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Portrayal of Women in Arab Spring

By Alma Abdul-Hadi Jadallah, Adjunct Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, ajadalla@gmu.edu

n an article written for the Guardian in April 2011, a group of authors wrote, "Women may have sustained the Arab Spring, but it remains to be seen if the Arab Spring will sustain women." This statement is indicative of what will come next for women in the region, and how the changes sweeping the region will affect their social and political status.

Conflict often arises from unmet expectations, or incompatibility of

goals. Therefore, we must consider how to manage our expectations during times

of change. This can be difficult in the context of the mainstream media, which dominates discourse on Arab and that can be detrimental

Take for example the notion that many women who have emerged as leaders in the Arab Spring are the exceptions rather than women



Women protesters at Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt. Photo: Kodak Agfa, Flickr.

Muslim women in a way to the process of change. who have agency, a few among masses of women who are demanding change alongside the men in their countries. In the midst of ongoing Western hegemony, a continuing challenge of those who are writing on the topic of women in the region is to approach it with sensitivity, rather than with the presumption of superior knowledge on issues that it faces, particularly when it comes to the status of women.

Orientalism continues in its most aggressive forms, often through patronization and the co-optation of issues, as well as essentialization of the Arab and Muslim 'other.' For example, we continue to see the media sensationalizing issues. publishing countless horror stories on

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Life After S-CAR: Transforming Community

Through Mediation

By Perrin Scanlon, S-CAR M.S. Alumna, ADR Program Manager, NVMS, familymediation@nvms.us

any in our community know of the certifications and trainings that Northern Virginia Mediation Service (NVMS) offers conflict practitioners in mediation, facilitation, and other conflict management skills. What some may not know is that NVMS also offers a variety of conflict resolution services to the community at low or no cost.

NVMS honored in 2010 by Fairfax County Board of Supervisors. Photo: NVMS.

As a graduate of S-CAR, it is exciting to have the opportunity to work as the Alternative Dispute Resolution Program Manager for the Mediation program at NVMS. I have the fortune of working for an organization that applies conflict resolution theory to everyday practices, helping the community to address conflict in a healthy and collaborative way.

Some people see mediation as similar to counseling, while others think of it as another form of arbitration. I think mediation is about providing a safe space for people to work through extremely difficult and emotional situations. Mediation gives control of outcomes back to the parties and is a process within which their feelings receive consideration, and one that also helps to keep their dignity intact.

Mediation, for instance, can provide siblings a space to have a constructive conversation around the care of their aging parents; it can facilitate more effective communication between a child (or adult) and his or her parents; it can even turn divorce into a collaborative and honest process.

People come to NVMS during some of life's most challenging crises, which I see particularly in divorce cases. It is also in these cases that I see some of the most positive impacts of mediation. In many cases, I notice a strong sense of urgency from parties who want to get through their divorce as fast as possible. Understandably so, given the

highly stressful nature of divorces.

The major frustration in such cases is that in order to move on, many parties need to make very difficult decisions. An added difficulty is that parties must agree on these decisions or have the court system render a decision for them. The way these decisions are managed will impact the parties for the rest of their lives, especially

when children are involved. When children are involved, in most cases, the parents will continue to have a connection. Thus, maintaining a level of respect in their relationship will affect how healthy and constructive the communication will be in the future on important issues related to their children.

NVMS provides a service that allows people to avoid litigation, a custody or divorce 'battle,' and to work collaboratively on learning how to successfully live apart. NVMS is also a creative organization: it is always finding innovative ways to apply dispute resolution services to address new conflict situations faced by conflict practitioners and members of the community. Our newest

community initiatives include the Restorative Justice and Elder Mediation programs.

Below is a small snapshot of our accomplishments in the past year:

- 950+ citizens were provided mediation services in local courts.
- 87 families, 175 adults, and dozens of children were helped through the strife of separation by mediation.
- 186 students, parents, and others were helped through restorative justice conferences, over half of which were bullying cases.
- 688 individuals participated in our trainings, including many volunteers and interns who could not otherwise afford to pay.

It is exciting to be a part of an organization through which I can apply the knowledge I gained at S-CAR and be at the intersection of theory and practice.

