



# ICAR Newsletter

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## ICAR Welcomes Sara Cobb as New Director

By **Sandra I. Cheldelin**, former ICAR director

**O**n Aug. 15, 2001, ICAR welcomed our new director, Sara Cobb, by sending her to represent our institute at a three-day combined retreat of the President's Council (comprising the president and senior staff members, deans, and directors) and George Mason's Board of Directors. Within days we learned that her energy and enthusiasm for ICAR's agenda was contagious and welcome. With academic year 2001-2002 beginning the following week, she has hardly had time to catch her breath.

We are delighted to have Sara as our leader. She received her B.A. in English (honors) from Albertus Magnus College, her M.Ed. in counseling from the University of Puget Sound, and her Ph.D. in communications from the University of Massachusetts Amherst. We stole her from her position as executive director of the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School in Cambridge. In addition to her administrative duties at Harvard, she taught courses in negotiation and conducted research on coexistence processes in past conflict settings. Prior to her two years with the Program on Negotiation, she served as associate dean for three years in the Human and Organization Development Program at the Fielding Institute in Santa Barbara. At the same time, she was president of Dialogue International, which provides training and consultation services on conflict management and organizational change. Some of her clients were Exxon USA; Christenson & Drake Accounting Firm; the Unitarian Church; INTERFAS and CERENEC, both based in Buenos Aires, Argentina; the Bank of La Caxia in Barcelona, Spain; Centro de Mediacion in Sao Paulo, Brazil; and the Family Court System in Buenos Aires.



*Sandra I. Cheldelin,  
former ICAR director*

She has been a visiting professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara in the Law and Society Program and the Department of Communication, and in the communication departments of the University of Connecticut and the State University of New York in Albany. Her versatility as a teacher is remarkable. Among the many courses she has taught are Law and Society, Alternative Dispute Resolution, Law and Violence, Conflict and Communication, Media and Society, Gender and Communication, Conflict and Communication, Discourse and Discrimination, Interpersonal Communication, Media Effects, and Introduction to Communication Processes. *continued on page 5*

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## Mission Statement

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

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

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## Beginnings

By Sara Cobb, ICAR director



**B**eginnings are important, for initial conditions generate systemic changes that can neither be controlled nor predicted over time. As the new director of ICAR, I am extremely aware that this is a time in which first impressions set relationships and stories in motion that can have, later on, tremendous impact on the existing climate of ICAR, as well as on development at the institute.

My own beginning at ICAR has been radically shaped by Sept. 11; my first impressions have been sculpted by the way the ICAR community responded to the violence, the terror, and the pain. The faculty members and students gathered in separate and joint meetings to share their fears and sorrows and to begin to apply theory and research toward understanding. Through these conversations, there have been many currents that blur the personal and the academic, as students bring personal experiences of terrorism to share with those of us for whom it is so new, as faculty members take personal and professional risks in a pro-war environment by advocating reflection, attention to history, and analysis of foreign policy, and as classrooms become places to process personal trauma and practice conflict analysis. Likely, these blurry boundaries and border crossings are indigenous to ICAR; after all, ICAR, with its commitment to interdisciplinary work, is itself a border space, a place between traditional academic disciplines; and, with its commitment to practice, ICAR is a place that straddles the requirements of the academic community.

### First Impressions

In the shadow of Sept. 11, I have been trying to learn about ICAR—the faculty members and students, the curriculum and research projects, and the institute's relationship to George Mason University as a whole. Here are my first impressions:

- ICAR is a place where conflict analysis and resolution intersect with social justice. There is a common heartbeat across diverse groups of students, across an interdisciplinary faculty—people care not only about reducing violence and increasing the effectiveness of conflict resolution practice, but they also care about doing so in a way that reduces marginalization of those whose voices are less likely to be heard. Thus the ethics of conflict analysis and resolution function as an anchor for the community and are manifest across the curriculum, the pedagogy, and the research/practice.
- ICAR is a place of incredible intellectual resources; faculty members and students together represent an enormous array of theoretical traditions. Coupled with the diversity of cultures and lived experience, the place throbs with interesting and important questions and projects.
- ICAR is a place composed and supportive of adult learners; faculty members expect students to draw on personal experience and design projects that resonate deeply with that experience. Students are respected for what they bring to their own learning.
- ICAR is a place where a culture of connection provides the basis for collective and collaborative learning. Sandra Cheldelin, as the previous director and an expert in organizational conflict, put her knowledge to use, fostering trust and transparency. She helped create an environment where hard issues can be addressed in an environment that values tolerance.
- The George Mason University academic and administrative community is extremely supportive of ICAR. Alan Merten, the university's president; its provost, Peter Stearns; and others have turned to ICAR for ideas and guidance on the design of the university's response to Sept. 11. The university leadership recognizes the contribution that ICAR can make to the evolution of this conflict, as well as to our community. And they are very much looking forward to ICAR's future as we move toward the development of Point of View.

### ICAR's Self-Reflection

ICAR's intellectual and relational resources, along with its diversity, provide a platform to support reflective practice, aimed both toward the field, as well as toward itself. Last spring, in preparation for my arrival, Sandra Cheldelin's class in organizational conflict exemplified ICAR's capacity for self-reflection by conducting a survey of ICAR faculty members across a variety of topics. Here is what I learned from that study:

*continued on next page*

### Beginnings *(continued from page 3)*

- There is consensus on ICAR's mission: to increase the knowledge base for conflict analysis and resolution and to integrate theory, practice, and research. However, there is less consensus on ICAR's vision for itself—where it is going and how we will know it has arrived.
- The faculty members reported being extremely over-committed; while teaching, practicing, and conducting research, they struggle to meet the needs of students. As a result, they find themselves all too often unable to spend as much time as they would like on research and publishing.
- While there is a commitment to the integration of theory, practice, and research, there is little consensus on how to do this; as a result, faculty members have ongoing concerns about the quality or effectiveness of this integration.
- ICAR is composed of adult learners, yet the funding support for students is not adequate to support adults who often must support not only themselves but their families as well. In addition, while ICAR is blessed with many international students, it offers very little financial aid, and, given the restrictions of their visas, these students are particularly dependent upon assistantships and tuition waivers.

Most of these problems are not unique to ICAR; like most other institutions, ICAR has survived and even managed to thrive while grappling with these problems. With the exception of the problem related to student aid, I prefer to address these problems obliquely, assuming that slight shifts in structure and process may facilitate their evolution. Furthermore, if we agree with Cooperider's notion of the heliotropic principle, which presumes that organizations evolve toward the most affirmative vision of who they are, focusing on problems reduces, rather than expands, ICAR's horizon of possibility.

### Leaning into Our Future: Program Development at ICAR

I have chosen to follow ICAR's strengths and help it build its future in the direction of those commitments that are at the heart of ICAR. The following are some current ICAR initiatives:

- We have launched an intellectual initiative titled Globalization and Violence; this initiative will help us explore the relationship between political economics and conflict processes. We will develop courses that address the role of global economic institutions and development processes as they intersect with the emergence and transformation of value-based conflicts. While this initiative will help us address the complexities of Sept. 11, it is also intended to help us blur the boundary between the international and the domestic in our curriculum, in our research, and in our practice. To support this initiative, we will hire a specialist in political economy.
- We are planning the launch of the Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict; this center, which will include faculty members from both ICAR and other units at George Mason, will explore the role of religion in value-based conflicts and will study the role of religious leaders and institutions. In addition, this center will host and study interfaith dialogues. Faculty members and students will work collaboratively on research and practice projects. ICAR is seeking funds to support this center.
- We are considering the launch of a Center for Global Dialogue, which would function as a place for the design and facilitation of global issues with global stakeholders. As global issues, like DNA, carry with them deep differences, the context for these discussions must reflect recognition of these differences; thus the funding for and location of these discussions are critical to their success. Should this center actually come into being, we could host some of these dialogues at Point of View.
- We have reopened enrollment in our certificate program in Conflict Analysis and Resolution for Health Care Professionals; we are offering a new course this spring titled Research Seminar in Health and Conflict Analogies, which focuses on reflective practice in health systems and stresses both research and intervention. Alumni are encouraged to enroll in the certificate program. See the description of the certificate elsewhere in this newsletter.
- I will be working with John Nande to create an electronic forum for threaded conversations that will, I hope, enable alums to share ideas and resources with each other and with current students. It is my hope that we can create more connections among alumni and students, as our alumni network is an invaluable resource.
- We have begun to discuss creating a set of combined degrees and concentrations with other academic units at George Mason. Specifically, we are interested in
  - a combined degree with the School for Visual and Performing Arts; this degree would enable students to create connections between art and conflict resolution. This would greatly contribute to the field of conflict resolution.
  - a combined degree with the School of Information Technology and Engineering. This would provide engineers with the skills and analytic tools needed to address the relational/social conflicts that adversely impact teamwork in technical fields.

## FROM THE DIRECTOR

- a concentration in conflict analysis and resolution with the School of Management. This would enable M.B.A. students to manage the conflict that is inevitable in organizational and business settings. Furthermore, as part of our interest in globalization, M.B.A. students will be able to contribute to our collective knowledge about the relationships between economics and conflict.

The diversity of these programs would, if and when they are launched, contribute to the diversity of the student body at ICAR, as well as to our understanding of value-based conflicts.

### Point of View

Meanwhile, as we move on our initiative on globalization and as we create links to other units at George Mason, we are very actively moving toward the development of our vision for Point of View. Drawing on the documents from the Future Search Process, we are specifying the nature of the services to be offered at Point of View; in an effort to widen the circle of participation at the university, we are planning to host a town hall meeting with faculty members from several university units to engage them in the questions at the heart of the development and use of Point of View. Given the current crisis, it is even more important that our policy makers and the stakeholders to global conflict have a place where they can have access to skilled experts, in a place that calls them to reflection.

Given the current context of crisis and economic uncertainty, it is even more vital that ICAR develop alternative sources of funding—for students as well as for research projects. I plan to focus my fundraising efforts in the short term on student support. Many of these initiatives, centers, and new degree programs will also require funding; and while we as yet have not developed a business plan for Point of View, that too will become a funding priority as we move forward.

### September 11

At the same time, it is surreal to imagine moving forward in a context where a seemingly infinite set of terror -ISMs have turned our world upside down; here, close to the nation's capital, we have already suffered multiple attacks that have disrupted our government, our infrastructure, and our dreams. Yet it is precisely this moment and this place that call us to imagine our role in building a future that is more collaborative, more just, and less violent. These times both invite and demand our participation. Given the rich contribution of ICAR to the development of conflict studies, it has positioned itself as an important resource for policy makers and analysts.

In response to Sept. 11, ICAR has created a new working group called War, Violence, and Terrorism; we have developed a new course designed to explore multiple theoretical frames toward the analysis of the conflict; we have designed and hosted a series of teach-ins on the topic; and we are preparing a series of campuswide conversations and presentations on the theme "Imagine Peace." Additionally, we are almost ready to launch our web site about Sept. 11, which will feature articles, interviews, and position papers by faculty members and students.

Life goes on. As a person, I feel the weight of an uncertain future. As director of ICAR, I feel concerned that we mobilize ourselves to make a difference. And for now, all I know to do is to try to help ICAR do what it already does so well—to foster reflection and analysis on violence, understanding violence as a cycle where each act, each turn has its origin in some place and time, made invisible, if not erased, by the other side's imperviousness. For violence is a marker, a placeholder for words in a place where words no longer fit, where words are inadequate to express the hatred that flows from and fuels stories of victimization. Making sense of violence is thus a process of helping frame the issues, of filling up the space with words—stories of pain and stories of victimization, stories of hope and morality. Through its pedagogy, research, and practice, ICAR is working to frame the issues, helping the stories that otherwise would be erased to materialize. ♦

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### ICAR Welcomes Sara Cobb *(continued from page 1)*

Sara's publications demonstrate her capacity to fully embrace a variety of issues. She has written about stabilizing violence through victim/victimizer narratives, humanizing human rights through the voice of the perpetrator in truth commissions, the public spectacle of private pain, the domestication of violence in mediation, adding a narrative perspective to clinical work with adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse, deconstructing and reconstructing the role of intention, and the social construction of

intentions in mediation. At present, she is working on a book titled *Humanizing Human Rights*.

