

ICAR NEWS

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Phased Self-Determination: A Way Out for Kosovo?

By Dennis J.D. Sandole, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, dsandole@gmu.edu

While the world's sole surviving superpower remains fixed on global terrorism, civilizational clashes, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, another complex challenge is playing itself out in the Balkans, but passing largely unnoticed. This is the question of the final status of the Serbian province of Kosovo, with its predominant Muslim Albanian population — the last remaining problem from the genocidal dissolution of former Yugoslavia during the 1990s.

The lines have been drawn between the Kosovar Albanian position of (a) full independence versus Kosovar Serbs' / Belgrade's position of (b) "substantial autonomy." Former Finnish president Martti Ahtisaari, the Special Representative

of the UN Secretary General for Kosovo, has responded to this complex issue by recommending what amounts to "phased independence" under European Union (EU) auspices as the only viable way out for the Kosovo problem. However, this is perceived by many, including some in the EU as well as Serbs, as a zero-sum gain for the Albanians and loss for the Serbs.

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Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari meets Kosovo President Fatmir Sejdiu.
Photo: UNMIK/DPI

ICAR Receives \$102,000 Gift

By Lucy Dorick, Director of Development, ldorick@gmu.edu

Mr. Thomas J. Scott II, a longtime friend of ICAR and the founder of the Center for Policy Negotiation in Boston, has left a \$102,000 bequest to ICAR to benefit the John W. Burton Endowment Fund. The interest from the Burton endowment is used to provide student support, faculty intervention assistance, publications and outreach support, and to fund elements of ICAR's operational needs. Mr. Scott passed away on March 20, 2007.

Mr. Scott was born in 1920 in Providence, R.I., served in the Navy during World War II, and graduated from Harvard University in 1946. He had a long and distinguished career in the fields of energy policy and negotiations. In 1971, he served as the president and CEO of Buckley & Scott, a heating oil distribution company in Needham, Mass. During the 10 years he spent with the company, he served as the president of the Center for Energy Policy in Boston, Mass. In 1980, he became president of the Center for Policy Negotiation,

which specializes in public policy conflicts related to energy, air and water pollution, and development.

Mr. Scott's interest in ICAR stemmed from his admiration of the work of John W. Burton, a pioneer in the field of conflict resolution and a former ICAR faculty member. Mr. Scott's relationship with ICAR deepened over time; in 1994, he and ICAR Prof. Rich Rubenstein co-hosted a conference on understanding xenophobia and ethnic conflict.

The \$102,000 bequest from Mr. Scott is particularly important for ICAR because it will help build long-term endowment funds to support students and faculty far into the future. "This is a tremendous gift to ICAR and will provide vital support to expand the services and publications of our faculty and students," said ICAR Director Sara Cobb. Mr. Scott's gift will allow ICAR faculty and students to further

"This is a tremendous gift to ICAR and will provide vital support to expand the services and publications of our faculty and students."

—SARA COBB, ICAR DIRECTOR

pursue their dual goals of advancing scholarship and refining practice in the field of conflict analysis and resolution. The entire ICAR community

gratefully acknowledges the contribution Thomas Scott has made to our institute and the future of our field.

If you would like to make a donation to the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, please address it to:

ICAR Donation
c/o Lucy Dorick
3401 Fairfax Drive, MS 4D3
Arlington, VA 22201
Email: ldorick@gmu.edu

Current fundraising campaigns include student financial support and Point of View, ICAR's campaign to create and fund an international research and retreat center at Mason Neck, Virginia. Funds can be specified for a specific campaign, or designated for use in the general ICAR campaign. ■



Sandra Ruckstuhl, above, is a doctoral student at ICAR.

Graduate Students Win Dissertation Proposal Fellowship

By Ryann Doyle, Published in Mason Gazette, 07/20/07

Selected from a highly competitive national pool of applicants, two Mason students were awarded Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowships by the Social Science Research Council, allowing them to focus on and develop their dissertation proposals this summer. The students will receive up to \$5,000 as a stipend for pre-dissertation research.

Sandra Ruckstuhl, a PhD student in Mason's Conflict Analysis and Resolution Program, is using the grant money to develop a case study focused on conflict and cooperation in water management in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Specifically, she will be looking at political economies and political ecologies of institutions.

She expects to work with the staff of nongovernmental agencies, donor agencies, the Bosnian government and others who are working or have worked on water management projects. She aims to have her dissertation completed by May 2009.