To learn more about Northern Virginia Mediation Service, and for training, internship and volunteer opportunities, visit our website: http://www.nvms.us/

Engaging Youth: The Peace Camp Model

By Nawal Rajeh, S-CAR M.S. Alumna, nrajeh@gmail.com

e do not have to look far to be reminded of the prevalence of violence in our society at every level. Reading the headlines, which range from homicides to interstate wars, it can seem overwhelming to know how to respond either in our own communities or globally.

It was over five years ago now that I was serving as a Jesuit Volunteer in Baltimore City. My placement was as a community organizer at St. Frances Academy Community Center, which sits in the Johnston Square community, one of the most economically impoverished neighborhoods of the city. St. Frances Academy is the oldest institution in the nation educating African Americans and its founder Mother Mary Lange and the Oblate Sisters of Providence were doing so at a time when it was still illegal in this country. The school has been operating in the city since 1828. Ten years ago, the sisters built the community center as a continuum of their service to the community and hired Ralph E. Moore Jr. as the Director.

Moore has been organizing in Baltimore since his youth on issues of housing, hunger, and joblessness. When I came along, he and I were brainstorming for new summer programming for the youth we served in the neighborhood and decided to run a Peace Camp. The Peace Camp model with which I was familiar had been started by a group of religious women and concerned educators in St. Louis after September 11, 2001. We took this model and expanded it into our own six-week model. The camp just completed its fifth summer; several kids attended for the second, third, fourth, or fifth time.

The camp has continued to grow both in curriculum and size. For the past few years, we have had a waiting list as large as the camp itself. We have always striven to create new educational opportunities for the kids, whether it's a hike on the Appalachian Trail or meeting a real life "peace hero" like Van Jones, former Obama Administration Green Collar Jobs Advocate, at the White House.

Perhaps the most important piece built into the camp is a hands-on, action-oriented approach. If the kids are learning about Harriet Tubman, they navigate a virtual Underground Railroad set up by the staff in the Center and visit her Eastern Shore home as a Friday field trip. If learning about democracy, the kids vote for a site to visit for their next field trip—and the majority wins. Our kids have even gone down to the National Harbor in Baltimore to educate people about the plight of Aung San Suu Kyi. The very next day as they arrived at camp, a few of them came running up to me asking, "Is she free, is she free?" Though she was not freed yet, we were happy to announce to them the next summer that she was indeed no longer on house arrest and that they were a part of



Peace Campers in Baltimore, MD. Photo: N. Rajeh.

the great international effort to educate others about her struggle.

But the education stretches further than the inspirational lives of others. Children explore and talk about what they want to be known for in the future when they too will be celebrated as peace heroes. I have heard them speak of everything from eradicating gangs in their neighborhood to eradicating childhood hunger in their nation and the world. The past three summers, they have advocated for their neighborhood pool which has fallen victim to budget cuts from the City. The campers have protested at City Hall and appeared on television news and in the newspaper. Each year, they have made small victories for themselves and enjoyed the fruits of their hard work by swimming in the pool.

Why Peace?

Research from the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School for Public Health, which runs the Center for the Prevention of Youth Violence, shows terrifying statistics. According to their website (www.jhsph.edu/preventyouthviolence):

- Bullies identified by age 8 are six times more likely to have a criminal conviction by age 24.
- Primary prevention works for over 80% of all students in a given school.
- Direct and indirect costs of youth violence in the U.S. exceed \$158 billion every year.

These are just small reminders as to why we hope this camp and similar programs continue across our cities and nation, so that our children who will one day be leaders will be equipped with the personal skills and broader knowledge to make positive changes in their lives and in the lives of others.

Learn more about **The Nawal Rajeh Peace Camp** at the St. Francis Academy website: http://www.sfacademy.org/



Lynch Lecture 2011: Reflections

By Dennis Sandole, Professor of Conflict Resolution and International Relations, dsandole@gmu.edu

s. Yasmina Mrabet, editor of the *S-CAR Newsletter*, has invited me to comment on the 23rd Annual Lynch Lecture, "Peacemaking and Development: China's Role in the World." The lecture was presented on Tuesday, 25 October 2011 at the Arlington Campus of George Mason University, by Mme. Yan Junqi, Vice Chair of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) and Senior Vice President of the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD).

My first observation is that Mme. Yan's presentation, which lasted well over one hour, did not address "peacemaking" or any other aspect of the comprehensive subject matter dealt with by S-CAR faculty and students. Mme. Yan's comments were reflective of a political speech rather than a presentation in the spirit of the Lynch family that endowed S-CAR's Lynch Chair and the Lynch Lecture to further the development and institutionalization of the multidiscipline of Conflict Analysis and Resolution locally, nationally, and globally.

