

What Washington Wants In The Horn of Africa

By Terrence Lyons, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, tlyons1@gmu.edu

In February 2008, the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) began to "temporarily relocate" its observation force out of the Transitional Security Zone where it had been deployed since 2000. UNMEE was established to monitor and assist in implementing the Algiers Peace Agreement that put an end to the brutal 1998-2000 border war between the two states.

In early 2008, however, Eritrea blocked fuel ship-

ments to the peacekeepers. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon condemned Eritrea's lack of cooperation and demanded that Asmara resume full cooperation with UNMEE. Eritrea



Above: UN Peacekeepers in Eritrea. Photo: Wikipedia Commons.

refused and responded that the UN was dwelling on "peripheral matters".

This latest melee over UNMEE is emblematic of the troubled Algiers peace process that may be beyond resuscitation. The specific crisis, however, is also a distraction from the imperatives to address the deeply rooted sources of

conflict. UNMEE's forced evacuation is just the latest incident in the bitter feud between Addis Ababa and Asmara and the inability of the international community to find ways to promote regional peace. The conflict between rival neighbors is embedded

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Commentary

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Board Builds Bridges for ICAR

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

For over 20 years, the Advisory Board of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) has championed the work of ICAR's faculty and students. The Board is comprised of leaders from the legal, business, non-profit, academic, diplomatic, and philanthropic worlds, as well as ICAR alumni. These individuals have provided an array of networking, funding and mentoring opportunities for ICAR. In addition, these well-established professionals give of their time and resources to improve ICAR's scholarship funds, mentoring opportunities, and outreach opportunities.

Over the years, several distinguished individuals have chaired the Board: Edwin Lynch, a real estate developer and Point of View (POV) donor; Drucie French, who supports an ICAR faculty chair; Jim Hobson, a lawyer and donor; the Hon. Jim Dillard; donor Douglas Adams; Amb. John McDonald; K.C. Soares, a scholarship donor and former chair of the board of the Organization of American States' federal credit union; and Alan Gropman, an ICAR donor and professor at the National Defense University. In September 2007,



Above: ICAR Advisory Board Vice-Chair Alan Gropman introduces ICAR's Government Relations Adviser Michael Shank to American Patriot Award Winner U.S. Rep. Ike Skelton (D-MO). Photo courtesy of Reflection Photography.

the Board set the following goals for the current academic year: 1) raise money for scholarships; 2) provide networking opportunities for ICAR faculty and students; and 3) mentor students. To attain these goals, the Board decided to pursue two specific activities:

Soccer for Peace Fund-Raising Raffle. Through Rotary International and Soccer for Peace, the Board will sell raffle

tickets to an international soccer event. The winner will receive tickets to a championship game, airfare and hotel accommodations. Proceeds from the raffle will go to ICAR and the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. The Board hopes to raise \$30,000, half of which will be earmarked for ICAR scholarships. Special

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K.C. Soares and Alan Gropman at the Helm

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

K.C. Soares and Alan Gropman have devoted more than 10 years each to the work of ICAR. Serving as co-chairs of the ICAR Advisory Board, they have provided support for many student scholarships and programs. K.C. and Alan have hosted events to showcase student publications and faculty scholarship, spearheaded mentoring sessions for students, donated their time and money toward ICAR scholarships, and expanded ICAR's network by recruiting new Board members and donors. These remarkable leaders are an integral part of the ICAR family. K.C. was formerly the board chair of the Organization of American States' credit union. Now heading her own consulting firm focused on strategic planning and implementation, K.C. brings a critical international and organizational perspective to ICAR. Alan is a retired U.S. Air Force colonel and a professor of national security policy at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces at the National Defense University. An active lecturer and author, Alan is an expert on military strategy, national security, military history, and racial integration. Says ICAR Director Sara Cobb of K.C. and Alan, "I greatly admire and respect the work of Alan and K.C. They have provided stability and leadership to the Advisory Board during my tenure as director and I am extremely grateful for their support." ■

network

ICAR Applied Practice and Theory Training for Transformation APT Focuses on the District

By Jenny Lock, ICAR M.S. Student and Events Coordinator, jlock1@gmu.edu

Applied Practice and Theory (APT) teams are made up of small groups of M.S. and Ph.D. students who are interested in gaining practical intervention skills. These teams cover wide ground. Some groups focus on an international project which can be as varied as working within the Bosnian educational system or studying identity formation among Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico, while other groups choose to focus on domestic issues ranging from education, girls and gangs, to training federal employees about conflict resolution.

