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Hurting Stalemate in the Middle East:
Opportunities for Conflict Resolution?

Dennis J.D. Sandole, ICAR Faculty

Many people, when they hear "Middle East conflict," throw their hands up in despair, the implication being that there is absolutely nothing that can be done about that intractable, violent conflict. This is also the feeling of many people in the region and even some in the field of conflict resolution.

Nevertheless, at least conceptually, the field of conflict resolution contains insights that could help in designing and implementing an effective intervention into that "mother" of all conflicts.

For example, there is a situation in game theory known as the "Prisoners' Dilemma" (PD). According to one narrative in American popular culture, two men are picked up by the police in a small American town on the assumption that they have committed a horrible crime. They are taken to the local police station where they are separated and interrogated *incommunicado*. Each man is told that if he confesses, he will be set free, while his accomplice will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, likely convicted, and probably face the death penalty. If he does not confess, both he and his accomplice will be convicted on a lesser charge (e.g., manslaughter instead of homicide).

No matter how each man reasons, he concludes that he would be better off by confessing, no matter what the other does. Each then confesses, is prosecuted to the full extent of the law, convicted and faces the death penalty.

What is the "dilemma" here? In answering this question, it is helpful to view the PD schematically, where each of two parties can either cooperate (C) or defect (D) from a cooperative strategy (see Rapoport, 1960, 1964).

ICAR Newsletter – Spring 2005

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Mission Statement

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) is an innovative academic resource for people and institutions worldwide. Composed of a community of scholars, graduate students, alumni, practitioners, and organizations in the field of peacemaking and conflict resolution, ICAR is committed to:

- Advancement of the understanding and resolution of protracted and deeply rooted conflicts among individuals, groups, organizations, and communities throughout America and other nations through research, teaching, practice, and outreach;
- Systematic and ongoing analysis of the nature, origins, and types of social conflicts;
- Development of the requisite processes and conditions for their productive resolution.

Director's Column

Sara Cobb, ICAR Director

Dear ICAR Community Members,

Looking back, looking forward, ICAR is in a period of transition and as Director, I am hoping that we can continue to surf on the crest of the wave that the founding faculty and students generated some 20 years ago. This past year, we have changed the location of ICAR, we have added new faculty and new Advisory Board members, and we have launched an important new programmatic initiative, an undergraduate major. Any one of these changes would have posed some challenges to our identity as an Institute, but taken collectively, these changes offer the opportunity for us, as a group and as a community, to reflect on our assumptions, values, and commitments, and navigate these new spaces as reflective practitioners, mindful of who we have been, and imagining who we are becoming.

The decision to move from Fairfax to Arlington was made by ICAR faculty and students in fall 2003; people thought that despite the upheaval and inconvenience, ICAR would benefit from the proximity to downtown Washington where we would be closer to the agencies, institutions, think tanks, academic programs, and NGOs that are involved in conflict analysis and resolution nationally and internationally. The move put ICAR on the Metro and we all anticipated that this would make life easier for students, opening up connections for teaching and research.

The move itself was scheduled for July 2004; however, the "move-in" date was dependent on construction being completed in our new space, in the Truland Building, on the Arlington George Mason campus. But like most construction projects, there were unanticipated delays, so July turned into August and then into September. Classes started in Fairfax, and the move finally took place mid-September. Needless to say, life was very difficult for faculty who had to prepare lectures from materials in (multiple) boxes piled up in the corridors. However, unlike other faculty, who can be cantankerous, ICAR faculty bore the trauma of a move

in the midst of classes with good cheer, patience, and fortitude. My assistant Nicole Rowsell, along with the rest of the ICAR staff, saved the day with their diligence and hard work, so the semester that began in a storm finished with all but the Burton Library in place. With the logistics of the move behind us, we are already beginning to concentrate on programs and projects for the coming year.

If you have not already come to see the new offices, please do so — you will find some welcome new additions to the ICAR space:

- A conference room that seats 50, for training and research meetings, teaching, and receptions;
- Two classrooms with adequate seating and lots of whiteboard space;
- Two seminar rooms for working groups, committee meetings, and small groups;
- An office for GSCS, our student governance organization;
- A lounge area (still to be furnished);
- Research space for 22 graduate students to have cubicles for sustained research and study; these cubicles are adjacent to faculty offices, to support exchange and learning;
- A separate reception area, with consolidated staff, to maximize collaboration; and
- One-third more space for the Burton Library

Together, these additional resources provide the space for the kinds of events and gatherings that help build relationships, which in turn, provide the basis for generating new ideas and new knowledge.

Programmatically, ICAR continues to grow in complexity. This year we have added a new undergraduate program to our existing graduate program. We now offer a BA and a BS in Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR), in collaboration with the College of Arts and Sciences at George Mason. This program allows students to craft their own degree program to focus on interpersonal conflicts, community/organizational conflicts, or international conflicts, depending on the nature of the work they seek to do. Obviously, in a globalized world, these three domains or levels of

Director's Column – Continued

analysis are overlapping, but students can choose to work in sites that focus predominantly on one of these areas. Students will take a core set of courses, offered by ICAR faculty and graduate students, and add electives that expand their areas of interest using courses from multiple disciplines within the College of Arts and Sciences (history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, etc.). We, at ICAR, are convinced that this degree will not only be extremely useful to students in their professional careers, providing them a base set of skills in conflict analysis and resolution, but will also be of interest to them; we believe it will be a popular program.

Obviously, this new undergraduate program expands the reach of ICAR to undergraduate students, but it also provides a place where our graduate students can learn to teach and mentor, as part of their own program. Teaching is an important practice and experts in conflict resolution need to know how to train, how to design curricular materials and how to build relationships to support learning. So this new program will benefit the graduate students as well.

We are so fortunate to have new faculty, Professor Susan Hirsch, as Director of the undergraduate program (CAR). She coordinates the development of the new courses, building relationships with the faculty across the College of Arts and Sciences; she teaches the introductory course for the program, and she will mentor the graduate students who will be teaching, eventually, in the CAR program. She is committed to the successful launch of this program, and with her leadership, I am confident the CAR program will grow and be a tremendous contribution to George Mason University as well as to the field of conflict resolution as a whole.

Professor Hirsch, is one of three new faculty at ICAR. Susan who earned her doctorate in Anthropology from Duke University, now joins us from Wesleyan. She brings an array of expertise in legal anthropology, sociolegal studies, discourse analysis, gender theory, East Africa, and Islam. She teaches in the undergraduate program (CAR) but is already working with a number of graduate students on special topics related to her work in human rights. She brings tremendous expertise in undergraduate education, as well as her enthusiasm for learning and research. We are thrilled to have her with us!

Professor Nadim Rouhana joined ICAR this past fall as the Henry Hart Rice Chair in Conflict Analysis and Resolution. He comes to us from Tel Aviv University in Israel most recently, but was also deeply engaged at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, where he worked, with Dr. Kelman, on the development of problem-solving workshops as a technology for conflict resolution. As the Rice Chair was endowed to support the development of Point of View, Dr. Rouhana will be working to help create the research agenda and the programmatic content for this soon-to-be-constructed research and conference center, Point of View, which will provide a place for groups in conflict to come together for dialogue and exchange. Professor Rouhana will work with ICAR faculty and students, as well as experts in the field of conflict resolution, to build case studies and research databases that continually enhance our knowledge about conflict analysis and resolution. We are indeed honored to have him join ICAR!

Karina Korostelina is currently a Research Professor at ICAR; she comes to us from the Ukraine, where she worked for many years with ICAR faculty on joint research and training projects. Professor Korostelina got her doctorate from the Institute of Psychology of Ukrainian Academy of Science. She is an expert in social psychological analysis of conflict with a particular interest in identity processes. She has studied the relationship between multi-cultural identity and violence, using survey research methods. At ICAR she is teaching courses at the graduate and undergraduate level in research methods and identity and conflict; she also supervises the International APT program, helping students design and implement an international project in conflict resolution. We are so pleased to have her with us as Research Professor, and delighted that she accepted a position at ICAR as "Associate Professor" in September 2004.

These three new faculty add diversity to our staff in terms of who they are as human beings as well as the disciplinary backgrounds and knowledge base that they offer. All three are excellent mentors and share a concern for social justice. We are thrilled to have them here at ICAR, and look forward to their continued contributions over many, many years!

We have added several new Advisory Board members in the last year: Robert Scott, Stanley Taylor, and Dr. Alan Gropman. Rob Scott is the Executive Director of the

Northern Virginia Mediation Service (NVMS), and a graduate of ICAR. His membership on the Advisory Board will help maintain the ties between ICAR and NVMS. Stanley Taylor is Vice President at George Mason for the Arlington Campus. He was extremely helpful with ICAR's move to Arlington, and given his ties to the Arlington community, I am sure he will enable ICAR to "nest" in the community over time. Dr. Alan Gropman, professor at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, National Defense University, brings invaluable expertise to the Advisory Board, not only because he is an expert in the analysis of conflict from a strategic perspective, but also because he teaches courses on think tanks and is working to help ICAR connect to a host of academic and policy institutions in Washington. These three new members to the Advisory Board help us protect and deepen existing relationships, and they also help us reach out to new groups and individuals, enhancing ICAR's already excellent network. We surely appreciate the work they have done to date and thank them in advance for the hard work they will do in the future on behalf of ICAR.

As you can see, the amount of change at ICAR is dizzying. But as the old adage says, "the more things change, the more they stay the same." We are using these changes to anchor ourselves, as a program, and as a community, in our core values, walking a path with markers that we recognize, anchored in values that we share. Faculty and students continue to be engaged in research and practice, and this newsletter itself details the exciting projects that are currently in play. As Director, I have many questions about the future that ICAR is hurling itself into, questions that are at times echoed by faculty and students:

• How do we retain and signal our ICAR (counter) culture, in our new (more corporate-like) setting? (i.e., tapestries on the walls, colorful carpets, spaces to, as Chris Mitchell would say, "lay about")? Ideas or thoughts?
• How do we manage to maintain space for our (treasured) graduate program, with the introduction of a new undergraduate program? How do we integrate these programs? Should faculty teach in both programs, and mentor graduate students to teach in the undergraduate program? Ideas or thoughts?
• How do we include new faculty within a group that has been very stable, over the years so that creative juices are unleashed, dominant assumptions are questioned, and core values cherished? Serve lots of good food at faculty

board meetings? Start a new faculty mentoring program?
• How do we take advantage of our new location in Arlington? Offer a lecture series, targeting special topics, such as media and conflict, terrorism, or human rights?

I imagine that we will continue to hurtle into our future without explicit answers to these kinds of questions, but we will at least be mindful of the nature of the questions we ask. There is a Spanish proverb, "Caminante, no hay camino; se hace camino al andar…" which translates roughly to "Traveler, there is no path; you make the path by walking…"

Clearly, ICAR is making the path for its future as it walks toward it. While this may accompany uncertainty, it can also accompany reflection — we can watch the path we are making, and, in this way, walk mindfully into the future.

We are looking forward to an active spring:

• A Brown Bag series (check our website for dates and topics.)
• The roll-out of a "Design Competition" for Point of View. This competition offers prizes for the best design (site lay out and building design) for Point of View; all entries must provide designs that integrate "green" building with conflict resolution research and practice. Judging will take place in May 2005, and the winning designs will provide an excellent base for architectural and site development on the Point of View property (see www.pointofview.gmu.edu).
• New courses at the graduate level that cover some exciting new topics including media and conflict, gaming conflict and terrorism, and narratology and conflict.

These kinds of events, along with the continued active research of our faculty and students, forecast yet another very productive and exciting time at ICAR. Please take the time to visit us and/or attend one of our public events. We would welcome your presence and your participation!

Sara Cobb
Director of ICAR

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		Party II	
		C	D
Party I	C	+5, +5	-10, +10
	D	+10, -10	-5, -5

In a *Realpolitik*-driven world, such as the one in which we are currently living, no matter how parties reason, they tend to aim for a *zero-sum* situation in which they can "win" at the expense of the "Other" (+10,-10/-10,+10). As we have seen, however, when both parties in a PD situation attempt to achieve a zero-sum gain at the expense of each other, both lose (-5,-5). This is known as the *security dilemma* (see Herz, 1950). The paradox is further heightened by *positive-sum*, "win-win" options (+5,+5) that are present at the same time the parties continue to pursue the "win-lose" option.

Over time, as parties in a PD-structured situation conduct progressive "distributive bargaining" along the "win-lose" frontier and sink deeper into the "lose-lose" abyss (-5,-5), they experience increasing *frustration* and enhanced feelings of hostility toward the "Other" (see Dollard, et al., 1939). Under the circumstances, they risk shifting their game from the PD to the "Game of Chicken." In contrast to the PD's clash between *Realpolitik*-driven **individual rationality** (+10,-10/-10,+10) and *Idealpolitik*-driven **collective rationality** (+5,+5), the "Game of Chicken" involves a catastrophic clash between **prestige** and **survival** (as has been implicit in the tense relations between nuclear powers India and Pakistan over Kashmir).

While the PD illustrates the "bite/counter-bite" nature of action-reaction escalation, it does not capture the structural and historical settings within which the moves and countermoves are being played out to the detriment of all.

