

ICARnews

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Ethiopia-Eritrea Proxy War in Somalia Risks Broader Regional Conflict, Warns New Council Report

Council on Foreign Relations



Terrance Lyons, Ph.D.
ICAR Professor

Conflict in the Horn of Africa is escalating rapidly as power struggles within Somalia are exacerbated by military support that both Ethiopia and Eritrea give to the opposing parties there. Ethiopia backs the weak interim government; Eritrea sponsors the Islamic militants fighting to overthrow it. Because the United States has accused Somalia of harboring al-Qaeda suspects, “the Ethiopian-Eritrean proxy conflict increases the opportunities for terrorist infiltration of the Horn and East Africa and for ignition of a larger regional conflict,” warns a new Council Special Report.

Last week, the United Nations authorized an African force to protect Somalia’s virtually powerless interim government based in Baidoa. UN Security Council Resolution 1725, cosponsored by the United States and the Security Council’s African member countries, partially lifts an arms embargo on Somalia. Islamic militants, who control the capital of Mogadishu, warned that the resolution will provoke a full-scale war. The report, *Avoiding Conflict in the Horn of Africa: U.S. Policy Toward Ethiopia and Eritrea*, suggests that the resolution is both “dangerously provocative and likely to be more symbolic than substantive” due to the challenges of mounting a regional peacekeeping force.

International involvement, particularly from the United States, is critical to prevent the Ethiopia-Eritrea border conflict from further undermining U.S. counterterrorism efforts in the region, says author *Terrance Lyons*, of George Mason University. “Washington has few good options to address the emergent threats in Somalia. There are, however, opportunities to push for full implementation of the peace agreement that ended the Ethiopia-Eritrea border conflict [(1998–2000)], which can help dampen the dynamic that contributes to escalation within Somalia.”

“Given the stakes and the role the region plays with regard to the Arabian Peninsula and counterterrorism, the importance of democratization promotion globally, and the growing attention to the region on Capitol Hill and within Diaspora communities, disengagement is not an option.”

ICAR Newsletter - Spring 2007

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Innovative Ideas To Reduce Conflict

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) offers a vibrant and multidisciplinary community at one of the United States' fastest growing, most diverse, and innovative public universities. We combine influential faculty, a diverse student body, active fieldwork, and challenging doctoral study with unparalleled resources in nearby Washington, D.C.

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.

Major Research Interests:

- Connection between Globalization and Conflict
- Religion and Conflict
- Dynamics of Change in Conflict
- Identity Issues in Conflict
- Reflective Practice

Director's Column



Sara Cobb, Ph.D.
ICAR Director

Dear ICAR Community:

While the *Human Security Report* from the Human Security Centre at Liu Institute indicates that there are fewer wars between states, since WWII, and fewer deaths, overall from violence, the persistent presence of genocide, the tremendous increase in refugees and internally displaced persons, the rise of civil conflicts along religious and ethnic lines, as well as the constancy of the Middle East conflict, with the

increasing chaos in Iraq and Afghanistan, we here at ICAR feel the urgency of the need to develop theory, research, as well as advances in effective practice, that can do more than conflict management, but actually move the world toward conflict transformation and resolution. While these international conflicts call our attention, as a research institution in the US, we cannot ignore the role of our own government in making wars, destabilizing civil societies, but also increasing the very processes of radicalization that the "war on terror" is supposed to control and defeat. No longer can we study the conflicts of "others" without also studying the role of the US policy institutions, the nature of the discourse in American culture about war and peace, as well as the diplomatic processes that could, we would argue, foster the quality of engagement that would reduce the threat of violence globally.

To this end, ICAR has developed a focus on US policy that reflects our intention to engage the policy community on our doorstep, in Washington, D.C. Professor Richard Rubenstein and a group of students and alumni have formed a Policy Working Group at ICAR. The group is developing a series of initiatives that are intended to expose legislators, diplomats, and government agencies of all kinds to a "conflict" lens. These initiatives, we hope, can provide new strategies for US foreign policy makers that deal with Iraq, Iran, Korea, the Middle East conflict, as well as other conflicts around the globe where "interest-based" approaches fail to generate solutions for identity-based conflicts. As ICAR has expertise in the analysis of asymmetric conflicts, as well as identity politics, we are excited to participate in policy conversations where our expertise may open new options and outcomes.

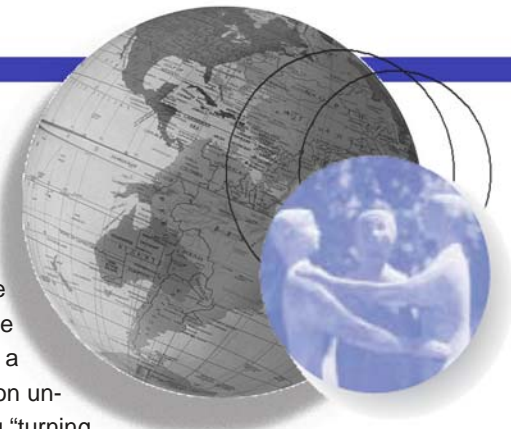
The connection between policy and conflict resolution calls for attention to *how* we re-build relationships, the method we use for conflict resolution; but it also calls attention to the role of values in conflict dynamics. We are very pleased to announce

that the *Sargent Shriver Peace Institute* (SSPI) has located at ICAR, under the direction of Professor Jamie Price. SSPI is developing a research stream, focused on understanding and explaining "turning points" in peacemaking and peace building, via case studies. Dr. Price is also planning a seminar series on this topic as well. Given Sargent Shriver's efforts to create peace, collaboration and social justice, we all look forward to participating in this exploration. A website debut of SSPI is underway. Stay tuned!