APT allows advanced students the opportunity to analyze a conflict and perform a team-designed intervention. Each team works closely with a faculty advisor who serves as a springboard for ideas and offers extensive practice experience from which the teams can learn.

The Training for Transformation APT, advised by Dr. Wallace Warfield, is made up of four M.S. students: Erin Feeley, Lindsay Jones, Jenny Lock and David Middlebrooks. Academic interests include reconciliation, restorative justice, conflict prevention and structural violence.

The team began meeting last summer to brainstorm possible intervention ideas and begin their conflict analysis. A group interest in neighborhood change and extensive research into communities within Washington, D.C., as well as interviews with various individuals and non-profits working in those areas, led the group to choose the Brookland Edgewood area of the city. Located in Northeast D.C., Brookland Edgewood is a diverse and active community. After a comprehensive search



Above: Training for Transformation Team (from left to right) Erin Feeley, Lindsay Jones, Jenny Lock and David Middlebrooks. Photo courtesy of Lindsay Jones.

for a community-based partner organization, the Training for Transformation APT found Community Preservation and Development Corporation (CPDC). According to their mission statement, CPDC is

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an organization which "creates and preserves financially sound, socially responsible affordable housing for low- and moderate-income individuals and families

and, in cooperation with residents, develops programs that strengthen communities and increase opportunities for growth".

The Training for Transformation APT has created a conflict resolution curriculum which will be implemented with residents of varying ages at CPDC's Edgewood Terrace community. The curriculum was written jointly by all members of the team and covers a variety of topics including an introduction to conflict resolution skills, reconciliation, restorative justice, conflict prevention and structural violence. The program will culminate in a participant designed and facilitated community intervention within the Edgewood Terrace community.

Recognizing this as a great volunteer opportunity for ICAR students of all interests, it is the team's hope that this partnership with CPDC will continue into the future. *For more information, contact Jenny Lock.* ■

initiatives

ICAR Facilitates Climate Change Discussion at Fairfax Teach-In

By Lisa Shaw, CAR Student Services Coordinator and Advisor, lshaw2@gmu.edu

EVENTS

On January 29, the Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR) undergraduate program participated in the Climate Change Teach-In at Mason's Fairfax Campus. The event featured Mason professors, researchers and notable environmental speakers, such as Lester Brown, president of the Earth Policy Institute and author of *Plan B*

2.0: Rescuing a Planet Under Stress and a Civilization in Trouble. The CAR portion of the teach-in offered participants a conflict perspective on climate change as well as an opportunity to talk about the complexities of climate



Above: Conflict Analysis and Resolution students facilitate a discussion on climate change with George Mason University faculty, staff and students. Photo courtesy of *Broadside* newspaper.

change in a facilitated discussion setting. Sandy Ruckstuhl, ICAR Ph.D. candidate, and Dr. Susan F. Hirsch, CAR Program Director, opened by highlighting the physical effects and social consequences of climate change. Examples illustrated the potential for aggravation of existing global conflicts and various strategies for addressing climate change from the conflict analysis and resolution perspective. After this introduction, approximately 200 students, faculty and staff formed 20 discussion groups to consider topics that included personal and community responsibility, policy changes, social justice and ethical considerations, and the options, costs, and risks of climate change.

Most groups were facilitated by CAR students, with a team of ICAR Ph.D. and M.S. students, led by Lisa Shaw, assisting the process. The event gave CAR and ICAR students an opportunity to practice the skills taught in methods and practice courses, and was

a great opportunity for students and faculty to work together collaboratively.

At the end, ICAR's Monica Jakobsen, Leila Patterson, Stacy Stryjewski, Mara Schoeny, Paul Snodgrass and Mery Rodriguez debriefed the audience, summarizing the key issues emerging from the group discussions. The groups reached conclusions that reaffirmed the need for change within personal attitudes and the need for education. Participants also stressed the importance of influencing public policy at the local, state and national levels, as well as encouraging Mason administrators, faculty, staff, and students to create a "green" campus.

