ICAR news

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A First—A Symposium Held by ICAR Ph.D.s

By Jannie Botes, ICAR alumni '97 and faculty member at the University of Baltimore's Program on Negotiation and Conflict Management.

The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution is commemorating a number of historic milestones in this academic year. Among the reasons for celebration is that ICAR recently surpassed the 20 year mark since the Center for Conflict Resolution, ICAR's forerunner, opened its doors. Moreover, ICAR's doctoral program in conflict analysis and resolution, in existence since 1988, now counts nearly 30 Ph.D.s on its roll.

With these landmark events in mind, Chris Mitchell (who served as either the chair or member of a dissertation committee to many Ph.D. students), and I (a member of the first intake of doctoral students), organized another historical event for ICAR—the first gathering of holders of the ICAR Ph.D. The attendees came from as far afield as London and Istanbul for the institute's first Alumni Symposium held September 13-15. They were Mohammed Amu-Nimer, Nimet Beriker, Catherine Barnes, Dick Cocozza, Frank Dukes, Jayne Docherty, Larissa Fast, Linda Johnston, Adrienne Kaufman, Mary Jo Larson, Susan Allen Nan, John Stephens, and Josh Weiss. Many more expressed an interest in attending. ICAR's Ph.D.s are now spread over a number of countries in the world where they are working mostly as academics and consultants.

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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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Director's Column

Dear Reader,

These are unsettling and uncertain times. Earlier this year the media called ICAR to line up commentators on the war. This "preemptive strike," violence done to prevent violence, is an echo of a cold war strategy at a geopolitical moment when war is anything but cold. The hatred and fear that have crisscrossed national borders and cultural communities have left a contrail of righteous arguments and defense strategies that, in turn, fuels divisions between "us and them." If there was ever a time for conflict resolution, it is now. However, it is, paradoxically, very, very difficult to present conflict resolution as a legitimate option. And we know the way this conversation would go:

- There is no negotiation with "terrorists."
- Talking is a sign of weakness; besides, we have been "talking" with Iraq since the last war, and they have not listened.
- Iraqi people want U.S. occupation.
- Saddam Hussein is evil and therefore this conflict is not political, but moral. We must take a stand, even if some of our allies are afraid to stand with us.

And the list goes on…and it is easy to be discouraged at this juncture. However, as we say in our field, this crisis is also an opportunity for us to practice our science/art. The fact that conflict resolution is not seen as an option, the way it slides off the arguments for war, is evidence that we in the field, have more work to do: getting out the word by building relationships with those who would advocate war and preemptive strike policies, developing knowledge about how to engage political leaders and regimes in a way that evolves relationships and increases understanding (or as von Foerester would say, "standing under" the other's language game), building tools for assessing relational risk so strategists can allocate attention and resources effectively, and improving our methods for documenting change in cases where conflict resolution has proved effective. As a field, we can take responsibility for increasing the potential for conflict resolution to become a viable option for leaders who must navigate relationships with others they fear and dread.

At ICAR, we are working on hard questions and undertaking new initiatives, all in an effort to continue to do our share in developing the field of conflict resolution.

- In the past year, ICAR faculty members identified a set of research initiatives that broadly frames the contours of the research they see as core to the development of the field. This research plan provides the basis not only for grants and contracts, but also for the choices ICAR makes in selecting visiting scholars and institutional partnerships.
- ICAR's Curriculum Committee has undertaken an effort to update the curriculum, identifying the streams of theory, research, and practice that combine to build competency in conflict resolution. This is part of an effort to enhance the integration of these three domains and nourish our ability to function as a scholar-practitioner community.
- ICAR has a new electronic learning environment where students, faculty, alumni, and friends can interact in discussion forums. These forums will enable information in the community to be archived, and will enhance the reflectivity of our community: folks are more likely to take the role of the other, as they reflect on their comments, before posting, precisely because the conversation is archived. Additionally, these forums offer opportunities for connection to those who are not able to attend working groups or other kinds of ICAR events, augmenting but not replacing all important face-to-face interaction.
- ICAR is launching a new certificate in Conflict Analysis and Resolution in September 2003; we hope to reach those interested in policy, planning, and resource allocation who impact local and global identity-based conflicts.
- ICAR is launching an undergraduate major in Conflict Analysis and Resolution in collaboration with George Mason's College of Arts and Sciences. This major will hopefully function as outreach to a broad population of students, enabling them to build skills they can apply to any profession they enter. The program is scheduled to begin September 2004.
- ICAR continues to work with stakeholders toward a master plan for the development of Point of View, the property that was donated to ICAR by the Lynch family for the creation of a research and conference center. This center will become a place for holding meetings, hosting conferences, and conducting research that contributes to transforming deep-rooted conflicts. The master plan is slated for completion in late spring 2003.