For Israelis and Jews worldwide, these include the experience and historical memories of discrimination, pogroms, and, immediately prior to the founding of the Jewish state, the identity-shaping (and nearly destroying) Holocaust. For Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims worldwide, the Jewish state was created — and is still being established — at the expense of the indigenous population, resulting in their military occupation, oppression, marginalization, and criminalization.

Each Palestinian suicide bombing rekindles Jewish fears of extinction, while each Israeli military assault on an already occupied population with U.S.-supplied jet fighters and helicopter gunships furthers the sense of Palestinian emasculation, humiliation, frustration, and rage.

Case in point: the mutually suicidal Second *Intifada*, which began in late September 2000, with Ariel Sharon's provocative walk along the Temple Mount with hundreds of armed body guards. More than three years into that round, in March 2004, the Israelis assassinated the founder and spiritual leader of Hamas (the Islamic Resistance Movement), Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, and subsequently killed his successor, Dr. Abdel Azziz Rantisi (formerly a pediatrician) (Bennet, 2004; Stephens, 2004). After a five-month lull in terrorist attacks, in late August 2004, two Hamas operatives blew themselves up aboard two buses in Beersheba, killing 16 Israelis (Anderson and Moore, 2004). The very next day, 1 September 2004, "Israeli tanks and bulldozers rolled into a Gaza refugee camp…, forcing hundreds of Palestinians out of their homes" (Washington Post, 2004a):

Witnesses said about 20 Israeli tanks and military vehicles rolled into the camp in what military sources said was an operation to target militants. Helicopters fired missiles into the camp, wounding six Palestinians, including gunmen (ibid).

Then on 27 September 2004 — the Israeli military began a major incursion into Gaza in an effort to curb Palestinians from firing Qassam rockets fashioned from sewer and construction pipes into Israel. The next day a Qassam landed in the town of Sderot, killing two children (Moore, 2004a).

By the end of the 17-day Israeli operation — "the largest operation in Ghaza in four years of fighting" (Washington Post, 2004b) — 114 Palestinians had been killed, including 29 children, "and many of the adults were civilians, according to the Palestinian Health Ministry" (Moore, 2004a).

In addition — More details emerged from one of the most shocking incidents of the operation, involving the shooting of a 13-year-old Palestinian girl. Soldiers said their company commander [a captain] broke the rules of war by firing a magazine into the head and body of the girl, Iman al-Hams, to "verify the kill" after she approached an outpost near Rafah (Erlanger, 2004).

Further — Israeli tanks and [U.S. Caterpillar D9] bulldozers flattened an estimated 95 houses, chewed up several miles of asphalt roads and agricultural tracks and destroyed more than 260 acres of olive and citrus groves and strawberry fields, according to a report compiled by the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (Moore, 2004a).

All this, in a 360 sq km area "which, at the best of times, is described by its 1.3 million inhabitants as the world's largest prison" (Morris, 2004).

In general, over the last four years, according to a 133-page report issued by *Human Rights Watch* —

Israeli troops have destroyed hundreds of houses and left thousands of Palestinians homeless in the southern Gaza strip in operations that far exceeded military security requirements (Moore, 2004b).

So, with the next round of anticipated Palestinian suicide bombings and other reprisals probably being planned as of this writing, the bite-counterbite process in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will likely continue, with everyone worse off at the end of the day than they were before (-5,-5). "Fighting fire with fire" in the Middle East, therefore, seems only to make the fire worse.

One way to undermine the "psycho-logic" of the Prisoners' Dilemma is to deal effectively with the underlying, deep-rooted historical and structural factors that continue to drive both Palestinian and Israeli actions and reactions. But, with the exception of "unofficial" Israelis and Palestinians involved in, for example, the Geneva Accords (Americans for Peace Now, 2003), "official" Israelis and Palestinians have not been able to achieve this on their own. Hence, they desperately need help.

This is where the "Quartet" — the United States, Russian Federation, European Union, and United Nations--can play a potentially effective role. More important, the "win-win" (+5,+5) rationality would demand that they should, if they really want to "win" against global terrorism, which is linked to the conflict in the Middle East, and prevent the PD from being transformed into the "Game of Chicken," with disastrous consequences for all concerned.

Indeed — Images of the [recent Israeli] attacks broadcast by Arab satellite networks, often in tandem with footage of the continuing violence in Iraq, further stoked anti-Israeli and anti-American passions in the region (Moore, 2004a).

For veteran Middle East watcher Thomas Friedman (2004b), this *image juxtapositioning* has led to "a steadily rising perception across the Arab-Muslim world that the great enemy of Islam is JIA — 'Jews, Israel and America' — all lumped together in a single threat" (also see Brzezinski, 2004).

Many years ago, the social psychologist Muzafer Sherif (1967) proposed the concept of *superordinate goals* as a powerful tool to deal with tense conflict situations. These are goals that no one person, group, organization, or state can achieve on its own, but only by working *together* with others. Such goals include dealing effectively with cross-border, trans-national issues such as global terrorism, environmental scarcity, ecological degradation, the AIDs pandemic, and the like.

The prospect of finally resolving the Middle East conflict to the satisfaction of all concerned in today's highly charged, civilizationally divided world, with weapons of mass destruction already possessed by Israel and easily available to others, is the superordinate goal par excellence! And yet, it has not appeared to be a high-priority goal for the U.S. government: the major driver of the "Quartet" and leading outsider involved in dealing with the Middle East conflict. As long as this remains the case, the PD-driven problem will continue to worsen, move further into the Game of Chicken dynamic, and continue to feed the ranks and fury of global terrorists who see the United

States as evil incarnate, intent on the destruction of traditional religion and culture worldwide.

Hence, nothing much seems to have changed with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since Samuel ("Sandy") Berger, former President Bill Clinton's national security adviser, cautioned in *The Washington Post* two days before 11 September 2001:

> The deepening conflict in the Middle East is neither self-containing nor self-correcting. It threatens to radicalize the region, with far-reaching consequences for the United States. Eleven months of unremitting violence has created a breadth of bitterness among Israelis and Palestinians that cripples their ability to break this death grip themselves.
>
> Without any illusions about the difficulties of reversing this cycle, an intensified effort on the part of other nations, led by the United States, is needed.

Nothing much has changed except that this situation, and its linkage to the global civilizational overlay and terrorism, has gotten worse.

There is, however, one potential silver lining in all this: On the fourth anniversary of the onset of the Second *Intifada* (28 September 2004), Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurei "urged both Palestinians and Israelis to reassess strategies they have adopted during the grinding conflict" (Myre, 2004).

Together with the subsequent death of Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat, plus pressure by British Prime Minister Tony Blair for the United States to become re-engaged in the region, this represents a window of opportunity and challenge for the field of conflict resolution: how to help turn around the potentially catastrophic Israeli-Palestinian conflict by encouraging the U.S. government to be a more effective intervener, with multiple incentives for both sides to at least pause, reflect, and rein in the cycle of violence that has set both of them into an ever deepening "death grip," with profound implications for peace, security, and stability worldwide.

According to an editorial in *The New York Times* (NYT, 2004) shortly before the U.S. presidential election —

> The increasingly bloody stalemate between Israelis and Palestinians is certain to force itself onto the agenda of the next American president. That should be evident from the growing toll of innocent lives on both sides [-5,-5] and the anger and despair spreading across an already inflamed region [+10,-10/-10,+10]. Yet with barely two weeks left in the campaign, President Bush and Senator John Kerry have all but ignored this important issue, with neither offering any serious proposals to break the deadlock.

Clearly, this situation cries out for change. And as additional motivation to help make that happen, Thomas Friedman (2004a) reminds us:

> This is a real crisis for all parties. And [a] crisis is a terrible thing to waste.

According to Timothy Garton Ash (2004), one step toward resolving this crisis is: "Only if America and Europe [among others] *work together* can we unfold, for the rest of the world, the transforming power of liberty" [+5,+5] (emphasis added). Perhaps former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell's trip to the region to facilitate efforts to arrange for an election to select Arafat's successor was a step in that direction (see Wright and Moore, 2004).

Otherwise, the United States is likely, in the words of Zbigniew Brzezinski (2004), to face "a prolonged conflict with Islam," which sounds very much like Samuel Huntington's (1993, 1996) "clash of civilizations" and a further irresponsible descent into the mutually suicidal dynamic of the Game of Chicken.

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Headline Issues

The Iraqi Elections: Conflict Resolution and the Problem of Electoral Fetishism

Richard E. Rubenstein, ICAR Faculty
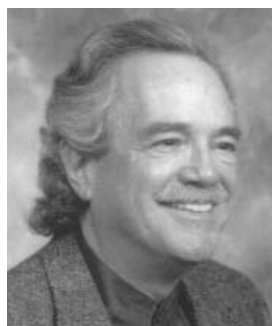
The coming legislative elections in Iraq raise an important question: What role do political elections play in a society wracked by violent conflict? Can they legitimize government authority and, by doing so, open the door to peaceful conflict resolution? Or are they more likely to inflame existing social divisions and increase the chances of civil war? The topic is hard to discuss because of what one might call *electoral fetishism*: the belief, especially strong in the United States, that elections conducted according to prescribed forms confer moral and legal legitimacy on governments, no matter what circumstances may prevail at the time the voters go to the polls.

Clearly, under certain conditions, elections governed by the principle of majority rule are a useful and just way of selecting political leaders and resolving internal conflicts. But for us, they are much more than this:

They are the primary sacrament of our civic religion. Elections in America — and, by extension, in other nations recognized by Americans as democratic — are civic rituals believed to constitute the only acceptable and effective means of sanctifying political power.

The great historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, has argued that a people's most sacred rituals reenact their origins as a people. These rites are not just make-believe reenactments like stage plays or historical pageants, but events that re-create the group in mythic time. In many Christian churches, for example, the Eucharist recapitulates (not merely memorializes) the Last Supper, since Jesus is considered to be actually present in the Host. Many Jews believe that the Passover ceremony is not just a "memory trip" but a collective act that re-creates and re-dedicates the community formed at Mount Sinai. Similarly, elections in the United States are believed to re-create and renew the social contract that originally bound Americans together as a people dedicated to liberty. To believers, elections do not just choose this set of leaders or that set to rule for the next few years; they literally reconstitute us as a people.

This civic-religious content, it seems to me, accounts for the relative indifference of most Americans to undemocratic deformations of the electoral process, whether in their own country or elsewhere. As in the case of other important rituals, their substantive content — whether or not the winning candidates actually represent the views of most people in the community — is less important than their formal and symbolic content. We know, for example, that in U.S. elections, the choice of candidates for office is extremely limited, wealthy contributors dominate campaign financing, electoral districts are gerrymandered to favor one party over others, voting irregularities are frequent, and majority rule is a legal fiction. It is because we are dealing with a sacrament and not just a utilitarian exercise that none of this seems to "matter."

In the 2004 American presidential elections, for example, 62 million citizens voted for George W. Bush, whose margin of victory, 50.7 percent of the total votes cast, was the smallest, percentage-wise, in American history. But more than 100 million Americans aged 18 or over who were eligible to vote did not do so. Some of these nonvoters may have been lazy or indifferent, but vast numbers were effectively disenfranchised because of poverty, illness, difficulty of complying with burdensome registration procedures, or other obstacles to getting to the polls, or because they could find no candidate to represent their views. George Bush's "majority" therefore amounted to less than 30 percent of the eligible electorate — a fact that did not prevent him from claiming a popular mandate to make far-reaching changes in domestic social policies and to pursue an unpopular foreign war. Two other "war presidents," Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, were elected by *minorities* of the total votes cast — a fact that did not prevent either of them from donning the mantle of legitimacy as they committed American troops to battle. And we recall, of course, that Al Gore "won" the disputed election of 2000 by more than half a million votes.

Why don't these substantive considerations matter? One may as well ask whether the size of the congregation or the income of the clergyman matters when the priest elevates the Host or the rabbi blesses the Torah. Elections in America are sacred rites that are believed to legitimize rulers, like the anointing or coronation of kings in olden days. The ritual "works" for us in the same way that other rituals do: because there has been a prior consensual acceptance of the system of beliefs and practices that includes them.

The fundamental principle ignored by electoral fetishists is this: *Political elections legitimize governments only when there is a prior agreement among all major political groups that they shall do so.* In other words, it is not rule by electoral majorities that legitimizes government, but a constitutional consensus that legitimizes majority rule. And, conversely, any serious erosion or disruption of this consensus tends to de-sanctify the electoral process. In 1860, Americans possessed a written constitution, but they disagreed violently about its nature and meaning. To simplify, the South believed that the Constitution enshrined slaveholders' property rights in their slaves, while the North did not. Even though Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party pledged not to abolish slavery in the South, he received less than one percent of the vote in ten Southern states, and his election was the trigger for southern secession from the Union and the Civil War. In a less dramatic and violent way, the recent erosion of consensus over government's relation to religion and "moral values" in the United States has contributed to skepticism about our current electoral processes.