For some of us, what belongs in the margins of resumes may be just as interesting as all the proper credentials listed. Such is clearly the case with Sara. She has a vibrant and infectious curiosity that is well reflected in her thinking, speaking, and writing. She seems to have unlimited energy (which will serve her well in this position) and unlimited good will.

We welcome Sara as our director, our colleague, and I'm sure in very short time, our good friend. ♦



## September 11: The Current Crisis

By Richard Rubenstein, ICAR faculty member

On Sept. 24, Richard Rubenstein was interviewed by the editor of the *National Journal* on the meaning of the Sept. 11 atrocities. The full interview follows. It was published on Sept. 29 in edited form, along with the responses of other terrorism experts.

**Q.** You have been analyzing and writing about terrorist movements for a long time. What new have we learned from the Sept. 11 attacks about the nature of terrorism and terrorists? Do we need to modify our assumptions and working theories? Or does Sept. 11 confirm your own long-held theories on terrorism?

**A.** I will be glad to answer that question, but permit me to say something first. Talking analytically about terrorism always sounds unemotional. But, especially now, we can't put thinking and feeling in separate boxes. A few days ago I received a one-sentence letter from an old friend in New York—a sophisticated, knowledgeable executive who heads a major publishing company. The letter said, "I'm so sad and so scared."

Me, too. My heart breaks for the victims of the Sept. 11 atrocities, their families, and friends—indeed, for all of us. It also breaks for the hundreds of thousands—indeed, the millions—of innocents murdered over the past 40 years by weapons supplied by, and armed forces led or trained by, our own government in places like Vietnam and Indonesia, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Central America, Angola and Congo, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Iran, and, of course, Afghanistan. If we can feel the same heartbreak for these victims as for our own, the monstrous acts of Sept. 11 might one day prove redemptive. As for scared, I am plenty scared of what comes next. But we can talk about President Bush's "war" on terrorism a bit later.

In any case, to answer your question, I do not think that the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon teach us a great deal about the causes and nature of terrorism that we didn't already know. We know that terrorism is violence by small groups claiming to represent massive constituencies and seeking by "heroic," provocative attacks to awaken the masses, redeem their honor, and generate an enemy over-reaction that will intensify and expand the struggle. Assuming that some section or offshoot of the Al-Qaeda network was responsible for the attacks, the profile of the terrorists—men in their twenties and thirties of more than average income and education, passionately committed to an ideology of transformation and revenge—is just what one would expect. Ditto for the method of organization

(probably decentralized, effectively cut off from large organized mass movements), except for its rich, independent sources of funding and its long geographical reach.

The terrorists' motives and strategic goals are not particularly new or mysterious either. That they are essentially independent of existing nation-states confirms what some of us have been saying for a long time: state support is not nearly as important to terrorists as the existence of real grievances that generate a certain minimum of active and passive public support. It is certainly not unexpected that they would claim to represent a large oppressed identity group. Nationalist terrorists feel triply betrayed: by the foreign power that exports violence and an alien culture to their land; by local ruling classes that collaborate with the foreigners; and by their own people, who have not yet risen up in revolt. Their strategy is to alter all these conditions by using dramatic acts of violence to widen and intensify the struggle.

The most novel feature of this terrorist campaign (other than its substantial funding and technical competence) is the fact that the fighters claim to represent a world religion and that they have been able to exploit their connections with its most extreme ultra-conservative and puritanical sector. This makes them quite dangerous, not because so many Muslims support them now, but because an unwise response by the Americans could help generate the clash of cultures that Samuel F. Huntington predicted in his famous 1993 article—a lengthy, ghastly war that might well prove to be unwinnable in the long run.

**Q.** What kinds of people become terrorists—both leaders such as bin Laden as well as his shock troops? Why do they resort to terrorism and what do they hope to accomplish?

**A.** My previous answer suggests that most terrorists are fairly ordinary people beset by extraordinary circumstances. Many are would-be leaders of an oppressed nation, class, or religious group whose members have not yet decided to rebel en masse. Very often, there is violence in their backgrounds: they have had relatives or close friends killed, maimed, or tortured by powerful foreign and local enemies. Terrorists like these are driven by a combination of despair and

hope—despair over the inability of corrupt local leaders to defend their people’s dignity and autonomy, and hope for a great awakening that will unite the people behind their own leadership and free it from both foreign domination and local corruption. In my view, terrorist strategy is primarily defensive, in the broad sense of the word. Despite the use of words like fascist and Hitlerian to describe them, the militants in this case do not want to lead an Islamic revolution in North America or Europe. They want the North Americans and Europeans to get their troops, their bribe money, and (in some cases) their products out of Islamic lands. These demands may be intolerant and wrongheaded, but they are not Hitlerian.

**Q.** We’ve heard many call the perpetrators of the Sept. 11 attacks “cowards” and “suicidal religious fanatics.” Are these the right descriptions?

**A.** No. “Coward” is used strangely in this case. I think that when people say the word, they mean that innocent people who had no chance to defend themselves were destroyed in the Sept. 11 attacks. The use of some such epithet is understandable, but, of course, a martyr is not a coward. “Suicidal religious fanatic” is also a misleading epithet, even though it is technically true that the perpetrators were willing to die, motivated by religious ideology and intensely committed to their beliefs. Using the phrase involves two mistakes, in my view. First, “suicidal fanatics” suggests that the perpetrators are loony, unfeeling monsters, whereas we are rational and humane. This ignores the fact that, from their perspective, there is a continuing war against their people that has already caused untold suffering in their lands, while we, insulated from the effects of atrocities perpetrated by those who act in our name, go on exporting violence and making money. But when we go to war, are we any less fanatical than they? We give medals to soldiers that martyr themselves for our cause, and we destroy not just buildings but entire unprotected cities: Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki.

Second, the terrorists here do have strong religious motivations, and their ideology is an ultra-conservative form of fundamentalism particularly obnoxious to people who respect human rights. But “religious fanatic” suggests that their beliefs and acts are dictated by purely religious beliefs, when, in fact, they embrace a particular interpretation of Islamic tradition strongly conditioned by their political backgrounds and experiences. Don’t get me wrong—I am not saying that they are not really religious believers, but only that one has a choice in interpreting sacred texts and religious traditions and that the choices they have made reflect their overwhelming sense that Western intervention in and occupation of Islamic lands represent an intolerable violation of their identity. Osama bin Laden has

complained particularly about U.S. bases in Saudi Arabia, the continuing U.S. war against Iraq, and U.S. favoritism toward Israel. These events, rather than sacred texts per se, are what shape his interpretation of religious duty.

**Q.** Two aspects of the Sept. 11 attacks seem important when compared to terrorism by other groups in the past. First, anonymity seems to have been a deliberate strategy of the perpetrators, and, second, no overt demands were linked to the attacks. In other words, the idea was to kill, strike fear, and doubt. Do you agree? If so, comment on the psychological and tactical importance of the strategy.

**A.** I don’t really agree that these are important issues. Anonymity has been a feature of many terrorist acts in the past, as has claiming the wrong identity to throw the blame on some enemy group. In this case, the tactical advantages of anonymity seem obvious. First, the people to whom you want your identity revealed (i.e., the Muslim masses in certain countries) already know it, at least in a general way. So taking credit will only make your enemy’s task of identifying and pursuing you easier. Similarly, overt demands are not always made in cases of terrorist attacks since (a) everyone knows what the grievances are, (b) specifying them might help identify specific perpetrators, and (c) not specifying them may create a stronger eventual negotiating position for the terrorists both within the popular movement and between their people and the foreigners. Of course, as Lenin noted, “the purpose of terrorism is to terrorize,” but the attacks of Sept. 11, although unspeakably vicious, were not politically meaningless: they carried with them an implicit political agenda.

**Q.** The events of Sept. 11 happened within an ongoing, deeper conflict between the United States and many in the Islamic world. Is it possible for the United States to talk or negotiate with the perpetrators? Is there any historical evidence that a non-retaliatory, nonmilitary approach has worked elsewhere?

**A.** I don’t think that “negotiating” is a meaningful term if that means cutting some sort of deal with the perpetrators. Neither do I think that the perpetrators, whoever they may be, are the party one wants to begin talking to. They should be captured and prosecuted. Talking, however, in the sense of initiating a dialogue with representatives of extreme Islamist movements, as well as with other tendencies, about Western relations with the Islamic world is not only possible but also necessary if we are to avoid a lengthy, bloody, possibly unwinnable conflict.

*continued on next page*

### September 11 *(continued from page 7)*

In the field of conflict analysis and resolution, we have learned that you can talk with pretty much anyone, provided that there is a will on both sides to communicate. Of course, this can't just be talk for talk's sake; I am talking about a dialogue, facilitated by independent experts who know what they are doing, that is analytical in that it explores the deep sources of conflict between alienated peoples and that is creative in that it proposes solutions that may never have been envisioned before. And, yes, this sort of dialogue has worked before—in fact, it works where military retaliation is ineffective because the conflict is generated by unsatisfied basic human needs, like the needs for identity and development. The current peace process in Northern Ireland, for example, was preceded by more than a decade of conflict resolution efforts involving Catholics, Protestants, and independent facilitators. A potentially lethal conflict between Malaysia and Indonesia was averted by using these same techniques. Promising efforts are now underway in many other lands where it is clear that official violence only continues the cycle of revenge and counter-revenge.

In fact, your question assumes that military countermeasures can end terrorism, when that is actually a dubious proposition. Where the terrorists have virtually no mass base (for example, in Italy during the period of the Red Brigade), good police work, combined with offers of amnesty, can be quite effective. But where a mass base exists, even if it is nowhere near a majority of the terrorists' people, these groups have not been stamped out except at a ghastly cost in human lives and freedom. An example is Argentina's "dirty war" against the urban guerrilla groups, a ferociously violent campaign from which that country has still not recovered. As I've already suggested, a similar campaign directed against Islamic extremists in general has a strong potential to produce both horrible counterattacks and a bloody clash of cultures.

**Q.** As a country—as a people generally and the Bush Administration in particular, what do we seem to be doing right in the wake of Sept. 11? Conversely, what mistakes do you see brewing in the United States and how might we avoid them as we carry out our response?

**A.** It seems to me that the major thing we have done right, up to this point, is not to have bombed Afghanistan. If President Bush's bellicose rhetoric is intended to serve as a substitute for massive military action, I applaud it, but I'm afraid that is not the case. Bombing Afghanistan will be viewed as an atrocity committed against a suffering people who have already been exploited and abandoned by the West. And to characterize the counterterrorist struggle as war and to state that those who are not with us are against us are music to the terrorists' ears, since what they hope to provoke is a war of the West against Islam that will force their people to choose between local "patriots" and "traitors."

But the great mistake we are making, in my opinion, is to think only in terms of short-term responses to terrorism rather than in terms of long-term policies aimed at identifying the underlying causes of the violence. We Americans desperately need to rethink our role in the world, especially the way in which we have been misrepresented abroad by politicians and companies out to satisfy their own immediate interests, even at the cost of creating the kind of alienation that gestates terrorism. Do we really want to be the new Roman Empire? And, if so, are we prepared to crucify local rebels, massacre innocents, and destroy temples as the Romans did? I think that if most Americans understood who was acting in their name around the globe and what they were doing, they would not stand for it.

**Q.** Rich.... any other thoughts you care to add?

**A.** One further thought. Following the civil disorders of the 1960s in the United States, President Johnson appointed a commission to study the underlying causes of civil violence. It was called the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, and it was led by Milton Eisenhower, Ike's brother and the president of Johns Hopkins University. I think we need a National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Terrorism to do the kind of in-depth study that would guide future policymaking in our country. And if the American government won't create such a commission, perhaps we in the nation's communities and universities should do it ourselves. ♦



# Terrorism: The Need for a Comprehensive Approach

By Dennis J.D. Sandole, ICAR faculty member

In the film *Seven*, with Morgan Freeman, Brad Pitt, Kevin Spacey, and Gwyneth Paltrow, Kevin Spacey plays a bizarre serial murderer who, when asked by detective Brad Pitt why he has committed a series of ghastly murders, replies, “Sometimes you have to hit people on the side of the head with a sledge hammer to get their attention.”