As I departed Room 125 of Founders Hall, where the speech was made under tight security – the Chinese Ambassador was in the audience – I overheard a number of comments made by S-CAR students, suggesting that Mme Yan's speech was either "boring" or an "exercise in propaganda" that no one in the audience, including a number of Tibetan-American women sitting in front of me, had a chance to refute. The Q & A period, lasting a relatively short time, was confined to only three questions, which were asked by S-CAR faculty trying to build upon Mme. Yan's comments.

Both S-CAR Dean Dr. Andrea Bartoli and Lynch Professor Dr. Sandra Cheldelin, who had

invited Mme. Yan to be this year's Lynch Lecturer, had expected that Mme. Yan's comments would be in keeping with the Lynch Lecture tradition. Drs. Bartoli and Cheldelin and a delegation of GMU/S-CAR faculty had met Mme. Yan in China in June 2010. during a visit hosted by the Chinese People's Association of Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD) and sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), New England

and Beijing Offices.
Adding to the



Mme. Yan and Lynch Lecture panel. Photo: Mason Creative Services

post-speech "fallout," two of the Tibetan-American women in attendance sent a letter to U.S. Congressman Gerry Connolly expressing disappointment and mentioning that "silent compliance with the Chinese leadership promoting their propaganda in our public institutions is not only a dangerous route for the United States to embark on, but also an insult to the countless Tibetans, Uyghurs, Falun Gong practitioners, and Han Chinese human rights and democracy activists who paid with their lives to challenge [this] very propaganda."



Protesters placed flyers at event reception tables. Photo: S-CAR.

Given the perception that S-CAR was politically naive to expect anything other than what we heard from a high level official and former mayor of Shanghai in the presence of her country's ambassador, one of three responses could be made to this PR challenge.

First, S-CAR could ignore Mme. Yan's presentation to avoid making a difficult situation even worse. This would not, however, be wise,

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S-CAR Community Events

Working in the Field (If They Let You In): The Many Challenges Conflict Resolution Practitioners Face Practicing or Conducting Research in the Field

Arlington Campus, 02/09/2012

Communications Technologies and Conflict Dynamics: Continuity or Change?

Fairfax Campus, Research I, 04/19-04/20/2012

http://scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

he De-industrialization of Burial Rituals

By Jason Reader, S-CAR Doctoral Candidate, jreader@gmu.edu

n the heart of New York City's Ground Zero Memorial, amidst the towers of steel and glass and the granite fountains of mourning reflection, the last surviving tree pulled from the rubble of that fateful September day stands tall, though burnt and mangled, as a living testament to life's resilience. The prominent symbolic inclusion of life seems to be a deliberate dialectical juxtaposition to the lifelessness of industrialized memorials constructed of cut stone, concrete, steel, and glass. In order to appease the outcries of "never forget!" the industrialized memorials falsely promise eternal remembrance by means of symbolically constructed and arranged non-living materials; and yet, inscriptions set in stone will erode to dust as the memories fade from the consciousness of the living. Sustainable resolution of any conflict requires an immortalization of remembrance that can only be achieved through the cultural and, perhaps, religious sanctification of living memorials. The living memorial has the ability, if properly maintained, to grow alongside society's cultural memory; ideally, the living memorial should grow and strengthen with each passing generation.

The so-called "Survivor Tree1" is essentially a living grave marker for those who have perished from the collapse of the Twin Towers. Living grave markers, such as a tree, add a new dimension to the sacredness of life; the sanctifying of a living grave marker bestows on it the same psychological and cultural protections afforded other gravesites. The living grave markers will be afforded greater legal and customary protection than other non-sanctified life forms. If multiples of these living grave sites are organized and recognized as a new living graveyard, then entire forests of the dead could be sanctified; sanctifying forests would protect them from logging and other forms of deforestation. If the new living grave markers were hardwoods, such as oaks and redwoods, then sanctified forests could provide adequate protection for the hardwoods' extensive maturation period.2

Personally, I think that I will make it my last wish to have a great oak tree planted over my biodegradable coffin so that my body's



View of September 11 Memorial and Museum Photo: Cizzybone, Flickr.

decomposition can foster a new life. I hope my family would also choose to be buried alongside of me so that our decedents can marvel and cherish our living family tree. If only a billion others would observe a similar burial ritual, then the great forests could once again inspire awe, wonder, and humility.