We also know that the global is local. Because George Mason University is one of the most diverse universities in the country, ICAR has been asked to create a "Dialogue and Difference Initiative." And speaking of "different," this initiative distinguishes itself from others around the country in its breadth, as its focus goes beyond attention to "prejudice reduction" and instead focuses on the meaning systems, the "collective axiology" (to use the term that is the focus of a new book, *Identity, Morality and Threat*, from ICAR professors Rothbart and Korostelina) that underlies the dynamics of groups in conflict. Monica Jacobsen, a doctoral student at ICAR, with ICAR professor, Dr. Susan Hirsch, have created this initiative. Monica is leading an ICAR APT team of graduate students who began with a needs assessment (which we know is in and of itself an intervention), and are now in the process of planning a set of dialogues on the campus. But because ICAR is involved, they are also working with a faculty group who specialize in dialogue processes, in order to develop a mode of dialogue process that reflects ICAR's theoretical commitments and the research on dialogue that has been conducted at ICAR. We are hoping to secure multi-year funding for this project, as we anticipate that it will be an excellent resource for George Mason University and beyond as it innovates new campus dialogue practices, as well as a wonderful educational experience for the ICAR graduates and undergraduates that are involved across the campus. In this way, the initiative is an incubator for learning about practice, a site for research on dialogue, and an opportunity to develop innovative theory.

This link between research, theory and practice, critical to reflective practice, is the core design feature of ICAR's Point of View (POV) project. About 5 years ago, Ed and Helen Lynch gave ICAR 120 acres on the Potomac River for the development of a research and retreat center for conflict

Continued on next page



INSTITUTE FOR Conflict Analysis & Resolution

Director's Column - Continued

analysis and resolution. While Mr. and Mrs. Lynch have now passed away, their dream lives on, and I am delighted to report, is materializing. We have opened a master planning process--we will have the plan completed in June. We will then get architectural plans and begin site development. However, we will also need to raise the funds, approximately \$10 million for the building, as well as another \$15M for an endowment to support operations. While these are big numbers, we are enthusiastic as we know that there is no other site like this, close to DC, focused on conflict resolution. Point of View will be the place where small groups involved in conflict can come together to work through differences, rebuild relationships, and reflect on their own needs and goals. Current research on conflict resolution will be the foundation of the practice, which will, in turn, generate new theories of conflict dynamics, which will roll back into the ICAR curriculum, as well as back into the conflict resolution practice at POV. No other conflict resolution program in the world will have this opportunity for integrating research with teaching, and practice with theory. If you are interested in more information, please do let me know. I would love to take you out to the POV site, and listen to your dreams about a place for conflict resolution.

Finally, I am happy to report that ICAR has successfully launched a suite of new graduate certificate programs, again reflecting our interest in impacting the professional communities in our area. These are targeted to specific communities including professionals in community planning, in reconstruction and stabilization, in religion and conflict, as well as those interested in advanced skill training. These "students" are all experienced professionals who seek to learn and incorporate a conflict resolution lens into their work. And of course, they bring interesting cases and important questions to the ICAR learning environment. We are privileged to have them in our community. Each year we will welcome another cohort to these programs. Professionals wishing to join an ICAR graduate certificate program this fall are encouraged to apply by May 2007. We all owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Susan Allen Nan at ICAR who has shepherded the development of our certificate programs, and to each of the exceptional faculty who have shared their expertise in special intensive weekend courses for these programs.

Outreach. ICAR's alumni, students, and faculty are in the world making a difference, all over the world. They are making a difference in how work gets done in the policy community, as well as on our own campus, in current conflicts

around the globe, as well as the conflicts on our own doorstep that are organized around race and class. Reach out to us if you are interested in getting involved in any of our programs, attending events, or offering support to our undergraduate and graduate students, to the creation of Point of View, or our campus initiative on Dialogue and Difference. At the core of our outreach effort is an intention to connect, to be relevant, and to build relationships. If you would like to get involved in supporting our efforts, please do reach out; call me at 703-993-4452 or email me at scobb@gmu.edu. Otherwise, please do check our website for events, and I hope to see you there! icar.gmu.edu

Sara Cobb
Director of ICAR

Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR) Undergraduate Program Grows

The Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR) undergraduate program began in Fall 2004 with one course, CONF 101-- Conflict and Our World, taught by CAR Program Director, Dr. Susan Hirsch. Over the past two years CAR's enrollment has grown to eighty-seven undergraduates majoring in Conflict Analysis and Resolution and nineteen minors. The interdisciplinary CAR program consists of the core conflict courses in addition to courses from other units across Mason, such as Anthropology, History, Government, Sociology, Philosophy and Administration of Justice. Students completing the program earn either a B.S. or B.A degree. Students strengthen their skills and experiences through study abroad, internship, or service learning opportunities. CAR students have traveled to Costa Rica, Rwanda, the Middle East, and other destinations as part of their CAR program of study. As the number of CAR students grow, more conflict courses are added. By Fall 2007 seven to ten core conflict courses will be taught each semester in addition to special topics courses, such as *Human Rights and Inequality* and *World Religions, Violence, and Conflict Resolution*.

Ethiopia-Eritrea Proxy War in Somalia Risks Broader Regional Conflict, Warns New Council Report

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Lyons calls for a new and more comprehensive U.S. policy. Recommendations include:

Committing to existing multilateral agreements.

“Washington should remain committed to the multilateral Witnesses to the Algiers Agreement and [the Eritrea-Ethiopia Border Commission (EEBC)] framework, pressing Ethiopia to demarcate the border and Eritrea to return to talks and lift restrictions on [the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)].”

Coordinating increased financial support.

“The U.S. government should also be prepared to offer substantial financial backing and use its influence within the international financial institutions to support demobilization, cross-border trade and communications, and normalization of regional relations.”

Pressuring both countries to introduce political rights.

“Once the border issue is settled, the United States should pressure Asmara to permit basic political rights and Ethiopia to release political prisoners, enter into a dialogue with the full range of opposition leaders, and return to the freedoms seen in early 2005.”

Making foreign aid to both countries conditional.

“Development and military assistance programs should be tied to progress on governance issues and Washington should be prepared to reduce or slow non-humanitarian programs if political conditions deteriorate further.”

Establishing robust democratization programs.

“Well-funded programs on democratization and rule of law should be offered to support positive political openings. Washington should reach out to the wide spectrum of opposition groups both within Ethiopia and in the diaspora and encourage them to pursue strategies of peaceful electoral competition, rather than armed struggle.”

Supporting long-term regional peacebuilding initiatives.

