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

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

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

The Yemeni National Dialogue Conference (NDC) ended officially after ten months of deliberations among 565 delegates, and under the auspices of the United Nations and its Special Advisor to the Secretary General Jamal Ben Omar. On January 21, 2014, the conference closed with an outcome document containing close to 1,400 recommendations and principles intended to shape the future State of Yemen. Yemenis are proud of this achievement. President Hadi described it best in his

NDC Plenary Session. Photo: Alma Jadallah.

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

The NDC was the first experiment in the Arab world of its kind. It set out to provide a process to help Yemenis reflect on the past, discuss the present, and chart a road map for Yemen's future. With the full support of the international community and in accordance with Security Council Resolution 2140, the dialogue served as an intervention and a conflict resolution process that saved Yemen from its downhill descent into civil war. Some analysts described it as one of the only negotiated and most inclusive transitional and public participatory processes in the history of the region.

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

commentary

Conflict Zone, Comfort Zone:
Pedagogy, Methodology, and Best Practices in Field-Based Courses

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

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

The workshop explored experiential learning and in particular field-based courses that take students out of the traditional classroom setting. Presentations focused on the ethical dilemmas students and instructors encounter in such courses, different approaches to course-design, and

Columbia Field Course. Photo: Agnieszka Paczynska.

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

Ethics within Inequity

By moving students out of the traditional classroom, field-based courses provide students with a unique opportunity to 'link theory to practice.' Workshop participants discussed how such courses allow students to explore the ethics of practice in the real world and be sensitized to social disparities and power asymmetries in communities in which they engage in practice. At the same time, the very nature of field-based courses presents a number of ethical dilemmas. One of the key challenges that the participants discussed revolves around the 'time-frame' and 'local collaboration' nexus, focusing in particular on the tension between the ethical imperative of working with communities and the constraints of achieving community-based reciprocity given the short duration (usually 3-6 weeks) of field-based courses. In many instances, this tension can create pressure for development of a transactional course model, in which economic constraints and assessment measures supersede ethical aims and considerations, and 'experience' is treated as a commodity, which is marketed and sold to students as transformative. In such cases, the local communities are positioned as the 'source' of that experience and training for students. Such course models can reinforce structural power asymmetries by benefitting students at the expense of local communities, and some courses might amount to little more than an exercise in parachute peace-building and/or conflict tourism.

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

SSWIPE:

Southern Sudanese Women's Initiative for Peace Education

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

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

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

Welcome to Rumbek. Photo: Flickr User More Altitude.

Jenny White. Photo: Jenny White

communities who want to end the cycle of violence and deal with conflict constructively.

I attended the Clinton Global Initiative University Conference last month for this project, and I am looking forward to the chance to learn from members of the international community who have implemented projects like this one.

The first step in this process for me in South Sudan is to learn as much as I can about the people and the culture of Rumbek. I will be traveling there in June to conduct interviews of women, teachers, and community leaders in the area to garner a clearer sense of the elements of peace education and conflict resolution work that best suit this community. I am hopeful that this research process will help me to stay mindful of the small role I have in the larger vision of this project. I am bringing with me only the specific skill set I have learned at S-CAR, with which I hope to facilitate this work. At the beginning of this project it was easy to make assumptions about what is needed or wanted in Rumbek, but I am swiftly realizing that is not the space I should fill. I am looking forward to the opportunity to learn from the people of Rumbek and to build on the insights already provided by theorists and practitioners in the field.

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

Conflict Zone, Comfort Zone

Re-framing Engagement

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

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

Annual Celebration of Achievements

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

April 23rd   5:30-8:30

Spring Celebration of Achievements

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

Cassie Ammen. Photo: Mason Creative Services·

flict resolution field.

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

Student Opinion: The Revolution Will be Tweeted

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

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

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

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

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

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

As the protests developed after the events of "12F" (February 12th), I was in the dark as to what was going on. The vast majority of tweets that my friends sent out either read as confusing announcements of where the next rally would be held, frantic tweets in all caps about what sections of the city were hearing gunshots or noticing anti-protest tanks, or charged rhetoric calling for either violence or peace. In this regard, the lack of any news outlets proved how powerful a media blackout, even with Twitter, could be. I was thousands of miles away, and the only updates I was receiving were 140 character quibbles that I couldn't confirm or prove as fact or deny as fiction. The people soon found ways around this. During the third night of protests, for example, many of my friends began retweeting a link to a livefeed that someone had set up on Ustream. With the link I was able to watch a blurry camera feed of Caracas, listening to shots and insults in Spanish. During the rallies, people began to take pictures of the protests, accompanied with descriptions of the scene and a time stamp to prove that the picture was real. Another friend retweeted an article on how to protect oneself from many methods that anti-riot police might use. I was able to see this all developing live. In the context of Venezuela and other movements, it is not hard to see how the Twittersphere played a role, however large or minor. Not to be overlooked is the fact that Twitter also affected the rhetoric and overall message coming out of Venezuela.

Many users were able to share pictures showing 'colectivos' and members of the National Guard violently attacking unarmed student protestors, for example, allowing for the opposition to raise awareness of the human rights violations currently being committed by Maduro's government. ∎

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

Jackie Finch, S-CAR Career Advisement Services

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

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

Jackie Finch. Photo: S-CAR.

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

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

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

Wilfredo Magno Torres III, S-CAR PhD Student

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

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

Wilfredo is an anthropologist with over a dozen years of experience in peace development initiatives. Before coming to S-CAR, he managed The Asia Foundation's conflict management program in the Phillipines. In this capacity, he designed, supported, and coordinated conflict management projects in close collaboration with partners of the Foundation that wanted to help improve relations between communities and security forces. Wilfredo's decision to pursue his PhD in conflict analysis and resolution was borne
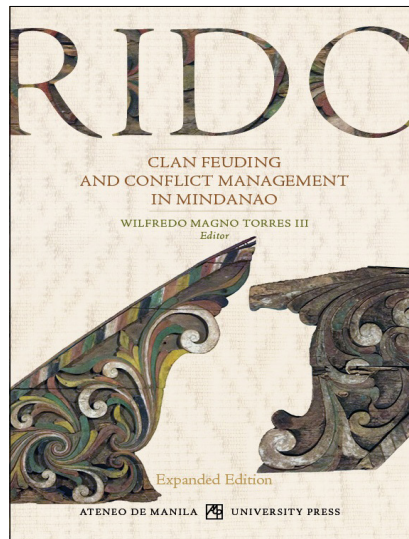
Book - Rido: Clan Feuding and Conflict Management in Mindanao. Photo: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

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

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

The Yemeni National Dialogue

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Book Award: -

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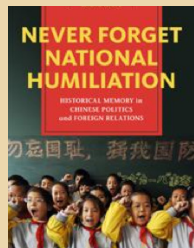
Conflict Zone, Comfort Zone

The Olive Tree Project at UC Irvine begins to involve students months before they embark on an intensive trip to many communities in the Middle East. As students work together to raise funds for their trip, they learn not only about the communities they will visit, but also about the perspectives of diaspora populations in the United States. The need for preparation is not limited to students, however, as faculty

Liberia Field Course. Photo: Agnieszka Paczynska.

need to be prepared for much more than the academic aspect of the course in order to avoid risk, unpredictability, contrary reactions, and uncomfortable situations. Faculty from S-CAR noted that classroom-based experiential learning activities can provide opportunities to raise some of the key issues prior to a trip.

Towards Best Practices

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

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