ICAR is making an effort to focus on research that contributes to the development of the field and its related practices, to review and improve its curricular integration, to expand and enliven ICAR's community, and to significantly increase the reach of conflict resolution in undergraduate as well as professional populations. And through Point of View, ICAR can become a site not only for research and training, but also for convening parties to deep-rooted conflicts. In this way, ICAR will enhance the loop between scholarship and practice.

We are doing this work in the context of a significant budget crisis. George Mason University as a whole is struggling to maintain funding. Despite cuts in funding in 2002 and 2003, and projected cuts in 2004, growth at ICAR continues. In 2002 external funding grew significantly, increasing the base for research. Through gifts, grants, and contracts, we hope to continue to augment funding for research and student support.

Thanks to the students, faculty, and friends of ICAR, we are yet able to engage in this work. As the United States is at war, ICAR is doing what it can to support and enhance the development of the field of conflict resolution.

We welcome feedback and questions on our projects, as well as on the content of this newsletter…so if you are inclined, please reach out. This is a time when we all need to know that we are not alone in our efforts, and we do know that there are many who share our commitment to this field.

Sara Cobb
Director, ICAR

These kinds of responsibilities, for example, prevented Barry Hart and Lisa Schirch from attending. They both work for Eastern Mennonite University, and are currently working on projects in Ghana. Hugo van der Merwe and Jaco Cilliers are now back in South Africa working for non-governmental organizations in the field. Amr Abdalla did not attend due to consulting responsibilities in Rwanda, and Simona Shironi, who teaches at Evergreen College, was getting ready for the first conference of

Pictured left to right: John Stephens and Lois and Chris Mitchell.

the Peace and Justice Studies Association. Over that same weekend, Moorad Mooradian received an award from the Armenian Students Association in Rhode Island that prevented him from attending. Vicky Rast was scheduled to present a paper on "Transforming the Military Mind: Challenges to the American Way of War," but had to withdraw at the last minute due to pressing family matters.

Before starting the symposium proper, the attendees held a roundtable conversation with ICAR's new director, Sara Cobb. It was followed by a roundtable conversation on teaching

and learning moderated by doctoral alumna Adrienne Kaufman, who now teaches at Augsberg University. Two additional roundtables were held over the weekend. One, chaired by Susan Allen Nan, focused on practice in the conflict resolution field. After spending two years at the Carter Center in Atlanta, Nan is now back in Fairfax working as a consultant. During the final roundtable, Chris Mitchell led a discussion during which the attendees looked back on their ICAR years and shared some thoughts on where the

experience and the years since then took them professionally.

The main event of the weekend, however, was the presentation of papers by 12 of the attendees. Some of these sessions were attended by current ICAR faculty members who all expressed their satisfaction about the quality and the variety of the research and writing that is being undertaken by ICAR doctoral alumni. Chris Mitchell noted that "it was a delight to see one's professional replacements so interested and passionate about what they were doing." These Mitchell "replacements" presented

their latest work—ranging from papers based on dissertations to more recent writing on what became their areas of research since they left ICAR to become professionals in the field.

Somewhat to everyone's surprise, a theme did emerge from these presentations. As you may note from some of the paper summaries below, in just about every case the research and practice described in these papers were about attempts at connecting with or translating conflict resolution theory and practice to other organizations or areas of practice. For example, Nimer Beriker explored whether conflict resolution can be a diplomatic tool for "liberal international relations." Mary Jo Larson's work with women who are leadership figures in third world countries takes conflict resolution to ecological negotiations. Catherine Barnes and Susan Allen Nan also adhered to this theme—both in a sense convey the idea to proponents of Track One (official negotiations) that there is a need to intersect and coordinate better with Track Two (public participation) in peace processes.

As is the case with any academic gathering there is always the question of what was gained, learned, or achieved. Other than the fact that the weekend rekindled old friendships, and allowed "older" and "newer" ICAR Ph.D.s to get acquainted with each other, it also established a network that can now be used for ongoing contact and collaboration. Most importantly, a number of attendees expressed a need for an annual ICAR symposium to involve the whole ICAR family of current and former students, faculty, and sustainers—an idea that ICAR director, Sara Cobb,

actively supports. A number of the participants remarked on the supportive spirit in which this first event took place. In many ways it became a celebration of the doctoral program and the people who started it, both as faculty and students. The one name that was consistently mentioned in both the academic presentations and in personal remarks was that of Jim Laue, ICAR's beloved faculty member who passed away nearly a decade ago. In addition to many of us knowing Laue and conveying expressions of how much he is missed, it was noticeable that we had another common bond because of our years as ICAR doctoral students. What **"the ICAR experience"** was or became for each of us is different and unique. However, as Chris Mitchell noted in an e-mail note following the event, the ICAR experience facilitated an ease of communication between all of us. As Mitchell put it (in reference also to ICAR's somewhat meager first facilities in a prefabricated module on campus where the Johnson Center now stands): "Maybe we all share something more than a memory of being together in a leaky old hut and conversations with Jim Laue."