To repeat: Elections legitimize leaders when the electoral process is itself considered legitimate. And this prior legitimation is the result of conflict resolution. It depends on an agreement among all major social groupings — not just a majority of the people — to create and participate in a certain political system. This is exactly why the great democratic theorist, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, insisted that the right of a government to rule does not rest on the will of a majority of citizens, but on the "general will" of the community. It is also what John Locke, inspirer of our Declaration of Independence, meant by the need to base democratic government on a "social contract."

The American historical experience embodied these basic principles. *First*, the Patriots of 1776 rid their country of foreign occupation. *Then*, they negotiated a series of conflict-resolving agreements leading to the Constitution of 1789. *Finally*, they elected a government that could claim to be a legitimate representative of the people. Current U.S. policy in Iraq turns this natural and logical order on its head. First the Iraqis are to elect a government; then they are to draft a constitution; finally, the occupation will end.

Here we see electoral fetishism in full flower. In the first place, Iraq is under military occupation and wracked by a large-scale insurgency. If the French collaborationist government of Marshal Petain during World War II were to have held elections for the National Assembly under the guns of the German army and the Petainist police, neither French patriots nor the Allies would have considered the legislature legitimate – not even if a majority of French citizens voted

for it. Nevertheless, says the Bush administration, the Iraqi elections will produce a legitimate government, because the new legislature will be dominated by Shiite Muslims, who represent some 60 percent of the Iraqi population, with participation by the Kurds, representing another 15 to 20 percent of the people. The non-Kurdish Sunnis, most of whom will boycott the elections, the militant Shiite minority loyal to Moqtader Sadr, and those who do not vote because of fear, poverty, illness, or hatred of the occupiers and their local collaborators, don't matter: They will all be bound by the acts of the new regime even though they did not participate in choosing it.

Equally important, there is currently no agreement among the major Iraqi communities on matters vital to the creation of a new political order: the shape of the future state, ownership and control of the nation's oil resources, relations between religion and government, or the rights to be

accorded to religious minorities and women, to name just a few hotly disputed issues. Who can believe that, under these conditions, electing a legislature will help to resolve Iraq's internal conflicts rather than inflaming existing social and religious divisions? A cynic might argue that this divisive result is exactly what the elections are designed to produce, since the occupiers hope to mobilize the Shiite community to collaborate with them in annihilating the Sunni-based insurgency. A civil war may be just what Bush and Rumsfeld have in mind, so long as it produces a pro-Western "winner."

Finally, in the American promotion of Iraqi elections, we observe what might be called the *universalization of the fetish*. It seems to be in the nature of empires to want to make their most cherished and sanctified institutions global, and so to bring the "lesser breeds without the law" up to their own exalted level of civilization. The Romans felt this way about their law,

the British about their administration, and the French about their language. The American Empire, exporter of voting machines, campaign advisers, political advertising, and democratic rituals, is apparently no exception to this rule. Insofar as "democratic" elections vitiate the possibility of genuine conflict resolution, however, they undermine the consensual foundations of both democracy and freedom. Ending the Anglo-American occupation will free Iraq's divided communities to negotiate their own constitution and to decide on that basis what sort of state and society — and what sort of electoral system — they wish to construct. If the United States wishes to be a liberator rather than an occupier, it must withdraw its troops and allow the Iraqis to decide their own collective fate. Sooner or later, that is the necessity that all true lovers of freedom will have to confront.

Making the Best of a Nightmarish Situation
Dennis J.D. Sandole, ICAR Faculty

Befitting the complexity inherent in most real-world events, the Christmas 2004 earthquake and tsunamis killing over 150,000 people and destroying huge swathes of coastline and property in Asia, have also generated some otherwise "positive" results (e.g., bringing together combatants from two civil wars in the region, perhaps only temporarily, to resist the "common enemy" of the ravages of nature).

Nowhere has this been more evident than in Sri Lanka, where Tamils (Hindus), fighting a war of secession from the national Sinhalese (Buddhist)-dominated government for over 20 years, have been working together with government and other Sinhalese in relief operations. By contrast, in Aceh, Indonesia — the hardest hit area (with over 100,000 deaths) — the military and police, who have long enjoyed a warlord and organized crime-type existence in the area, have been making such cooperation difficult. In that conflict, Acehnese have been fighting for their independence from Indonesia for some 30 years, while the national government has endeavored to ruthlessly suppress the rebellion. As part of its efforts to control Aceh, the Indonesian government recently

imposed a time limit on the presence of military forces of other countries participating in the comprehensive relief operation there. Despite these difficulties, cooperation between combatants has occurred in Aceh.

The catastrophic nature of the disaster and the international response to it imply at least three long-term consequences, with peacebuilding implications, for the civil wars in Sri Lanka and Aceh, Indonesia:

(1) A growing awareness among the combatants in each case that they have far more in common than they have separating them;

(2) Increasing experience and confidence among the combatants that they can work together to solve common problems; and

(3) Conflict resolution assets of the international community already in the region can delicately and in a culturally sensitive manner, facilitate further awareness, experience, and confidence among the combatants, so that, in each case, the "culture of violence" can be replaced by collaborative problem-solving.

In other words, in Indonesia — the world's most populous Muslim nation — the international community has a time-sensitive opportunity not just to shift Muslim views of Western (Judaic/Christian) civilization, but to contribute to resolution of a heretofore intractable conflict (Aceh) with implications for peace and security in the entire region, not to mention the "clash of civilizations" worldwide. Meanwhile, helping to resolve the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict in Sri Lanka could have implications for the peace process already under way between nuclear-armed neighbors India and Pakistan.

Complexity Theory tells us that everything is connected to everything else. Nowhere has this been more evident than in the recent "globalization of disaster" coming out of Asia. It is also obvious in the contagiousness of conflicts and their resolution. Clearly, now is the time for the international community to go a few steps further and, in addition to saving people in the short run, help them to live and prosper in the long term, with implications for all of us worldwide!

Religion, Peace and Justice

The Role of Religion in Conflict Transformation: Contributions of 'Catholic Priests for Justice' to Human Rights and Reconciliation in Korea

Howon Jeong, ICAR Faculty and Hwa Young Lee

As is reflected in the examples of Latin American Catholic churches' resistance against brutal military dictatorships and Tibetan Buddhist struggles for self-determination, religious conviction and practice can provide courage and conscience to fight for social justice even under the most authoritative, oppressive political circumstances. Conflict resolution and peace in repressive societies cannot be achieved without correcting institutional injustice and social inequality. Religious groups can claim a moral authority to demand justice while raising the conscience of the public. Catholic Priests for Justice in Korea is one of the examples in Asia that illustrate what kind of roles religion and religious groups can play in transforming social conflicts rooted in unjust political and economic structures.

Support for Human Rights

The Catholic Priests for Justice in Korea (officially known as Catholic Priests' Association for Justice) concentrated on human rights such as the release of poets, writers, reporters, university professors, and students arrested for violation of a state security law until the achievement of liberal democracy in the mid-1980s. The Priests for Justice were born in response to the 1974 arrest of a bishop who protested arbitrary imprisonments of intellectuals and questioned the legitimacy of government authority to do so. Since then, the group has gotten involved in numerous nonviolent demonstrations and supported other groups such as student organizations, peasant associations, and trade unions engaged in civil disobedience.

They defied government laws which restricted labor movements and endorsed the demand of intellectuals for political changes. In particular, the priests denounced, in public, the oppressive nature of government policies as well as helping activists escape from police arrests. The priests often took the central stage of protests when none in the organized civil society sectors continued to provide persistent challenges to the authoritarian regimes run by former military generals from the mid-1970s to mid-1980s.

In the darkest part of Korean political history since World War II, the priests rekindled and represented the conscience of many who could not express themselves for fear of imprisonment and torture. While the Priests for Justice is widely known for being a main advocate of human rights in Korea and expressing the will of the popular mass as well as intellectuals, its reputation comes with a heavy price, as illustrated by the fact that during its existence, more than 100 priests and their close supporters were arrested for collaboration with and protection of "state enemies" and "North Korean communist sympathizers".

Nonviolent Struggles and Conflict Transformation

Conflict can be used as a means to bring about social transformation needed to realize justice. The uncompromising stance on human dignity and support for the marginalized by the Catholic Priests for Justice has lent hope to those who want to struggle to transform an oppressive system. Their Christian practice and values have only reinforced the recognition of universal human freedom and equality particularly with their advocacy role in protesting the imprisonment of those who have shown preference for opposing economic and political systems.

The arrest and detention of labor activists and students were conducted by Korean intelligence agencies and security forces in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In such circumstances, religious leaders were able to raise the voice of opposition to the regime more effectively. Bishop Tji Hak-Soon was arrested by the Korean Intelligence Agency in July 1974 for organizing nonviolent rallies aimed at revealing the illegality of government rule and denouncing the death of a Seoul National University law school professor held under the custody of the state intelligence agency. When the torture of anti-government intellectuals was explicitly and implicitly condoned by the top political leadership, the moral and organizational strength of religious groups were essential elements in putting up fierce struggles against the rule under national security laws used to justify the repression of government opposition.

The struggle of the Catholic Priests for Justice led to enhancing the consciousness of various social sectors, including peasants, blue-collar labor and middle-class professionals who normally conform to the existing order. The 1986 popular uprising (with the participation of more than one million citizens on June 20) and consequent changes in the government structure can be attributed, to a great extent, to a decade-long struggle of the Priests for Justice, who ignited popular energy and became a symbol of resistance. Their willingness to sacrifice for truth and justice gave courage to others.

Continuing Struggles

Even though liberal democracy was restored, that does not necessarily mean that dominant political values and institutions were completely abolished. Although some societies in Asia have experienced a successful transition to liberal democratic order, the struggle for equality and human rights continues, as many people are still marginalized economically and politically. Whereas many groups either declined or were co-opted within formal democracy since the dramatic political change in 1986, the Priests for Justice have been continuing to struggle against the old legacies of past authoritarian regimes. They demanded investigation of all the past crimes related to the torture and death of anti-government intellectuals in suspicious circumstances. Their pressure resulted in the full inquiry into past human rights crimes, through fact-finding commissions, with increasing support for the abolishment of laws which were sources of government abuses in the past.

The priests organized hunger strikes and other campaigns to eliminate a national security law that was outdated and inherited from the period when anti-communism was the prevailing order. The old power structure and practice cannot be easily wiped out because despite elections, political hegemony is still in the hands of the elite who benefited from the past system. Liberal democracy does not always indicate that laws and rules are fair to everyone in society. The Catholic Priests for Justice have been on the forefront to advocate for prisoners of conscience and reveal the immorality of old legal and institutional practice. The priests promoted values of freedom, justice, and political empowerment through religious activities and commitment to universal salvation.

Reconciliation with North Korea

The Catholic Priests for Justice have also been encouraging reconciliation with North Korea and social healing of ideological/psychological confrontations. The priests organized a reconciliatory mass and prayer held in the capital of North Korea for national reconciliation and peace. The priests were involved in the delivery of food, medical and humanitarian aid and supported efforts to increase corn production to reduce starvation in the late 1990s.

In defiance of laws which restrict political contacts with North Korea, some priests visited North Korea and were eventually arrested for their efforts to bring conciliatory messages of those whose views are not represented by their government to North Korea. In fact, one of the priests was imprisoned under the National Security Law of South Korea which

prohibits attendance of political events sponsored by North Korean organizations.

In Promotion of Peace and Social Justice

The Catholic Priests for Justice led ecumenical movements promoting peace and the environment as well as the abolishment of laws opposed to human rights. The movements have been based on coalition building with students, labor organizers, peasants, and other religious sects such as Protestants and Buddhists. The Priests for Justice have shown unyielding support for those who continue to be marginalized by neo-liberal political order. The activities of the priests have been extended to protest the arrests of workers. The priests supported the rights of trade union leaders (who were arrested in violation of laws which prevent the use of labor strikes in expressing political views, such as opposition to the dispatch of troops to Iraq).

The priest group also struggled side by side with peasant associations whose economic life was made difficult by government policies. In support of collective rights for labor and farmers (asking for the protection of minimum economic conditions), they facilitated the organization of independent associations over the past three decades. By supporting labor and peasants' groups, the priests developed links to the popular mass and enhanced their critical understanding of the exploitative nature of capitalist political economy. A sympathetic voice was lent to the demand of

farmers who wanted to reverse deteriorating economic conditions with compensation for the loss of income caused by cheap imports from China and other countries.

The involvement of the priests in advocating labor interests contributed to changing power relations between the government and labor unions. As a result, Korean labor movements have become one of the most powerful elements in society to the extent that it is now unique in Asia.

The priest group was also interested in environmental concerns. Representing the values and ideas of preserving a natural habitat for migrant species in a southwestern province of Korea, they joined forces with Buddhist monks to raise awareness that nature is the source of all life. Their values reflected harmony between nature and human society; an ecological system should be liberated from excessive economic exploitation, which eventually harms human life. Symbolizing their deep respect for nature, the priests and Buddhist monks carried out a 65-day journey, which entailed walking three steps and then bowing to the ground. The concerns of some priests were extended to such environmental conflicts as the destruction of mountains, rivers and seashores for mere business interests. The priests endorsed anti-dam protests and raised questions about environmental hazards attributed to nuclear power plant's wastes.