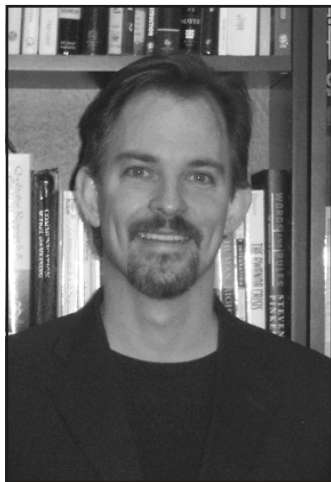
“The United States, international donors, and international organizations should support long-term regional peacebuilding initiatives. Building new relationships between communities split by the militarized border, groups displaced by the conflict, and families divided by loyalties to rival states will provide a context for new thinking and increased confidence about the formal peace process and will help build healthier bilateral relations after the border dispute is settled.”

From CFR.org. Reprinted with permission. To read other Council reports, go to CFR.org.
The full report can be viewed at: http://www.cfr.org/publication/12192/avoiding_conflict_in_the_horn_of_africa.html



Study Shows Professors More Religious Than Public Assumes

Originally published in the Mason Gazette, October 23, 2006, By David Driver



Solon Simmons, Ph.D.
ICAR Professor

“While the study showed professors are less religious than the general public, Simmons says college educators are more religious than many people may have assumed.”

A professor from George Mason and one from Harvard teamed up to conduct a study that is attracting national attention because its results contradict popular views about the religiousness of university professors.

Solon Simmons of Mason’s Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and Neil Gross, assistant professor of sociology at Harvard, surveyed 1,471 college educators from across the country, from community colleges to elite universities, to find out how often they attend religious services. All types of schools were represented, and professors from 1,060 schools were involved.

Simmons says about 51 percent of professors responded to their study, which he calls a good success rate. Simmons says they also went back and contacted 100 professors who did not respond to the survey and found their religious beliefs and attendance were similar to those who did respond.

Simmons says professors, all of whom teach undergraduates, were surveyed from four types of schools: elite, top-50 schools; other top schools that award doctoral degrees; intermediate tier colleges; and community colleges. Simmons notes that community college professors are rarely surveyed in similar studies.

One conclusion from the study, says Simmons, is that the academy “is not so Godless after all.” Simmons says that since the university is seen by

many outside the academy as a battleground “for hearts and minds,” those who are not employed by the academy still have a personal interest in what takes place in the university classroom.

While the study showed professors are less religious than the general public, Simmons says college educators are more religious than many people may have assumed. Professors are almost as likely to attend religious services as are members of the general population. While 48.6 percent of the people reported attending religious services at least once a week in a respected national survey, the proportion was 39.9 percent for professors on an identically worded question.

Of those professors who did attend religious services, most by far went to Christian churches of one kind or another. For example, the single largest group of attendees were Roman Catholic, representing just under 24 percent of all those who did attend services regularly.

One of the findings was that 36.6 percent of professors at “elite institutions” consider themselves atheists or agnostics, compared to 23.4 percent of professors across the country.

“A lot of Christian groups have latched onto this study,” says Simmons, who joined the Mason faculty this year. “This project was not necessarily a study of religion and professors, but instead a study of ideological diversity in the

academy. “The original purpose for this was to be the basis of a symposium to be held at Harvard to discuss political and ideological diversity in the academy. That is still coming. We have not set a date yet.”

Meanwhile, the results of the project were published in articles in *Inside Higher Education* and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. The Associated Press reported on the study, and that led to stories being published in newspapers from Kentucky to Oregon to Utah. “The AP seems to be the big break. When it broke there, it was all over the place,” says Simmons.

Gross was interviewed by a newspaper in Texas. And both of them were interviewed last Friday by a Christian radio ministry that has about 400 to 600 affiliated stations, says Simmons.

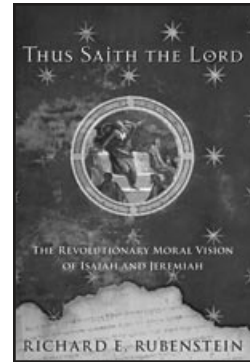
As for his personal views, Simmons says, “I don’t have a stake in this study. We really don’t have an ax to grind.” Simmons and Gross attended graduate school together at the University of Wisconsin, where Simmons earned his PhD before joining Mason.

“Conservative critics of higher education paint the academy as a bastion of atheism,” Gross wrote in an e-mail to *The Harvard Crimson*. “There are indeed more atheists in the professorate than in the general population, but many professors are people of faith.”

ICAR Faculty Books Published

Thus Saith The Lord: The Revolutionary Moral Vision Of Isaiah and Jeremiah

By Richard Rubenstein, ICAR Professor



List Price: \$25.00
Hardcover: 272 pages
Publisher: Princeton University Press
ISBN: 13-0151012199
2006

In ancient Judea, Jeremiah and Isaiah advised kings and priests and watched the great armies of the ancient Near East sweep across the desert, threatening and overtaking their tiny country with its burgeoning faith. Across centuries a new view emerged based on their words: Might does not make right; we are all the children of one God.

Both the beautiful words of Isaiah and the frightening words of Jeremiah helped form our contemporary ideas

of justice, ethics, and faith. Richard Rubenstein shows us the evolution of our own moral codes and how they transformed the god of the Israelites from a local deity into Adonai, the universal sovereign who requires ethical behavior and demands the pursuit of justice for all people.

A work of historical and religious insight, *Thus Saith the Lord* will inspire readers to reexamine their beliefs and hear anew the words of these religious revolutionaries.



Richard Rubenstein, J.D.
ICAR Professor

"Both the beautiful words of Isaiah and the frightening words of Jeremiah helped form our contemporary ideas of justice, ethics, and faith."