Clearly, the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, constitute such a hit on the head for Americans. For a country that stopped the Holocaust and launched the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe after World War II, that prides itself on occupying the moral high ground in international affairs, and that Francis Fukuyama proclaimed the victor in the ideological clash between democracy and communism, it was a double shock, on top of the traumatizing collapse of the World Trade Center, that the 19 hijackers could have hated the United States so much. How could that be? What could the United States have possibly done to incur such wrath, leading to the deaths of thousands and a pervasive sense of insecurity, the likes of which have not been seen since the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963?

Asking the questions is easy. The hard part is in recognizing that, in our outrage, grief, and shock, the last thing that many of us want to hear is analysis. However, if we want to win the war against terrorism, then analysis is where we must begin.

For many worldwide, the United States—the world’s only superpower—is considered the source of all that is evil in the world. This view, rightly or wrongly, is reinforced by the perception that the United States has arrogantly opted out of multilateral efforts to control the spread of greenhouse gases, small arms, land mines, and racism. This view is further

reinforced by the U.S. decision to proceed with the development of a ballistic missile defense system in violation of one of the pillars of Cold War peace and security, the 1972 ABM treaty. Add to this the clear perception that the United States supports Israel no matter what the latter does, including responding to the violence generated by Palestinian hopelessness with F-16 fighters, helicopter gunships, tanks, and house-destroying bulldozers. If the Russians or Chinese were responsible for similar assaults on the indigenous Palestinian population, who have been occupied and oppressed militarily for nearly half a century, the United States and others in the West would be justifiably outraged!

There is also the sense, expressed powerfully some 20 years ago during the Iranian hostage crisis, that the United States, as the primary symbol of Western civilization and the engine behind globalization, is the destroyer of traditional culture, society, and religion (e.g., Islam). For wealthy Saudi dissident Osama bin Laden, who was originally encouraged by the United States to wage warfare against the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan during the 1980s, the last straw was the stationing of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia during the 1990–91 Gulf War. Saudi Arabia is the site of two of the holiest shrines in Islam: Mecca, where the prophet Muhammad was born, and Medina, where the prophet proclaimed the first Islamic state. U.S. forces are still in Saudi Arabia! Bin Laden was also frustrated by the strategy of the West, particularly of the United States, to allow the brutal conflict in Bosnia to continue for three years at the expense of the primary victims, the Bosnian Muslims, before being embarrassed and shamed by the genocide perpetrated by

Serb forces at Srebrenica in July 1995. To say that the United States stopped the warfare in Bosnia in 1995 more to protect the credibility of NATO than the lives of the surviving Bosnians is not too far from the truth.

To mention any of this is not to excuse the atrocities committed on Sept. 11 against Americans and the nationals of some 80 countries, but only to understand the possible motivation of those who hate the United States and the West so much that they are willing to perpetrate such acts of inhumanity and, in the process, destroy themselves as well.

Many years ago, as a young U.S. Marine, I was encouraged to read *Mao Tse-tung: On Guerrilla Warfare*. When I naively inquired why I should read anything by “the enemy,” I was told, “To better understand him! If you know how your enemy thinks, then you can better deal with him.” Well, it now seems that I, as an American citizen, have enemies, simply by virtue of being an American. Witness the declarations of holy war issued by bin Laden against all Americans in 1998 and, more recently, following the U.S. and British attacks on his training camps in Afghanistan. Consequently, it would behoove me and others to find out why, in order to better deal with him and his followers—in effect, to better defend ourselves! In the short term, this would mean, among other things, supporting efforts to increase security at airports and on board aircraft (through, for example, inaccessible doors to cockpits and the presence of disguised armed security guards). It would also mean bringing to justice those still alive who are responsible for the crimes committed on Sept. 11. But in the long run, it also

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### Terrorism *(continued from page 9)*

means dealing with the deep-rooted problems worldwide for which we are, rightly or wrongly, held responsible and from which terrorists derive their motivation for their catastrophic acts.

If this means that the United States and others should act—and *be seen to be acting*—in a more just and fair way in the Middle East conflict, then so be it. If this means that the United States should re-enter the Kyoto protocols to work with others in controlling the spread of greenhouse gasses (of which the United States alone generates some 25 percent), then so be it. If this means working with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to help them embed their policies within a complex, multidimensional framework that allows them to more effectively pay attention to the nuances of culture, society, and religion, then so be it. If this means that the United States should be criticized for not sending its first African American secretary of state, Colin Powell, to the U.N. Conference against Racism in South Africa, then so be it.

We could go on, but one thing is certain: it is far wiser to deal with the underlying deep-rooted problems that prompted these acts of terrorism than to lash out blindly. Lashing out only exacerbates the problem because it kills hundreds, makes life even more miserable for residents of wretchedly poor Afghanistan, and creates a refugee crisis for neighboring Pakistan that threatens to bring down the government of that Islamic country.

Given that there are more than one billion Muslims worldwide, with some seven million in the United States alone—many of whom are being subjected to racial profiling and hate-crime assaults in the wake of the events of Sept. 11, the specter of the world's only superpower's bombing an incredibly impoverished *Islamic* country may lead to the radicalization of Muslims worldwide who are

not yet energized by a narrow anti-Western version of Islam.

If this occurs, the otherwise contentious clash-of-civilizations thesis promulgated by Harvard professor Samuel Huntington could be radically reinforced, leading to the confirmation of his proposition that conflicts in the post-Cold War era would be waged between Western and other (e.g., Islamic) civilizations.

This is the last thing that the world needs! Despite President George W. Bush's claims that this war is not being waged against Islam, Arabs, or any other ethnic or religious group, it may be perceived that way. To avoid this and its calamitous consequences, the United States should go through some paradigm and behavior shifting, foregoing its traditional defense and security paradigm in favor of the comprehensive reconceptualization pioneered by an organization to which the United States belongs, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Security for the 55 participating states of this organization, which comprises all former enemies of the Cold War and the neutral and nonaligned nations of Europe, includes the traditional political and military components, but also the nontraditional economic, environmental, humanitarian, and human rights dimensions of security as well.

To win the war against terrorism, therefore, the United States and others must wage their campaign on nontraditional as well as traditional fronts. This means confronting and combating not just the terrorists and their atrocious acts of terrorism, but also the problems that give rise to them, providing them with their motivation. Otherwise, a narrowly based, *Realpolitik*-only campaign could lead to self-fulfilling confirmation of originally fallacious ideas (e.g., that the West is anti-Muslim and anti-Arabic and/or that *all* Muslims and

Arabs are anti-Western and anti-American). This could, in turn, lead to more acts of terrorism and counterterrorism, perhaps culminating in an explosively new bipolar clash-of-civilizations international *disorder*. And in the process, the new multilateralism between the Americans, Russians, and others may be a pretext merely for exterminating thousands—Bosnians, Albanians, Palestinians, Kurds, Chechens, and others—under the cover of the global war against terrorism.

Given the various imperatives to do something, the time is clearly ripe for the United States and others to think outside the box, just like the 19 hijackers did on Sept. 11. Otherwise, the next time we get hit on the head with a sledge hammer (biological, chemical, or atomic), we may not be so lucky to have yet another opportunity to read the latest *Mao Tse-tung: On Guerilla Warfare*.

Easier said than done? Well, one possibility here, imminently doable and pregnant with positive implications, would be for President Bush's national security advisor Condoleeza Rice and U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell to launch working groups on global problem-solving across multiple, interlocking traditional and nontraditional fronts, within the context of the Nobel Peace Prize-winning United Nations and its secretary general Kofi Annan. This would be a profound way to demonstrate to peoples in the developing world that Western civilization includes them as well.

If the events of, and since, Sept. 11, have any meaning, therefore, it is that we are all intimately interconnected: there is no longer any meaningful distinction between "us" and "them." On a global scale, we are all "us." Gratifyingly, since Sept. 11, President Bush and his team seem to be moving toward acceptance of that conclusion. ♦

## Afghan's Factor in Tajikistan: The Security Hazards in the Region

By **Abdusabur Abdusamadov**, junior research associate, Institute of Philosophy and Law, Academy of Sciences, Tajikistan; senior associate, Cornell Caspian Consulting; visiting fellow, Contemporary Issues Fellowship Program of the International Research and Exchanges Board

The Central Asian region has had a long and tumultuous history. For more than 3,000 years this region has been a crossroads for major ethnic migrations and a meeting place of the ancient world's great civilizations. This region has also been an area of great power rivalries. During the last century, the region was the scene of intense Russo-British competition known as a great game. Historically, all Central Asian states have been used as a staging area during conflicts. Contemporary Central Asian societies are bracing for a new period of instability and experiencing new crises, which are deeper in some aspects than those of previous systems. The breakdown of the previous system has led to many difficulties related to the transformation of totalitarian regimes into democratic societies.

Today the world is justly worried. Afghanistan has become the largest source of drugs and a center of international terrorism. The Taliban, the radical Islamic group that rules much of Afghanistan, controls more than 90 percent of Afghanistan's poppy fields. They use poppy-derived income to arm, train, and support fundamentalist groups, including the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. By some accounts, Osama bin Laden is personally investing in a new liquid heroin called "Tears of Allah."

Tajik society, on the front line of the anti-trafficking struggle, is already suffering severely from the narcotics scourge. Drug addicts in state institutions increased fourfold between 1996 and

2000, with 74 percent of these reportedly having used heroin. According to some data, dozens of warehouses and laboratories producing high-quality heroin meant for transportation abroad are located along the Afghan-Tajik border. Therefore, Tajikistan is eager to weaken radical groups, to reinvigorate its anti-trafficking policy, and to receive greater international assistance.

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**“When there is  
a fire in the house,  
it may singe the neighbors.”**

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### *Proverb*

The necessity of creating a regional security system in Central Asia has been discussed for a very long time, even before the first successes of the Taliban movement and its eventual take-over of power in Afghanistan. Historically, the smuggling of drugs and arms has been the main source of destabilization for the entire Central Asian region; today the terrorist threat has become the source of increased instability.

Afghanistan shares its borders with the three Central Asian states of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Approximately 4 million Tajiks, 1.7 million Uzbeks, and half a million Turkmen live in Afghanistan. Among them, Tajikistan has long been regarded both by Russia and the West as the bulwark between Afghanistan and the rest

of Central Asia. The U.S. strike against Afghanistan-based terrorism has generated great tension, particularly in Tajikistan. Afghanistan has become over the past nine years the world's leading producer of poppy paste, heroin's base product. The 1,300-kilometer border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan offers smugglers the cheapest and most straightforward route into the former Soviet Union and Europe. Many people in Tajikistan are worried that any fighting in neighboring Afghanistan could upset the delicate political balance in Tajikistan, which is still recovering from a civil war. The Tajik peace agreement is still young and many aspects of the transition from crisis to normalcy need ongoing international support. All Central Asian states also are worried about a possible flood of refugees from Afghanistan. They fear the flow of people would increase the flow of drugs, infectious diseases, and extremists into the region.

In fact, the ongoing U.S. attack against the Taliban may very well cause a refugee crisis that could destabilize Tajikistan and other neighboring states. Afghan refugees have gathered on the Panj River at the Tajik border for years. Tajikistan has an extremely limited capacity to cope with refugees and cannot allow Afghan refugees into the country because of the risk that there may be terrorists among them. In addition, the country is still recovering from a five-year civil war, and is not in a position to

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**Tajikistan** *(continued from page 11)*

provide shelter and fair living conditions to refugees. The country also is suffering from a drought and cannot take on the responsibility of feeding more people. If Tajikistan refuses to admit these people, the West may be compelled to increase aid.