They demanded compensation for the pollution caused by U.S. military

bases; in addition, their firm commitment to peace led to support for anti-Iraq war movements. The priests established a peace award given to an air force officer who opposed government armament procurement policies, such as a wasteful purchase of expensive American jet fighters. Their participation in peace and justice movements has been expanded to the issues of family violence and "comfort women" (who were brought to the war front by the Japanese government during World War II but have never been compensated for their sufferings), as well as opposition to anti-terrorism laws.

Religion and Social Justice

The struggle of the Catholic Priests derives from their belief that religious ethics cannot simply reside in personal comfort and healing of the soul, recognizing that personal miseries are rooted in an oppressive social structure. Especially when the state exercises overwhelming power and uses a dominant ideology, laws and government regulations simply degenerate into a means to control individual behavior. Their violent structure influences social issues which religion should not neglect. In fact, personal salvation cannot be achieved with the existence of social injustice which leaves others in exploitative social and economic conditions.

Religious activities cannot be simply confined to inner, meditative activities in the presence of oppressive relations. Churches and priests cannot ignore social realities that limit

human conditions. Instead of being capitulated to or co-opted by political order, religion should promote universal human values. The role of the Priests for Justice, in fact, proves that religion has a responsibility for correcting social ills; it is essential to overcome a dichotomy between personal salvation and social ethics.

Social participation in structural reform goes hand in hand with personal transformation. The priests understand that the role of religion is not limited to praying for personal material well-being or individual success; we have to overcome the dichotomy between heaven and earth. Religion should pay attention to the poor, marginalized, and starved; salvation of individuals is not possible without the liberation of the entire society. Individual happiness cannot be achieved if there are neighbors who are oppressed and impoverished. The priests have preached that responsibilities for sharing sufferings are inevitable given our interconnectedness to others.

Respect for life is ecumenical, so the value cannot be restricted to narrowly defined arenas of religious beliefs. Wider movements (joined by other religious and non-religious groups) need to be created in the pursuit of humanism (based on restoration of human dignity of the oppressed) oriented toward love, justice, inclusiveness, and sacrifice.

Religion, Empowerment, and Political Struggle

The role of religion in oppressed social situations is related to empowerment. It provides a historical context in which churches should exist for the oppressed labor, peasant, vulnerable and poor classes. The cover of religion kept those who opposed the government from being accused of sympathizing with the socialist North and supporters of violent revolutions designed to establish a radical political order. The priests supported and provided protective shields for individuals and groups which wanted to promote reconciliation with North Korea. Religious identity or blessing served to legitimize actions defined as illegal by the government but considered moral by the priests; ideological or political barriers can be overcome by universal love.

A priest accompanied a student who visited and joined political rallies in North Korea that were opposed by the South Korean government. The government could not easily brand her as a sympathizer of the communist North, since this was done with the blessing of the priests. While both the student and priest were imprisoned, the visit demonstrated to the public, both domestic and international, the anti-humanitarian nature of the law.

The dominant concerns of the priests centered on advocating the rights of those who were marginalized both economically and politically. Nonviolence was pursued even when there was a social atmosphere that led some to believe in the use of violence

for struggle against oppressive political regimes. The priests considered violence as anti-human. In their view, violence was seen as anti-life, exclusivist in the spirit of Jesus Christ.

The priests believe that disobedience to the evil of state power controlled by few is necessary in continuing the struggle to transform the oppressors or, at least, change the balance of power against the oppressors. Challenging authoritarian rules means re-balancing relations between the state and individuals as well as redefining conflict between dominant and subordinate groups. The state is not more valuable than individuals; state interests should not overwhelm individual rights to happiness and freedom. Social order should not be based on blind obedience to the existing hierarchies. There is no natural law indicating that anyone was given the authority and right to order by God.

The Priests for Justice challenged the ideology and absolute values associated with state supremacy and national security. The state does not represent, in itself, the uppermost value replacing universal values of Christian love. Salvation is not confined to those associated with churches, being extended to the oppressed. National reconciliation is not separated from human rights, since the authoritarian government used fear of enemy to maintain its power. The notions of justice were also applied to environmental destruction and exploitation which is, in essence, anti-life. An

inner sense of justice and peace is not isolated from miseries in the outer world.

Compared with Liberation Theology

The priests attempted to overcome hostile relations with the North that were used to maintain the power of state institutions. Their position can be compared with liberation theology in Latin America that reflects a social and historical context of military dictatorships and deep social inequality. Religious belief and theology can be adjusted to political and social crises. However, the priests' participation in real-world struggles was not always welcomed by the church hierarchy mainly interested in individual salvation. In contrast with ambivalent attitudes of the mainstream Korean Catholic churches toward social activism, support for the practice of liberation theology has been deeper and wider within Latin American Catholic churches.

The critique of social ills (such as unequal distribution) produced by rapid economic growth in Korea during the 1970s resulted in theology for the marginalized popular mass. Theology for the popular mass focused on human rights, not only political and civic but also economic and social, and their praxis. Despite its support for the marginalized in society in its early existence, Catholic

Priests for Justice paid more attention to political oppression, respect for human rights, and resistance against the authoritarian governments than on structures associated with economic exploitation.

Liberation theology is based on the historical analysis of the economic dependency of Latin American societies in global capitalism and of imperialism which generates power-imbalanced relations between classes. Thus liberation theology has been affected by the reality of Latin America such as colonial oppression and the desire to overcome capitalist domination. Contrary to that, the Korean Priests for Justice had to respond to the repression of labor rights which inhibits the demand for equal distribution of wealth in a rapidly growing economy.

In contrast with its Korean counterpart, liberation theology does not completely deny violence as the last means for resistance. Catholic priests in the southwestern province of Korea convinced students involved in a violent uprising in 1980 to give up their weapons. The denial of violence is based on the differences between Korean and Latin American experiences; political oppression in Korea was more sophisticated than in Latin America (the latter engaged in mass arrests and killings by the military for a sustained period).

Liberation theology accepted radical social change even with socialist orientations. On the other hand, Priests for Justice are more oriented toward reform within a liberal democracy (ranging from human rights to support for women's well-being). Regardless of their political disposition, however, the Priests for Justice, like their counterparts, fought with and for the oppressed whose voice could have been ignored or silenced; those who have been the most marginalized in the capitalist economic order; those who have to be worried about everyday survival.

Challenges

With progress in formal democracy, conservative orientations of the middle and even lower classes begin to prevail; stabilization of state-society relations has been supported by indirect but more effective control of the dominant political and economic forces over society. With the restoration of liberal democratic order, various social sectors become more status quo oriented, with the pursuit of narrow group interests. Now, with the achievement of their middle class income, many labor groups are less inclined to pay attention to broad social issues. In consumer-oriented mass society with a market economy, it is more difficult to promote political agendas for the oppressed, marginalized sectors of society.

The expansion of capitalism and associated materialist values has been successful in reducing the perceptions of deep social and economic divisions. Although the Priests for Justice helped and touched many lives, those elements (labor and middle-class professionals) whose interests were advocated and fought for by the priests have become major stake holders within a liberal democratic order, losing interest in transforming the social structures which marginalized them in the past. Through material co-optation and political stability, the state pacified class and social relations with the reproduction of a hegemony which is different in forms and substance from that of previous authoritarian regimes, whose contradictions were obvious.

Institutionalized churches become silent or advocates of social order while their concerns are limited to the civil and political rights of individuals and formal democracy (represented by regular elections and changes in the political leadership). State respect for the institutionalized church minimized the need for the mainstream church hierarchy to get involved in social and political matters. The continuing challenges of the Priests for Justice to hierarchical values are no longer shared or respected by the leadership of the Catholic Church.

Peace and Justice in Asia

In peace and justice, nonviolent struggle does not reach its limit, underlying the fact that social injustice should not be neglected or perceived as an inevitable by-product of economic growth. The Catholic Priests for Justice represents a model of groups which want to bring social justice to the marginalized and oppressed. Its methods have been to educate through self-sacrifice and to raise the consciousness of others who are indifferent to or support an oppressive social system.

Like a candle that brings light to total darkness, the conscience of the priests served as a twilight that heralded morning in the oppressed society which needed to be transformed. Religious convictions were a main factor behind motivating the priests and energizing others who pursued equality and empowerment. Equally important, the Catholic Priests for Justice demonstrated that religion can be used for social healing and reconciliation of different values.

Religious groups can form their own networks even under constant surveillance and monitoring by state security institutions. The activities of the priests have upheld universal human values and rights of the underprivi-

leged. Catholic Priests for Justice contributed to remembering the lessons of the past and building a new foundation for human rights.

Thirty years of struggle left an important legacy, echoing the voice of those who demanded an egalitarian society: peasants protesting the elimination of subsidies; workers with limited rights. In Asia, human rights values have not been fully respected by their governments. Political changes in the mid-1980s in Korea can be compared with the civil, political unrest which led to dramatic political transformations in Indonesia and other Asian countries in the late 1990s. However, some governments are still under authoritarian rule run by a few top leaders (e.g., China, Cambodia and Vietnam) or a ruthless military oligarchy (Burma). The Priests for Justice illustrate that conflict resolution and reconciliation will not take place without progress in social justice and human rights. Its global vision was extended to protest a massacre of indigenous people in the Amazon (June 1996). The priests' reputation elicited the request for collaborative relationships by the Japanese Justice and Peace Committee represented by Catholic priests.

A Collaborative Project for Conflict Resolution Capacity Building: Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia

Dan Rothbart and Sandra Cheldelin, ICAR Faculty

Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, the citizens of the Georgian Republic have endured enormous hardships—economic devastation, social upheaval, civil war, political revolution, and most recently, a "Rose Revolution." Fundamental services that are essential to an ordered society are threatened by a flourishing black market, corrupt police, and an ill-equipped health care system. A lack of local specialists on the sources of ethnic and religious conflicts in this region is well documented. The hatreds of conflicting groups also threaten the stability of neighboring countries (the Russian Federation, Turkey, and Iran). Because of this instability and its geopolitical significance, the United States has invested heavily in this region — over one billion dollars worth since 1989. Such investment includes support for educational development through the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State.

Through this support, ICAR established a partnership with Tbilisi State University (TSU) to develop programs of education and research in conflict resolution initiatives that target current conflicts in this region. The major purpose of this program is

capacity building: to train specialists in measures for resolving conflicts that currently afflict Georgia and the greater Caucasus region, with particular attention given to hostilities afflicting Abkhazia, North Ossetia, and Ajari. With its proximity to Chechnya, the new Institute at TSU provides a significant and germane training in ethnic-based conflict for students.

The two-year project included a series of activities designed to develop a new master's degree in conflict analysis and resolution at TSU. Certain methods of positive peace building will emerge from the region's cultural heritage and will, in turn, be implemented by the specialists who will be trained through the work of the Institute. To meet the program goals, participants from George Mason University collaborated with faculty from TSU in three kinds of exchanges: faculty from TSU visiting GMU each fall semester, faculty from GMU visiting TSU during spring semesters, and both faculties visiting TSU branch campuses in critical regions of Georgia, primarily in the summer. The central focus of such activities was to develop curricula for creating and defining the new master's program at TSU.

Academic year 2003-04 was the second year of the program. Although the new master's program was originally designed to begin in academic year 2004-05, a small group was accepted as the first cohort class for fall semester 2003. That same fall, three faculty from TSU — Guguli Magradze, Zurab Davitashvili, and Giorgi Khutsishvili — were schedule to arrive at ICAR but postponed their trip because of their involvement in Georgia's "Rose Revolution." Instead, they visited in Spring, 2004. (Guguli and Zurab have been selected as members of the new Georgian Parliament.)

In the most recent exchanges, Kevin Avruch and Sandra Cheldelin traveled to Georgia in May, and Linda Johnston and Dan Rothbart traveled during the last week of August. Kevin and Sandra spent a week at the university giving public lectures to faculty and students from the departments of Social Psychology and International Relations and teaching master's students enrolled in the newly created program. Kevin's public lecture on "Conflict Resolution in Situations of Genocide and Mass Violence" was slightly less upbeat than Sandra's lecture on "An Analysis of Organizational Conflict."

Lectures to students involved developing mini-syllabi for the courses taught at ICAR. Kevin adapted his full-semester Introduction to Conflict Resolution to cover such topics as definitions of conflict, conflict styles, conflict escalation, Track I and Track II approaches to peacemaking, peace-building, reconciliation, and conflict transformation. Sandra adapted her semester-long organizational and gender conflict courses to include such topics as appreciative inquiry and narrative analysis, introduced a framework for organizational conflict analysis including various models of intervention, and presented research on gender and violence.

At the end of their week, the two were escorted on a day-trip into the mountains to visit the town of Gori, the birthplace of one of Russia's most infamous leaders. Born Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili on December 21, 1879, this man — later known to the world as Josef Stalin — was born and lived his first five years in Gori. In addition, Guguli Magradze, the co-principal investigator of the project and a professor of social psychology, gave them access to a parliamentary session.