Contents

1. "If YHVH Is God, Follow Him!"—Elijah, I Kings 18:21
2. "What Are Your Endless Sacrifices to Me?"—Isaiah 1:11
3. "Blessed Be My People Egypt"—Isaiah 19:25
4. "The Heart Is More Devious Than Any Other Thing"—Jeremiah 17:9
5. "Deep Within Them I Will Plant My Law"—Jeremiah 31:33
6. "I Will Make You the Light of the Nations"—Isaiah 49:6
7. "Now I Create New Heavens and a New Earth"—Isaiah 65:17

Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution

As an affiliate of ICAR, the CRDC engages in practice, research and education concerning the contributions of world religions to conflict and to peace. The Center mobilizes resources of religion, diplomacy and conflict resolution to support more effective interventions in global problems. Its work ranges from grassroots work to policymaking, and seeks to develop and support more effective collaboration between religious and secular grassroots leaders and policymakers.

The CRDC recently hosted two outstanding presentations concerning religion and coexistence. On March 6th, the CRDC hosted Dr. Zachary Karabell, who spoke on "*The Legacy and Future Po-*

tential of Peaceful Coexistence of the Three Faiths." Dr. Karabell is the author of, "*Peace be upon You: The Story of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish Coexistence.*" This presentation was covered by Book TV – C-SPAN2 and will air at a later date.

Also in March, Dr. Yehezkel Landau was invited to deliver a presentation on "*Conflict Prevention Initiatives in Israel/Palestine – Reflections on Past Experiments and Future Alternatives.*" Dr. Landau is Faculty Associate in Interfaith Relations at Hartford Seminary, where he coordinates an interfaith training program for Jews, Christians, and Muslims called "Building Abrahamic Partnerships."

ICAR Faculty Books Published (cont.)

Identity, Morality and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict

By Daniel Rothbart, ICAR Associate Professor and Karyna Korostelina, ICAR Research Professor



Daniel Rothbart, Ph.D.
ICAR Professor



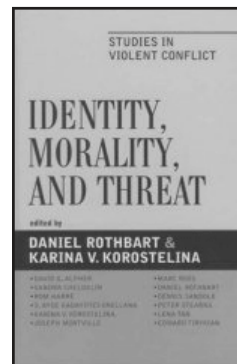
K. Korostelina, Ph. D.
ICAR Professor

"The essays confront the practice of demonizing the Other as a justification for violent conflict and the conditions that enable these distorted images to shape future decisions"

Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict offers a critical examination of the social psychological processes that generate outgroup devaluation and ingroup glorification as the source of conflict. Dr. Daniel Rothbart and Dr. Karyna Korostelina bring together essays analyzing the causal relationship between escalating violence and opposing images of the Self and Other.

The essays confront the practice of demonizing the Other

as a justification for violent conflict and the conditions that enable these distorted images to shape future decisions. The authors provide insight into the possibilities for transforming threat-narratives into collaboration-narratives, and for changing past opposition into mutual understanding. *Identity, Morality, and Threat* is a strong contribution to the study of identity-based conflict and psychological defenses



List Price: \$90.00
Hardcover: 430 pages
Publisher: Lexington Books
ISBN: 0739116185
2006

Contents

1. Introduction: Identity, Morality, and Threat - D. Rothbart & K. Korostelina
2. The Texture of Threat - Rom Harre
3. Moral Denigration of the Other - D. Rothbart & K. Korostelina
4. Identity Under Siege: Injustice, Historical Grievance, Rage, and the 'New' Terrorism - Dennis J.D. Sandole
5. Identity Salience as a Determinant of the Perceptions of the Others -Karina V. Korostelina
6. Humanitarianism and Intolerance: Two Contemporary Approaches to the Other - Peter N. Stearns
7. Cultural Differences of Perception of the Other - Karina V. Korostelina
8. From Incorporation to Disengagement: East Timor And Indonesian Identities, 1975-1999 - Lena Tan
9. Islamic Tradition of Nonviolence: A Hermeneutical Approach - S. Ayse Kadayifici-Orellana
10. "Good Violence" and the Myth of the Eternal Soldier - David G. Alpher and Daniel Rothbart
11. Gender and Violence: Redefining the Moral Ground - Sandra I. Cheldelin
12. Psychocultural Interpretations and Dramas: Identity Dynamics in Ethnic Conflict - Marc H. Ross
13. Coping with Collective Stigma: The Case of Germany - Edward A. Tiryakian
14. Reconciliation as *Realpolitik* : Facing the Burdens of History in Political Conflict Resolution - Joseph V. Montville



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

By Susan Hirsch, ICAR Associate Professor

On August 7, 1998, bombs exploded at two United States embassies in East Africa. American anthropologist Susan Hirsch and her husband Jamal, a Kenyan, were among the thousands of victims, and Jamal died. From there, Hirsch went on to face devastating grief with the help of friends and families on two continents, observing the mourning rituals of her husband's community to honor him. When the alleged bombers were captured and sent to New York to stand trial, she witnessed firsthand the at-

tempts of America's criminal justice system to handle terrorism through the law.

In the Moment of Greatest Calamity is her story--a tale told on many levels: personal, anthropological, legal, and, finally, political. The book's central chapters describe Hirsch's experience of the bombing trials in a Manhattan federal court in 2001, including a behind-the-scenes look at the investigation leading up to the trial, encounters with some of the FBI's leading terrorism investigators, and

many moments of drama from the proceedings themselves. Hirsch reveals the inner conflict that results from her opposition to the death penalty and concludes that the trial was both flawed and indispensable.

Hirsch's story of this tragedy and its legal aftermath comes to life through--and is enhanced by--her skills as a social scientist. Her unique viewpoint makes it unlike any other story about terrorism.



Susan Hirsch, Ph.D.
ICAR Professor

"In the Moment of Greatest Calamity is her story--a tale told on many levels: personal, anthropological, legal, and, finally, political."

