

A Smooth Transition from Dean Bartoli to Dean Avruch

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

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



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

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

A special acknowl-

Argentina and Tanzania-to involve more than 130 countries, the UN, and many regional and sub-regional organizations in a worldwide genocide prevention initiative. It became clear to him that being active in American higher education gave him another platform to do his international work and in 1997 he founded and led the Center for International Conflict Resolution at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia. Fast-forward to 2007, when we snagged him as the Drucie French Cumbie Chair and two years later as ICAR Director. He then led the transition for us from an Institute (ICAR) to a School (S-CAR), became the first Dean (2011) and expanded the growth and development of our multi-program Commonwealth Center of Excellence-the under-

graduate, certificate, master and doctoral academic

edgement goes to our outgoing

Dean, Dr. Andrea Bartoli, who

brought a substantial set of

opportunities to our com-

munity as an internationally

engaged scholar practitioner.

Andrea came to the US from

Italy in 1992 as an anthropolo-

gist (University of Milan, PhD;

University of Rome, BA, MA), following his active role in

the successful peace process

in Mozambique. In 2003 he

launched a decade-long initia-

tive-with the support of the

governments of Switzerland,

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Slate Double X Podcast Live Taping:

Exploring Issues of Femininity, Masculinity, and Gender Violence

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



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

n September 18th. the Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict hosted a live taping of the Slate Double X Podcast. The podcast featured Slate Double X founding editor Hanna Rosin, writer Slate Dan Kois. and Noreen Malone of The New Republic. The podcast was innovative entertaining, and drawing a crowd not just of George Mason students, but of professionals throughout the area. Rosin, Kois,

and Malone discussed three twenty-minute segments filled with wit and intellect. Among the segments discussed were sexism in the technology industry and what the three referred to as "tech bros." A tech bro is a term coined to address the prevalence of men in the rapidly growing tech industry. Though tech is the fastest growing industry in the United States, women remain proportionately unrepresented. Besides big names like

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



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

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

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

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

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

Celebrating Four Years of CRAMS:

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

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

the Mason community celebrates another milestone in global education with the opening of the Songdo Global University Campus in South Korea, S-CAR's dual degree MSc program with the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) at the University of Malta is set to begin its fourth year. Malta's commitment to international dialogue and its strategic location in the Mediterranean Sea make it a prime destination for those interested in studying issues related to conflict, peace, and diplomacy in the region. Situated be-



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

tween Southern Europe and North Africa, participants gain a unique international experience and insight due to their proximity to some of today's most troubling situations, be it Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, or Greece.

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

S-CAR's involvement with the creation of the CRAMS program was led from within and serves as yet another example of how Mason champions innovation. Former Dean Andrea Bartoli nurtured the inventive idea of Professor Richard Rubenstein to develop the program. Associate Dean for Administration Juliette Shedd provided the guidance and logistical support to set the program up and establish the academic standards required for it to bear the S-CAR name. On the Malta side, the Rector of the University of Malta, Prof. Juanito Camilleri, played an instrumental role in providing support and the institutional space for the initiative. A joint board of directors created from members of both institutions currently oversee the CRAMS program; S-CAR is represented by Professor Rubenstein and Professor Susan Hirsch, while MEDAC is represented by Professor Omar Grech and Professor Stephen Calleya, Director of the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies. While in Malta, students receive support from Director of Graduate Student Services Erin Ogilvie-Hudson and Program Coordinator, Michael

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

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

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

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



S-CAR Welcome Dinner:

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



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

ees gathered, Interim Dean Solon Simmons emphasized the importance of the S-CAR community in setting trends now being mirrored by the rest of the George Mason University community. He concluded his remarks by urging the new cohort to continue with this tradition and even surpass these accolades that were bringing so much recognition to the efforts of S-CAR in promoting peace throughout the world. As a recent addition to this community, his remarks were inspiring as it challenged myself and the other individuals in my cohort to build upon the successes of the program and take it to newer and greater heights, a task that I am sure everyone present was willing to take on. The high point of the evening showed a further testament to the importance of students to the S-CAR community as numerous awards were given to students for oustanding work in the field of conflict analysis and resolution. Seeing the number of



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

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

Annual Lynch Lecture Series

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

Upcoming Events

Tuesday, October 22, 2013

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

Thursday, October 24, 2013 25th Annual Lynch Lecture - Dr. Willie Esterhuyse 5:30pm - 9:00pm

Tuesday, October 29, 2013 Book Launch: Karina Korostelina - History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation 6:00pm - 8:00pm