Linda and Dan stayed for three days in Tbilisi and two days in the resort city of Borjomi, near the Caucasus Mountains. The natural beauty of this area offered a wonderful setting

for a two-day conference that brought together 50 faculty and students from various regions of Georgia. Speakers included Mr. Richard Miles, U.S. Ambassador to Georgia, and Dr. Vakatang Maisaia, representative of Georgia in NATO. The training sessions addressed U.S.-Georgia security relations, peace and peace-keeping factors, religious diversity in the U.S., the U.S. economic system, the U.S. political system, power and conflict, and mediation and negotiation techniques. The discussions generated enthusiastic participation among students and faculty.

Linda represented ICAR at this conference and, in so doing, facilitated two workshops: *Peace and Peacekeeping Factors* and *Power and Conflict*. The latter workshop included a dramatic simulation of an autocrat's attempts to maintain power, and peaceful measures for undermining such power. (The actor, Dan, playing the autocrat thoroughly enjoyed his role, maybe too much so.) The conference included as a keynote speaker Mr. Richard Miles, U.S. Ambassador to Georgia, and his wife, Ms. Sharon Miles. After the conference Ms. Miles invited Linda and Dan for tea at the ambassador's private residence in Tbilisi to discuss prospects for continued collaboration between ICAR and TSU.

Dan's responsibilities centered on the evaluation of the Georgian Project, focusing primarily on an assessment of the new master's program in conflict management at TSU, and the extent to which faculty of that program are prepared to teach courses and supervise students. With assistance from Karen Bhangoo, a Ph.D. candidate, who traveled to Tbilisi the end of August and early September, Dan conducted interviews with faculty and students, observed lively discussions during the Summer Institute, and examined the resources available to students at the new Institute.

For further information about this collaborative project, please contact Sandra Cheldelin at (scheldel@gmu.ed).

"Parents of the Field" Project
Christopher Mitchell, ICAR Faculty

There is always some debate about when the field of conflict analysis and resolution actually started. However, a good case can be made for the argument that it was a group of innovative, individual scholars, confronted by the "Cold War", who first had the idea that undertaking a comparative and scientific study of conflict, its origins and dynamics could help to provide some lessons about how to manage or even resolve intractable disputes and avoid another world war which undoubtedly would be the last.

If there is merit in the argument that our field really "got under way" in the 1950s and 1960s, then inevitably some of the original pioneers — the "parents" of the field — are now nearing the end of their careers, becoming elderly, and need to have their recollections of the early days of the field recorded for the next generations. This recording of efforts to have the new field accepted and developed as a legitimate, practical study is the major task of the "Parents of the Field" project conducted by ICAR Alumnus Dr. Jannie Botes who currently teaches at the University of Baltimore and myself.

*Jannie Botes,
Elise Boulding and
Chris Mitchell*

The overall strategy is to videotape interviews with the men and women who contributed much to the early days in our field (the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s), in terms of ideas, theories and — above all — practical applications of what increasingly became an alternative to the "resolve conflicts by the use of force and coercion" school of thought that had tended to dominate thinking until that time. To date, progress has been rather slow and, to our regret, we have missed the opportunity to record conversations with some of the important figures from those times who already have passed on — pioneers like Kenneth Boulding, whose book "Conflict and Defense" was an early and still fascinating attempt to formulate a "general theory"; Hendrick van der Merwe, who was instrumental in conducting dialogues between the African National Congress and white South African leaders well before it seemed likely that apartheid in South Africa could possibly end without major bloodshed; and Dr. Bert Roling, the Dutch founder of the International Peace Research Association.

To date, however, we have recorded interviews about early personalities, ideas, contacts, interventions, and linkages with Dr. John Burton in Australia, Dr. Elise Boulding, now in retirement in Massachusetts, Dr. Ralph White, who wrote insightfully about the psychology of Vietnam and other wars, and Ambassador John McDonald, a long-time friend of ICAR and founder of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. Next we hope to talk with Professor Adam Curle, the Quaker mediator and peace researcher in London; and Dr Anatol Rapoport, one of the pioneers of using game theory to understand conflict dynamics. The list is a long one, but the rewards of making such a record are likely to be rich and worthwhile. Eventually, the edited tapes of these interviews will be available for viewing in the John Burton Library at ICAR.

Faculty Books Published

Peacebuilding in Postconflict Societies: Strategy and Process
Written by Ho-Won Jeong
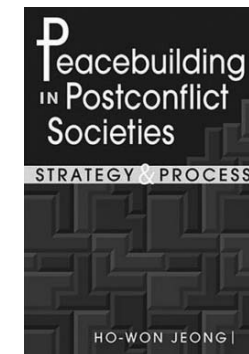
"Jeong's rewarding framework for creating and analyzing postconflict peacebuilding strategies is illuminated by rich illustrations drawn from a wide range of recent efforts.... Penetrating insights are also provided on the complex challenges confronted by postconflict peacebuilders." —Chadwick F. Alger, Ohio State University, former President of the International Studies Association

"… a detailed and masterful analysis of the new concept of peacebuilding in post-conflict…" —Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former UN Secretary-General

"Splendid.… a masterful, comprehensive assessment of peacebuilding in contemporary international relations. The combination of overarching conceptualization and detailed case-specific discussions enables the reader to arrive at a new understanding of both the role of peacebuilding in the field and the ways in which it is actually handled." —Juergen Dedring, formerly UN Secretariat

Abstract:
This much-needed, integrative discussion of the multiple dimensions of peacebuilding in postconflict societies offers a systematic approach to strategies and processes for long-term social, political, and economic transformation.

The book illustrates what needs to be done in each sector of peacebuilding: confidence building, human rights, police and security sector reform, politics of demobilization, elections, democratic transition, refugee settlement and community development, rehabilitation of war torn societies, and social and psychological processes of reconciliation and healing.

Ho-Won Jeong links short-term crisis-intervention efforts to a sustained process that encompasses the entire complex environment of a conflict. His broad analytic framework and wealth of concrete examples provide a sophisticated, yet accessible, guide to the many strands and interrelations in this critical arena of world politics.

Contents:
Introduction. Peacebuilding Design. Security and Demilitarization. Political Transition. Development. Reconciliation and Social Rehabilitation. Operational Imperatives and Coordination.

About the Author:
Ho-Won Jeong has published extensively in the areas of conflict resolution and peacebuilding and is the founding editor of the journals *Peace and Conflict Studies* and *International Journal of Peace Studies* affiliated with the International Peace Research Association.

ICAR Working Groups

Africa Working Group Reflects on the 1994 Rwandan Genocide: The Rwandan Remembrance

Tiare' Cross

On April 9th, 2004 over one hundred people gathered on the George Mason campus to remember and reflect back on the 100-day slaughter of almost one million Rwandan Tutsis and moderate Hutus that took place just ten years before. Many of the participants in the symposium mentioned that they felt drawn to this event because of its conflict resolution focus, the chance to meditate and reflect on the event's impact on humanity and, for many, the opportunity to remember family and friends lost in the violence.

The day-long event featured panels of experts on Rwanda and conflict resolution including Rwandan Ambassador Zac Nsenga, Ambassador Abdullah Said Osman, Diplomat-in-Residence at ICAR, Ambassador Michael Southwick of the United States Institute for Peace, Jean-Marie Kamatali, Kroc Institute for International Peace, Christopher Mitchell of ICAR, Harold Saunders, Kettering Foundation, Howard Wolpe, Woodrow Wilson Center and ICAR faculty, Kevin Avruch, Terrance Lyons, and Wallace Warfield.

The morning began with a film screening of the documentary *The Triumph of Evil* which profoundly impacted those who watched it. The highlight of the day was communicating with Rwandan students at Butare University via live teleconferencing. "Waving goodbye to the Rwandan students on the screen and watching them return our waves with a split-second delay was quite an emotional experience," said January Makamba, one of the main event organizers and an ICAR alumnus. The day closed with one woman's personal experience of the genocide, which was shared with an intimate crowd circled together to learn, remember, and reflect. On display during the symposium was an exposition of photographs portraying life in Rwanda after the genocide by Kimberlee Acquarro. The day embodied the spirit of ICAR and managed to be lively, serious, passionate, provocative, and hopeful.

Student organizers of the event embodied the lessons from their ICAR classes as they envisioned what kind of event would be appropriate for learning about and, at the same time, commemorating one of the world's most tragic events of the last decade. Specifically, students grappled with how to provide a balanced view of the genocide while not diminishing any one group's experience. Questions from the audience demanded to know more about why the United States and the international community, in general, were so late to come to the assistance of the Rwandan people and further whether it could happen again.

It is events like these that will remind future conflict resolution practitioners of the complexities of the conflicts they will engage in and the lives that lie in the balance. The Rwandan Remembrance event of 2004 and similar events are crucial to keeping African conflicts on the agendas of current policymakers. Africa should not be the forgotten continent in this millennium, for its countries and people have much to offer the rest of the world.

This event was organized by ICAR's Africa Working Group, a group of students whose mission is to foster a better understanding of conflict and development in Africa by providing opportunities for learning and action. Generous sponsors of this event included ICAR, Global Affairs Program and the Office of the Provost of George Mason University. Africa Working Group is planning events in fall and spring that focus on the conflict in Sudan. For more information, please visit www.africaworkinggroup.org.

South Asia Working Group

Maneesha Wanasinghe

The subcontinent known as South Asia consists of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. In each of these countries, there exists a number of protracted conflicts which shed light on the basic needs and fears of the people and the challenges of a colonial heritage. There is both tragedy and hope in the midst of these conflicts because, along with the violence, this region is also the birthplace of *satyagraha*. While it is easy to explain the violence perpetrated by the antagonists, it is nonetheless difficult to generalize and classify some of the conflicts raging within the subcontinent. Another difficulty lies in presenting these conflicts as inter— or intra-state, since a protracted conflict within one country might influence or be influenced by others. It is, however, possible to note that there are both cleavages and cohesions among the conflicts of South Asia and between the groups engulfed within them. Therefore, this article will initially attempt to introduce the region and present some of the conflicts by providing insights into the groups fighting against the status quo.

The reasons for the conflicts in South Asia could be broadly categorized as separatist, religious, communal, ethnic, communist – democratic, caste, class, and fear of assimilation or marginalization or extinction. It must be stressed once more that the information contained here is merely a broad synopsis rather than an in-depth analysis of the countries or the conflicts. It must also be noted that, although there are a number of conflicts within South Asia that pre-date independence and even colonial rule, the article will focus on the manifest rather than the latent conflict which showered in the obvious existence of a contentious issue.

South Asian Subcontinent

All of the South Asian countries were either British colonies or protectorates or their security and foreign affairs were guided by Britain. By 1947, India and Pakistan were carved out of British India and in 1948, Sri Lanka also gained independence. Britain also relinquished all control of the regions that were either protectorates, as in Maldives, or kingdoms guided by Britain, as in Bhutan and Nepal. Both India and Sri Lanka have consistently remained socialist democracies, while Pakistan has interspersed military dictatorships with democratic rule. Currently, Pakistan has its fourth thinly veiled military rule. Bangladesh came into existence after seceding from Pakistan in 1972. It has been threatened by military coups but is currently a democracy. Both Nepal and Bhutan have monarchies, while the Maldives of more than a thousand islands is a republic ruled for over 20 years by its current president.

The subcontinent is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-linguistic, multi-cultural area. It is the birthplace of two major religions – Hinduism and Buddhism – and is home to all other religions. The region is also the custodian to ancient, proud, tumultuous histories. All these threads intertwine in present-day South Asia, resulting in a multitude of conflicts, some protracted and extremely violent, others latent. Some of the violence has been attributed to 'terrorist' groups. A caveat regarding the term 'terrorist' must be stressed here, since most of the groups using violence to fight against established governments within South Asia have been termed 'terrorist groups'. While most of these groups might be misclassified, some of them have conducted their fight with enough disregard for human life to earn this lable. There is also government terrorism which, according to the anti-government groups, justifies all violence against civilians and governments.

Cleavages and Cohesions

It is possible to present the protracted conflicts within the South Asian region from a country–by–country, regional, or issue-based perspective. Therefore, this article will initially describe of some of the conflicts existing within each of the seven countries of the subcontinent and then discuss the links among the groups as a result of the issues that underlie the

conflicts. It must be noted that, other than the Kashmiri conflict, most of the protracted conflicts within the South Asia region consist of intrastate conflicts which have, as will be explained further below, spilled over and impacted their neighbors.

The Kashmiri conflict is the most prominent and protracted interstate conflict within the region. The Kashmiri issue has plagued relations between India and Pakistan since 1947, when the two countries emerged from under the British yoke. Because of the religious undertones that justified the creation of Pakistan, the Muslim majority Kashmir kingdom became an issue even prior to independence. Both India and Pakistan demanded Kashmiri annexation because of its Muslim majority status. India sought to prove its ability to govern a Muslim majority region and thereby demonstrate that it was a secular state. This has led to two of the three wars between India and Pakistan and to a nuclear standoff in the late 1990s; there are a number of terrorist groups which have conducted atrocious activities within Kashmir and in India to achieve their ends.