The U.S. attack against terrorism in Afghanistan may radically reshape the geopolitical balance in Central Asia and may cause the region to unravel. In 1998 the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, which has received training and support from the Taliban and bin Laden, threatened to blow up a reservoir in Tajikistan. As a result of the U.S.-led

antiterrorism campaign, other reservoirs may become targets now. The Lake Sarez reservoir in Tajikistan has been an object of past terrorist threats. On several occasions during Tajikistan's 1992-97 civil war, antigovernment military commanders in the United Tajik Opposition threatened to blow up the Usai dam, which holds Lake Sarez's waters. The collapse of the Usai dam could endanger as many as five million people in Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

Security concerns are connected with Central Asian states' participation in the U.S.-led, antiterrorism campaign and the signing of the U.S.-Uzbek joint statement on Oct. 12. Taliban leaders have indicated

they will retaliate against Central Asian states that assist in the U.S. war effort. Also, the attack in Afghanistan may destabilize the Central Asian region and the funding base for producing new army commanders in the countryside.

Another danger may be Russia's reaction to the U.S. presence in Central Asia. For more than a century before the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Asia was in Russia's sphere of influence, and today the Russian public is wary of the U.S. presence in Central Asia. Such a level of opposition raises the possibility of future diplomatic confrontation between Russia and the United States over Central Asia. ♦

## GMU Gifts Set Record

Reprinted from the *Fairfax Extra*

Contributors gave a record \$22.3 million to George Mason University in the last fiscal year. This represented a 59-percent increase over the previous year, school officials said.

The largest gift—and the biggest contribution from an individual or couple in George Mason's history—was \$6.7 million in property

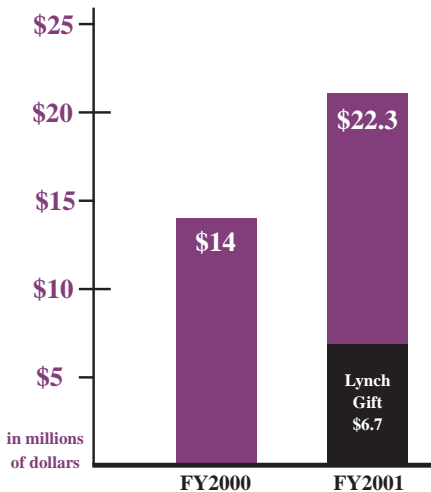
and money from Edwin and Helen Lynch of Mason Neck, longtime friends of the school. The Lynches' home, known as Point of View, and 39 acres are valued at \$4.2 million.

The additional \$2.5 million includes seed money for the construction and maintenance of the Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

Gifts for the fiscal year that ended June 30 increased across all

major categories, including alumni, friends, faculty and staff, and corporations and foundations, university officials said. ♦

**Contributions to Mason**  
Fiscal Years 2000, 2001



## ICAR Hosts 10th Annual Student Mediation Conference

ICAR will host the tenth annual student mediation conference on March 14 and 15, 2002. More than 2,500 student mediators from grades 3 through 12 from Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia are expected. Students participate in day-long workshops ranging from beginning skills to advanced topics. Most workshops are designed and led by advanced students. This conference has become the largest and most successful student mediation conference on the East Coast.



## Second Organization of American States Summer Workshop: Conflict Resolution and Transformation in Post-Agreement Societies

By Christopher Mitchell, ICAR faculty member

In June, the institute held its second summer workshop for practitioners from Latin America, an event that was again supported by the Organization of American States, which supplied travel scholarships for 12 participants to come to George Mason for two weeks. Last year's workshop was broadly focused on basic conflict analysis knowledge and resolution skills, but this summer's event, again organized by the institute's Latin American and Caribbean Working Group, concentrated on the peace-building skills that might subsequently prove useful once a society has arrived at a peace agreement. A number of Central American and some South American countries have reached this post-conflict, peace-building stage, and we were fortunate to include in the workshop knowledgeable participants from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Argentina.

Following the pattern of the first workshop held in August 2000, participants in this year's event spent some time pursuing a variety of sub-themes around the topic of post-conflict peace-building, but they also took time off for visits to peacemaking and peace-building organizations in downtown Washington. The former activities included the two-day workshop on negotiation skills that Daniel Druckman and Giselle Huamani Ober have developed and taught in Bolivia and Peru. The first event on Tuesday, June 12, featured a most interesting panel on the challenges of reintegrating combatants in post-conflict society. Led by Richard Rubenstein, the panel comprised Luis Santiago from Guatemala and Antonio Sanguino from Colombia, both of whom are former guerrillas; Ricardo Esquivia from the Colombian organization JustaPaz; and Jo-Marie Burt from George Mason University's Department of Public and International Affairs. Other speakers from ICAR were Wallace Warfield, Kevin Avruch, Mary Hope Schwoebel, and Ivan King from George Mason University's Program on Peacekeeping. Outside visitors were ICAR alumni Rob Scott and Janet Murdoch from the Northern Virginia Mediation Service and Jaco Cilliers from Catholic Relief Service; Hazel Lair from the Meridian Institute; Krishna Kumar from the U.S. Agency for International Development; and our old friend and colleague from the Center for Strategic and International Studies Joseph Montville. A television discussion was arranged with John Paul Lederach, who teaches at Notre Dame University.



*Participants in the Second OAS Summer Workshop*

To all of the above speakers, ICAR owes a major debt of gratitude, as well as to the Washington, D.C., organizations that welcomed visits by workshop participants. Workshop participants visited Barrios Unidos and the Fairfax County Schools Mediation Service, courtesy of Robert Harris. They also visited the U.S. Institute of Peace, the Organization of American States, the World Bank, and Search for Common Ground's Media Project. To support the memory and healing discussions at the workshop, participants also visited the Holocaust Museum.

Altogether, the feedback from the 13 participants seemed very positive. Latin American and Caribbean Working Group member Janet Murdoch has created an electronic network to enable workshop participants to remain in contact with ICAR and with each other. The working group is encouraged by the success of this workshop and is considering the possibility of a third workshop for the summer of 2002—this time focused on the topic of the media and conflict in Latin America. ♦

## ICAR and the Latin American Network of Universities on Conflict Transformation, Lima, Peru

By Giselle Huamani Ober, ICAR student

From Aug. 8 to 22, ICAR members Christopher Mitchell, Daniel Druckman, and Giselle Huamani Ober met at the Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru in Lima, Peru, with 20 university professors from Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. This program was part of the Latin American and

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## ICAR WORKSHOPS AND PROJECTS



*Latin American professors attend a workshop on Conflict Transformation.*

Caribbean Working Group's effort that started two years ago and was made possible through the development of relationships with members of the following universities: Universidad del Valle, Cali, Colombia; Universidad Nur, Santa Cruz, Bolivia; Universidad Tecnica de Loja, Loja, Ecuador; and Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, in Lima, Peru. These institutions and members had become familiar with ICAR's work through summer courses (see article by Christopher Mitchell), conferences, seminars, and programs that ICAR developed in Latin America.

The program took place through the sponsorship of the Sociology Department of the Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru. The main objective was to help the universities develop or refine their conflict analysis and resolution programs, approaches, and pedagogues. The professors, who came from a wide range of professional disciplines and fields, were interested in incorporating new approaches to teaching, studying, and practicing conflict analysis and resolution. During the first part of the program, we engaged in a very rich dialogue about the types of conflict resolution programs that participants envision or have initiated. We discussed the links the participants have to the social, political, and economic constraints of their societies, and we also discussed the role the universities should play in addressing these constraints. For example, the Universidad del Valle in Cali, Colombia, has developed a very interesting program for ex-combatants and is working with them to develop leadership-for-peace modules that can respond to the great challenges of the Colombian conflict.

The second part of the program focused on course structures, academic units, and pedagogues. Comparison of different program structures and methodologies revealed the strength and creativity of many of the Latin American programs. For example, the Universidad Nur in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, has developed an innovative approach to incorporating community service and practice work into its program; this approach responds to the university principles of strengthening moral leadership and

community participation. It involves approximately 3,000 students in all kinds of volunteer and community projects organized by the students themselves.

Finally, during the last part of the program, we focused on intervention roles of third parties and the implications for universities. A case study of a socio-environmental conflict gave the participants the chance to analyze and design an intervention using their analytical skills, their existing network of contacts, and their legitimacy as members of an academic institution. The group also engaged in a two-day negotiation workshop and participated in an ongoing research project, which has been conducted over the last two years by Druckman and Huamani Ober, on the influence of environmental variables on negotiation.

Another interesting feature of the program was the development and launch of the Network of Universities in the Analysis and Transformation of Conflicts. In addition to the usual features of a network, such as the sharing of information and the exchange of findings, the network adopted a methodology used in the Sociology Department of the Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru called the methodology of the laboratory. This requires that each university invite its faculty members and graduate students who are working, teaching, or researching a particular problem in conflict and conflict resolution to join a multidisciplinary laboratory. In each laboratory, the group will formulate specific questions that will guide the study and the research of a chosen problem. In addition to producing final findings, conclusions, and reports, the work of the laboratory is expected to generate readings, open discussions, and public seminars that will provide more elements for discussion and consideration. After these stages have been completed in each university, all the universities' laboratory members will meet in 2002 to compare findings and to learn from the processes used.

As a second stage in the development of the network, the *red de universidades*, plans to have its first meeting of laboratories in Cali, Colombia, hosted by the Universidad del Valle. This meeting will take place prior to the second Ibero-American conference in Bogota, Colombia, which is being planned for the month of July, and will combine efforts with the Latin American Peace and Conflict Resolution Network, a parallel network of research institutions. (See article by Catalina Rojas.) For the gathering of university laboratories in Cali, Colombia, 2002, the "Red" already invites ICAR faculty members and graduate students to attend the meeting and to work with them on other conflict resolution themes relevant to the challenges they are facing as conflict resolution programs in Latin America. ♦

## Advanced Conflict Resolution Workshop for Korean NGOs

By Ho-Won Jeong, ICAR faculty member

In early June, ICAR hosted a five-day advanced conflict resolution skills workshop for Korean nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The workshop was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee's Tokyo office. Twelve representatives from Korean NGOs working on such issues as Korean reunification, promotion of women's status, social and economic justice, and the prevention of sexual violence attended the workshop. Organized and taught by some of ICAR's core faculty members (Christopher Mitchell, Frank Blechman, and Ho-Won Jeong) and several graduate students (Jen Murphy, Kang Young Jin, and Vivian Leven), the workshop was designed for advanced levels of process and methods for resolving complex issues. It focused on the analysis of the process of conflict, multi-party dialogue, and methods involved in overcoming incompatible interests and values.

This training workshop was aimed at helping the participants learn advanced methods essential to developing various conflict intervention and resolution strategies. While Korea does not have the racial and ethnic divisions found in many parts of the world, social, economic, and political divisions are nonetheless serious. As participants often pointed out, conflict in Korea occurs in political and cultural settings that are different from those suggested by Western-based models. Practitioners have to be sensitive to specific social settings in which conflict resolution strategies can be applied. Skills taught should assist in managing and eventually resolving conflict arising from a particular culture and social context.

One of the workshop's objectives was to help participants think about structural transformation through the processes of conflict resolution. The topics included conflict resolution methods aimed at reducing regional, social, and economic inequities, as well as tolerance of different perspectives. Facilitation, dialogue, problem solving, and team building were the main sessions for this workshop. One of the goals of the workshop was to provide training that participants could apply in specific contexts. For instance, the dialogue session used an example of an ongoing environmental conflict in the western province of Korea. Team-building exercises chosen by the participants concentrated on how nongovernmental organizations can coordinate their action strategies to mobilize resources for their continued conflict resolution programs.

An academic setting provided a serious environment for analysis and understanding of diverse perspectives. At the same time, a friendly learning environment was created by mutual

respect between the trainers and participants. Rich training and teaching experience as well as the knowledge and expertise of the trainers produced confidence among the participants in what they were learning. A short introduction before each session served as an icebreaker for the trainers and participants. During training, participants learned from each other as well as from the instructors. The group actively sought new understanding, and the trainers also provided informal advice and guidance. The number of participants was an appropriate size for an interactive style of training.