Tuesday, October 29, 2013 Webinar - The Next Frontier of Conflict Resolution Education with David J. Smith 4:15pm-5:15pm

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



Dr. Willie Esterhuyse. Photo: Flickr User Ben Williams

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

Faculty Opinion: A Field Whose Time Has Come Iranian President Hassan Rouhani's Conflict Resolution Narrative in the Washington Post

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

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

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

In explaining the reason

underlying his pledge, therefore, President Rouhani argues: "The world has changed. International Relations is no longer a zero-sum game but а multi-dimensional arena where cooperation and competition often occur simultaneously." Accordingly, "World leaders are expected to turn threats into opportunities." President Rouhani then initiates the process of making his main case, which is that policymakers – especially



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

those concerned about Iran's nuclear energy program – must undergo a paradigm shift from the traditional security paradigm that encourages competitive, zero-sum thinking and behavior, toward a more appropriate comprehensive security paradigm which recognizes the utility of cooperative, "win-win" approaches to *"integrative agreements"* (see Pruitt, 1987). Paradigm-shifting implies a need to *reframe* one's perceptions of "the other" and the narratives that each constructs to reflect those transformed definitions of the situation.

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

President Rouhani's comment that, "We must pay attention to the *complexities* of the issues at hand to solve them" (emphasis added) reinforces his emphasis on the need for a shift in paradigms and corresponding reframing of issues in order to advance the goal

of "constructive engagement." Further, his argument that, "In a world where global politics is no longer a zero-sum game, it is – or should be – counterintuitive to pursue one's interests without considering the interests of others," implies that a corollary of constructive engagement is that "national interest" is now "global interest" and, contrariwise, global interest is national interest.

Rouhani's claim that constructive engagement "doesn't mean relinquishing one's rights [but] engaging with one's counterparts on the basis of equal footing and *mutual respect*, to achieve shared concerns and achieve shared objectives"

(emphasis added), restates one of the basic tenets of our field; namely, that one does not have to forgo one's objectives, but only reconsider the utility of the anticipated use of violence to achieve them. Rouhani's argument here also converges with Basic

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

Next Steps in Syria

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

Waste Surges As Defense Industry Controls Congress, Pentagon

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

Drowning the Arab Spring in Gulf Oil Marc Gopin S-CAR Professor Middle East Online, 10/2/13

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

DIGSS

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

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

ichel Gratton graduated from S-CAR in December 2010, and has been working in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as the Country Director for War Child UK since then. This NGO specializes in child protection pro-

grams with a mandate to support and improve the protection and care of children living with insecurity and poverty in some of the worst conflict-affected places. War Child UK also works in Afghanistan, Iraq, Uganda, and Central African Republic. "Working in conflict and post-conflict settings is different than working on development programs in stable countries. The insecurity and dynamics of failed states complicates interventions and strategies when trying to bring humanitarian assistance to

the civilian population" he said. For Michel, S-CAR provided the theoretical understanding and analysis of conflict and post-conflict settings to make his job easier to manage. "Understanding conflict, applying the "Do no harm approach," ensuring programs are not fueling conflict and making sound analysis of the socio-political environment to ensure the security of staff in rebel controlled areas, is central in the day to day tasks related to providing assistance to children and youth in eastern DRC." Looting, kidnappings, rebel attacks, assasinations,

> rape, violence, and abuse are daily occurrences in the areas where Michel works and providing assistance in such difficult conditions is not an easy task, but having a better understanding of conflict dynamics is key to ensure safe and efficient operation of programs. The other important contribution of S-CAR, Michel noted, is the study of various approches to peacebuilding that is taught and the use of dialogue to resolve conflicts. "In the programs we design for children and

youth, many peacebuilding activities are created in our 'Child Friendly Spaces' to bridge differences between ethnic groups. As fighting is often along ethnic lines, we need to change perspectives with future generations in the hopes we can break the cycle of violence."

Fariba Parsa, Visiting Scholar

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

ariba Parsa is starting a project at the Center for the Study of Gender Conflict beginand ning October 1 entitled "Empowering Women in Conflict Resolution with New Media." It aims to combine research with activism in the area of empowerwomen's ment through starting a Facebook page and a blog titled: "Voices of Iranian Women" to foster open dia-



Michel Gratton with National Park

Rangers. Photo: Michel Gratton.