Our only disappointment was that Mother Nature rained on our end-of-symposium-plans—a Point-of-View picnic. Hopefully, by next year's symposium event we will be able to visit this beautiful spot on the Occoquan River in bright sunshine. Clearly Point-of-View provides a challenge and an opportunity to ICAR, its graduates, and supporters—to make the new center a really powerful influence for good on the new millennium with all its troubles and conflicts.

Below, based on information provided by the individual presenters, is a sample of the work that was presented at the first Alumni Symposium:

• **Mohammed Abu-Nimer's** paper discussed the concepts of nonviolence and peace building in Islamic culture and religion. He offered a brief summary of the ideals and values of peace and nonviolence in Islamic religion values, such as adl (justice), sadaqah (charity), ihsan (doing good), etc. The second part of the presentation focused on factors that prevent or challenge the application of such ideals on the ground. Some of these factors are unique to the Islamic cultural context and some others exist in other societies too. Mohammed also focused on the uniqueness of the obstacles that face peace building practitioners in an Islamic context as opposed to non-Muslim communities. The paper is a part of his forthcoming book, *Non-violence and Peacebuilding in Islam: Theory and Practice* (University Press of Florida).

• **Catherine Barnes** presented some of the findings from a project comparing mechanisms for public participation in peacemaking. She noted that the common image of negotiations to end internal wars is that the talks typically occur behind closed doors. There are rarely opportunities for those who did not take up arms—including other political groupings, organized civil society, or the wider public—to have an active role in shaping the agreements or endorsing them. According to Catherine, this raises questions about democratization of peacemaking processes and whether there is a viable alternative or

complementary model to the elite negotiator pact making that is so common in most international mediation theory and practice. Her project's emphasis is on discovering how the interests, aspirations, and values of the different component elements of a society can be directly represented in the negotiations. The project documents the mechanisms from the Guatemala, Mali, Northern Ireland, Philippines, and South Africa peace negotiations that enabled the wider public—in all its diversity—to have a voice in shaping the agreements to guide their postconflict future.

• **Dick Cocozza** presented on conflict management in the U.S. Congress—how the Congress is a national institution for the management of intractable conflict for more than 270 million citizens with widely diverse interests and values—and the relevance for Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) practitioners of congressional approaches to managing conflict. Arguing that the Congress is in many respects a model for dispute resolution in the United States, Cocozza discussed theories that influence congressional conflict management, the congressional system and approaches for conflict management, variables that affect congressional conflict management, and the relationship between congressional conflict management and traditional ADR approaches. He highlighted five case study examples of conflict management in the U.S. Congress in the process of making laws—three where conflict management approaches were relatively successful, and two where a

general failure to use traditional conflict management approaches resulted in failure.

• Recently, the number of nongovernmental (NGO) personnel that are threatened, harmed, or killed around the world has gained increasing attention. One of ICAR's newest Ph.D.s, Larissa Fast, presented a paper based on her doctoral research. It examined micro- and macro-level factors contributing to NGO insecurity. More specifically, it explored the influence of NGO attributes (micro-level) on its level of insecurity in similar and different contexts (macro-level) to determine if the profiles of more and less insecure NGOs differ across contexts. By using reported incidents of violence against NGOs and comparing these to indicators of NGO characteristics, Larissa's research assessed the impact of NGO attributes on their levels of insecurity in Angola and Sierra Leone (similar) and Ecuador (different)—using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Her findings indicate that on a macro-level, the ambient levels of insecurity were higher in countries experiencing ongoing war compared to those of a relatively stable country.

• **Linda Johnston** presented a paper covering the updates on the conflict over tobacco in the United States. She explained the complex nature of this conflict and the historical cycles of the conflict over the last 400 years. Linda focused on how social justice would be achieved in the situation and what it might look like. She also reviewed the models for discourse and narrative that she developed during her dissertation research process and examined how the models applied to the current wave of the conflict. She believes the conflict is now focused on social justice issues rather than health-related issues. She finally noted that the resultant narratives from the health-related phase seem to be the foundational narratives for the social justice-related phase.

• **Mary Jo Larson** discussed the applications of her research to international development practice. Her presentation linked small island contributions to conflict resolution in climate change negotiations with the contributions of women leaders addressing complex health, poverty, safety, and security issues. In her research, Larson relates conflict resolution to the development of a flexible, holistic approach to socio-ecological security. She analyzes symbolic, social, and material dimensions of power relevant to conflict and its resolution. She also uses a conflict resolution systems framework to illustrate flexible, non-coercive contributions to the resolution of complex ecological conflicts.