The high level of enthusiasm led to active participation by all group members in learning activities. For this reason, strategies to promote more active participation were unnecessary. The participants were knowledgeable about how conflict resolution methods work for their particular circumstances. In addition, the participants had previous exposure to conflict training and were familiar with listening, paraphrasing, and other skills, and their level of experience and understanding of conflict resolution practice was comparable to those of advanced students who are enrolled in postgraduate conflict resolution programs. The workshop used not only scenarios that contain similar structural elements but also real-life scenarios. Role-plays were compared with actual events to see how the conflicts could have been handled differently. In addition, the role-plays of each group produced different conflict processes and outcomes, and the differences were analyzed in terms of group dynamics and assumptions about structural conditions.

Whether conflict resolution skills can be universally applicable is an enduring question. No doubt, training in conflict resolution must consider cultural norms and values. Societies with strong communal cultures stress coming up with solutions collectively. Mediation developed in Western societies can be seen as too formal in non-Western cultures.

The participants raised legitimate concerns about cultural differences. Collective well-being is important in Korea, while family ties, networks of friends, and regional affiliations are less important in Western societies. Korea has a high context culture in which hidden meanings are often important. In Korea, age and gender differences may affect whose views are more respected. Social structure and cultural norms affect the choice of resolution methods and strategies (e.g., confrontation, accommodation, and avoidance). In some societies, conflict resolution is simply attributed to helping reduce intolerance.

Conflict analysis and resolution require a systematic understanding of conflict dynamics and the identification of different methods to be applied to different stages of conflict. Transforming conflict can facilitate a full exploration of the hidden relationships, power dynamics, and issues. Realization of

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### Korean NGOs *(continued from page 16)*

social justice is based on building a coalition on particular issues and issue links. Third parties can play advocacy and activist roles. These issues can be important in understanding the skills and methods that are appropriate to achieving social justice through conflict resolution.

Discussion about how conflict resolution can contribute to social change has also been important for the participants since they work for social justice. Conflict resolution can mean more than lobbying and compromise in a civil society. Confrontation may be inevitable for conflict resolution if compromised solutions force the disadvantaged to give up their critical interests, values, and needs. Attention has to be paid to how different interests are represented and formulated in a problem-

solving process since negotiation is often conducted in power-imbalanced situations.

Korean nongovernmental organizations can play an important role in citizen activism. Internal social divisions (and challenges from both inside and outside) can be overcome through a conflict resolution process. On the other hand, there are no universal techniques applicable to all different cases, and discussion is needed about what kinds of conflict resolution skills are needed for social activities. ♦

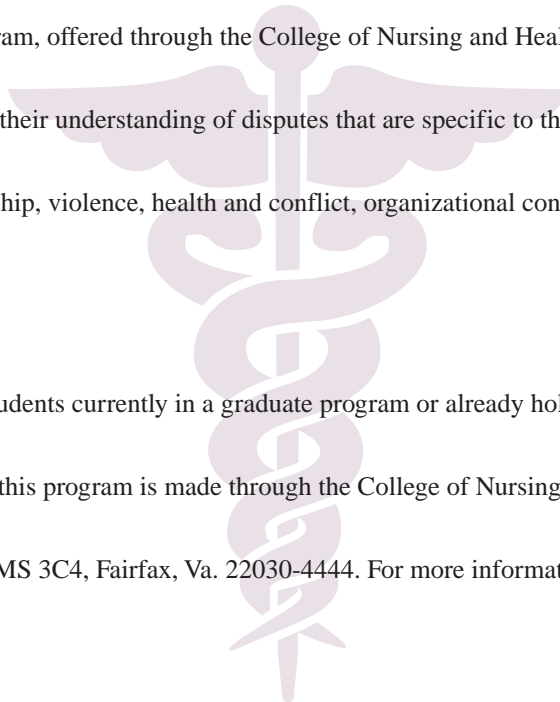
**I**n July and August 2001, I went on my fourth trip to Malaysia as an American speaker with the U.S. Information Agency's and the U.S. State Department's Public Affairs Programs.

## Conflict Resolution for Health Professionals Certificate Program

ICAR announces the **CERTIFICATE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROGRAM FOR HEALTH PROFESSIONALS**.

This joint graduate certificate program, offered through the College of Nursing and Health Science and ICAR, allows students and practitioners to enrich their understanding of disputes that are specific to the health care arena. A series of courses cover such topics as leadership, violence, health and conflict, organizational conflict, and the links between conflict resolution theory and practice.

The 15-credit program is open to students currently in a graduate program or already holding a master's degree from an accredited program. Application to this program is made through the College of Nursing and Health Science, George Mason University, 4400 University Drive, MS 3C4, Fairfax, Va. 22030-4444. For more information, call (703) 993-1947 or (703) 993-1310.



## A Trip to Malaysia

By Dennis J.D. Sandole, ICAR faculty member

I spent three weeks in this culturally rich and diverse, high-energy, beautiful country. My program began in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, in North Borneo, where I conducted a two-and-a-half-day workshop from July 30 to Aug. 1 on conflict resolution for senior Sabah state government officials; the workshop was organized by the Human Resource Development Department. What struck me most about Sabah—other than the generosity of my hosts—was that the state secretary for Sabah, Dato K.Y. Mustafa, used my visit as an opportunity to communicate to his assembled colleagues the importance of identifying and implementing nonconfrontational approaches to problem solving in all sectors of state government. Nonconfrontational approaches are particularly important since, if state civil servants do their jobs properly, they will invariably overstep into others' territories. Hence, given that conflicts are inevitable, they should be viewed as opportunities to be seized instead of problems to be avoided.

During my workshop, which met at the beautiful Sabah State Assembly Building, I presented information on conflicts likely to emerge within and between departments and organizations of state governments and conflicts likely to emerge between local, state, and federal levels of government. I discussed the causes and conditions of conflict, especially those conditions that can cause conflict to become violent. I also discussed ways to head off such conflicts or, failing that, techniques for dealing with them once violence takes hold.

On the last day, I asked the participants to form themselves into working groups to deal with conflicts they typically

face at each level of government, using concepts and approaches presented during the workshop—an exercise that they found exceptionally useful. Before departing Sabah, I presented a lecture titled “Conflict Analysis and Management for Southeast Asia: Territorial Disputes” at the School of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, in Kota Kinabalu on Aug. 1. In addition to having 32 ethnic groups and some 40 linguistic systems, Sabah shares Borneo with the Sultanate of Brunei and Indonesia as well as the fellow Malaysian state of Sarawak. Because of the country's great diversity and the many territorial issues it faces, Sabah was an appropriate place to discuss conflict management, especially given the receptiveness of Dato K.Y. Mustafa, the state secretary for Sabah.

My next stop was in Kuching, the delightful capital city in neighboring Sarawak, where I presented a lecture titled “Conflict Analysis and Management: Case Study of the Balkan States” for the International Affairs Program of the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak in Kota Samarahan. I then conducted a one-day workshop on conflict resolution for senior Sarawak state government and private sector officials, which was organized by the Sarawak Development Institute and the Centre for Modern Management. This workshop was a modified version of the two-and-a-half-day workshop I conducted in Sabah. As in Sabah, participants seemed to find it useful, especially the opportunity to apply theory to actual conflicts they encounter. One participant commented that the workshop should have been conducted over a longer period than one day.

My next stop was in Kuala Lumpur, the Malaysian capital, where I conducted a four-day workshop titled “Negotiation and Conflict Resolution” for Malaysian government and private sector representatives at the National Institute of Public Administration. For the entire last day of this workshop, the practical component consisted of a series of role-plays dealing with three themes: an interpersonal conflict between a wife and husband whose marriage was in a state of crisis; an interpersonal/intradepartmental conflict between three female subordinates and their male supervisor over promotion issues; and finally, the Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. In each case, course participants played the various disputant roles, and some joined me as the third party. According to provisional feedback, participants found the role-plays particularly useful, especially following the presentation of appropriate concepts, theories, and approaches for dealing with conflict. While in Kuala Lumpur, I also presented a lecture titled “New Trends in Managing International Conflicts” for government officials, diplomats, and scholars at the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations. Later that day, I presented a lecture on conflict analysis and management for faculty members and students of the Department of International Strategic Studies at the University of Malaya.

My next and final stop on this program was Penang, where I conducted a one-day workshop titled “War, Violence, and Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War World” and a half-day seminar titled “Intervention into Complex Humanitarian Emergencies” for faculty members and

*continued on next page*

### A Trip to Malaysia *(continued from page 17)*

students at the Research and Education for Peace unit of the Universiti Sains Malaysia. (Also in attendance were faculty members and students from the School of Social Development, Universiti Utara Malaysia, in Sintok, Kedah.) Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang is the only university in the country with an explicit program in peace and conflict studies. I was particularly gratified to learn that the coordinator for the university's Research and Education for Peace unit, Kamarulzaman (Zam) Askandar, had recently established, with assistance from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, the Southeast Asian Conflict Studies Network. This network comprises university programs from nine countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) region: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

The Research and Education for Peace unit of the Universiti Sains Malaysia is the secretariat and Zam is the regional coordinator for the network, the objectives of which are to promote cooperation and collaboration among researchers working in the area of peace and conflict research in Southeast Asia, to promote research in peace and conflict resolution in Southeast Asia in accordance with the themes of the network, to produce a body of literature on conflict analysis and resolution, and to undertake a Southeast Asian Conflict Mapping Project. The Southeast Asian Conflict Studies Network represents an effort to establish programs and mechanisms for collaborative problem solving and peaceful conflict resolution in the ASEAN region. These programs and mechanisms are expected to complement existing intergovernmental processes in order to enhance the traditionally collaborative "ASEAN way" to conflict management. Indeed, the network is

sufficiently unique as an unofficial approach to regional conflict management that it could serve as a model for university programs and nongovernmental organizations in other regions similarly concerned with joint research and collaborative programs. As the ICAR internship coordinator, I have offered to find Zam an intern—either an M.S. or a Ph.D. student in conflict analysis and resolution—to help him implement further the network's concept. (I had provided Zam with an intern a few years ago, M.S. student Lewis Dabney, and this arrangement worked out quite well.)

This program was, from my point of view, a resounding success because of the tireless efforts of Chew Wing Foong, cultural affairs specialist, who, with the support of Margot Carrington, cultural affairs officer for the U.S. Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, negotiated and coordinated with several people to design and implement this culturally, intellectually, socially, and spiritually satisfying experience. The individuals listed below are among the many people who contributed to the success of the program:

- SA'ADILAH HAJI ABDILLAH**, deputy director, Department of Human Resource Development, Ministry of Resources and Information Technology, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah
- ASMADY IDRIS**, coordinator for the International Affairs Program, School of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah
- ZABARIAH MATALI**, program coordinator, Sarawak Development Institute, Kuching, Sarawak
- DANIEL CHEW**, senior research fellow, Sarawak Development Institute, Kuching, Sarawak, Charles Tenggoi Aseng, manager, Centre for Modern Management, Kuching, Sarawak
- AHMAD NIZAR YAAKOB**, coordinator, International Affairs Program, Faculty

- of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Kota Samarahan, Sarawak
- SARASWATHY RAJAGOPAL**, senior consultant, Advanced Leadership and Executive Development Centre, National Institute of Public Administration, Kuala Lumpur
- ABDUL HALIM SAAD**, head of strategic and international security studies, Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations, Prime Minister's Department, Kuala Lumpur
- DAVID ONG CHAN HOR**, director of training, Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations, Prime Minister's Department, Kuala Lumpur
- JATSWAN SINGH SIDHU**, department head, Department of International and Strategic Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur
- PHILLIP H.J. DAVIES**, associate professor, Department of International and Strategic Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur
- KAMARULZAMAN (ZAM) ASKANDAR**, coordinator, Research and Education for Peace unit, School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang

In conclusion, I recommend that the U.S. government continue to pay attention to Malaysia and to developments there and in the ASEAN region in general and to provide specialists from various fields who can assist their counterparts in this most impressive country and elsewhere in the region. I encourage the United States to work to facilitate further the "Malaysian way" domestically and the "ASEAN way" regionally. ♦

**T**he spring 2001 edition of the *International Journal of Peace Studies* has largely been written as a tribute to one of the pioneers of the field



## Introduction to a Special Theme Issue of the *International Journal of Peace Studies* in Honor of John W. Burton

By Christopher Mitchell, ICAR faculty member

of conflict analysis and resolution, John W. Burton, who is now in retirement in Australia, his native country. The issue pays tribute to Burton in part because of his pioneering work—both intellectual and practical—between 1960 and 1990, but especially because of his work in the early days of the development of the field, when it was struggling to achieve acceptance among dubious academics and skeptical policy makers. Burton was one of a generation of men and women—Kenneth and Elise Boulding, Morton Deutsch, Johan Galtung, Anatol Rapoport, Herbert Kelman, and Chadwick Alger—who worked to make the field not only accepted but rigorous, relevant, and challenging. The fact that, today, there are more than 200 conflict and peace studies programs in U.S. universities alone, that alternative dispute resolution is deemed an essential part of any legal system, and that politicians and journalists routinely use and sometimes understand the concepts and language of the field, is in no small part due to this initially small number of scholar-practitioners. Among them, Burton played a pre-eminent role.