Contents

1. Becoming a Swahili Widow
2. Recognizing New Identities
3. Recounting Chaos
4. Exposing a Conspiracy
5. Proving a "Jihad Job"
6. A Victim's Burden
7. Dramatic Exposures
8. Representing the Defendant

List Price: \$29.95
Hardcover: 310 pages
Publisher: Princeton University Press
ISBN: 0-691-12136-2
2006



Zones of Peace

By Landon Hancock, ICAR Ph.D. & Christopher Mitchell, ICAR Professor Emeritus

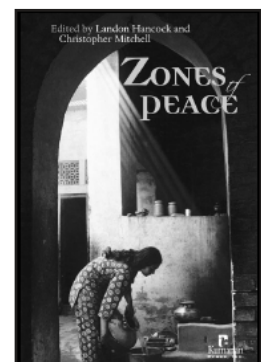
The notion of having sanctuary from violence or threat has probably existed as long as conflict itself. Whether people seek safety in a designated location, such as a church or hospital or over a regional border, or whether their professions or life situations (doctors, children) allow them, at least in theory, to avoid injury in war, sanctuary has served as a powerful symbol of non-violence. The authors of this collection

examine sanctuary as it relates to historical and modern conflicts from the Philippines to Colombia and Sudan. They chart the formation and evolution of these varied "zones of peace" and attempt to arrive at a "theory of sanctuary" that might allow for new and useful peace building strategies.

This book makes a significant contribution to the field of conflict resolution, using case stud-

ies to highlight efforts made by local people to achieve safety and democracy amid and following violent civil wars. The authors ground the emerging interest in sanctuary by providing a much needed description of the complexity of these peace zones.

List Price: \$55.00
Cloth: 256 pages
Publisher: Kumarian Press, Inc.
ISBN: 978-1-56549-234-9
2007



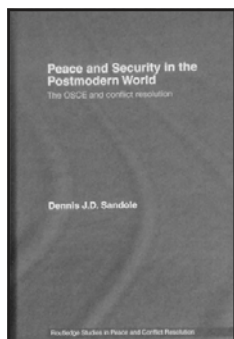
ICAR Faculty Books Published (cont.)

Peace and Security in the Postmodern World: The OSCE and Conflict Resolution

By Dennis J. D. Sandole, ICAR Professor



Dennis Sandole, Ph.D.
ICAR Professor



List Price: 75.00
Hardcover: 430 pages
Publisher: Routledge
ISBN: 9780415400770
2007

Comprising interviews conducted with senior CSCE/OSCE negotiators about recent tumultuous events in global affairs and insights from the conflict resolution literature, this book analyses how “postmodern” conflict such as the recent Balkan wars and the post-9/11 “new terrorism” can be prevented and/or otherwise dealt with in the future.

Using a conceptual framework designed to enhance analysis of complex identity-based

conflicts, the author has developed a model for a new European peace and security system (NEPSS), and assessed the “goodness-of-fit” between NEPSS and the perceptions of CSCE/OSCE practitioners at four points in time, to explore whether there was a convergence of theory and practice on how to prevent and/or respond to future Yugoslav-type conflicts and related acts of terrorism.

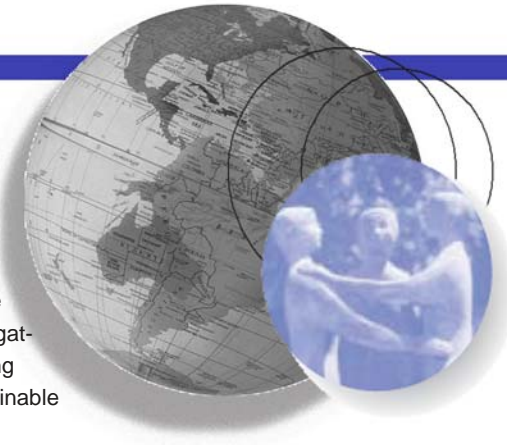
The author also examines to what extent consensus ex-

isted on the various issues over time and analyses pre-9/11 (1993, 1997, 1999) and post-9/11 (2004) trends on various peace and security issues to discern to what extent there has developed over time a culture of conflict resolution and an “issue paradigm,” in which senior diplomatic practitioners come down on various issues in complex ways that are not neatly captured by a Realpolitik-only or Idealpolitik-only perspective.

Contents

1. Violent Postmodern Conflict: A Need to Go Beyond Symptoms
2. A Framework for Analyzing Violent Postmodern Conflict
3. A Model for Responding to Violent Postmodern Conflict
4. Eliciting the Wisdom of CSCE/OSCE Negotiators: Research Design
5. CSCE/OSCE Negotiators' Perceptions of Select Peace and Security Issues
6. CSCE/OSCE Negotiators' Perceptions of Causes of the Balkan Wars of the 1990s
7. CSCE/OSCE Negotiators' Perceptions of Lessons Learned from the Balkan Wars of the 1990s
8. CSCE/OSCE Negotiators' Visions of Ideal Peace and Security in Postmodern Europe
9. 9. After 9/11: Peace and Security Issues Revisited
10. Implications for Research, Theory, and Policy

...this book analyses how “postmodern” conflict such as the recent Balkan wars and the post-9/11 “new terrorism” can be prevented and/or otherwise dealt with in the future.



ICAR Working Groups - Diverse in Focus and Target Regions

ICAR supports a number of working groups dedicated to discussing and proactively addressing regional conflicts, governmental issues and other subjects of concern involving conflict related issues. The working groups highlighted here are the Middle East Working Group (MEWG), the Latin America and Caribbean Working Group (LACWG), the Africa Working Group (AWG) and the Media Working Group (MWG).

The MEWG is comprised of ICAR and George Mason University students and local community members interested in discussing and proactively addressing the different issues/conflicts existing in the Middle East Region. MEWG aims to present lectures, dialogues, working group papers and other events to promote the understanding of the complicated issues existing in the Middle East. On September 11th 2006, MEWG held a Forum called *"Five Years Later, Where Are We Now?"*. The event's purpose was to bring together different perceptions and opinions from several renowned experts on 9-11, who served as panelists and it provided an opportunity for the public to express their opinions in a constructive environment. After the presentations, the panel participated in a dialogue with the audience, which led to a deeper analysis and understanding of the events of September 11th. In the upcoming year MEWG is planning to hold a variety of events on specific countries

within the Middle East that are dealing with conflict situations.

The LACWG was established in the 1990s and primarily focuses on both structural and violent conflicts in the Latin America and Caribbean Region. The group also addresses issues of importance to Diaspora communities from Latin America and the Caribbean.