• **Susan Allen Nan** presented on coordination between Track One and Track Two diplomacy. Her presentation to the ICAR alumni group, and the valuable feedback offered during discussion, prepared her to present a revised paper at the Secretary's Open Forum at the State Department on September 23 titled "Conference on Integrating Track One and Track Two Approaches to International Conflict Resolution: What's Working? What's Now? How Can We Do Better?" Nan's paper focused on why Track One and Track Two should coordinate, in which circumstances, and how Track One and Track Two might coordinate.

• **John Stephens** offered some preliminary thoughts to spur discussion about how to be a reflective conflict resolution practitioner. He noted that how one looks to others for guidance and learning is important. Referring to the writings of Juliana Birkhoff, a fellow ICAR Ph.D. alumni, regarding specific projects for mentoring and peer learning in conflict resolution, Stephens offered an example of applying conflict resolution values outside of traditional practice. In his role as a faculty member with research assistants, Stephens worked with Meredith Miller, his 1996-97 research assistant, to explore a more equal decision-making process even as Stephens' expertise set him "above" Miller. The result was Miller as lead author on *"A Partnership Paradigm: A Case Study in Research Assistant and Faculty Interaction," Journal of Staff, Professional*

and Organization Development, Vol. 15, No. 3, 111-119. Stephens also noted how he and his coauthors of *Reaching for Higher Ground in Conflict Resolution: Tools for Powerful Groups and Communities* wrote about their own deficits between the principles they applied in writing the book and how they actually worked together as collaborators.

• **Josh Weiss,** another of ICAR's newest Ph.D.s, presented a paper titled *"Peace Process Topographies"* in which he took a bird's-eye view of peace processes in the search for contours, patterns, and models. To do this, Weiss took two perspectives. The first looked at peace processes writ large—meaning all the efforts to negotiate over a long period of time.

While this is an important perspective, he placed preliminary importance on the other view of peace processes. That second view was peace processes writ small—analyzing only the negotiation/mediation process that yielded an agreement and the subsequent implementation process. From this he identified five models or patterns. In analyzing these processes and trying to determine models, Josh is seeking to determine when each type of process would best be used in certain types of situations or at different stages of intractable conflicts.

Headline Issues

America's March to War: Short-term Gains Courting Long-term Disaster
By Dennis J.D. Sandole, ICAR Faculty Member

There are at least three scenarios in terms of which a likely U.S. war with Iraq can be explained. According to the first of these, which may be the most likely, U.S. President George W. Bush has pulled off a remarkable feat: he has gone from being president of less than 50 percent of the American voting public to being president of most, if not all Americans, including the Democratic Party leadership in both Houses of Congress. This, right before the upcoming November elections in which the Republican Party seems destined to win back control of the Senate, allowing a strengthened George

Bush to pursue his presidential agenda with fewer constraints.

President Bush has done all this by deftly taking advantage of the bolt of lightening delivered to him out of the blue by the tragic events of September 11, 2001. The United States and Americans had been assaulted in a way unparalleled since the War of 1812. But this time, it was not by the British— they are Bush's primary ally in the current drama. Instead, 19 young Arab (Wahabist) men with box cutters dared to "think outside the box," succeeded beyond their wildest dreams, and in the process, gave Bush his ticket.

After the hijacked passenger-filled airliners went careening into their targets like cruise missiles, it was clear that the president had to do something—and be seen to be doing something—comparable to the gravity of the horrific events of the day.

Thus, the "war on terror" was launched against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, hosts to likely 9/11 mastermind Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda terrorist network and training centers.

Militarily, it was fairly easy for the United States, with its immense power

resources, and its British, Canadian, Australian, and other allies, to rout the clumsy, archaic Taliban. What has not been easy has been to "build the peace" in post-Taliban Afghanistan, especially since an international peace-keeping force exists only in the capital, Kabul. Warlords have been returning to exert control of other parts of the country. In addition, it was not clear if Osama bin Laden was dead or alive and if alive, where he might be. Then, further complexity set in.

Although the United States was "declared" to "be at war," it did not really feel or look that way to most Americans. True, airport security had been tightened up, and armed air marshals were on board some flights, but by and large, most Americans were not experiencing the privations normally associated with "being at war." (Exceptions, of course, are those Arab and Muslim Americans and those who "look" Arabic or Muslim who have been detained, interrogated, and harassed by law enforcement or subjected to hate crimes.)

