, "in order to be useful we must stand for the things we feel are right, and we must work for those things wherever we find ourselves. It does very little good to believe in something unless you tell your friends and associates of your beliefs." Continued on Page 8

## **Campus Wars: Reclaiming the Socratic Legacy**

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This brings us to the heart of the matter. Today's reformers are far from benighted Luddites. They are well informed carpers, mobilized by concerns about the future of American higher education. Among these warriors, a deep-seated generative need manifests as defiance. They see radicals, Marxists, Islamists and feminists and even New Dealers and progressives as opponents of free inquiry and tolerance who must be opposed by all honest scholars. One critic, John Agresto, suggested that these supposed extremists are nothing more than enemies of humanism who lack the Socratic humility that looks for truth from the position of wonder. However faculty members react to this conflict, they should contest this last perspective in whatever ways they can.

The Socratic legacy is ours to claim. We are the gadflys who question authorities and take them to task in public. We are the outsiders who flaunt the orthodoxy of our own oikos system and live less than traditional lives in pursuit of truth. We are also those who stand accused by authorities as corrupters of the young and may be put to metaphorical trials on that account. We do so because, in our best moments, we love the truth and seek its beauty. We should be the modern day Socratics, but we must be sure we deserve the title. The challenge we face is to follow the model in its Delphic spirit. We must vigorously seek to know ourselves and to overthrow our excesses, so that from our position of enlightened ignorance, we can question the critics when they accuse us of intellectual despotism and play the gadfly.

### **Eleanor Roosevelt Student Scholarship**

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The purpose of the Eleanor Roosevelt Student Scholarship is to inspire ICAR students to be diligent in translating and making relevant their knowledge—visà-vis conflict analysis and resolution—for the broader community, as Eleanor so admirably did with her column. The scholarship provides an annual monetary award to the ICAR undergraduate, certificate, M.S. or Ph.D.-level student who exemplifies best Eleanor's unstoppable commitment to public awareness-raising on issues of social, cultural and political import. The award is given to the student actively publishing articles, columns, letters or op-eds in local, regional, national or international print media. Award eligibility criteria requires that the student is analyzing local, regional, national or international conflicts from a conflict resolution perspective and publishes under their ICAR affiliation. The 2007/2008 GMU school year heralds the first issuance of the award, to be granted in May 2008. The award total is \$2000. To be eligible for consideration, students will need to submit their published pieces, printed between September 2007 and April 2008 to a select advisory committee by the end of April 2008. Notices will be sent out prior with specific submission guidelines. For further questions please contact Michael Shank at mshank@gmu.edu.



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