Selected S-CAR Media Appearances

Cheryl Duckworth Interview: Challenges and Opportunities in Conflict Resolution

Cheryl Duckworth, S-CAR Alumna, Professor of Conflict Resolution, NOVA Southeastern University PRESSedent. 12/06/2011

Richard Rubenstein Interview: Conflict Resolution Approaches and Challenges

Richard Rubenstein, Professor of Conflict Resolution and Public Affairs PRESSedent, 12/06/2011

Leaders seek solutions for Afghanistan

Aziz Abu Sarah, Executive Director, Center for World Religions, Diplomacy, and Conflict Resolution World News Australia, 12/05/2011

Dr. Andrea Bartoli on Catholics and Peacemaking

Dr. Andrea Bartoli, S-CAR Dean, Drucie French Cumbie Chair of Conflict Analysis and Resolution Center for Catholic Thought, 11/14/2011

http://scar.gmu.edu/media

¹ Staff Writer (September 6, 2011). "1010 WINS 9/11 Series: A Look Inside The WTC Memorial Site." CBS New York. http:// newyork.cbslocal.com/2011/09/06/1010-wins-911-series-alook-inside-the-wtc-memorial-site/

² This point might prove critical for the reforestation of these great hardwoods which are prized for the quality of wood. Harvesting great hardwoods is not sustainable, because of their extensive maturation period which in some cases, such as sequoia, redwood, and oak, can take centuries.

Charles Martin-Shields, S-CAR PhD Candidate

By Catherine Ammen, S-CAR M.S. Alumna, Knowledge Management Associate, cammen@gmu.edu

harles Martin-Shields, a PhD student in the 2011 cohort at S-CAR, was led into the Conflict Analysis field after switching focus from a specialization in German Political Development and Theory while completing his Bachelor's degree. Martin-Shields later joined the Peace Corps and spent two years in Samoa, where he was able to see firsthand the pitfalls of international development and begin learning about how to improve this process. At S-CAR, Charles focuses his research on why some states, in spite of significant conflict risk, are resilient over time, and this interest has expanded to include research of how mobile and social technology can support conflict prevention and peacebuilding. He also has a deep interest in quantitative analysis, as well as a general interest in theories of methodology.

Charles is also the Director of Special Projects and Simulation Design at TechChange, a Washington, DC-based consulting group teaching innovative technologies for social change. Among other interesting projects, Charles has worked with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation's Nairobi office, training civil society organization leaders, a project he describes as satisfying mostly due to the process of change he witnesses in participants

as they learn to use the software and hardware, work through issues related to applicability in a challenging environment, and, ultimately, "complete the course by integrating the technology into their own contexts.'

Charles plans to continue working with TechChange, and perhaps write his dissertation in New



Charles Martin-Shields. Photo: C. Martin-Shields.

York City, due to the formative work that NYU, Columbia, and the United Nations do around conflict management and technology. After his doctorate, he would like to continue his work and hopefully also make time to teach and share his passion with others. To meet the rest of our 2011 PhD cohort, check out http://scar.gmu.edu/phdprogram/2011-PhD-Cohort. ■

Maha Addasi, S-CAR Graduate Certificate Student

By Jacquelyn Bleak, S-CAR Executive Coordinator, jbleak@gmu.edu



Maha Addasi Photo: M. Addasi.

ooks and literature are a significant source for new ideas and information, and Maha Addasi has a unique understanding of the power of stories. Maha is a Graduate Certificate student at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR), as well as a children's book author and former journalist.

Medical journalism attracted her and after spending time writing about the contentious topics in the medical industry and hosting a medical show which was broadcast worldwide via satellite, Maha earned her Masters degree in writing. Maha spent many years improving her writing and transitioned from being a journalist to a children's book author. Her first book, The White Nights of Ramadan, was named one of the twelve best children's books in 2008. Maha was also featured as one of the 2011 Arab American Book Award Winners for her second book, Time to Pray. Maha's vast knowledge of writing for different audiences allows her to connect with people inter-generationally.