The CAR-facilitated discussions brought a fresh and creative approach to dealing with a current and polemic issue, an approach that included everyone in the conversation about the problem and demonstrated the power of our own agency. ■

Upcoming ICAR Community Events

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

March 4: Spring Career Fair

2:00-5:00 pm, Arlington Original Building, Room 329

Contact: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu.edu, 703.993.9683

March 6: Prospective Students Information Session

6:00-7:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

RSVP: Erin Ogilvie, eogilvie@gmu.edu, 703.993.9683

March 28: ICAR Career Intensive

Career Focus: Organizational Consulting

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

RSVP: icarjob@gmu.edu

April 4: Job Search Strategies for International Students

2:30-4:00 pm, Truland Building, Room TBA

Entire events listing available at <http://icar.gmu.edu/events.htm>

Examining Immigration's Core Issues

By Paul Snodgrass, ICAR M.S. Alumnus

With the United States Congress deadlocked, and a tumultuous presidential campaign underway, the issue of illegal immigration has taken center stage. Both parties agree that the border should be secured and laws enforced but differ on how much should be militarized and how to deal with the people already here, living and working. The word "amnesty" has become a mark of shame thrust upon anyone who favors a more compassionate approach. The problem has been addressed predominantly at the symptomatic level, ignoring root causes of human migration and leaving out opportunities for long-term satisfaction of all parties concerned.

Given the opportunity, people prefer to provide for themselves and their families inside their own communities and countries. Small improvements in Latin American economies would be enough to keep hundreds of thousands of people in their preferred locations. However, when the notion is raised that Latin American countries should have improved economies to stem the tide of human migration, the burden and blame is usually laid entirely upon the governments in question. This misses a valuable opportunity to examine the hemispheric influence the U.S. has exercised over the years and ask whether this influence has made matters better or worse.

Through trade deals and economic regimes like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the U.S. encouraged neo-liberal policies, which produced the economic realities in Latin America. Countries entered into a race to the bottom, lowering wages, destroying labor unions, relaxing safety regulations and protections for children and the environment. The IMF, and the desire to attract business, demanded these actions, much to the detriment of the people. To make matters worse, many nations now face the burden of illegitimate debt, built up by corrupt regimes of the past that used international loans to oppress their people.

In this environment, it is no surprise that people, yearning to survive and make a better life for their families are attracted to the U.S., rich with the promise of opportunity. In our rush to address the problem of immigration, we should not punish people for behaving exactly as we would in their position.

Instead, we should look for ways to alleviate the problems of Latin America, first by critically examining our own negative impact, and then by engaging in truly fair trade and development aimed at improving the lives of the people. ■

Recent ICAR Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

Bali Confirmed the Shift: Nation Is On Board Now

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student, and U.S. Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD)
Richmond Times-Dispatch, 02/22/08

Tycoon's Death Raises Issues of Rebuilding Trust in Georgia

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Financial Times, 02/18/08

To An Aspiring President

By Dennis Sandole, ICAR Professor
Washington Post, 02/17/08

The Star-Spangled Delusion

By David Young, ICAR M.S. Student
Asia Times Online, 02/16/08

Afghan Domestic Opinion Neglected in Ashdown Plan

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Financial Times, 02/15/08

Gilchrest's Defeat a Loss for Congress

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Baltimore Sun, 02/15/08

Transparency Good, Accountability Better

By Matt Shugert, ICAR M.S. Student
The Hill, 02/13/08

Sanctions Wrong Response to Abuse

By Ross Gearllach, ICAR M.S. Student
Baltimore Sun, 02/11/08

Bhutto's Will Disappoints Democratic Hopes

By Saira Yamin, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Christian Science Monitor, 02/11/08

Working Against the Problem Not Each Other

By Rebecca Cataldi, ICAR M.S. Student
The American Muslim, 02/07/08

High Stakes in Effort to Sink Gilchrest's Canoe Diplomacy

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
The Hill, 02/06/08

Accountability in Indonesia

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Washington Post, 02/02/08

Running Low

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Economist, 02/01/08

It's the People, Stupid

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor
Washington Post, 01/26/08

Gaza Sanctions Exact an Unjust Toll on Civilians

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Christian Science Monitor, 01/23/08

Don't Choke Off Gaza

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Washington Times, 01/22/08

What the Surge Doesn't Do

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
New York Times, 01/19/08

Overdue Wisdom in Afghanistan

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Student
Financial Times, 01/17/08 ■

Saira Yamin

By Deanna Yuille, Graduate Admissions Assistant, dyuille@gmu.edu

After completing an M.S. degree at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) in 1992, Saira Yamin returned to her home in Pakistan and began working with development programs dedicated to alleviating poverty. Eventually, she began teaching conflict resolution and crisis management and used her expertise to develop additional conflict resolution curricula for her school. When speaking of her homeland, she is mindful of the fact that Pakistan, along with its neighbors in South Asia, has a unique social and political position. While the country makes a great effort to preserve its traditions, Saira believes that fruitful changes can be made and that she



can influence the society by teaching others conflict resolution skills while still maintaining the richness of its culture.