India, with over a billion people, is a multi–ethnic, multi–religious, and multi–lingual country with a diverse number of protracted conflicts. Other than the Jammu–Kashmir conflict, groups within Assam, Andra Pradesh, Bihar, Manipur, Nagaland, Orissa, and Tripura regions, among others, have used violence to achieve their goals. However, not all of the groups have the same outcome in mind, even within the same region. Some use violence to unite marginalized groups

while others use it to gain sovereignty, and yet others use it to create a communist (Maoist) socialist system of government. In Manipur, for example, the *United National Liberation Front* fights for independence; the *People's Liberation Army* to unite the non – tribal peoples; the *People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak* to remove outsiders from the state; and the *National Socialist Council of Nagaland* to create a greater Nagaland.

While there are a number of conflicts within each of the countries of South Asia, there are also ties between the groups that wage the conflict to present a cohesive network of interaction. Four of the seven countries of South Asia share a border with India and even the islands of Sri Lanka and Maldives are not far enough from the mainland to avoid influences from their neighbors. Internal cohesion within Pakistan, for example, has been impacted by current conflicts within its neighbor Afghanistan. These include the existence of Al Queda within and near its border, which has exacerbated divisions between the Sunni and Shi'a within Pakistan regarding how to rule the country. In Bangladesh, due to Taliban activities, there are groups demanding a strongly Muslim state. Other groups are fighting for a Maoist state. Even the Sri Lankan conflict has been exacerbated by Indian involvement, while the Sri Lankan 'terrorist' group, the *Liberation Tigers of Tamil* Eelam (LTTE) attempted to overthrow the Maldivian government in 1988. In the landlocked countries of Bhutan and Nepal, the issues within each country, as well as the impact of India, have created a number of

conflicts. For the Bhutan kingdom, the predominant conflict is the result of armed Nepalese dissidents within its borders but it is also concerned about the use of its territory by groups from Indian Assam and West Bengal as a base for attacking India. Due to the unprotected borders between these countries, illegal drugs, arms, and human trafficking are also rampant.

Hope for Conflict Resolution

There is a glimmer of hope for resolving conflicts in the region. The protracted conflict in Sri Lanka between the Sinhala-dominant government and the Tamil minority separatist groups, especially the LTTE had led to a loss of over 65,000 lives and countless years of terror and violence. However, in February 2002, a Memorandum of Understanding between the government and the LTTE was signed and violence has been reduced considerably and mediated peace talks have continued intermittently since then. In Nepal, there is also hope for peace due to a ceasefire between groups attempting to overthrow the constitutional monarchy and create a (Maoist) communist state.

As illustrated, the region of South Asia presents a daunting task for conflict resolution. There are a number of conflicts resulting from various social, cultural, religious, economic, and political reasons. The groups fighting these conflicts often find sympathetic supporters within and outside of their own country. There is, however potential in the region and a hope for a future of reduced of conflicts.

News from the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution

The Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution (CRDC) was established at ICAR in 2003 when Marc Gopin was named as the first James H. Laue Chair of World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution. The Center spent its first year developing its Advisory Board. Its members now include David Trickett, founder of the Jefferson Circle (Chair); Elisabeth Hoffman, President, Catalyst Fund (Founding Chair); Zainab al-Suwaij, Executive Director, American Islamic Congress; R. Scott Appleby, John M. Regan Jr. Director of the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame; Patrice C. Brodeur, Canada Research Chair on Islam, Pluralism and Globalization, Faculty of Theology and Science of Religions, University of Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Rachel Cowan, Director, Spirituality Institute; Robert Eisen, Associate Professor of Religion and Judaic Studies, George Washington University; Joseph Montville, Senior Associate, Center for Strategic and International Studies; Abdul Aziz Sachedina, Professor of Islamic and Shi'ite Studies, University of Virgina; and Krister Stendahl, Mellon Professor of Divinity Emeritus, Harvard University. The Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution (CRDC) moved along with ICAR to its new location in Arlington.

In January-February 2004, CRDC staff member Dena Hawes was a facilitator for interfaith dialogues with Jewish, Muslim, and Christian teenagers and

adults as part of a program designed and organized by the ICAR Working Group on Religion and Conflict.

In Spring 2004 Center Research Professor Peter Weinberger completed his research on religion and peace in Israel and Palestine. A full-text copy of the paper, "Incorporating Religion into Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking: Recommendations for Policymakers," can be found on the CRDC website, http://www.gmu.edu/departments/crdc/. Weinberger gave an ICAR Brown Bag presentation on the same topic on March 23, 2004.

June 2004 held a flurry of activity for the Center. CRDC board members Abdul Azziz Sachedina, Krister Stendahl, and Marc Gopin were scholars in residence at the National Cathedral's College of Preachers for two weeks in June. This event, bringing together clerics from the Abrahamic faiths, was conceived and developed by CRDC Senior Fellow Joseph Montville. Also in June, the Center sponsored a Washington Consultation on Religion and Diplomacy that brought together scholars, practitioners, and activists for an engaging discussion on religion and conflict in the world today, and to brainstorm ways for the newly established CRDC to contribute to peace. Finally, the Center in June 2004 cosponsored a unique event in Morocco, with Initiatives of Change and The Center for Islam and Democracy. Board members Patrice Brodeur and Robert Eisen, as well as

CRDC's Senior Fellow Joseph Montville and Director Marc Gopin, engaged in an intensive conference engaging members of the three Abrahamic traditions and senior representatives of Morocco, the Arab League, United States Agency for International Development and several other organizations. The relationships created in Fez were extraordinary, and several initiatives are emerging from that event.

CRDC Board Member Joseph Montville, member of the board of the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution (CRDC) addressing the participants of the 2004 Agenda for Reconciliation Conference co-sponsored by Initiatives of Change and the CRDC, held in Caux, Switzerland in August, 2004.

Along with Initiatives of Change, in August 2004 CRDC co-sponsored a conference in Caux, Switzerland entitled "Agenda for Reconciliation," which brought together numerous groups from several regions of conflict. This summer's conference focused on the future of the Geneva Accord, and relations between Palestine and Israel, with particular reference to religion. For seven days in August, signatories of the Geneva Accord, as well as a number of Israeli and Palestinian civil society activists met with CRDC board members

ICAR Professor Kevin Avruch speaks with a group in Caux, Switzerland, at the Agenda for Reconciliation Conference.

Zainab al-Suwaij, Patrice Brodeur, Robert Eisen, Libby Hoffman, and Joseph Montville as well as ICAR faculty member Kevin Avruch and select ICAR students.

In November 2004, the Center sponsored a forum on The Role of Elections in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The 2004 Afghanistan Election. Speakers included The Honorable Peter R. Chaveas, Senior Research Professor at the School of Public Policy, George Mason University, and former U.S. Ambassador to Sierra Leone; The Hon. Peter Tomsen, Ambassador in Residence at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, and former U.S. Special Envoy and Ambassador on Afghanistan; Dr. Marina S. Ottaway, Senior Associate in Democracy and Rule of Law at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and Ms. Sima Wali, President of Refugee Women in Development. The forum was moderated by CRDR Director Marc Gopin and ICAR Professor Terrence Lyons and opened by CRDC Research Associate Neamat Nojumi.

The Center chose November 16, United Nations Tolerance Day, for a reception to celebrate the publication of Gopin's book, *Healing the Heart of Conflict: Eight Crucial Steps to Making Peace with Yourself and Others* (Rodale Press).

In December 2004, the CRDC and the United States Institute of Peace co-sponsored a day of dialogue between six Saudi Islamic scholars and a group of Jewish scholars as part of a week-long encounter between the Saudi group and others in Washington. The purpose of the day of meetings was the creation of linkages and friendships leading to a reduction of stereotypes that have plagued the Jewish-Islamic encounter, and to lay the groundwork for shared discussion on legal reform, religious tolerance and new definitions of Jewish-Islamic relations.

Board Member Joe Montville is working on his book, *Children of Abraham: An Understandable Guide to Christianity, Judaism and Islam.* Commissioned by the Tannenbaum Center for Interreligious

Understanding, *Children of Abraham* is expected to be published in the Spring of 2005 and will include a fore-word contributed by Prince El-Hassan bin Talal of the Kingdom of Jordan. Research Associate Neamat Nojumi is writing an article for the Brandywine Journal on Islam in Central Asia. He is also working on a project with the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) on the role of customary law (norms and traditions used outside of the legislative court system, such as marriages and alternative dispute resolution forms) in the formal justice system in seven Central Asian countries, including Afghanistan. He recently finished a study on human security in Afghanistan, specifically access to the justice system and methods of improving democratic traditions at the grassroots level.

CRDC Director Marc Gopin, has been consulting with private foundations, policymakers, NGO professionals, and religious scholars on religion and conflict. The Center has also focused on outreach to Christian evangelical community leaders.

More information and updates can be found on CRDC's website at http://www.gmu.edu/departments/crdc/

ICAR's New Director of Development

Richard Gunden

In July 2004, Richard Gunden joined the ICAR staff as Director of Development. His primary priority is fundraising for the Point of View (POV) project. POV, as this international conference and research center will be known, will provide an interface between conflict resolution theory, research, and practice. Richard will also provide leadership in other areas of development, such as annual giving, major gifts and planned giving.

Richard comes from the Eastern Mennonite University in Harrisonburg, Virginia, where he served as Vice President for Advancement for the past 5 1/2 years. Under his leadership this private, church-related institution received $6.1 million and $7.1 million in donations during the past two years, which represents the highest amount of cash support in its history. During

his tenure, the number of donors who contributed $1,000 or more on an unrestricted basis doubled.

For the previous 18 years, Richard served as President and CEO of the Ability Center of Greater Toledo, a center for independent living for people with disabilities. He managed dramatic growth of the agency, increasing operating budget by 500 percent through effective grant writing, fundraising, and marketing. He brought the agency statewide and national recognition as a leader and model in the Independent Living Movement. Richard secured a prestigious and highly selective grant ($750,000) from the Robert Woods Johnson Foundation to improve service systems, provide Americans with Disabilities Act technical assistance, and develop a housing corporation and a consumer resource center.

Richard said, "I'm very excited to be a part of ICAR and help to carry out its mission. I come from a peacemaking heritage and have a personal commitment to peace that will be helpful to us as we carry out our work together. The Point of View project is a real opportunity to benefit the conflict resolution field on a global scale." The vision for POV has been under

development for approximately five years. During that time, faculty within ICAR, as well as faculty and administrators across George Mason University, have been consulted; students have contributed ideas; and the ICAR Advisory Board and friends of ICAR have been consulted. To carry out this vision, there is a need to develop facilities at POV.

Over the next several years, ICAR seeks a total of $10 million to make the POV initiative a reality. It is a program in which growth will be based upon demand for its usage and services. Funding is expected to be raised from both private and public sources, including individuals, corporations, foundations, and the government.

If you are interested in knowing how you can help, please contact Richard Gunden at ICAR. He can be reached at 703 993-1312 or by e-mail to rgunden@gmu.edu.

Faculty Updates

Kevin Avruch

Kevin Avruch continues as co-principal investigator on the Walsh Visa Program for Northern Ireland and the six border counties of the Republic of Ireland, and as a member of ICAR's Zones of Peace research team. His recent publications include articles in the *Journal of Dispute Resolution, Negotiation Journal and the Harvard Negotiation Law Review*. He also published an occasional paper, "Integrating Ideas of Culture, Ethnicity, and Multiculturalism in Conflict Resolution and ADR Practice," for the Program on Conflict Analysis and Resolution, Sabanci University (Turkey). In addition, a paper co-written with ICAR doctoral student Zheng Wang has been accepted for publication in the journal *International Negotiation*.

Among his presentations this year are "Introduction to Conflict Analysis and Resolution," which consisted of lectures given at Tbilisi State University, Georgia, in support of ICAR's program there; "Toward an Expanded 'Canon' of Negotiation Theory: The Need for a New Heuristic" at the International Association for Conflict Management in Pittsburgh; and "The Dynamics of Escalation and Conflict Prevention" (invited presentation to the Department of State, Foreign Service Institute, Arlington).

Avruch serves on the editorial boards of the journals *Social Justice* and *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* and is a member of the Advisory Board for the recently established Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies program at Columbia University.

Sandra Cheldelin

For the last academic year and through the summer Sandra Cheldelin has been writing, consulting, and completing two externally funded practice projects (one highlighted in this issue).

Her book *Conflict Resolution* (co-authored with Ann Lucas) has been published by Jossey Bass (2004). It is part of a series for academic administrators in higher education. She is currently developing a second book for the series on avoiding legal problems (with Linda Schwartzstein, Associate Provost of GMU).

In November 2003, Cheldelin was an invited speaker at the National Conference on Current Trends in Conflict Resolution in Higher Education, presenting "Applying Conflict Resolution Skills in Higher Education Conflicts: An Interactive Application of a Case Study." In February 2004, she was an invited luncheon speaker for the Association for Conflict Resolution DC-ACR -04 Program Series speaking on "Exporting ADR to Foreign Countries and Cultures—Lessons Learned."