The articles in this issue of the *International Journal of Peace Studies* are of two types. Some represent recent unpublished writings by Burton himself, short and pithy but continuing a number of themes he has written about extensively elsewhere, such as the links between domestic politics and external conflict and the need for systematizing innovative ways of coping with conflicts. Other articles, written by some of

### *International Journal of Peace Studies*

Spring 2001

*A Special Theme Issue in Honor of*

*John W. Burton*

*Guest Edited by Christopher Mitchell*

**CHRISTOPHER MITCHELL**

Introduction

**JOHN W. BURTON**

Peace Begins at Home

**DENNIS J.D. SANDOLE**

John Burton's Contribution to Theory and Practice: A Personal View

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Conflict Prevention as a Political System

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Burton's colleagues, assess Burton's contributions to the field of conflict analysis and resolution. David Dunn discusses Burton's contribution to the parent field of international relations and the impact of Burton's ideas on the very conservative British branch of this discipline. Dennis Sandole, who has worked with Burton on both sides of the Atlantic, examines some of Burton's ideas and their impact on his own thinking. Richard Rubenstein takes up Burton's theory of basic human needs and comments on the way these ideas have been extended since Burton published his pioneering works in the 1980s and early 1990s. My own piece looks back over 30 years to the beginnings of problem-solving workshops and the manner in which these were developed as a basic tool of conflict resolution.

Undoubtedly, some readers will feel that we have left out important aspects of Burton's work or that we have wrongly emphasized the effects of some of his ideas. With a figure like John Burton, however, doing full justice to the range of issues he has taken up and discussed and the contributions he has made to the field is difficult. However, we hope there is enough here to provide some flavor of Burton's work, of the impact he has had on the development of our field, and of that field's intellectual and practical debt to him. ♦

Not far from the White House and the Pentagon, just across the Potomac River, you can walk out onto Point of View. It's a small

## Development and New Initiatives

By John W. Holman



promontory, just down river from the beloved Mt. Vernon home of our first president, bounded on one side by the glittering waters of Belmont Bay and protected on the other by natural wetlands. It is a quiet place, a place of peace.

At this time of year, the slanting autumn sun explodes bright white off the bark of birches against the dark waters of the bay. While the drums of war begin their deadly beat across the river, the leaves here turn golden and brittle before falling earthward. A beaver waddles into the shallow waters of the wetlands to reinforce his dam before the winter's ice. A resident eagle circles silently overhead, scanning the shore water for the bright fish flashes that will bring sustenance. Deer emerge from the evening woods to graze the grass and break bark together.

The animals are welcome here. They gather in this safe space, seeking the peace of the moment and a respite from an uncertain future. Soon they will be joined by others—humans seeking the solace of the place as they search for solutions to the all-too-human problems of violence and war. Through the generosity of the Lynch family, ICAR and the GMU Foundation will build a world-class Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution in this tranquil location. The center will host major conferences, seminars, training, and research.

The design of the center will preserve and protect the natural beauty of the place by dispersing small outbuildings throughout the woods and meadows to house visiting scholars and other important guests. Some will serve as meeting rooms. Others may provide space for reflection and study. A larger meeting hall will accommodate an auditorium, library, dining room, and a communications center featuring state-of-the-art technology for global conferencing.

Reflecting the worldwide concern for resolving conflicts nonviolently, the center will attract participants from all nations, all religions, and all races. These participants will examine many issues, ranging from business and economic conflicts, to environmental and domestic conflicts, to international relations.

To honor the roles so many countries have played in forging peaceful alliances across years of war and oppression, ICAR will be seeking funds from numerous countries and regions. Buildings will be furnished and decorated in the style of the culture represented and named after each contributing country's most revered peacemakers, whether they be political leaders, artists, novelists, religious leaders, poets, or citizen activists. The end result will be a center bringing the world community together in a way that honors the noblest achievements of courageous people of peace and inspires the hard work necessary to tackle the dangerous conflicts ahead.

It is most fitting that this center be built in the Commonwealth of Virginia, home of Thomas Jefferson. He was one of the country's first great statesmen. As minister to France, as the first secretary of state, and as the third president of the United States, he was a tireless advocate of peace. He believed that rational dialogue rather than brute force, and self-determination rather than imperial domination, produced the most enduring and just solutions to national conflicts and human aspirations. Peace for Jefferson's young republic meant progress and enlightenment. Peace promised prosperity, happiness, and the moral improvement of humankind. Peace allowed for the cultivation of all that was noble in human nature and the suppression of all that was brutish and benighted. Peace reflected the victory of rationality; war, the triumph of unreason. Peace was the hallmark of civilization; violence, a vestige of barbarism.

Jefferson's hopes for an enlightened world order have been sorely disappointed. Reflecting on the last one hundred years of war and genocide, the carnage appears almost incomprehensible. But reflect on it we must because the world today is a violent landscape scarred by civil strife, ethnic hatreds, arms races, and persistent struggles for liberation and self-expression. During the last decade alone, more than four million people around the globe have been killed in violent conflicts. Approximately 1 in every 200 persons in the world today is a refugee. Countless others suffer under oppressive political regimes that deny fundamental rights to the individual. Millions of people remain victims of undeclared wars, vicious rivalries, and traditional patterns of racism and ethnic hatred.

In the post-Cold War era, as regional and cultural conflicts abound, we must not allow our interest in peace, stability, and human liberation to wane. We must not allow ourselves to become indifferent to the suffering of fellow human beings engulfed by war, famine, and ethnic hatred. As recent events in the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East illustrate, local conflicts are not without international ramifications. We must not forget that domestic peace is closely linked to world peace and that today's regional conflagration can easily become tomorrow's international crisis.

But military intervention must not be our first, nor our last resort. The threat of force may bring combatants to the bargaining table. Lasting peace, however, requires dialogue and the construction of norms and rules for more rational national behavior. Consequently, we need to try to understand the sources of national conflict, as well as the reasons for ethnic and racial strife, arms races, and

## FROM THE DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR

institutionalized violence. But we must also go beyond analysis of past events. Historical understanding is not enough. Our real challenge is to imagine and then create enduring solutions. This center will present such an opportunity.

This center will host many brave men and women coming from conflict situations in the United States and abroad—men and women who have not flinched in the face of adversity, cruelty, prejudice, and senseless violence, and who seek sensible alternatives to violence. Their presence will catalyze interest in the study of conflict, the pursuit of peace, and the quest for human dignity. The center at which they learn and teach will demonstrate our conviction that we must educate ourselves to understand the language, the sources, and the meanings of peace and human reconciliation if we are to avoid the horrors of war and the degradation of the human spirit. This place of peace will also remind us that peace is itself a learning process, an ongoing struggle for understanding and for enlightenment. It will be a place of peace, a place for exploring different points of view.

If you would like to consider one of the many ways you can include a gift to ICAR in your estate planning, please feel free to call me at (703) 993-1312. ♦

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## Druckman Becomes Lynch Chair

Daniel Druckman has been awarded the Vernon M. and Minnie I. Lynch Chair of Conflict Resolution. He is the third occupant of the chair. In 1987, ICAR faculty member James Laue became the first to hold the position, and ICAR faculty member Kevin Clements became the second Lynch Chair in 1994. Edwin Lynch donated the chair in memory of his parents, Vernon and Minnie.

As Lynch Chair, Druckman plans to implement a set of projects guided by the generation and utilization of theory and research findings in the field. The projects are conceived in terms of three baskets. The first is a platform for ICAR research. This basket of projects includes a much-needed textbook for research methods courses and a set of collaborative studies. Titled *Doing Research: Methods of Inquiry for Conflict Analysis*, this textbook covers the range of qualitative and quantitative approaches taught in the full-year ICAR doctoral course. The studies, conducted with ICAR students, include further work on turning points or critical moments in ongoing negotiating interactions, comparative case analyses of process-outcome relationships, and field experiments on the situational levers of negotiating and mediating flexibility.

This basket of projects also addresses several analytical puzzles that present challenges to researchers. One puzzle relates to process. An example is the way the small changes that occur during the course of an interaction connect to the more dramatic punctuated departures in process that signal transitions: Does this process occur in different ways in different kinds of groups, for example negotiation and problem-solving groups? Another set of puzzles concerns group identities. An example is how to de-couple expressions of in-group amity from feelings of out-group enmity: What are the developmental, situational, and structural sources for these

patriotic or nationalistic sentiments? A third puzzle relates to situations as influences on conflict behavior. An example is how to unravel the role of external influences on behavior from the role of the actor in shaping those very influences: Can we distinguish empirically the actor as learner from the actor as agent in social interactions such as problem-solving workshops? These and other puzzles will be presented to the community by Druckman at a late fall reception that initiates his term of the chair.

The second basket contains projects that provide a platform for ICAR in the university. Work on decision aids for impasse resolution with the International Center for Applied Studies in Information Technology and applications of conflict resolution research in conjunction with George Mason University's Project Jerusalem are included in this basket. A third basket contains projects intended to provide a platform for ICAR in the world. These projects include curricula development and research training for new conflict resolution programs in Turkey, Georgia, and the Ukraine, as well as training workshops in several Latin American countries organized by local universities, in-country nongovernmental organizations, and the Organization of American States. Included also in this basket is collaborative work on evaluation research with the Leonard Davis Institute at Hebrew University and utilizing research in training programs with French colleagues led by Christophe Dupont and consisting of other members of the processes on negotiation group in Paris.

Druckman has been the coordinator of ICAR's doctoral program since 1997 and has taught a variety of courses, including courses on research methods, negotiation, "-isms" and conflict, doctoral integration, philosophy of social science, introduction to conflict analysis, and several intercession

courses. He received a teaching excellence award from George Mason in 1998. He has been a prolific scholar. His first article appeared in a 1967 issue of the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. His articles in 2001 appear in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution, Group Decision and Negotiation, and International Negotiation*.

Between the earliest and most recent papers, he has covered a wide range of topics, including negotiation, group identity and nationalism, nonverbal communication, political stability, coalition behavior, peacekeeping, enhancing human performance, ancient diplomacy, and a variety of methodological topics, such as formal modeling, evaluating interventions, and simulation. He has written, cowritten, or edited 11 books. He has won national awards for his dissertation and his work on nationalism. He sits on the boards of six journals. He is a founding member of *International Negotiation* and is an associate editor of *Simulation and Gaming* and *Negotiation Journal*. He is a coeditor, with Sandra Cheldelin and Larissa Fast, of the forthcoming ICAR textbook titled *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention*, to be published by Continuum in 2002.

Before coming to ICAR, he held senior positions at the National Research Council/National Academy of Sciences, Booz Allen Hamilton, Mathtech, and at a research institute in Chicago where he conducted one of the earliest problem-solving workshops. He received a Ph.D. from Northwestern University in social psychology.