The group has hosted speakers and conducted several brown bag events on topics related to the Latin American and Caribbean region, as well as specific countries. LACWG events conducted to date include annual summer training sessions in collaboration with the Organization of American States (OAS) through an OAS Fellowship program. The most recent event was a presentation on the conflict in Colombia, by representatives of the Columbia Christian Peacemaker Team. Projects planned for 2007 include an event on Immigration, a dialogue with the Cuban Diaspora in Miami, and a Haitian - Dominican Republic Dialogue.

The AWG is a George Mason University-based association of students of conflict analysis and resolution, activists, and academic practitioners interested in fostering an in-depth understanding of contemporary Africa in the global community. Through advocacy, activism, and research the AWG explores both the emerging challenges facing

Africa as well as the role of various agents in mitigating conflict and promoting peace, justice and sustainable development.

The AWG presented a career-focused panel discussion on the topic, *"Making a Difference, Making a Living."* This highly interactive expert presentation featured senior representatives from key Washington DC-based organizations dealing with various components of peace, justice and development in Africa. The program is part of a series of activities organized by the Africa Working Group to introduce students to recent trends in the management and resolution of conflict in Africa and career choices available upon graduation. It is also a unique opportunity for participating organizations to share their work with a wider audience and to build a resourceful constituency among graduate students interested in the nexus between peace, justice and development.

The MWG recently hosted Ferial Masry, who presented *"Experiences of a Saudi-American Woman"*. Masry related accounts of her life, which began in the Holy city of Mecca, Saudi Arabia, and spanned the continents of Africa, Europe, and the United States. The complexity of Ferial's multi-identities as a mother, a Muslim woman, an anti-war activist, high school teacher; and candidate for the California State Assembly, were touched on during her

presentation. She also shared the personal story of her son going to fight in Iraq under the American flag. Masry ultimately failed in her bid for a seat in the California State Assembly, however, she captured the imagination of many in the Arab world who were inspired by her candidacy, to forge their own path in the pursuit of democracy.

At another event, the MWG invited, Dr. Saad Eddin Ibrahim of Egypt to facilitate a discussion at ICAR, on democracy in the Middle East and the United State's key role in the region. Many Arabs are committed to improving the political climate in their respective countries and most pay a hefty price for their work in advancing democracy. Dr. Ibrahim was imprisoned as a result of his advocacy of human rights and equality in the Egyptian political system. However, neither imprisonment nor the destruction of his *Ibn Khaldoun Center* by the Egyptian security forces have curtailed his efforts in this arena. Though he was saddened by the loss of a lifetime's work at the Center, he is more determined to forge ahead. Dr. Ibrahim concluded his presentation with a reminder to the U.S. Government of its responsibility toward the advancement of democracy in the Middle East.

ICAR Ph.D. Dissertations December 2006

Dispute, Harm, Crime and Conflict: Narrative Positioning in Justice Practice

Jennifer Jean Langdon

A description of the changing discourse surrounding conflict resolution as justice practice. By redefining crime in various ways - as disputes, harms, and conflicts - conflict resolution and restorative justice practitioners construct alternative narratives of crime. Positioning theory is used as a tool to analyze

practitioner narratives of community mediation, victim offender mediation and community conferencing practice.

These alternative practices are understood as primarily discursive interventions, providing participants with narrative agency to recreate their identities in the aftermath of

wrongdoing. Thus the malignant positioning of offender and victims inherent in criminal court processing is counteracted.

Pluralism in Television News on State Formation Conflicts and Pluralism of "Imagined Communities": institutional Foundations and Implications for Media Conflict Interventions

Natalia Mirimanova

Mass media interventions into protracted conflicts are based on two assumptions: 1. greater proportion of private and other non-state media ensures pluralism in conflict reporting, and 2. supply of pluralism of perspectives on the conflict in media entails pluralism of opinions and attitudes in the society. The dissertation explores whether *institutional pluralism* among national television news channels translates into *pluralism of news frames* on a state

formation conflict that society is a party to, on the one hand, and whether pluralism in the national television news coverage of the state formation conflict fosters *pluralism of "imagined communities"* among the audience. These two sets of relationships were tested within a new interdisciplinary analytical framework in the case of the Russian television news coverage of the conflict over Chechnya in 2000-2001 and in the case of Serbian national television

news coverage of the conflict over Kosovo in 2001-2002. Russian television channels of varying degrees of institutional autonomy demonstrated consistent differences in their framing of Chechnya conflict. Distinct "imagined communities" accurately mapped onto the audiences of institutionally distinct channels in Russia. In Serbia no pluralism of framing Kosovo conflict was discovered among institutionally diverse television channels.

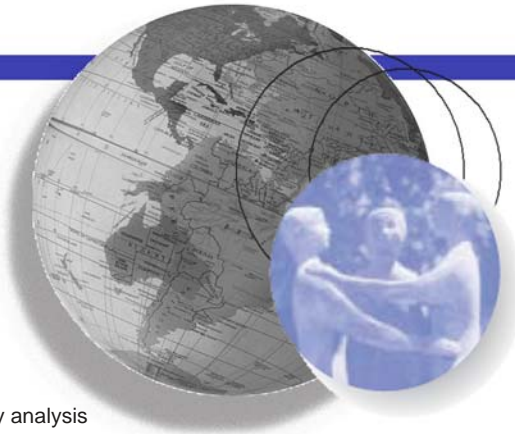
Frame Change: The Role of the Press and "the Irish Question"

Linda McLean Harned

Language frames us, our world and where we are headed—by changing the frames we use we can contribute to changing our future. Press frames are constructed through the selection of certain pieces of information that can contribute to paradigms, our ways of thinking; and to worldviews, our ways of seeing the world, of seeing and perceiving the other. Our per-

ception of the other informs our attitudes, which in turn influences how we behave toward the other. When the language the media uses to define the conflict changes, the frames of the conflict can also change, allowing for a different way of seeing the future. This work first discusses the role of the press in the historic frames used to define "the Irish ques-

tion." This is followed by an examination of how press frames in the Northern Ireland conflict were created, and maintained, and then how and why they changed. The impact of frame change is then discussed within the context of re-imagined communities and reconciliation.



Terrorism and Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice

William G. Cunningham, Jr.