In April 2004, she presented her post 9/11 community dialogue facilitation data "Developing Dialogue Partnerships to Increase Community Resilience" at the annual meeting of the American Association for Higher Education. That month she was also an invited speaker at the 9th Annual ADR Professional Development Conference, "Healing a Community in Crisis through Multicultural Dialogues and Interfaith Collaboration". In May 2004, she was a keynote presenter and facilitator of "Planning for the Future in a Period of Growth and Stability" for the board of trustees of Marietta College. She completed the academic year teaching with colleague Kevin Avruch at Tbilisi State University on "Gender and Conflict and Organizational Conflict."

Cheldelin is principal investigator on several projects. Working closely with doctoral candidates, she is working on *Emergent Best Practices for Collaborative Partnerships in Infrastructure Protection*, a project funded by the Department of Homeland Security. She has developed two training videos: *Introducing Dialogue and Dialogue in the Workplace*, a project funded by the Freddie Mac Foundation.

Mark Goodale

Mark Goodale was in Romania for nine months as a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Bucharest. He studied Romania's efforts to reform its institutions in anticipation of accession to the European Union in 2007, and taught undergraduate and graduate courses at the University of Bucharest. During that time he gave lectures on his research in Budapest, Vienna, Oslo, Bergen, and Edinburgh. He is currently writing two books, one on Bolivia's "Encounters with Law and Liberalism," and the other a study of the relationship between anthropology and human rights. He has articles forthcoming in *Law and Society Review* and *American Anthropologist*, a book chapter in a volume on Latin American anthropology, and an encyclopedia entry on "Anthropology and Law." This year also marks the beginning of his tenure as the editor-in-chief of the journal *Social Justice: Anthropology, Peace and Human Rights*, which will be based in ICAR until 2008. This November, he will be chairing an invited session at the American Anthropological Association annual meeting in San Francisco entitled "Transnationalism and the Anthropology of Rights."

Marc Gopin

Marc Gopin recently celebrated the publication of his third book, *Healing the Heart of Conflict: Eight Crucial Steps to Making Peace with Yourself and Others* (Rodale Press, 2004). He gave a speech in November at the National Press Club on "When American or Western Diplomacy Fails: A New Way of Looking at Healing Deep Conflicts." Interviews with Gopin recently appeared in the *Washington Diplomat, What is Enlightenment?* and The *Bottom Line* magazines, as well as the Paris-based Arabies Trends. His chapter on "Judaism in Peacebuilding," in *Religion and Peacebuilding* was published in January 2004

Gopin was an invited guest at the World Economic Forum's Middle East Economic Summit in May 2004 at the Dead Sea in Jordan. He made a presentation on inter-religious relations at a special session of the Forum with senior representatives of Middle Eastern religions and senior correspondents of Middle Eastern media. Gopin also was one of several facilitators of a session on the Arab-Israeli conflict that included major business leaders, a U.S. congressman, and representatives of Israel and Palestine. Gopin was a guest for a consultation of the Council of 100, a special organization within the World Economic Forum designed to address the relationship between Islamic

civilization and the West, co-directed by the Saudi Ambassador to Great Britain and Lord Carey, the former Archbishop of Canterbury.

In June 2004, Gopin lectured to Israeli and Palestinian students in Israel via a live video conference hosted by the U.S. State Department. Also in June, Gopin spent two weeks as a Scholar in Residence at Washington National Cathedral's College of Preachers as part of an unprecedented Abrahamic residency program. The scholars were charged with plumbing the doctrinal, historical and psychological depths of Christianity, Judaism and Islam to discover sources used to justify religious violence and develop approaches to counteract them.

Gopin spent several weeks in Israel at the end of December, where he worked in cooperation with the Interreligious Coordinating Council in Israel (ICCI), the preeminent interfaith organization in Israel, at a closed retreat of National Zionist Israeli Rabbis together with traditional Islamic kadis from villages in Israel. Gopin presented and guided the discussion. The ICCI also sponsored a culminating public interfaith event for peace in Jerusalem, with featured speakers including Gopin, the Papal Nuncio, and a variety of sheikhs and rabbis. Also while in Israel, Gopin trained a group of American law students in cooperation with Hamline

University Law School's intensive training on Conflict Resolution from Religious Traditions.

During his stay in the Middle East, Gopin entered Syria from Jordan with permission of the Syrian Ministry of Information and Ministry of Expatriates. He spoke on "A Culture of Peace" in the Assad national library in Damascus, with about 300 people in attendance. Gopin's stay in Syria included an interview on National television and radio, and five private dinners over the course of eight days. He also discussed the Minister of Higher Education, the possibility of his returning to encourage the development of programs on conflict resolution.

In January 2005 Gopin attended the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum, in Davos, Switzerland. There, he moderated a diplomacy session of the forum on "Blessed are the (Non-Traditional) Peacemakers." The discussion covered alternative forms of diplomacy and reconciliation and included a diverse group of panelists.

Susan Hirsch

Susan F. Hirsch joins the ICAR faculty as Associate Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution and Anthropology and Director of the Undergraduate Program in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University. Trained in legal anthropology, she focuses on conflict and culture, gender relations, discourse analysis, and the legal systems of East Africa. Her book, *Pronouncing and Persevering: Gender and the Discourses of Disputing in an African*

Islamic Court, is an ethnography of how gender relations are negotiated through marital disputes heard in Kenyan Islamic courts. Fluent in the Swahili language, she has conducted extensive fieldwork in Kenya and Tanzania since 1985, supported by a Fulbright Fellowship, the National Science Foundation, Wesleyan University, and Duke University, and she has held residential fellowships at the National Humanities Center, the Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, the American Bar Foundation, and Northwestern University's Law and Social Science Program. Her academic publications include *Contested States: Law, Hegemony, and Resistance* (co-edited with Mindie Lazarus-Black; Routledge, 1994) and numerous articles on law reform, gender and conflict, reflexive and participatory research, and language in the disputing process, which have appeared in edited volumes and journals such as *Law and Social Inquiry* and *Africa Today*. She is currently on the editorial board of the *American Ethnologist*. Active in several professional associations, she served as a trustee of the Law and Society Association and is currently on the Planning Committee for its 2005 annual meeting to be held in Las Vegas, Nevada.

Susan is completing a book about the 1998 East African Embassy bombings and the subsequent trial of four defendants. She and her husband Abdulrahman Abdullah were running an errand at the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, when the bombings occurred, and he was killed. As a bombing victim, she began attending the embassy bombings trial in New

York City in January, 2001, and over the next six months came to study it as a legal anthropologist. Her reflexive ethnography of the experience, which bears the influence of the September 11 attacks and their aftermath, will be published by Princeton University Press. Among the issues highlighted in the volume are the difficulties faced by a victim who opposes the death penalty when participating in a capital trial. Susan has spoken widely about terror trials, the U.S. death penalty, the role of victims in conflict resolution, and the war on terror.

In coming months, Susan will pursue research on several topics including controversies over Islamic law in the post-9/11 era, the effects of the war on terror on Muslim minority communities in East Africa and other contexts, and also on the possibilities for restorative justice as a response to terrorist acts.

Ho-Won Jeong

Dr. Ho-Won Jeong has published three books as well as offered workshops and lectures in the 2004-05 academic year. His book *Peace Building: Process and Strategy*, published by Lynne Rienner, encompasses various dimensions of rebuilding post-conflict societies. His other book *Globalization and the Environment*, to be released by Chelsea Publishing includes chapters on the impact of environmental degradation on human life and conflict, sustainable development, and actions needed to reverse the current trend of accelerating ecological deterioration.

With the completion of a human security project (based on partnerships between American and Japanese scholars), Dr. Jeong has published a book entitled *Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches to Peace-Building*. The book was co-edited with his Japanese colleague affiliated with the Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University. Dr. Jeong has completed two articles on peace building and peacekeeping for *Encyclopedia of Globalization* and has also been revising articles submitted earlier to *Encyclopedia of a Developing World* to be published by Routledge. The articles cover a diverse range of topics from rainforest destruction, wildlife preservation, and international peacekeeping to international relations in East Asia. His co-authored article with ICAR student Eleftherios Michael, "Security, Defense, and Development in the Current Age" was published in the *Handbook of Development Policy Studies*, edited by Gedeon M. Mudacumura and M. Shamsul Haque (Marcel Dekker, Inc.) in 2004.

In July 2004, Dr. Jeong was invited to offer lectures on social conflicts and public policy disputes by the South Korean government's Presidential Commission on Sustainable Development. He also offered lectures on peace building and conflict resolution at training workshops organized by Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding under auspices of UNESCO. In his capacity as the senior editor, he has been responsible for managing the editorial processes of the *International Journal of Peace Studies*. Representing the research themes of the International Peace Research Association, the

journal's 2004 issues covered such topics as conflict resolution and globalization, environmental conflict and social movements, narratives of conflict transformation: Islam and the West, international conflict analysis, politics of fear and identity submitted by leading scholars in the field.

Linda M. Johnston

Linda M. Johnston was elected this year to the Executive Council on the International Peace Research Association (IPRA). She already serves on the Executive Committee of the IPRA Foundation and runs the Senesh Fellowship program. At this year's conference in Sopron, Hungary, she and Channa Threat (ICAR MS graduate) presented research the APT team had done in Ukraine.

Linda presented at several other conferences this year: the Summer Institute in the Republic of Georgia, the National Conference on Current Trends in Conflict Resolution in Higher Education, the Community Health Workers Conference at GMU, and the Colloquium on Peace Services at University of Mary Washington. She also was awarded a year-long Fellowship for a research project in Egypt.

Linda published a chapter on narrative analysis in Dan Druckman's new research methods text.

Karina Korostelina

From the last academic year and through this summer Karina Korostelina has been writing and completing two externally funded research projects. "The Multiethnic State-Building Dilemma: National and

Ethnic Minorities' Identities in the Crimea" was published in *National Identities* (2003) and "The Impact of National Identity on Conflict Behaviour: Comparative Analysis of Two Ethnic Minorities in Crimea" was published in the *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* (2004). She is currently developing a book (in collaboration with the Daniel Rothbart) and several papers for journals and books.

In November 2003, Korostelina made a presentation at the United States Institute of Peace as a part of Fulbright New Century Scholars Program event. In December 2004, she conducted the Brown Bag presentation "Identity-Based Conflict: Analysis and Resolution" at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. In January 2005, she was invited to conduct a noon lecture and discussion on "National Identity Formation in Ukraine" at the Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center. In February 2004, she presented her research on "Formation of tolerance: multicultural setting or ethnic schools?" at the National Academy of Education meeting at the Notre Dame University. In March 2004, Korostelina presented her paper "Formation of National Identity Among Ethnic Minorities" at the ASN convention in Montreal, Canada In August, 2004 she made a presentation, "Identity Based Training of Tolerance", at the University of Denver.

Korostelina has successfully completed her Fulbright New Century Scholars research project and is currently working on a research project supported by the National Academy of Education. She is also coordinating the Seminars on Conflicts in Eurasia (PSCE) supported by the Title VII Program at the State Department and participating in the Central Asia project at George Mason University.

Terrence Lyons

Terrence Lyons has completed a manuscript, "Demilitarization of Politics: Transforming the Institutions of War." This study argues that processes to "demilitarize politics" during the period between the initial cease-fire and culminating postconflict elections are critical to advancing sustainable peace and democratization. This study compares seven recent cases – Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, El Salvador, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Liberia, and Tajikistan – in which elections were an instrument of peace implementation. It argues that processes to "demilitarize politics" by transforming the institutions made powerful by the war such as insurgent groups into institutions capable of sustaining peace such as political parties are critical to successful peace implementation. Elections by themselves do not end wars but can provide the context and incentives for the critical institutional transformations necessary to sustain peace.

Lyons's research on different aspects of peace implementation and its relationship to democratization has been published recently in several publications: "Postconflict Elections and the Process of Demilitarizing Politics: The Role of Electoral Administration," *Democratization* 11:3 (June 2004); "Transforming the Institutions of War: Postconflict Elections and the Reconstruction of Failed States," in Robert Rotberg, ed., *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* (Princeton University Press, 2003); and "The Role of Postsettlement Elections," in Stephen John Stedman, Elizabeth Cousens, and Donald Rothchild, eds., E*nding Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Lynne Rienner, 2002).

The question of when diaspora groups promote constructive conflict resolution and when they tend to make conflicts more protracted has been another area of continuing research for Lyons. "Engaging Diasporas to Promote Conflict Resolution: Transforming Hawks into Doves" was presented at the Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation Washington Policy Seminar, May 2004, and may be found at www.intlstudies.ucsd.edu/ IICASConferences/Lyons – Engaging_Dias.pdf. He has also presented papers on this topic at the International Studies Association meeting in Montreal, the American Political Science Association meeting in Philadelphia, and at a series of con-

ference at the University of California, San Diego. A version entitled "Diasporas and Homeland Conflict" is under review in *Globalization, Territoriality, and Conflict*, that has been edited by Miles Kahler and Barbara Walter.

Lyons, along with ICAR professors Mitchell and d'Estrée and doctoral student Lulsegged Abebe published *The Ethiopian Extended Dialogue: An Analytical Report 2000-2003* as ICAR Report no. 4 (2004). This report describes and analyzes an extended dialogue among Ethiopians in the Washington area facilitated by ICAR faculty and students.