Druckman looks forward to his term as the Lynch chair and hopes that his projects demonstrate the values of flexibility in scholarship and inclusiveness in implementation, through collaborations in addressing issues at the heart of integrating theory, research, and practice in conflict analysis and resolution. ♦



# Latin American Peace and Conflict Resolution Research Network

By Catalina Rojas, ICAR Ph.D. candidate

The Latin American Peace and Conflict Resolution Network (LAPCOR) was founded in May 1999 during the Advanced International Programme on Peace and Conflict Research, offered by the Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution of Uppsala University, under the auspices of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. The network was founded by the Latin American researchers who participated in the program: Luis Mesa del Monte, Soraya Castro, Catalina Rojas, Rodrigo Uprymni, and Ana Julia Bozo de Carmona.

The researchers created the network to be an academic structure to foster research on peace and conflict resolution both within and between Latin American and Caribbean countries. These countries are often subject to widespread democratic crisis, the failure of political institutions, economic recession, and territorial divisions. The formation of this international network for research on peace and conflict resolution constitutes a political resource of strategic importance for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

From the academic point of view, the formation of the network offers many advantages for enriching exchanges and creates opportunities for partnership with other international organizations. From the governmental point of view, the network offers public institutions analytical tools and strategies through which to create more competent, democratic, and responsive governance, which will strengthen the political and constitutional transitions in Latin America.

LAPCOR's main objectives are as follows:

- To foster research of concepts, strategies, and dynamics related to the prevention and/or resolution of intra- or inter-state conflicts in the Caribbean and Latin America
- To research and analyze various topics related to peace and conflict resolution
- To organize scientific events in Latin America and the Caribbean
- To produce annual publications of the findings of the research projects
- To participate, as researchers and affiliated institutions, in training programs and in relevant postgraduate courses at affiliate institutions
- To advise public and private organizations in the development of conflict resolution initiatives, training, and workshops
- To offer mediation and facilitation services

Members of the network carry out research and training projects in their respective institutions and universities. It is hoped that each project will produce at least one publication annually.

LAPCOR'S goals include consolidating panels and research proposals for ISA and Latin American Studies Association academic gatherings; publicizing the network to attract future research affiliates; cooperating with other academic, social, and research institutions working in related areas; and offering training to groups in each country in areas such as basic conflict resolution



*Catalina Rojas,  
ICAR Ph.D. candidate*

skills and third-party processes (e.g., mediation, negotiation, and facilitation).

Members of the network are establishing a fact-finding mission to identify organizations in Europe, the United States, and Latin America that might be interested in funding network projects. Possible sources of funding include the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, the McArthur Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Andean Development Corporation, the Organization of American States, the Latin American Council for the Social Sciences, and the Stanley Foundation.

For more information about LAPCOR, contact Ana Julia Bozo de Carmona at [abozoa@cantv.net](mailto:abozoa@cantv.net) or [anabozo@hotmail.com](mailto:anabozo@hotmail.com), or Catalina Rojas at [crojas@gmu.edu](mailto:crojas@gmu.edu) or [catarojas@hotmail.com](mailto:catarojas@hotmail.com). ♦



### Kevin Avruch

**K**EVIN AVRUCH is collaborating with Dave Davis, a faculty member in the School of Public Policy, to direct George Mason University's contribution to the Irish Peace Process Cultural Training Program, also known as the Walsh Visa Program, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1998. Working with them are ICAR doctoral students who make up the nonprofit organization the Alliance for Conflict Transformation. The Walsh Visa Program is designed to assist disadvantaged areas of Northern Ireland and the six border counties of the Republic of Ireland (Donegal, Cavan, Monaghan, Louth, Sligo, and Leitrim) in their transition to a peacetime economy. The program grants nonimmigrant working visas to men and women, aged 18 to 35, from the designated areas. These visas allow them to live and work in the United States for up to 36 months. During their time in the United States, program participants receive job training and, unique to this visa program, the opportunity to develop conflict resolution skills through a series of ongoing workshops, which begin before they leave the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. The curriculum is designed and delivered by members of George Mason's Alliance for Conflict Transformation. As part of a broader Irish peace-building process, the goal of the program is to help participants develop an experiential, business, and cultural skills base with which they can return home to work on promoting the economic regeneration of Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic of Ireland. Participants are supported in hubs located at present in Washington, D.C.; Colorado Springs; Pittsburgh; and Boston. A hub in Syracuse is planned for summer 2002.

### Sandra Cheldelin

**S**ANDRA CHELDELIN spent the past several months preparing for the transition of ICAR's leadership. (Sara Cobb, the new director, arrived Aug. 15.) In addition to wrapping up the 2000–01 academic year and preparing for academic year 2001–02, she continued her active consultation practice, providing mediation, strategic planning, coaching, and conflict resolution services to two boards of directors, that of a non-governmental organization and a private liberal arts college; two large banks; and several small groups and organizations. She serves on the core planning committee of the spring 2002 Hewlett Conference, has submitted a chapter on organizational conflict for publication, and, along with Daniel Druckman and Larissa Fast, is editing an ICAR textbook. In addition, she is writing a book on organizational conflict in higher education to be published by Jossey Bass in the winter of 2002. She was the keynote speaker at the Fall Institute for College and University

Chairs and Deans in Asheville, N.C., on the subject of change and has served on several panels at national conferences on the topic of change and conflict.

### Michelle LeBaron

**M**ICHELLE LEBARON has continued her work on developing processes to address conflict involving identity and worldview differences. She taught courses this spring and summer in Asia, Europe, Canada, and the United States. One of the highlights was her April keynote address at the Society of International Education, Training, and Research in Tokyo, Japan. In Switzerland, she worked with ICAR Ph.D. graduate Amr Abdalla to provide a week of training in intercultural conflict resolution skills to a group of young people from around the world participating in the Caux Scholars Program. (ICAR alumnus Barry Hart directs the Caux Scholars Program.) With colleague Mark McCrea, LeBaron returned as a faculty member to the Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication, drawing an international group of participants for five days of intensive exploration of the intercultural dynamics of reconciliation and conflict transformation.

LeBaron's forthcoming research publications include an article on the dynamics of shame and guilt in conflict intervention, cowritten with ICAR alumna Linda Johnson, who is now on the faculty of the McGregor School at Antioch University. She has also written "Learning New Dances: Finding Effective Ways to Address Intercultural Disputes," which will appear as a chapter in *Intercultural Dispute Resolution in Aboriginal Contexts: Canadian and International Perspectives*, to be published by the University of British Columbia Press. She has had papers accepted by the International Association for Conflict Management in Paris, France, and for the upcoming Women's World Congress 2002 in Kampala, Uganda. LeBaron continues work on her book about creative approaches to conflict involving worldview differences.

### Terrence Lyons

**T**ERRENCE LYONS has continued his research on comparative peace processes, with particular attention to the role of elections in implementing peace agreements in civil wars. He has written "Implementing Peace and Building Democracy: The Role of Elections," which will appear as a chapter in *Ending Civil Wars: Evaluating Implementation of Peace Agreements*, edited by Stephen John Stedman, Elizabeth Cousens, and Donald Rothchild and to be published by Lynne Rienner in 2002. He has also written "Transforming the Structures of War: Post-Conflict Elections and the Reconstruction of

Collapsed States,” which will appear as a chapter in a forthcoming book edited by Robert Rotberg of the World Peace Foundation at Harvard University. His most recent publication is *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process* (Lynne Rienner, 2001), a book he coedited with Gilbert Khadiagala.

Lyons also has worked on policy-oriented research with the Africa Program of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. He contributed a working paper titled “U.S. Diplomatic Strategies to Resolve Conflicts in Africa” to a CSIS project titled “Beyond the Clinton Administration’s Africa Policy.” He also cowrote a paper for CSIS Africa Notes titled “Time for Concerted Action on Zimbabwe” and participated in the CSIS Sudan Task Force.

Lyons continues his involvement with the Africa Working Group at ICAR. Wallace Warfield and Lyons traveled to Rwanda in May 2001 to conduct a week of training workshops with a group of Rwandan nongovernmental organizations engaged in peace building and reconciliation. They plan to return in December for another set of workshops. Christopher Mitchell, Tamra Pearson d’Estrée, Ph.D. candidate Lulsegg Abebe, Lyons, and several ICAR students are continuing to facilitate the Ethiopian Notables Dialogue.

As chair of the publications committee at ICAR, Lyons recently finalized publication of four new papers: Daniel Druckman’s “A Journey from the Laboratory to the Field: Insights to Resolving Disputes through Negotiation”; Natalya Tovmasyan Riegg’s “Conflicts in the Second World: A View on Track 2 Diplomacy”; Dennis J.D. Sandole’s “Peace and Security in the Post-Cold War Europe: A ‘Community of Values’ in the CSCE/OSCE?”; and Mike Oquaye’s “The Liberian Crisis: Lessons for Intra-State Conflict Management and Prevention in Africa.”

### Richard Rubenstein

In April 2001, RICHARD RUBENSTEIN and the ICAR Working Group on Religion and Conflict hosted a conference titled “Religious Proselytizing, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution.” The distinguished participants represented every major faith, as well as the field of conflict studies. A summary of the proceedings is available from ICAR. ICAR students who served as facilitators were Lulsegg Abebe, Elham Atashi, Mike Dante, Pushpa Iyer, Deirdre Ritchie, and Aleksandar Vidojevic. The work of this group continues and involves joint projects with George Mason University’s United Campus Ministers, the planning of a conference for 2002 on religious violence, and discussion of a proposed ICAR Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict.

In May, Rubenstein traveled to Havana, Cuba, to present a paper titled “Global Sources of Conflict and Conflict Resolution” at a conference of the Cuban United Nations Association and the Jose Marti Society. His article “Basic Human Needs: The Next Steps in Theory Development” was published in the fall 2001 issue of the *International Journal of Peace Studies*, and he completed two chapters titled “The Sources of Destructive Conflict” and “Law, Tradition, and Conflict Resolution” for the forthcoming ICAR textbook. Meanwhile, his recent book, *When Jesus Became God*, was published in France by Editions Decouverte, and a previous book, *Comrade Valentine*, was published in Poland by Bellona Publishers, Ltd. He is continuing work on *Aristotle’s Children: The War between Faith and Reason in the High Middle Ages*, to be published in fall 2002.

In September, following the horrific attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Rubenstein appeared on television (NBC News, Fox News, and Newschannel 8) and gave press interviews (*National Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *El Journada*, *Dai-Ichi News*, etc.) on the causes of terrorism and the potential role of conflict resolution in dealing with the current crisis. His letter to the editor of the *Financial Times* attracted international attention, and he spoke at a United States Institute of Peace forum and two ICAR teach-ins on the same issue.

### Dennis J.D. Sandole

From April 9 to 11, 2001, DENNIS J.D. SANDOLE served as a facilitator for the “Roundtable Seminar on Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding and NGOs—Lessons to be Learned,” convened in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention (headquartered in Utrecht, The Netherlands). While in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sandole was asked by the U.S. State Department’s Public Diplomacy Program to travel to Bihac, the northern-most Muslim-held town, where, on April 13 at the University of Bihac, he made a presentation on conflict resolution in the Balkans.

From April 26 to 30, Sandole traveled with ICAR professor Tamra Pearson d’Estree and ICAR students Dawn Gresham and Idil Izmirlı to the National Taurida Vernadsky University in Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine, where, in addition to a number of presentations on ICAR and aspects of the field, he presented “Violent Conflict and War: Insights from Political and Social Psychology.” As a speaker for the U.S. State Department’s Public Diplomacy Program, Sandole presented “Burdens from History, Insecurities and Suspicions” at the “International Workshop on Stability and Peace in the Caucasus: The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh,” at the Evangelische Akademie in Loccum, Germany, in early May. Later that month, Sandole presented “Virulent

*continued on next page*

## FACULTY UPDATES

(continued from page 25)

Ethnocentrism, The 'Last Frontier' of Resistance to Former Yugoslavia's Integration into European Civilization: Origins and Prospects for Reduction" at the second Reichenau workshop titled "Multiethnic State or Ethnic Homogeneity—The Case of Southeast Europe," convened by the Partnership for Peace Working Group on Crisis Management in Southeast Europe, Reichenau, Austria.