Enter Saddam Hussein! A nasty piece of work if there ever was one, who really does have "weapons of mass destruction" (WMD)—at least chemical and biological ones—which he used against his own Kurdish population during the 1980s. But this is the same nasty piece of work who was supported militarily by the United States and others during the Iran-Iraq war, forcing us to recall Churchill's famous comment about Josef Stalin to President Roosevelt that, yes, "Stalin is a son-of-a-bitch, but at least he is our son-of-a-bitch!"

Clearly, Saddam Hussein is no longer "our son-of-a-bitch." George W. Bush, like his father before him, has marketed

a war against this evil man with such breathtaking success that to even question whether less bellicose means have been exhausted is to risk incurring charges of nonpatriotism if not treason.

In this regard, President Bush is merely the most recent in a long list of political leaders who have manufactured or marketed "the enemy" for political reasons; as a way to rally otherwise apathetic or discontented constituents around a common cause. What could be better for him, given that we have not gotten the guy who did 9/11 to us, than to go after a "traditional nation-state enemy" that we can attack, destroy, and occupy, while post-9/11 patriotic fervor is still in the air?

The problem is, if this is an election ploy, the president may win back the Senate and become president of "all the people"—short-term gains to be sure. But, playing out this scenario further, as Bush prepares to tell the post-November election world that, despite the earlier talk of war, he intends to allow U.N. inspectors back into Iraq, Saddam just may call Bush's bluff and, adopting Bush's own preemptive strategy, start launching attacks on U.S. forces in the Gulf and in Israel, thereby forcing Bush to become militarily engaged. However, unlike in 1991, this time it would be house-to-house fighting in the capital of Baghdad, where even diehard Saddam opponents may decide that the Americans have gone too far.

In other words, Bush's war rhetoric may unwittingly create a self-fulfilling dynamic that makes a "real" war with Iraq more rather than less likely. This would even be the case if, according to a second scenario, President Bush and Prime Minister Blair were playing "bad

cop" to the "good cop" of the Germans, French, Russians, and others, in an effort to intimidate Saddam through threat of war into allowing U.N. inspectors unrestricted access to all sites, including presidential palaces.

According to a third scenario, perhaps the least likely one, if neither an election ploy nor a bluff, and Bush and Blair are really prepared to go to war against this evil dictator to rid the world of him and his WMD—perhaps even gaining access to Iraq's vast oil reserves in the process—they would do well to listen to the sensible voices of Gen. Wesley Clark, Gen. Anthony Zinni, and others who have actually been under fire that say a war with Iraq at this time would have the impact of undermining the war on terrorism, exacerbating the Middle East conflict, and further angering Muslims and Arabs worldwide.

Even without exploring the "clash-of-civilizations" implications of this type of development, just imagine, if Afghanistan will require 20 to 30 years to be rebuilt, what it will take to build the peace in a devastated, destabilized Iraq. Are Americans ready for that kind of commitment, not to mention the thorny issue of accepting, in the short run, high levels of casualties?

Instead of entering into this quagmire, the United States should be focusing its efforts on combating terrorism by, as Gen. Clark has recommended, dealing with the deep-rooted causes of terrorism, one of which happens to be the Middle East conflict. But thus far, at least as far as the U.S. government is concerned, Einstein is still right: "Everything has changed with the atom [and 9/11] except the way we think!"

The Psycho-Political Causes of Religious Terrorism

By Rich Rubenstein, ICAR Faculty Member

Imperialist or neocolonial domination is an evil with which exploited, disorganized, and overpowered groups around the world are quite familiar. Depending upon circumstances, the oppressed population may respond actively or passively, violently or nonviolently, massively or in small groups. The spectrum of possible reactions is very wide, ranging from identification with the oppressor to fatalistic resignation to various forms of revolt. But where oppression is also experienced as desecration, the resulting outrage is almost certain to produce a violent response—massive if the populace is organized to support large-scale violence, smaller-scale or terroristic if it is not. Psychologically, I am not sure why this is so, although I will dare to speculate in a moment as a rank amateur. It would seem an inviting area for further research by specialists.

One way to approach the issue is to ask a situational question: when or under what circumstances will oppression be experienced as intolerable desecration? The first answer that comes to mind seems obvious, but is less satisfactory than one might think. It is that some members of the oppressed group must be conscious of their collective religious identity and must identify measures intended to subjugate or discipline them as attacks on their religion. For al Quaeda, for example, the positioning of U.S. military forces on Saudi Arabia's "sacred soil" was perceived as a serious desecration, much as Ariel Sharon's entry upon the holy ground of the Al-Aqsa