This summer, Ruckstuhl is serving as a consultant for the World Bank in Washington, D.C., on water resources management from a social scientist's perspective. She will be working on projects in the West Bank/Gaza and South Asia. She will also be studying for her comprehensive exams in August. Afterwards, she plans to go to Bosnia to work on her dissertation. ■

Panel Examines U.S.-Iran Relations

ICAR Hosts Policymakers in Discussion at National Press Club

By Daniela Stevens, Published in Mason Gazette, 04/26/07

The First Amendment Lounge at the National Press Club was filled to capacity on Monday when members from the international and national media, Mason students and faculty and the general public listened to a panel discussion on averting armed conflict between the United States and Iran.

The event was hosted by Mason's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) and moderated by ICAR professor Richard Rubenstein.

Opening the discussion, Rubenstein pointed out that the tense relationship Iran has with the United States began in 1953, when Iranians looked to America as a friend sent to distance them from Russian and English exploitation.

"When the U.S. ended up acting much like its former exploiters, the relationship was never again the same," said Rubenstein.

Although panelists disagreed on Iran's decision to continue with its nuclear program or whether or not unilateral or multilateral sanctions were appropriate or effective, they did agree on two things: that the United States was not in a good position to go to war with Iran; and by engaging in diplomatic dialogue on different levels, war could potentially be prevented.

Panelist Trita Parsi, president of the National Iranian American Council, pointed out that in addition to dialogue, changing the paradigm of the balance of power that currently exists in the region into a more European model, based on collective security, would focus the countries' interest on more productive matters than war. "The U.S. relationship with Iran is taking place in a



U.S. Representative Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD), pictured above, at ICAR Iran Roundtable.

region where there is no security ... collective security should be pursued, in all instances, through dialogue," he said.

Another panelist, Rep. James Moran (D-VA), did not hide his negative view of the situation and the current White House administration.

"There are not enough American people, or even congressmen who understand that we cannot go to war with Iran. They don't even realize that Iran is not an Arab state, that it is three times larger than Iraq and has a population of over 71 million people. We do not have the capacity to engage in military action in Iran, and it would be insane for us to do so."

Rep. Moran continued, "Besides discourse and collective security, the key forward to a more stabilized relationship with Iran is a new, more rational administration that doesn't rely on threat in order to feel powerful. My only hope is that the Iranian people don't judge the

American people by our president and that we don't do the same to them."

Moran agreed with fellow panelist Rep. Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD) that Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is not an ideal diplomat or leader either.

The panelists agreed that the current relationship between the United States and Iran has deteriorated to a point that military confrontation, perhaps provoked by other incidents in the Persian Gulf, now seems possible. They also believe that greater discourse, collective security and diplomacy are needed to potentially save the lives of hundreds of thousands of people.

Other panelists who participated in the discussion were Joseph Montville, chairman of the board for the Center of the Study of World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict at Mason and Diplomat in Residence at American University; and Jake Colvin, director of USA Engage. ■

initiatives

Congressman Moran Urges ICAR Graduates to Engage, Not Stand Idle

By Michael Shank, Government Relations Advisor, mshank@gmu.edu

EVENTS

On May 19, 2007, delivering the commencement address for the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), U.S. Representative James Moran (D-VA) implored graduates to engage in a range of domestic and foreign policy conflicts rather than sit idle on the sidelines. Presenting for a packed Harris Theatre on George Mason University's Fairfax campus, Moran began by first heralding ICAR as "an academic program whose unique focus on peace through understanding and reconciliation may be the most important academic curriculum in the country," then lauding the graduates as "far better than virtually anyone to make a profound difference in the direction of world affairs."

Outlining some of the United States' most pressing conflicts, Moran called for graduates to



U.S. Representative James Moran (D-VA), pictured above, at ICAR graduation ceremonies.

help forge positive solutions on the salient issues of the day, e.g. immigration, Guantanamo, and the nation's growing economic disparity. The foreign policy solicitation was no less vigorous, listing Darfur, Iraq, Afghanistan, climate change, and Palestine/Israel as conflicts in grave need of the type of assistance ICAR graduates can offer. Conflicts like these were precisely the types of situations that cried out for people of ICAR insight and intellect.

Stressing the timeliness of involvement, "I hope some of you will be able to facilitate a different approach to such seemingly intractable conflicts before it's too late," said Moran.