Sandole travelled to Istanbul, Turkey, where, from May 28 to June 1, he taught a one-week version of his course titled War, Violence, and Conflict Resolution as part of the new conflict resolution program headed by ICAR Ph.D. graduate Nimet Beriker at Sabanci University, one of Turkey's newest universities.

In late July, Sandole presented online "A Review of the Blooming of Multiple Flowers: The JCPD's E-Symposium on Conflict Prevention" as his review of the contributions to the first E-Symposium on Conflict Prevention convened by the Japan Center for Preventive Diplomacy (JCPD), a program of the Japan Forum on International Relations.

During July and August, Sandole travelled to Malaysia as a speaker for the U.S. State Department's Public Diplomacy Program (see related story in the newsletter).

From Sept. 27 to Oct. 8, Sandole visited the Rockefeller Foundation's Study and Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy, where he worked together with Lyudmila Harutyunyan, chair of the Department of Sociology and director of the Center for Regional Integration and Conflict Resolution, Yerevan State University, in Yerevan, Armenia; Larissa Lemberanskaya, director of the International Center for Social Research in Baku, Azerbaijan; and George Khutsishvili, director of the International Center on Conflict and Negotiation in Tbilisi, Georgia. The objective of the collaboration was to continue a process started in August 2000 as part of ICAR's Caucasus Working Group to help our colleagues from the region develop their surveys of public and elite opinion into a book, *Conflict and Potential for Integration in the South Caucasus: Public and Elite Opinion*. This book is to include chapters by ICAR's Christopher Mitchell and Sandole, as well as by our partners (see ICAR's fall 2000 newsletter, page 20).

On Oct. 10, Sandole participated in the second of four teachings at George Mason University's main campus as part of ICAR's response to the events and aftermath of Sept. 11. This event considered the question, "Is this a clash of civilizations?" On Oct. 18, as part of ICAR's brown bag lecture series, Sandole presented "Peace and Security in Post-Cold War Europe: An Update on the

CSCE/OSCE Project." He is also working on a book tentatively titled *Brave New Worlds and Beyond: Peace and Security in Post-Cold War Europe*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers has expressed an interest in the manuscript.

In recent months, Sandole has had the following works published: "John Burton's Contributions to Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: A Personal View," which appeared in the summer 2001 issue of the *International Journal of Peace Studies*; "Preventing Future Yugoslavias: The Views of CSCE/OSCE Negotiators, 1993 and 1997," which appeared in *Ten Years After: Democratisation and Security Challenges in Southeast Europe* (Vol. II), edited by Gustav E. Gustenau; and "Peace and Security in Post-Cold War Europe: A 'Community of Values' in the CSCE/OSCE?" ICAR Working Paper No. 18, June 2001.

Following the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, radio and print media in the United States and abroad have interviewed Sandole.

Finally, among his other academic duties this fall, Sandole is teaching the required research methods course for M.S. students, Philosophy and Methods of Conflict Research as well as the elective War, Violence, and Conflict Resolution. He serves on several Ph.D. dissertation and M.S. thesis committees. He is also involved with a number of working groups, including those dealing with war, violence, and terrorism; Southeast Asia; and the Caucasus/Newly Independent States.

## Wallace Warfield

**W**ALLACE WARFIELD moderated a panel on the implications of self-determination and social justice for mediation and dispute resolution as part of a symposium hosted by Hamline Law School in St. Paul/Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 27 and 28. Utilizing critical race theory, the symposium examined the issues of race and racism in relation to mediation and dispute resolution in the United States.

Warfield continues his work, along with Christopher Mitchell and Kevin Avruch, on the Zones of Peace research project in Colombia, which is funded by the United States Institute of Peace. Warfield is interested in comparing Zones of Peace in the United States with the more familiar international versions. This will be the subject of a research proposal in the near future.

Warfield participated with Tamra d'Estree and Daniel Druckman in a weeklong workshop development and training session with faculty members and students from the Crimea Peace Institute and Tavrichesky University in Yalta, Ukraine, at the end of August. ♦

## Alumni Professional Activities

By Ellen Kabcenell Wayne, ICAR M.S. '98

**LEE BRIGGS** (M.S. '99) is in Skopje, Macedonia, working as a consultant trainer/facilitator for local and international organizations, as well as serving as the director for a local nongovernmental organization called Agency for Rescue and Training, International.

**RAMONA BUCK** (M.S. '88) is now the public policy director for the Maryland Mediation and Conflict Resolution Office (MACRO) in Towson, Maryland. MACRO is the successor to the Maryland Alternative Dispute Resolution Commission and focuses on promoting conflict resolution and alternative dispute resolution in courts, business, government, schools, communities, families, and public policy.

**JAYNE DOCHERTY** (Ph.D. '98) has joined the faculty at the Conflict Transformation Program at Eastern Mennonite University. Syracuse University Press is in the process of publishing her book, *Learning Lessons from Waco*.

**GEOFF DRUCKER** (M.S. '97) was recently promoted to chief counsel, dispute resolution and prevention, for the U.S. Postal Service.

**FRANK DUKES** (Ph.D. '92) cowrote "Collaboration: A Guide for Environmental Advocates," a handbook

to assist environmental advocates in determining whether and how to effectively participate in collaborative decision making.

**LINDA M. JOHNSTON** (Ph.D. '01) is teaching conflict resolution in the master's degree program at Antioch University McGregor. She is teaching the research and theory classes and also serving as an adjunct professor in the Weekend College, teaching a course titled Race and Ethnicity. Johnston went to the Ukraine for two months this past spring to teach

conduct research at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva, for which he was based in Geneva from November 2000 to April 2001. As part of a team of four scholars from South Asia, Keetha investigated security issues and internal conflicts in that region. The U.N. is expected to publish the research report by the time this newsletter comes out.

**MARY RYAN** (M.S. '98) was promoted recently to the position of workplace alternative dispute resolution program manager for the Department of the Navy. The job gives her the chance to travel to Japan, Okinawa, Guam, and Puerto Rico, as well as to many locations within the United States, to advise senior management on matters concerning the use of alternative dispute resolution and to train candidates for the Navy's Mediator Certification Program.

**LANCE WOODBURY** (M.S. '95) recently completed an M.B.A. from Purdue University and in 2000 was named a principal at Kennedy and Coe, LLC, a professional services firm serving Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Nebraska. He provides mediation and facilitation services to the firm's clients and manages a group of offices in western Kansas. ♦

macro-theory to doctoral students at Taurida National University. She also serves on the executive board of the International Peace Research Association Foundation and administers the Senesh Fellowship for that organization.

**SOOSAIPILLAI KEETHAPONCALAN** (M.S. '97) successfully defended his dissertation *Underage Soldiers and Intervention: The Global Challenge of Violence Production and Conflict Resolution* on Aug. 23, 2001, and was awarded his Ph.D. by Nova Southeastern University. He also won a fellowship to

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# Hendrik W. van der Merwe Dies

By Louis Kriesberg, Syracuse University

(Published previously in *Sociology Notes* and reprinted here with the author's permission.)

**H**endrik W. van der Merwe died March 5, 2001. Born June 24, 1929, in rural South Africa about 130 miles east of Cape Town, he died on his farm near his birthplace.

But he had traveled far in his life and helped bring his country with him. In the forward to his memoir, *Peacemaking in South Africa: A Life in Conflict Resolution*, Nelson Mandela wrote about van der Merwe's "long journey from a rural conservative and Calvinist environment as an Afrikaner farm boy to the cosmopolitan, multicultural rainbow nation of the new South Africa." According to Mandela, "These memoirs tell the story of the gradual development of a Calvinist dissident to an anti-apartheid activist and a Quaker peacemaker whose religious commitment and academic insights enabled him to reach out to all sides of the conflict in South Africa."

Hendrik received a B.A. in 1956 and an M.A. in sociology in 1957 from the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa and was awarded the Ph.D. in sociology in 1963 by the University of California, Los Angeles. He returned to South Africa to teach sociology at Rhodes University in Grahamstown from 1963 to 1968. In 1968 he became the founding director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies based in Cape Town and remained its executive director until 1992, then served as senior consultant for two more years. He retired in 1994. In 1992 he became emeritus honorary professor of the University of Cape Town. He visited and lectured at many institutions in Europe and the United States, including Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill., from 1969 to 1970, and Woodbrooke College in Birmingham, England, from 1986 to 1987.

Van der Merwe was a pioneer in the development of conflict resolution and peace studies in South Africa. In 1981, he organized the first training courses in handling community conflicts and led in organizing conferences and associations related to conflict resolution methods. He helped advance integration and played a leading role in forcing the whites-only South African Sociological Society to become integrated in 1976.

He organized many regional, national, and international workshops where he brought together political opponents who

otherwise would not meet. Thus, he arranged the first meetings between government supporters and the African National Congress in exile in 1984. He developed strong links with the Mandela family and visited Nelson Mandela in prison. He mediated in local, regional, and national conflicts, including between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front in Natal in 1985 and 1986, and he arranged the first meetings between the African National Congress and the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation in 1992.

Hendrik's publications include *Peacemaking in South Africa*, which was published in 2000 by Tafelberg in Cape Town; "Restitution after Apartheid: From Revenge to Forgiveness," which was published in the *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 1994 (8:2) and 1995 (9:1); "Principles of Communication between Adversaries in South Africa," which appeared in *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, edited by J.W. Burton and F. Dukes and published in 1990 by St. Martin's Press; and *Pursuing Justice and Peace in South Africa*, which was published by Routledge in 1989. He also cowrote *Legal Ideology and Politics in South Africa*, published in 1986, and *White South African Elites*, published in 1974. He coedited *African Perspectives on South Africa*, published in 1978, and *Race and Ethnicity: South African and International Perspectives*, published in 1980.

He is survived by his wife Elsbeth Siglinde Woody of Bonnievale, South Africa, and Sillaching, Germany. From his marriage to Marietjie, who died in 1992, he is survived by three children: Marieke O'Connor of Oxford, Hendrik of Cape Town, and Hugo of Johannesburg. He is also survived by his brother Laubscher van der Merwe of Bonnievale.

Hendrik's life was characterized by straightforward honesty and passionate moral convictions. His courageous work as an opponent of apartheid and as a mediator contributed significantly to South Africa's peaceful transformation to democracy. He was brave and tenacious, too, in his long struggle with cancer. His life is inspiring. ♦



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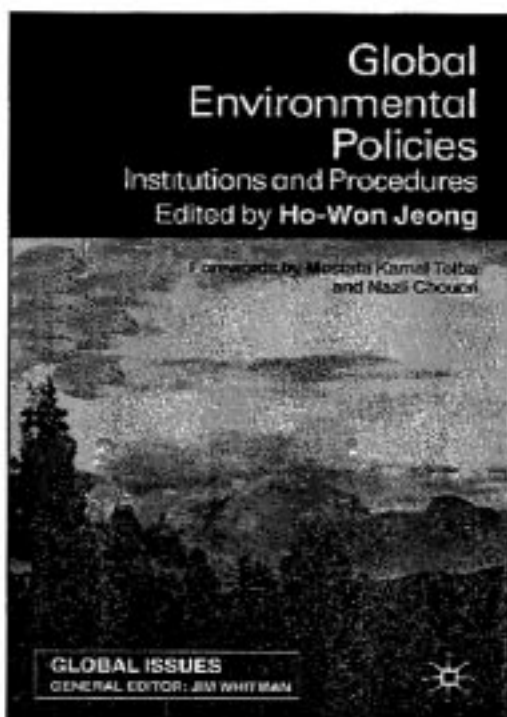
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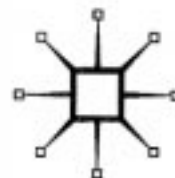
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