During her graduate studies, Maha found that a lot of research portrayed events very accurately but used a tone in the writing that may have influenced readers to view groups in a negative light. Similarly, avoidance of acknowledging some groups in writing could impact the way readers view these groups. Maha saw an opportunity in the conflict resolution field and began her studies at S-CAR.

Currently Maha's interest in the field relates to intergenerational conflicts between the young and elderly. Through Maha's research and life journey she has been able to develop knowledge regarding some of the conflicting narratives between the old and the young. As modern technology advances, people are living longer and this may impact relationships between parents and children, especially as they age. Just as Maha came to be a children's book author to speak and hear from the young, she has come to the conflict resolution field in hopes of also giving the elderly a voice. Maha sees great potential in the conflict resolution field, describing it as one of "the most versatile" and one that "every age can benefit from." Maha will continue to listen to and give voice to the generations through her forthcoming children's book and studies in the conflict resolution field, role plays, and other experiential learning tools.

Portrayal of Women in Arab Spring

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honor killing, female genital mutilation, and spousal abuse. Despite the important role of women in the Arab Spring and the important role that women have historically played in every Arab and Muslim society, Orientalist discourse continues to depict women in the region as oppressed, backward, and in need of a saving grace. I would like to make the case that there is a need not to communicate and report on behalf of Arab and Muslim women, but rather to allow them to speak for themselves through access to mass communication outlets. Inadequate access to mainstream media and exclusion of women's voices on the issues of importance to them is ongoing, though increasingly mitigated by the social media tools that can be accessed by users directly.

In examining the changes in the region and how the status of women will be affected, both internal and external factors must be considered. Internal factors include traditional leadership models that dominate public and private institutions, which include religious leadership and the interpretation of religious text as they relate to gender. These structures, though brought under scrutiny through the revolutions, will continue to impact their outcomes until new paradigms evolve that institutionalize broader processes for public and political participation of women.

For example, when examining women's relationships with dominant Islamic parties, the essence of the relationship must be the focus, rather than just dismissing it due to the religious values it espouses. This allows us to ask; is it one of equal rights? Or is it subservient to a patriarchal will that allows men to manipulate the idea of women's rights and politicize them to serve their goals? With limited access to scholarship on Islam by female Muslim scholars, like those offered by Amina Wadud and Fatema Mernissi, alternative interpretations of religious text remain excluded from mainstream discourse on Islam in general and on Muslim women in particular.

External to the Arab region, there is a need for recognition of the diversity in women's concerns and objectives across the Arab region. By this I mean that women are not a homogeneous group their grievances across socio-economic divides differ from one Arab country to another. Some are secularist, some have strong party affiliations and some are simply managing to fulfill their day-to-day responsibilities as mothers, sisters, workers, and members of their society at large. From a cultural and social perspective, women in the region are managing change and finding ways within their roles to shape new partnerships that establish and formalize their influence and agency. We cannot assign meaning to the identities of women in the region and make a sweeping claim that all women have the same goals and unmet needs. Practitioners

in the conflict resolution field, in their analysis, must frame their discussion in a specifically located and contextual manner.

In Arab Spring countries overall, we see little in terms of identifying solutions for incorporating women into formal decision-making processes in the aftermath of the revolutions from both internal and external stakeholders. An important variable is a continued dependency on foreign aid from the West, which comes to the region with outside goals that are not necessarily compatible with what is needed on the ground. Other considerations include the impact of trauma and threats of physical violence that continue to threaten women's health and mental wellbeing.

The role of women in the Arab Spring presents opportunities more so than challenges. These women have attracted the attention of the entire world and created tension within their systems by questioning and bravely challenging the status quo. Translating gains of the Arab Spring into policies that safeguard women's rights and give proper political representation may take time, but will come to fruition. In addition, the role of women in the Arab Spring has empowered Arab women in the Arab diaspora, who feel proud and emboldened by their strategies and are speaking up in support of these changing roles. This, as well as its impact on other women's movements, is a phenomenon worth tracking and documenting for future analysis.

I end this with a call for us here in the United States and for members of the conflict resolution field to re-think and re-strategize the way we engage with the Arab region in light of the Arab Spring. With a strong awareness of the ongoing challenges we face in a post-9/11 environment, I ask that we educate ourselves about the region so that we are able to stand up in the workplace, in the field and in the communities that we are a part of, against any type of bias and discrimination, and respond tactfully and with authenticity to stereotypical and generalizing remarks made concerning the Arab world and its women.