Moran was firm about the consequences of non-engagement, stating that "If you choose, instead, to stay on the sidelines...choosing to observe rather than to determine our planet's fate, then those who

are too easily succumbed to the purist appeal of fundamentalist doctrine, or the simplistic approach of military violence to resolve differences among nations, or the manipulation of the truth to achieve partisan political goals, they will in fact prevail."

Closing with a reference to Elie Wiesel's work, Moran reiterated his overarching challenge to the ICAR graduates.

"The most tragic times in human history," said Moran quoting Wiesel, "were brought about not as much by the propagandists or the killers or the dogmatists, but because they were times of transition and too many good people chose personal security or existential non-engagement and left it to others to determine the course of history."

A message with a profound lesson, no doubt, for the field of conflict analysis and resolution. ■

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email jlock1@gmu.edu.

September 15: Welcome Dinner

5:30-9:00 pm, Law School (*Invite Only*)

September 15-16: Alumni Symposium

Law School

October 14-17: Partnering for Peace: Transatlantic

Concepts for Conflict Resolution in Public Policy (*Invite Only*)

October 22: Lynch Lecture, Guest Speaker Lee Hamilton

6:00-9:00 pm, National Press Club

October 27: Development Career Intensive

10:00-4:00 pm, Truland Bldg, Room 555

November 8: Open House

6:00-9:00 pm, Truland Bldg, Room 555

Online Analysis

The ICAR News Network, developed by ICAR staff Michael Shank and Paul Snodgrass, is a new online forum featuring current analysis by conflict specialists at ICAR. The forum addresses some of the world's most salient and intractable conflicts and provides critical next steps for constructive engagement.

Hosted on the ICAR website, the ICAR News Network posts short analytical pieces, guided by the theories and principles of the field of Conflict Resolution and written by ICAR faculty, alumni and students.

The ICAR News Network provides a resource for Washington policymakers and think-tanks, business leaders, NGO and UN representatives, news agencies and others interested in quality, substantive analysis of current global and domestic conflicts.

Submissions reflect only the author's viewpoint and are reviewed by ICAR staff to ensure highest quality. Forum topics include local, national and international conflicts. Current topics on the ICAR News Network include the following:

- Afghanistan
- Diplomacy
- Egypt
- Environment
- Global Peace Index
- Immigration
- Iran
- Iraq
- Islam
- Kosovo
- Nuclear Proliferation
- Pakistan
- Palestine-Israel
- Somalia

For ICAR faculty, students or alumni interested in submitting analysis, please email icarnews@gmu.edu or go to ICAR's website for more information. ■

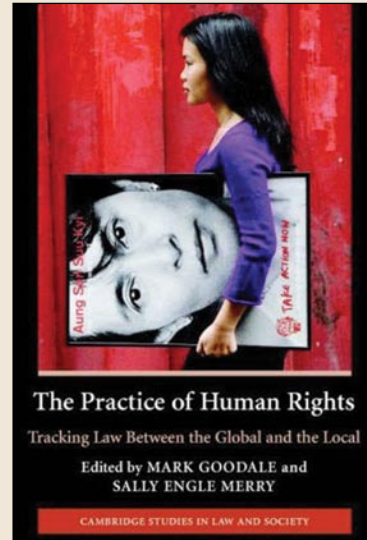
New Books*

The Practice of Human Rights: Tracking Law Between the Global and the Local

Cambridge University Press
Edited by Mark Goodale, ICAR Professor, and Sally Engle Merry

Book Description

Drawing on anthropological studies of human rights work from around the world, this book examines human rights in practice. It shows how groups and organizations mobilize human rights language in a variety of local settings, often differently from those imagined by human rights law itself.