Other recent publications include "Negotiation Processes and Post-Settlement Relations: Comparing Nagorno-Karabakh with Mozambique" (co-written with Daniel Druckman) in I. William Zartman, ed., *Peace versus Justice* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004) and "Conflict in Africa" (co-written with Stephen John Stedman) in E. Gyimah.

Christopher Mitchell

Dr. Christopher Mitchell and ICAR alumnus Davin Bremner participated in a two-week workshop at the Lebanese American University in Byblos, Lebanon during late August. The workshop for postgraduate students focused on education and training in "Conflict Prevention and Transformation" and was sponsored by the UN Department of Politics and LAU. Students mainly came from Lebanese institutes of higher education but some attended from other universities throughout the Middle East, including Syria and Greece, while those coming locally included three young people from one of the Palestinian camps in Lebanon.

From Lebanon, Dr. Mitchell went on to attend the Annual Conference of the British Conflict Research Society, held this year in an almost unbelievably peaceful Londonderry, now mercifully free from armored cars, searches and army patrol, and presenting an image of calm and some degree of prosperity. Dr. Mitchell was a keynote speaker at the conference, looking back over the history of the Society from the 1960's, and sharing the platform with Nobel Peace Prize winner John Hume, now a professor at Magee College, University of Ulster.

Agnieszka Paczynska

Agnieszka Paczynska has continued to expand the work of the Globalization and Conflict initiative. Together with Peter Mandaville and Chris Mitchell, she has been developing the *Globalization Dialogues* initiative, which will bring together representatives from both pro- and anti-globalization communities for a series of problem-solving workshops. In September 2004, the *Dialogues* initiative held its first meeting with a group of international scholars who will serve as advisors to the project. Paczynska is also participating in the Globalization and Central Asia Project. The two-year project is funded by the Department of Education Title VI Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program and is exploring the ways that globalization both shapes and is shaped by the region. In Spring 2004, Paczynska taught "Globalization, Peace and Conflict," the first undergraduate course offered by ICAR which is part of both the new ICAR undergraduate program and the Global Affairs major. She also developed and taught as a tutorial another new globalization graduate course, "Globalization, Societies and Conflict." Her study entitled "Globalization and Pressure to Conform: Contesting Labor Law Reform in Egypt," was published as an ICAR Working Paper in January 2004. The paper explores the intense negotiations between the Egyptian government, business groups, and trade unions over the new labor code. In April 2004 *The Center for*

Transatlantic Relations published her white paper, "Re-Creating the Helsinki Process: Lessons of East European Transition for Middle East Democratization." The paper examined the influence of international actors and norms on the processes of political transition in Eastern Europe and explored whether these experiences can be replicated in the Middle East given the current interest of the U.S. administration in promoting political change in that region. Paczynska has written a chapter on workers' responses to economic liberalization in Egypt which will appear later this year in an edited volume entitled *Cairo Cosmopolitan: World Capital of Myths and Movements*.

She wrote and presented her paper, "Globalization and Conflict," at the ICAR Research Conference in February 2004, which surveyed the extant literature on the relationship between various aspects of globalization and the patterns of conflict and cooperation. The paper suggested fruitful avenues for future research on the relationship between globalization and conflict. In particular, it suggested that new insights could be gleaned from disaggregating both globalization and conflict and more carefully tracing the causal links between the two, as well as exploring the relationship of new transnational connections being established by non-governmental actors and their relationship to conflict processes. This study will be published as an ICAR Working Paper later this year.

In March 2004, Paczynska presented a paper entitled "Confronting Change: Trade Unions and the Transition to a Market Economy" at the International Studies Association conference in Montreal, Canada. In April, she was one of the invited speakers at the Center for Transatlantic Relations' roundtable, "What Future for the Greater Middle East? Transatlantic Perspectives" that explored the Bush administration's Middle East Democracy Initiative. She also presented a paper entitled "Historical Legacies and Policy Choice: Labor and Public Sector Reform" at the September 2004 meeting of American Political Science Association conference in Chicago.

As in previous years, she was a participant in the Washington Area Workshop on Contentious Politics, where she has both presented her own work and served as a paper discussant.

Daniel Rothbart

Daniel Rothbart's research centers on the intersection of philosophy and conflict analysis. He presented a paper entitled "Memory, Identity, and Conflict" at the International Studies Association Meeting, Boston, November 11, 2004, and is co-editing a volume entitled *Identity, Morality, and Threat* (with Karina Korostelina). He is also writing an article entitled "Good Violence/Bad Violence in the Military," with MS student David Alpher. He recently served as evaluator of the George Mason University/Tbilisi State University (Georgia) Partnership to Prepare Conflict Resolution Specialists for Georgia, supported by the U.S. Department of State. He is currently working on a volume of success stories for the Alliance for International Conflict Prevention and Resolution.

His philosophy scholarship includes the 2003 publication of four articles and book chapters, a 2004 edited volume *Modeling: Gateway to the Unknown. A Work by Rom Harré*, and a forthcoming book *Philosophical Instruments: Minds and Tools at Work.* Two more articles will appear in scholarly volumes. He serves on editorial boards of three scholarly journals and on a committee of ethics consultants for Excelsior College, Albany, New York.

Rothbart currently serves on the ICAR undergraduate committee and as of January 1, is internship director for the master's program.

Nadim Rouhana

Nadim Rouhana is completing his MacArthur Foundation funded research project on Palestinian Refugees and the Right of Return. The project, conducted with Yoav Peled from Tel Aviv University, has two primary objectives: (1) to deconstruct Israeli and Palestinian narratives on the right of return of the Palestinian refugees in understanding the most outstanding facets of this issue for each side; (2) to assess whether the ongoing discussion of past injustices and their rectification, in political theory and moral philosophy, can help advance new thinking on this issue in a way that would contribute to reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians. In this project, researchers use multiple methodologies: discourse analysis to delineate the various Israeli and Palestinian views on the right of return and distinguish between the various dimensions of this issue; quantitative analysis of data drawn from public opinion polls; and semi-structured interviews with 60 opinion leaders, to examine their views on various dimensions of the right of return and the acceptability of various solutions that will be formulated on the basis of the current debate on past injustices.

During the last year Rouhana has published three papers on related issues. The first paper, entitled "Group Identity and Power Asymmetry in Reconciliation Processes: The Israeli-Palestinian Case", was published in *Peace and Conflict*, the second (co-authored with Yoav Peled), entitled "Transitional Justice and the Right of Return of the Palestinian Refugees", was published in *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*; and the third, entitled "Truth and Reconciliation: The Right of Return in the Context of Past Injustice" in a book edited by Ian Lustick and Ann Lesch (University of Pennsylvania Press).

Rouhana is working on a project that brings some of the views of third world scholars and practitioners into conflict resolution. The project deals with issues of justice, historic truth and responsibility, the importance of power asymmetries in conflict analysis and its resolution, and the central role that fair distribution of tangible and intangible resources should play in our thinking about conflict resolution.

Rouhana is working with Richard Rubenstein on planning a conference on "Conflict Resolution in Highly Asymmetric Conflict". The conference is being planned to honor Christopher Mitchell and celebrate his career and his central contributions to the field. The conference is designed as the first activity of "Point of View", ICAR's Research and Conference Center, on whose development Professor Rouhana is working.

Richard Rubenstein

Richard Rubenstein was on sabbatical in the spring term 2004, conducting research in London on his forthcoming book, a study of empire, ethics, and conflict called Thus Saith the Lord: The Revolutionary Vision of Isaiah and Jeremiah. At the end of April, he organized a conference at the European Parliament in Brussels on "News Media Coverage of Violent Social Conflicts: European and American Perspectives" (a summary of the proceedings may be found at the ICAR website, gmu.edu/departments/ICAR). A larger conference on the same topic was held on November 11-13, 2004, in Washington, D.C. under the auspices of ICAR, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the People's Program. Some 35 conferees representing the fields of journalism, media studies, and conflict analysis and resolution met to consider what could be done to improve print and broadcast media coverage of violent and potentially violent political conflicts.

In May, Rubenstein lectured on "Religious Terrorism: Causes and Cures," at his alma mater, Balliol College of Oxford University. Back in the United States, he facilitated two well-attended public discussions of controversial movies at Fairfax's Cinema Arts Theatre: Mel Gibson's The Passion of the Christ (with a panel discussion including ICAR's Marc Gopin and three other clergy) and Michael Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 (with a panel discussion featuring Marc Raskin and Lee Edwards).

Rubenstein appeared at the Cosmos Club's Book and Author Dinner in June to discuss his book, Aristotle's Children: How Christians, Muslims, and Jews Rediscovered Ancient Wisdom and Illuminated the Middle Ages. During the same month, he attended and spoke at a conference on "The Future of Terrorism" sponsored by the National Intelligence Council.

During the fall term 2004, *Aristotle's Children* was published in paperback, as well as in Mexican, Greek, Dutch, and Korean editions. Rubenstein continued work on Thus Saith the Lord; organized and moderated a Northern Virginia Congressional Candidates forum on "Long-Term National Security and the Future of American Foreign Policy"; conducted the ICAR conference on "News Media Coverage of Violent Conflicts"; presented an ICAR Brown Bag seminar on the same topic; and became an active member of the Washington Area Metropolitan Council of the AFL-CIO's Collective Bargaining Education Project. He also spoke at Robinson High School on "The Ethics and Politics of Military Intervention" and was a featured speaker at the annual conference of the Department of Jewish and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Connecticut/Stamford, where his topic was "Jewish-Muslim Relations: Causes of Conflict and Prospects for Resolution." The Smithsonian Institution Associates Program has invited him to conduct a one-day seminar on Aristotle's Children early next year.

Dennis Sandole

In January 2004, as a speaker for the U.S. State Department, Dr. Dennis Sandole traveled to Keningau, Sabah (North Borneo), in Malaysia, where he conducted a two-day "Workshop on Conflict Analysis and Resolution," at the INSAN Leadership Development Campus. While in Malaysia, he also made presentations for the Sabah Economic Development Corporation (SEDCO), Kota Kinabalu, Sabah. In addition, he presented two papers at the "Conference on Issues and Challenges for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Southeast Asia," in Penang, Malaysia.

From March 1 through June 30, 2004, Dr. Sandole was Fulbright Visiting Professor in International Studies at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna (DAK), in Vienna, Austria: Austria's leading institution for the training of diplomats and others from around the world. During his time at DAK, Dr. Sandole taught "Theories of International Relations," "Peacebuilding," "Simulation Workshop in Negotiation and Mediation in Complex Conflicts," and "Seminar in Research Methods" to Austrian and international students participating in an MA and other postgraduate programs in international studies.

During his Fulbright in Vienna, for which he had been granted study leave from GMU, Dr. Sandole interviewed representatives from a number of participating states of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as part of his continuing Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)/OSCE project. (The CSCE, the "Helsinki Process", was reframed as the OSCE on 1 January 1995.) This project began with interviews of CSCE representatives in 1993, then continued with interviews of OSCE representatives in 1997 and 1999, with Dr. Sandole returning in 2004 to update the project. In each case, he elicited senior negotiators' views on peace and security in post-Cold War Europe, including how to prevent future Yugoslav-type conflicts and, with the 2004 survey, how to prevent 9/11-type terrorism as well. The project will soon culminate in the submission of a manuscript to select publishers, "Brave New Worlds and Beyond: Peace and Security in the Postmodern World."

Dr Sandole has published, with two ICAR MS graduates, Ms. Kimberly Dannels Ruff and Ms. Evis Vasili, "Identity and Apocalyptic Terrorism," in *Apocalyptic Terrorism: Understanding the Unfathomable*. This was a publication of ICAR's Working Group on War, Violence, and Terrorism and was published by the U.S. Defense Threat Reduction Agency. He also published two book chapters, "Building Peace in Post-NATO Bosnia: A Recommended Action Plan," in *From Peace Making to Self Sustaining — International Presence in South East Europe at a Crossroads?*" and "Review of Henryk Sokalski. *An Ounce of Prevention: Macedonia and the UN Experience in Preventive Diplomacy*.

Carlos Sluzki

During the academic year 2003-04, Professor Carlos E. Sluzki was the acting Dean for Health Sciences and Research at the College of Nursing and Health Sciences, George Mason University; he is now returning to ICAR part time. In 2004, he published a book chapter, "Back from where we come from", in F.Walsh and M.McGoldrick, eds.; Living Beyond Loss: Death in the Family, 2nd. edition. (Norton); an article, "A house taken over by ghosts: Culture, migration and developmental cycle in a Moroccan family invaded by hallucinations," in the journal Families, Systems and Health, 22(3); and a number of editorials in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. Sluzki also contributed keynote presentations in professional congresses in Italy, Mexico, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and the U.S.

Wallace Warfield

Professor Wallace Warfield continues his participation on the Zones of Peace research team along with professors Chris Mitchell (Principal Investigator), and Kevin Avruch, editing the final report to United States Institute if Peace. Warfield has written an article published in the *Missouri Journal of Dispute Resolution* titled "Response to Carrie Menkel-Meadow's 'Correspondences and Contradictions in International and Domestic Conflict Resolution.'" The article was part of a symposium.

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