An examination of terrorism and counterterrorism using the framework of conflict analysis and resolution. We develop a definition and a typology of terrorism that is based on the primary motivators of terrorism. We review of the causes of ethno-national terrorism focusing on relevant micro and macro level theories. We review the

strategies and tactics of contemporary terrorism and counterterrorism. We develop a framework to analyze counterterrorism based on the use of power, rights, and interest-based methods and processes. We develop an interest-based model of counterterrorism based on the theories and practices of conflict resolution. We

use a case study analysis of the terrorism and counterterrorism approaches used in Northern Ireland to validate our concepts and models. We apply Sandole's three pillar model of conflict analysis to analyze terrorism and counterterrorism interventions in Northern Ireland.

Loyalty and Order: Clan Identity & Political Preference in Kyrgyzstan & Kazakhstan

Melissa Murray Burn

Following the collapse of the Soviet system, clan and faction networking has gained considerable attention in Central Asia. Far reaching changes in politics, economics and society have reshaped clan relations to meet pressing needs, revealing an adaptability that confirms the endurance of the clan system. What are the implications for ongoing democratization efforts? This research project explores the extent to which

social group identity, specifically clan identity, shapes people's political preferences leading them to support authoritarian behavior or particular elements of liberal democracy. After developing an integrative cross-disciplinary framework to link identity to political attitudes, case study analyses in the post-Soviet republics of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan demonstrate that strong clan identity is correlated with a particular set of

political preferences. The multi-method research program included interviews and a small social survey in each country in 2005 together with an analysis of recent scholarship on the subject societies. The theoretical framework combines concepts from social identity theory, institutionalism literature, and political science.

Point Of View - ICAR's Unique Training and Retreat Center

Point of View is on the way to becoming an important resource for the field of conflict resolution. ICAR has hired the architectural firm of Bushman & Dreyfus from Charlottesville, Virginia to develop the Master Plan for *Point of View (POV)*. ICAR held a number of vision sessions with ICAR faculty and students, GMU departments, potential users and donors and POV neighbors. By July 2007, a Master Plan will be in place, providing the foundation for the architectural planning and design phase, slated to begin at the end of the year. In the meantime, the main manor house will undergo a renovation to provide spaces for group meetings, academic activities, international student housing, ancillary services, and special events, with

completion expected in early 2008.

ICAR will launch a campaign, In Fall 2007, to raise \$25 million for construction of *Point of View* and to support long-term programming, operation and student support. Additionally, ICAR is reaching out to potential *Point of View* sponsors, supporters and users. The *Point of View Academic Program Committee* at ICAR, chaired by Dr. Nadim Rouhana, is developing a two-year plan for academic programs at the center. Located 30 minutes south of Washington, DC, POV occupies a 120 acre parcel of pristine wooded land bordered by the Potomac River in Mason Neck, Virginia.

ICAR Increases Number of Summer Course Offerings

In Summer 2007, ICAR will launch some new courses along with unique offerings that address special topics. For more information on these course or to register, contact Julie Shedd, jshedd@gmu.edu.

CONF 240 Social Dynamics of Terrorism

Terrorism is a significant factor in conflict worldwide, yet the underlying causes and conditions that give rise to terrorist activity are often misunderstood and misrepresented. Through case studies of terrorist groups around the world, this course presents students with an analytic framework to account for terrorist acts and organizations. Course lectures and materials will also explore the various social dynamics underlying the development of terrorism and responses to it. Topics include but are not limited to: defining terrorism, recruitment into violent groups, dynamics of terrorist organizations, counterterrorism and human rights concerns, the role of religious and political ideologies in terrorism and counterterrorism, media coverage of terrorism, and impacts of terrorism on social structures and processes.

B Session (June 4- July 23), MW 1:30-4:10 pm

CONF 393: Philosophy, Conflict Theory and Violence

Examines the ways in which world religions play a role in conflict and conflict resolution. Investigates the ways each religion's values, world view, and hermeneutics can influence strategies for successful conflict interventions.

C Session (July 2- July 31), M-R 9:30-11:45 am

CONF 695 Terrorism and Conflict Resolution

At the completion of the course students will be able to analyze terrorist conflicts and develop intervention strategies. Students will apply basic concepts of conflict analysis and resolution and terrorism studies to terrorist conflicts. Students will apply analytical models to cases of terrorism and will explore the sources, dynamics, interventions, and outcomes of terrorist conflicts. Students will work in groups to develop an analytical case study of a terrorist conflict (submit a paper) and they will also present their case in class (in-class presentation). If time permits, through a simulated exercise, students will practice communication, problem solving, and negotiation skills to intervene in a tactical situation in a wider terrorist conflict (i.e. parade dispute negotiation in Northern Ireland during the Troubles).

X Session (June 8- June 23) Fri & Sat 9:00 am- 6:00 pm
Class Meetings on 6/8-6/9 and 6/22-6/23

CONF 695 Conflict Resolution and Peace Making in Islam

The course aims to explore the various means Islam utilizes to solve disputes and settle conflicts between individuals, spouses, groups and states. It aims also to discuss the question of war and peace, Jihad ,dealing with the enemy, dealing with Jews and Christians as people of the book ,peace treaties, prisoners of war ,and the status of religious minorities in the Islamic state.

X Session (June 4- July 6) TR 4:00-8:00 pm

CONF 695 International Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism: Strategy & Dynamics

Using readings from the asymmetric war, social movement and conflict literatures, this course will: provide an introduction to the concepts of terrorism and counter terrorism, help students explore the different ways in which terrorists and counter-terrorists organize and strategize, approach the problem of amassing support, engage in conflict and, in some cases, work to resolve their conflicts, and give students tools to evaluate a range of policies and strategies in the fight against terrorism To facilitate learning, students will work in teams to undertake independent research on *interactions* between terrorist and counterterrorist groups in different regions of the world. In other words each student will become an *expert* on terrorism and counterterrorism in one region. Students will also become familiar with existing terrorism databases and how to use them for research and evaluation. **X Session (July 13- July 28) Fri & Sat 9:00 am- 6:00 pm**
Class Meetings on 7/13-7/14 and 7/27-7/28

CONF 708 Identity and Conflict

Explores complex interrelations of social identity and post-modern conflicts in society with the emphasis on the role of identity in processes of conflict resolution and transformation. Critical rethinking of ethnic, national and religious identities as both generators and outcomes of conflict are an important part of the course. Extends knowledge on structure and dynamics of identity-based conflicts and develops a framework for their resolution. Course includes lectures, simulations, and case studies.