ICAR Bookstand*

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

Princeton University Press
By Susan Hirsch, ICAR Professor

Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict

Lexington Books
Edited by Daniel Rothbart & Karina Korostelina, ICAR Professors

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

Harcourt Trade Publishers
By Richard Rubenstein, ICAR Professor

Peace and Security in the Postmodern World

Routledge
By Dennis J.D. Sandole, ICAR Professor

Zones of Peace

Kumarian Press
Edited by Landon Hancock, ICAR Ph.D. Alumnus & Christopher Mitchell, ICAR Professor Emeritus ■

New Working Papers*

Managing Protracted and Deep Rooted Conflicts in the U.S. Senate

By Richard A. Coccozza, ICAR Ph.D. Student

Consensus Among Stakeholders: A Call for Change in Virginia's Involuntary Civil Admissions Process

By Sandra Cheldelin, ICAR Professor, Monica S. Jakobsen, ICAR Ph.D. Student, and Deanna S. Yuille, ICAR Masters Student ■

Recent ICAR Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

A New Opening for Mideast Peace

By Marc Gopin, ICAR Professor, and Rep. Jim Moran (D-VA)
Baltimore Sun, September 4, 2007

Middle East Muddling

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor
International Herald Tribune, August 31, 2007

How to Challenge Iran's Militancy Without Using Arms

By Marc Gopin, ICAR Professor, and Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-NY)
Christian Science Monitor, August 23, 2007

In Pursuit of Turnaround on a US Policy Catastrophe

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor
Financial Times, August 16, 2007 ■

*Available on the ICAR Website

Khadija O. Ali

Khadija O. Ali, a doctoral student at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, is being spotlighted this month for her tireless efforts to bring peace and stability to Somalia. Ali, a former member of the Somali Transitional National Parliament and a Minister of State at



the Transitional National Government from 2000 to 2002, recently briefed the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee on the conflict in the Horn of Africa.

Organized by the African subcommittee, Ali discussed critical next steps for the United States in dealing with Somalia's Transitional Federal Government, Ethiopia's troop presence, African Union peace-keeping forces, the national reconciliation conference and

the moderate Islamic leadership in Mogadishu.

Complementing her policy advocacy on the Hill, Ali provides frequent conflict analysis on the situation in Somalia for several media outlets including the *Arab News* and *Daily News Egypt* (two of the largest English language newspapers in the Middle East and northern Africa respectively) and *Foreign Policy in Focus*, an online foreign policy journal in the United States.

Additionally, Ali regularly convenes and facilitates dialogue among the Somali-American diaspora vis-à-vis critical next steps for resolving the conflict in Somalia. Most recently, Ali co-organized a meeting of 150 diaspora in

Columbus, Ohio, to forge a declaration concerning Somalia; a statement that ultimately called for the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops, neutral peacekeeping forces, reconciliation processes involving all stakeholders, and a fairly elected government. Ali's doctoral dissertation is on the role of political leadership in post-conflict peacebuilding processes in transitional societies. Comparing Mozambique and Somalia, her research will examine how and why certain political leaders/systems are able to bring peace and stability while others are not. ■

Lisa Shaw

ICAR is proud to announce that the undergraduate Conflict Analysis and Resolution Program (CAR) advisor, Lisa Shaw, received the George Mason University 2006-2007 Advisor of the Year Award.

Lisa, a 2007 Masters graduate from ICAR, is now the Student Services coordinator for the undergraduate program.

Her region of interest throughout her graduate studies has been Latin America with particular emphasis on the Chiapas conflict in Mexico, immigration from Central America,



and the impact of immigration on non-traditional receiving communities in the United States. Her thesis is entitled *Beyond the Border: Public Policy and Irregular Migrants in Northern Virginia Municipalities*.

"I feel the study is significant because non-traditional small towns and cities in the United States are beginning to deal with the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, and may benefit from an analysis of factors that contribute to conflict within communities around the issue of immigration," says Shaw.

As a member of ICAR's Latin American and Caribbean Working Group (LACWG), Lisa developed an idea to create an event around the issue of immigration in local communities. As a team, the LACWG worked for eight months to create a dialogue in Manassas/Prince William County, Virginia with a community that has been experiencing increased tensions regarding the number

of undocumented immigrants in the community, and the legislation being produced at the city and county level.

"Needless to say, the most rewarding aspect of my job is working with our students, whose depth, caliber and personal experiences with conflict translates into students who are genuinely interested in pursuing the somewhat non-traditional degree of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and adventurous enough to pursue the maze of opportunities this degree prepares them for," Shaw said. ■

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—LISA SHAW

A Way Out for Kosovo

Continued from page 1

not receive even “phased” independence, then they are likely to unilaterally declare their independence or otherwise be the source of renewed hostilities in the Balkans, with potential for spillover to Bosnia-Herzegovina and elsewhere in the region

(e.g., Macedonia which has a sizeable Albanian minority).

Is there not a way out here for Kosovo and the region or are we stuck with a failure of imagination and another likely descent into ethno-political warfare?