mosque was perceived by some Palestinians at the beginning of the current Intifadah. This was partly a matter of religious belief, given Arabia's special status in Islamic history as the birthplace of the faith and in current Islamic observance as the holy place to which one returns on pilgrimage. But other factors must also have been involved. For one thing, not all Muslims faulted the Saudi government for accepting the U.S. bases established during the Cold War and the war against Iraq. For another, many modern secularists have also been inclined to view the soil of the nation as sacred, and unwanted touchings of it as taboo. French Revolutionaries assaulted by foreign intervenors gave us the notion of "la Patrie." Russian patriots worshipped their motherland and pictured the Napoleonic invasion of 1812 as a rape. Pearl Harbor elicited similar metaphors of violation/pollution— and since the attacks of September 11, 2001, Americans have begun calling their nation a "homeland." In the nationalist subconscious, it seems, the soil of the nation is its body. And it is a forbidden body, like the bodies of one's parents or one's siblings, whose unwanted touching is taboo whether one is a conservative Muslim or liberal secularist.

Why, though, would some Islamist activists consider the placement of U.S. forces on Saudi soil polluting even when those troops were formally invited to enter the country by the House of Saud? Recall the entry of Antiochus II's forces into the sacred

precincts of the Temple at Jerusalem—the act that triggered the Maccabean Revolt. What makes such acts of trespass intolerable to some native groups, it seems to me, is the fact that they are consented to by others. The anger that an act of technical desecration might normally provoke is converted to burning rage when one's own leaders (parents) or peers (siblings) are complicit in it. The terrorist is, above all, a person betrayed, a person shocked, enraged, and activated by infidelity. The rage of the Maccabean rebels was not directed only at the Greeks but at the Hellenizing Jewish elite that aped their customs and profited by their trade. The Russian terrorists of the Narodnaya Volya and the SRs' Combat Organization were middle- and upper-class youth disgusted and humiliated by their parents' complicity in the Czarist order. Much the same may be said of the Weather Underground, Red Brigade, and Baader-Meinhoff activists of the 1970s and 1980s. Osama bin Laden detested the Saudi regime that had enriched his family and surrendered his people's autonomy to Western masters. And Hamas and Islamic Jihad have seldom bothered to conceal their scathing contempt for Yasir Arafat and the Palestine National Authority. Foreign oppression may generate anger, but native complicity generates shame—and at a certain point, a sense of shame demands purifying action.

Now let me push this speculation one step further. What if the actor complicit in imperialist oppression is not

just some other native group but…oneself? What if one has been tempted to yield or has actually yielded to the power of the foreign oppressor in order to share in the abundant riches, prestige, political influence, and hedonistic pleasures offered to local collaborators? Then, it seems reasonable to assume, shame will become guilt, requiring either that one rationalize one's participation in the oppressive system or find a way to atone for one's impurity. We can hypothesize that a crucial factor in converting oppression into desecration, and a generalized sense of desecration into a trigger for violent action, is the presence of powerful feelings of shame and guilt that activate an urgent need for self-purification. This sense of personal uncleanness may help to explain why some people betrayed by complicit leaders or associates do not take a more forgiving view of their weaknesses. If I recognize myself in that official taking bribes and stealing elections, in that soldier brutalizing his own people, in that businessman looting his own country's natural resources, I will not be inclined to be forgiving. On the contrary, I will see a chance to burn out my own weakness, to place myself irrevocably in the people's camp, to revenge myself not only upon my people's enemies, internal and external, but upon myself.

What makes the experience of imperialist or national oppression unholy or polluting is not simply the imposition of external power on a subject population, but the humiliating exercise of that power and the population's complicity in its own oppression. Where desecration takes the internalized

form of yielding to temptation, harboring forbidden desires can produce a desperate longing for redemption. Modern capitalist hegemony, which is far more transformative in its total impact than classical imperialism, sustains itself by involving subject populations in a variety of complicities. For example, those in non-Western nations subject to Western domination may participate actively in the armed forces, the government, the business community, or other sectors of society effectively dominated by outsiders, effectively "Westernizing" themselves for the sake of power, income, social status, or enjoyment. Or, they may become socially inactive, unable or unwilling to participate in the imperialist project, but deterred from organizing oppositional movements by intimidation, disorientation, and self-doubt. Finally, they may participate marginally but significantly in the foreign-dominated economy and culture, for example, by consuming cultural imports, providing low-wage labor, "hustling" on the margins of the economy, or (more and more frequently), relying on foreign or government assistance in the absence of remunerative and dignified jobs.