A Session (May 21- June 20) MWF 4:30- 7:30 pm

Spring Events Calendar

icar.gmu.edu/Events



Thursday, February 8 - ICAR Brown Bag Presentation

Community Stabilisation Support Programme (CSSP)
Efforts in Kosovo
Speaker: DR. DÍAZ, JUAN ARMANDO
12:00 - 1:30pm, Room 555, Truland Building
Contact: Erin Ogilvie, 703.993.1300

Thursday, February 8 - Identity, Morality and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict

Book Launch Party
5:30 - 7:30 pm, Room 555, Truland Building
Contact: Erin Ogilvie, 703-993-1310

Friday, February 16 - Prejudice Reduction Workshop

Graduate Students in Conflict Studies (GSCS)/Multicultural Resource and Research Center
National Coalition Building Institute (NCBI)
9am - 4pm, Room 555 Truland Building
Contact: L. Gabriel Rojo, 202.557.6951

Friday, February 23 - ICAR Africa Working Group Event

Beyond Multidimensional Peacekeeping
8:30 am - 4:00 pm
Room 244, Original Building, GMU Arlington Campus
Contact: Erin Rose Feeley to RSVP

Tuesday, February 27 - Point of View Seminar on International Conflict

The Evolution of Israeli Public Opinion Regarding the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967
Speaker: Dr. Neta Oren, ICAR Visiting Scholar
4:30 - 6:30 pm, Room 555, Truland Building
Contact and RSVP: Jennifer Meltzer

Monday, March 5 - ICAR Presentation

The World Peace Index Initiative - A significant milestone in the study of peace
Speaker: Steve Killelea
4:30 pm, Room 555, Truland Building
Contact: Jennifer Lock, 703.993.1301

Tuesday, March 6 - CRDC Event

The Legacy and Future Potential of Peaceful Coexistence Between the Three Faiths
Speaker: Dr. Zachary Karabell, author of, "Peace Be Upon You: The Story of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish Coexistence"
12:00-1:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 555
Contact: Alfred Farrugia, crdc@gmu.edu

Wednesday, March 7 - ICAR Brown Bag Presentation

Donor organizations and their impact on relief and development, monitoring and evaluation methods for peace-building, the internal politics of evaluation and the impact and quality of work being done in the CR field today
Speaker: Lee Briggs, ICAR Alumni
12:00 - 1:30 pm, Room 555 - Truland
Contact: Jennifer Lock, jlock1@gmu.edu, 703.993.1301

Wednesday, March 7 - CRDC Event

Conflict Prevention Initiatives in Israel/Palestine- reflections on past experiments and future alternatives
Speaker: Professor Yehezkel Landau,
7:15 pm, Truland Building, Room 555
Contact: Alfred Farrugia, crdc@gmu.edu

Wednesday, March 8 - East Asia Working Group Presentation

ICAR student discusses a recent trip to India for the 50th anniversary of Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism
Speaker: Jeremy Rinker, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate
12:00 - 1:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 555
Contact: Jennifer Lock, jlock1@gmu.edu, 703.993.1301

Thursday, March 8 - Africa and Gender Working Group Event

Peacekeepers or Perpetrators? Sexual Exploitation & Abuse by UN Peacekeeping Missions
Speaker: Sarah Martin, Advocate for Refugees International
12:00 am - 12:00 pm, Truland Building Room 666A
Contact: Jennifer Lock, jlock1@gmu.edu, 703.993.1301

Thursday, March 22 - A Celebration of Scholarship

Honoring the Contribution of ICAR Authors to Understanding the Pressing Issues of Our Time
Busboys and Poets - 2020 14th St. N.W., Washington D.C. 20009
Reception 5:30pm until 7:30pm

Friday, March 23 - Student Leadership Conference

Innovations in Student Leadership Conference
Connecting DC student leaders, groups, practitioners, and local NGO's interested in CR/ID
Co-sponsored by the Institute for Conflict Analysis & Resolution
9am-5pm, American University
Contact: L.Gabriel Rojo, lrojo@gmu.edu

Thursday, March 29 - ICAR Presentation

Conflict Analysis through the Exploration of Alternative Futures: A Scenario-Based Approach
Speaker: Andrew Blum, Director of the ICONS Project at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at UMD
5:30-7:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555
Contact: Jennifer Lock, 703.993.1301

Thursday, April 12 - Information Session

Prospective Student Information Session
6:00 - 7:30 pm, Truland, Room 555
Contact: Erin Ogilvie, 703-993-1310

Thursday, April 26 - Ph.D. Dissertation Defense

Candidate: Pushpa Iyer
Title: Coming to the Table: Decisions and Decision-Making in a Non-State Armed Group, The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
10:00 am - 12:00 pm, Truland, Room 530
Contact: Erin Ogilvie, 703-993-1310

Friday, April 27 - ICAR Brown Bag Presentation

Bosnia Applied Practice Team Presentation
12:00 - 1:00 pm, Truland, Room 555
Contact: Jennifer Lock, jlock1@gmu.edu, 703.993.1301

Saturday, May 19 - Commencement/Convocation

2:00 - 5:00 pm, Harris Theater
GMU Fairfax Campus
Contact: Jennifer Lock, jlock1@gmu.edu, 703-993-1301

*To view the complete ICAR calendar of events, go to icar.gmu.edu/Events. The online calendar is updated daily.

25 YEARS OF PIONEERING THEORY, RESEARCH, AND PRACTICE

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, many leaders are looking to peacemaking and conflict resolution as the most effective ways to deal with the violence and hatred that threaten global security.

George Mason University's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) is committed to interrupting these cycles of violence through rigorous academic programs and innovative work in the field.

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

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