In addition to her teaching career, she has also worked on women's rights. "Women have a lot of room for empowerment and education is the key to this development," says Saira. Therefore, she is conscious of learning and development not only because it is needed, but because she feels instinctively driven to do so.

This purpose, and the opportunity to deepen her teaching experience, led Saira to return to ICAR and pursue her Ph.D. She currently plans to write her dissertation based on the concept of failed states. Saira notes that although "failed" implies something negative, the world cannot automatically discredit nations with this classification.

This registers with her personally, as Pakistan is among the nations in this category. Saira would like not only to diagnose why these states may have deteriorated, but also begin to think about these nations in terms of prevention and how to stymie the cycle of turmoil that seems to surround them. This includes continuing to work on Track II initiatives between India and Pakistan. The knowledge that she gains will be put to the test soon enough, as she plans to return to Pakistan upon completing her studies at ICAR. Still, Saira continues to make sure that she is proficient in understanding all areas of conflict, not only those closest to home. ■

"Women have a lot of room for empowerment and education is the key to this development."

—SAIRA YAMIN

Josh Fisher

By Erin Ogilvie, Assistant Director, Student Services, Graduate Admissions, eogilvie@gmu.edu

Growing up on a small farm in Utah, Josh Fisher moved on to earn a B.A. in international law and environmental policy, and an M.S. in international relations. Shortly after, he became a firefighter, river ranger, non-governmental organization founder and resource planner, all leading the way to the doctoral program at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR).



During graduate school at Utah State University, Josh started the organization Volunteers Involved in Development Abroad (VIDA). VIDA is a capacity building organization, focusing on sustainable agriculture, the health sector and environmental work around the globe. In Mozambique, Josh participated in building bio-diesel production equipment and worked to increase local markets for non-timber product forest resources. Josh has always been involved with the environment in one capacity or another, whether it be as a wild land firefighter with the forest service or as a river ranger working in habitat rehabilitation and whitewater rescue.

Until recently, Josh was a resource planner for three years for the U.S. Department of Interior, specifically the Bureau of Land Management, in Utah. In this capacity, he was practicing conflict resolution between competing user groups and working on resource planning for the energy industry.

As for his current research, Josh is looking for correlations among resource extraction patterns and spatial distributions of civil violence and economic development efforts. "The goal is to see if there are correlations in shifting each of those three and how a shift in the distribution of one affects the spatial distribution of others."

After finishing his doctoral program at ICAR, Josh's career plans involve work in international development with a focus on economic development and resource management. ■

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within a set of domestic political conflicts in each state, linked through proxy conflicts to instability in Somalia and the Ogaden, and is skewed additionally by the application of Washington's global counter-terrorism policies to the region.

Each of these realms has its own history and dynamics but each also feeds and in turn

is fed by the others. Escalation or stalemate on one level therefore alters conflict dynamics across the others. The intermeshing of domestic insecurities, interstate antagonisms, and global policies create regional "security complexes" in which the security of each actor is intrinsically linked to the others and cannot realistically be considered apart from one another.

Ruling authorities in both Ethiopia and Eritrea have used the border issue and threats to the homeland to justify restrictions on political activity and severe limitations on basic political and civil rights. This democratic deficit, moreover, has allowed both to maintain hard-line positions and militarized policies despite huge costs to their populations. The border stalemate and underlying problems of authoritarian political processes, in turn, are further linked to regional conflicts.

Both Ethiopia and Eritrea compete against each other by supporting rival parties in neighboring states. Tensions over the border stalemate, for example, were displaced, in a way, by proxy in Somalia in 2005 and 2006. Ethiopia supported the Transitional Federal Government and Eritrea supported the rival Union of Islamic Courts, in part hoping to tie Ethiopian forces down in the East. This proxy war adds a further complicating dynamic that makes peace in Somalia more difficult. Ethiopia is



Terrence Lyons, above, is an ICAR Professor.

unwilling to withdraw from Somalia until it is reassured that Eritrea will not take advantage of the ensuing vacuum of authority. But creating a new broad-based regime seems impossible so long as Ethiopia remains.