In all of these cases, complicity in a system dominated by outsiders which oppresses one's own people and alters one's own culture can produce intense feelings of shame and guilt demanding expiation. This seems to be the case especially where it is not simply a matter of being imposed upon, but, at least in part, of welcoming the imposition. Religious systems are particularly well positioned to recognize and express these feelings, since they

emphasize the element of free choice in decision making and offer believers ritualized and nonritualized methods of self-purification. In the case of Islamist groups like al Qaeda, the number of well-educated, reasonably prosperous, technically proficient fighters with some experience of the world is notable. (One also notes the relatively large percentage of "martyrs" of respectable family in the current Palestinian Intifadah.) One can hypothesize (subject to confirmation by other data) that some of these fighters, at least, felt besmirched by willing complicity in the alien system and viewed martyrdom as the ultimate act of self-purification. It is important to re-emphasize, however, that certain psycho-political situations, not religious belief per se, generate these feelings and needs. One recalls that Fidel Castro's first act on assuming power in Cuba was to close the country's mafia-operated casinos and whorehouses, and to promise Cubans that they would no longer be tempted to engage in such degrading and dependent occupations in order to survive and prosper.

I would argue, therefore, that one cannot reason simply and directly from a cognitive reality—the presence of certain religious beliefs—to a perception that such and such an act by an oppressor constitutes an intolerable desecration. On the contrary, widespread feelings of shame and guilt seem to be prior both causally and psychologically to perceptions of intolerable desecration. There exists a reservoir of self-hatred caused by a certain relationship between the oppressors and the oppressed that inclines the latter to perceive new acts

of oppression as acts of desecration requiring individual and collective purification. The hallmarks of this relationship are, first, that the oppressor not only subjugate members of the oppressed group but also humiliate them, and, second, that members of the oppressed group be complicit in their own humiliation.

Humiliation is not hard to identify as part of the psycho-social background that produces terrorists today, including suicide bombers, in such places as Sri Lanka and Israel's Occupied Territories. On the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, for example, measures taken by the Sharon government in pursuit of Israeli security have had the intended or unintended effect of reducing adult Palestinians to the status of helpless, dependent children, and infusing their children with a desire to rid themselves of shame caused by their parents' helplessness and guilt caused by their own failure to stand up to the authorities. In the case of Palestinian terrorism, moreover, it is notable that while some groups of fighters, like those who follow the leadership of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, speak in religious terms of desecration and of the need for a purifying jihad, others, like the mem-

bers of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, perform the same acts for the same substantial reasons without necessarily adhering to the same religious beliefs. In both cases, oppression is experienced as something "unholy"— as an intolerable violation of values held sacred by the culture, for example, the father's duty to protect his home against invasion and his family against humiliation at the hands of strangers. And in some cases, at least, the activists' violence is also intended to rid themselves of the accumulations of shame and guilt that are almost inevitable in lengthy relationships between the occupiers and the occupied.

This suggests a final hypothesis: Not only is a pre-existing religious commitment inadequate to explain a person's involvement in religious terrorism, but the line of causation may be reversed. That is, acts of humiliating oppression, combined with a strong sense of potential or actual complicity, may activate a need for purification which creates "religious" terrorism, either by driving people into the arms of already existing religious groups or inducing them to act in ways indistinguishable from those groups.

Mark Gopin has argued that the traditions of the world religions provide believers with a wide array of peacemaking and war making alternatives. One cannot understand religious terrorism simply by analyzing the sources and structures of belief, since the factors that influence believers to adopt this or that interpretation of sacred texts and traditions lie outside as well as inside these religious worldviews. The analysis most urgently needed, in my view, is one that explores the effects of America's global expansion, and the activities of its client regimes, on the mental and emotional lives of peoples "targeted" for hegemonic control either as collaborators or consumers. This may help us to understand how such targets make use of whatever political and cultural materials they can mobilize to resist intolerable impositions and to restore their self-respect. In time, it may even help Americans to contemplate alternatives to their government's present role as the world's newest hegemon and a perceived source of desecration around the globe.

Faculty Book Reviews

Bridging Troubled Waters
Written By Michelle LeBaron, ICAR Faculty Member
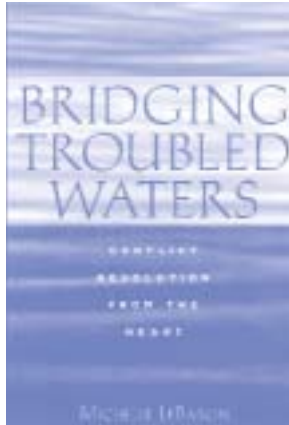
Bridging Troubled Waters invites readers to place relationship at the center of practice and theory in conflict resolution. With relationship at the center, preoccupations with objectivity and technique give way to creativity and imagination. The heart of conflict resolution is relational change in which multiple intelligences are engaged to open new ways forward. Drawing on two decades as a scholar-practitioner, Michelle LeBaron explores four ways of knowing that are underutilized in conflict resolution.