Let’s suppose that we — the “concerned international community” — were to conduct an “experiment” and map the trajectories of implementing both of these strategies. In the shorter term (10-15 years), both trajectories look similar. It is only in the 15-25 year time frame for effective post-conflict peacebuilding that the trajectories diverge into “full independence” or “substantial autonomy.” Suppose then that a reframing of Ahtisaari’s plan as “phased self-determination” captures the overlap of these shorter term trajectories.

If that were, indeed, the case, then we could implement the *phased self-determination* reframing of the Ahtisaari plan, in lieu of either of the two original positions, for 10-15 years. This would buy time for effective post-conflict peacebuilding and for Kosovo to have been absorbed into the European Union where it might not matter too much who “owns” it — especially if *all* Kosovars had access to the security and recognition of their *identities* and in general, to the “good life” traditionally experienced in “*virulently ethnocentric*



systems” only by dominant majorities at the expense of marginalized, often oppressed minorities.

This *reframing* of Ahtisaari’s proposal does not dismiss, but rather builds upon it to render the process culminating in Kosovo’s final status as less likely to lead to a resumption of genocidal conflict in the Balkans. It is also compatible with French President

Sarkozy’s recent attempt to persuade his G8 counterparts at their annual summit in Heiligendamm, Germany, to delay for six months the UN Security Council vote on Kosovo’s final status in order to provide more time for further negotiations. Significantly, this is what

the Russians (Serbia’s primary ally) want in order to preempt their threatened veto should the vote come up, in their view, prematurely.

That the EU has recently decided to restart negotiations with Serbia’s new pro-reform government about its eventual entry into the EU, a year after the EU ceased such negotiations because of Serbia’s apparent resistance in locating and handing over to The Hague Tribunal indicted war criminals, is a further sign that such a reframing could actually succeed! With *both* Kosovo and Serbia in the EU, “ownership” of the province should become a moot point.

But should ownership remain an issue, Serbia could then be allowed to retain *de jure* sovereignty over Kosovo while the dominant Albanian population enjoys *de facto* sovereignty by “leasing” the province from Belgrade, with funding provided by the international business community which

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ICAR Faculty Awarded University Distinction

Author of “Thus Saith the Lord”, “Aristotle’s Children”, “When Jesus Became God”, and other books and articles, and professor at George Mason University’s Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), Richard E. Rubenstein can now add the title of University Professor to his already impressive resume.

To be nominated for this distinction among full-tenured faculty at Mason, faculty members must have an international scholarly reputation, a strong record of research, and a recognizable influence on their individual fields. This year, the university’s Board of Visitors named 18 new University Professors, one of whom was Rubenstein.

When asked about the award, Rubenstein said “It’s always nice to be recognized by one’s university, but this has a special meaning to me, since it is also a way of recognizing our field, not just one professor’s work. Conflict analysis and resolution is clearly coming of age.”

In addition to working on a new book tentative titled, “Why We Fight, and How We Can Stop: New Insights from the Field of Conflict Resolution,” Rubenstein is organizing a major international conference in October to examine the role of the conflict resolution field in public policymaking. The conference, “Partnering for Peace: Transatlantic Concepts for Conflict Resolution in Public Policy,” is co-organized by ICAR and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and is the first time U.S. and European conflict resolution professionals are convening to explore best practices in shaping public policy. ■



Celebrating 25 Years of Pioneering Theory, Research, and Practice at ICAR

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



Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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A Way Out for Kosovo

Continued from page 7

would benefit from stability in the region. This would be accompanied by the Ahtisaari plan’s guarantees for protection of the human rights of Serbs and other minorities in the province, plus the promise of Kosovo’s eventual entry into the European Union along with Serbia and other states of the Western Balkans.

This reframing would be far more likely to succeed than the Ahtisaari plan as currently formulated — the difference being between “phased independence” for the province (which sets off alarm bells in Belgrade and Moscow) and “phased self-determination” for all in the province (which remains sufficiently vague but *hopeful enough* to merit further attention).

Accordingly, further details would have to be worked out on just what the exact differences are between “phased self-determination” (this reframing of the Ahtisaari plan) and “phased independence” (the Ahtisaari plan), in responding to the need for bold thinking and action on the Kosovo issue as a basis for enduring peace, security, and stability in the Balkans, with implications for similar conflicts elsewhere. ■

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