Finally, local conflicts in the Horn of Africa have been internationalized by Washington's "Global War on Terrorism." The Bush administration views Ethiopia as a "key strategic partner" that shares "a commitment to address threats by transnational extremist groups". This association directly links Washington with Addis Ababa even while their interests in the region are quite different. While many have seen the Ethiopian inter-

vention into Somalia as an example of U.S. "subcontracting" the war on terror to a regional ally, Addis Ababa likely would have acted with or without Washington's approval. Addis Ababa and Washington share concerns regarding Islamist groups in Somalia but for different reasons. Ethiopia worries about the assistance these groups provide to the regime's enemies in Eritrea and domestic insurgencies, while the United States is concerned with alleged links to al-Qaeda and the bombings of embassies in East Africa. The U.S., however, promoted the impression that it was working hand-in-hand with Ethiopia when in 2007 it used its own AC-130 planes to attack targets within

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ICAR's Talking and Writing Media Classes

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

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) created two media classes this school year: "Writing for the Media" and "Talking to the Media". Both courses are taught by ICAR professor Dennis Sandole and Government Relations



Above: ICAR Professor Dennis Sandole talks with Ph.D. student Maneshka Eliatamby de Silva before his Kosovo interview. Photo: Paul Snodgrass.

Adviser Michael Shank. The purpose of the courses is to prepare ICAR students with the skills needed to translate conflict analysis and resolution theory and practice for print, television and radio audiences. Recently, the "Talking to the Media" class accompanied Dennis Sandole to his interview on *CTV News*, Canada's national television network. *CTV News* was covering the Serbian protests at the US Embassy in Belgrade—protests in response to Kosovo's independence—and needed a Balkans expert to provide analysis. Given his expertise, Dennis Sandole was the ICAR analyst for the job. In response to his interview, *CTV's* Stephanie Wells commented, "You obviously have so much detailed knowledge of the situation in the Balkans, but you also do a really good job of breaking it down for the average viewer." The interview can be viewed online at http://icar.gmu.edu/ICAR_NewsNetwork.html. ■

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Somalia. The strategic relationship associates the U.S. with the regime and its policies in ways that escalate and prolong regional conflicts. Washington's calls for democratization and human rights in Ethiopia are not convincing when high-level officials simultaneously praise the regime's cooperation in the global war on terrorism. Ethiopia's obstruction of the demarcation of the border contributes to Eritrea's hostility toward Washington and the UN.

Washington feels it needs a close relationship with Ethiopia in order to pursue its regional strategic interests. This relationship, however, comes with costs. As with other pivotal states in difficult regions such as Pakistan and Egypt, these sometimes awkward bedfellows receive U.S. support for security reasons but then pursue their own, sometimes brutal, agendas regardless of pressure from Washington. Ethiopia has used the military to respond to domestic opposition, regional insurgencies, and to instability within Somalia. If the growing pressures on Addis Ababa from internal dissent and regional instability converge, an uncontrolled and potentially very violent transition is possible. While the United States has paid high-level attention to Sudan and to issues of counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa, policies toward the border stalemate and authoritarianism in Ethiopia have been reactive, episodic, and largely unsuccessful. Washington needs a new diplomatic strategy in the region that recognizes these growing risks and the links among the border stalemate, fragile and authoritarian regimes, and escalating proxy clashes in Somalia. ■

Board Builds Bridges for ICAR

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thanks go to Lester Schoene for organizing, and Bob Nealon, Alan Gropman and Ed Rice for financial support.

Real Estate Roundtable. The Board will host a real estate roundtable at POV in fall 2008. The event will focus on environmental issues relating to real estate development in Northern Virginia. Topics will include land use, water conservation and "green" building. The workshop will culminate in a reception with Jeff Dubois and other area developers. The goal is to raise ICAR's profile, introduce POV to the region's real estate development community, and identify new donor prospects.

In sum, says K.C. Soares, "The ICAR Advisory Board is committed to the work of ICAR. We strongly believe that the most important contribution we can make is to the ICAR students through scholarship support, mentoring opportunities and networking events." *The Board, in alphabetical order: Sara Cobb, Edwin Futa, Nancy Gillis, Alan Gropman, James Hobson, Alma Jadallah, Charles Link, Carmen MacDougall, John McDonald, Robert Nealon, Harvey Newcomb, David Padilla, Edward Rice, Thomas Davis Rust, Lester Schoene Jr., James Scott, Robert Scott, Andy Shallal, Chris Shoemaker, K.C. Soares, Peter Stavrakis, and Stanley Taylor. Student Reps. include Yves-Renee Jennings and Matt Shugert.* ■



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