Fariba Parsa. Photo: Fariba Parsa.

logue and communication between Iranian women who are living inside Iran and those who are living in the diaspora. This should enable Iranian women to exchange useful knowledge in the areas of conflict resolution, women's rights, democracy, and peace. Fariba Parsa came to the United States in 2010, when she was awarded a post-doctoral fellowship at Harvard University, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, where she conducted research on the concept "secularism." In 2012-2013, she was a visiting scholar at the University of Maryland's Roshan Center for Persian studies and the Department of Women's Studies, conducting research on Iranian women's movements for gender equality. She has her Master Degree in political science and her PhD's in social sciences from University of Copenhagen and

Roskilde University in Denmark. She was elected as a board member in a number of national and grassroots organizations in Denmark, such as the Danish National Women Council and the UN- Association of Denmark, where she served on the human rights committee. Fariba Parsa was born and raised in Iran.

A Smooth Transition

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programs. He mentored faculty and students; co-published Peacemaking: From Practice to Theory-two volumes with colleagues and students in and outside of S-CAR. In his new position as Dean of Seton Hall's Whitehead School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Andrea will continue his professional work he was actively engaged in while at S-CAR as Senior Vice President and Permanent representative of the Community of Sant' Egidio. That move rightly places him within the Catholic mission of Seton Hall and provides him access to their School's unique alliance with the UN System whereby he can also con-



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

tinue his "diplomacy at work." We deeply thank him for his commitment to our growth and development, and look forward to forging new partnerships between our two Schools. Following Andrea's departure, Dr. Solon Simmons willingly stepped in as our Interim Dean. In just a few months he positioned our School well within the new strategic visioning process of the also new central administrative team at Mason. Working closely with the Dean's office staff we already have a solid draft of SCAR's translation of the Mason vision to the work we intend to do over the next ten years (no small feat). A special thank you to Solon for working "24/7" through the summer and early fall.

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

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

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

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

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

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Book V of his The Peloponnesian War: "The strong do what they can and the weak bear what they must!" (1951, p. 331). (This counterintuitive rejection of the traditional security paradigm is a major feature of Malcolm Gladwell's [2013] new book, David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants.) In contrast to the traditional security paradigm, which "glorifies brute force and breeds violence," the "constructive engagement" approach to dealing with complex global issues --reflecting an alternative, positive-sum security paradigm -- will be more effective because it "seeks to resolve these issues by addressing their underlying causes" (emphasis added). For Rouhani that means that, "We must pay attention to the issue of *identity* as a key driver of tension in, and beyond, the Middle East" (emphasis added) (see Korostelina, 2007). Rouhani goes on to mention "identity" a number of times, suggesting that he is not only "savvy"



Dennis Sandole. Photo: Mason Creative Services.

about the language of conflict resolution, but, given the emphasis implied by his repeated use of the term, he may actually mean what he says. In other words, there is a difference between merely uttering a few conflict resolution buzzwords and actually believing in the value of "constructive engagement," whether one uses the buzzwords or not. Indeed, Rouhani comes down strongly on the need to deal with the deep-rooted, underlying causes and conditions of violent conflict, one of which is identity – a basic human need in John Burton's (1997) typology of needs. Failure to do so may contribute to an observed trend in the incidence of conflicts worldwide: "growing numbers of conflict recurrences in the recent past serve as one of the most significant contributors to ... conflict trends. Year to year, many conflicts do subside, but other conflicts that had been dormant reignite. That has been the pattern over the past ten years" (emphasis added) (Hewitt, 2012, p. 25). One reason for *conflict recurrence* appears to be that, "the internationally brokered settlement or containment of many armed conflicts since the early 1990s did not deal effectively with root causes" (emphasis added) (Hewitt, et al., 2010, pp. 3, 4).

Rouhani develops further his argument that identity is a central concept in global affairs, violation of which may account for a number of the brutal conflicts of recent times. Hence, "At their core, the vicious battles in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria are over the nature of those countries' identities and their consequent roles in our region and the world." Rouhani then moves from the general to the specific by connecting his proposition on the link between a violated sense of identity and violent conflict – basically a restatement of Burton's (1997) BHNs theory – to Iran's relations with the U.S. and Israel: "The centrality of iden-

tity extends to the case of our peaceful nuclear energy program. To us [this] is about who Iranians are as a nation, *our demands for dignity and respect and our consequent place in the world*. Without comprehending the role of identity, many issues we all face will remain unresolved" (emphasis added). The clear subtext here is that, if American, Israeli, and other political leaders do not understand the emotional connection between Iran's nuclear energy program and their sense of who they are, then the Iranian-Western conflict is likely to escalate, in large part because of an enhanced "*frustration-aggression*" *dynamic* (see Dollard, et al., 1939). Indeed, if Rouhani's initiative is perceived by Iran's Supreme Leader and others not to have been "respected" and reciprocated, then escalation in the Iranian-Western conflict is very likely.

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





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