We must build different kinds of alliances and partnerships, as demonstrated by women activists from Egypt supporting the Occupy Wall Street movement. In shaping discourse about the region, we should not exclude the voices of those who make up the region and should make every effort to include and allow their direct participation in public and private forums. As outsiders and as witnesses to the events taking place in the Arab world, we can advocate for issues by partnering and supporting them in the changes that they are advocating for—not the changes that we think they should be advocating for.

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Lynch Lecture 2011: Reflections

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especially in view of the letter sent to Congressman Connolly, which may represent the tip of the iceberg in public sentiments on the issue. Indeed, to not respond would be to make the situation worse.

Secondly, Dr. Bartoli could persuade GMU's President Alan Merton to write a letter to the Chinese Ambassador, capturing the sentiments expressed in the letter written to Congressman Connolly, indicating GMU's displeasure at having unwittingly provided a venue for political propaganda. This, too, would not be wise, as it would likely destroy the relationship carefully cultivated between S-CAR and Mme. Yan and her colleagues.

A third response would be to take full advantage of the dualism inherent in the Chinese word for "crisis" ("opportunity") and frame Mme. Yan's lecture as one event among many in the development of a mutually satisfying relationship between S-CAR and Mme. Yan and her colleagues, especially those in the Chinese People's



Lynch Lecture attendees. Photo: Mason Creative Services.

Association for Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD). Paraphrasing a comment emblematic of the financial crisis of 2008, China is too big to blow off: its citizens represent one-sixth of the world's population; they are the world's second largest

economy and primary trading partner of the U.S., Brazil, European Union, India, Russia, Japan, South Korea, Australia, and others; they own a significant amount of American debt; they have brought more than 600 million of their people out of poverty during the past 30 years, an achievement unprecedented by any standard; and Mme. Yan and the CPAPD – and presumably the Chinese leadership – want to bring Conflict Analysis and Resolution to China. Importantly, they have selected S-CAR to play a leading role in this endeavor.

So, with the first and second options having been eliminated from consideration, S-CAR is left with the third, which is compatible with S-CAR's mission. Our institutional objectives include, among other elements, reaching out to potential and actual parties to conflict in order to encourage them to shift from a narrow, virulent, zero-sum *Realpolitik* orientation to a collaborative problem solving, positive-sum approach to their common security. The reason is practical rather than ethical: win-lose rationality often makes sense in the short run but tends to be counterproductive and self-defeating in the long run. Win-win rationality, by contrast, tends to lead to outcomes that endure into the long term.

As part of implementing the third option, I recommend that S-CAR propose to Mme. Yan and her colleagues that we collectively establish a "Working Group for Analyzing and Resolving Complex Common Problems." One such problem is rising inequalities in both countries, their likely impact on societal unrest, and how best to deal with them. In the process of developing the Working Group's agenda, the group could build sufficient trust and a collaborative working culture that increased the likelihood that issues of interest to Tibetans, Uyghurs, and others whose human rights have been disregarded, would be addressed without being perceived as "threatening" to the political leadership.

One way to facilitate this objective would be for S-CAR to work with its primary Working Group partner, the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD). Together they could develop and maintain a Conflict Early Warning System (CEWS), perhaps in Nanjing, China – site of massive atrocities during World War II – to assist the international community in identifying and responding to potential and actual violent conflicts globally. The momentum generated by this kind of collaborative work would likely spillover to each country addressing its own conflicts as well.

The mere existence of the Working Group would demonstrate that China is, indeed, what it claims to be – transitioning according to its own model of democracy, with all the ups and downs that typically accompany transitions from autocratic to democratic systems. The importance of China to global stability, prosperity, and peace is such that we have to be patient during the "downs" and build on the "ups," while continuing to pay attention to those who are not yet benefitting from the "Chinese miracle." Their grievances must be recognized and dealt with once Conflict Analysis and Resolution becomes fully institutionalized and embedded in the culture of the "new" China – one of S-CAR's strategic goals for the 21st century! The reason is ethical as well as pragmatic: previously disenfranchised groups must be brought into the mainstream of the "new" China so that they have a stake in the system, thereby reducing the incidence and intensity of domestic conflict, and reinforcing China's trajectory of developing further into all it can be – economically, socially, politically, and culturally!



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