Each of the ways of knowing—emotional, somatic, imaginative/intuitive, and spiritual—are presented through stories and practical examples. Their use is intended to compliment the repertoires of practitioners and scholars schooled in analysis and logic. Mediators, facilitators, and conflict parties are invited to explore how they can bridge conflict by tapping their physical selves that enact change; their feeling selves which are sources of empathy and genuineness; their dreaming selves from which arise imagination and vision; and their spirit selves where meaning is made and deep connections to others are forged. As these resources are tapped, change is more possible, drawing on human capacities to entertain ambiguity, cultivate openness to a range of outcomes, and deepen relationships.

Bridging Troubled Waters suggests that longstanding conflict will be durably and effectively addressed when meanings and identities are acknowledged and invited to the table of change. Meanings and identities are composed in continuous spirals within individuals and groups. Effectively addressing conflict requires engaging meanings, recognizing identities, and helping parties unfold new stories of who they were, who they are, and who they can be. Since parties to conflicts may bring very different worldviews, or ways of making sense of each other and issues, conflict processes cannot be prescribed from any one point of view or logic. Rather, effective conflict processes provide parties ways to work through symbols, metaphors, and stories that speak to them.

Bridging Troubled Waters suggests that by embracing the art and science of conflict resolution, mediators and facilitators can develop their intuition, provide leadership in creativity, and tap new reservoirs of courage.

Approaches to Peacebuilding

Edited by Ho-Won Jeong, ICAR Faculty Member

This edited volume focuses on diverse processes and strategies for the transition from violent conflict to postconflict reconstruction. Reflecting on this theme, the contributors assess various strategies for peace building, and analyze policy objectives. The chapters focus on designs and models of peace building, the role of peacekeeping in transition to peace, capacity building through negotiation, reconciliation, social rehabilitation and gender and policy coordination among different components of peace building.

The book also examines social and psychological as well as political factors that play an important role in success or failure of initiatives to bring peace. It is important to survey major assumptions, objectives, and conditions under which peace building proceeds and has been implemented. Understanding the effectiveness of different elements of peace building is enhanced by examining how security, political, social, and economic components support each other in rebuilding the fabric of divided societies.

New conceptual understanding can be forged by examining functional relationships between different aspects of peace building in complex situations that involve multiple actors with diverse demands. In this book, various conditions for social and institutional changes are examined, and strategies to overcome destabilizing social effects and obstacles to reconciliation and reconstruction are explored.

ICAR Workshops and Projects

Third Organization of American States Summer Workshop:
"The Role of the Media in Conflict Analysis and Resolution"
By Chris Mitchell, ICAR Faculty Member

The Third Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution Organization of American States Summer School for Latin American partícipants was held at George Mason University during June, and was attended by 15 selected journalists, government advisers, media presenters, and executives and academics from departments of media and communications. Countries represented included Argentina, El Salvador, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Guatemala.

The workshop was organized and moderated by Chris Mítchell, by ICAR alumnus Jannie Botes, formerly of the South African Broadcasting Service, and by the chairperson of the ICAR Latin American and Caribbean Working Group, Giselle Humani Ober.

The two photographs show the workshop in session in the ICAR Conference Room (Botes and Ober are standing at the back); and the whole group photographed between rain showers at the institute's future retreat, research, and conference center at "Point of View" on Mason Neck.

Putting Philosophical Ideas to Work
By Daniel Rothbart, ICAR Faculty Member

Following his appointment as a Fenwick Fellow, 2000-2001, Daniel Rothbart presented the Fenwick Lecture on November 19, 2001. The substance of this lecture was drawn from his book-length manuscript, titled *Philosophical Instruments*, currently under review. In his lecture, *"Putting Philosophical Ideas to Work,"* he examined a familiar philosophical issue from an unfamiliar perspective, that is, how can we ever know what there is in the world if all sources of knowledge are, at best, fallible, and at worst, illusory? In most philosophical discussions about knowledge, the topic of skill is virtually absent.

But based on an ecological notion of experimental skill, certain pivotal philosophical ideas about the relationships between experimenters and the environment are revealed. Such ideas are themselves used as instruments in the pursuit of knowledge. The notion of a philosophical instrument is introduced. An experimental skill is definable through three kinds of activity. First, an agent with a skill has a power to produce changes in the features of an environment, that is, a goal-oriented capacity to change other beings. Such power rests on the total field of relations integrating body and mind in a richly structured environment.

An agent chooses to release a power under certain circumstances, but such power can be blocked, or restricted by other agents with power. Second, a skilled agent must have an awareness of their potential influences on an environment, imagining how the course of events could change, and how the environment could be influenced through possible action. Agents "move beyond themselves" by constructing images of where they are going (based on goals), and how to get there (based on instruments). Such images are conveyed through visual models of the subject matter under examination. Third, a skilled agent must be capable of evaluating their results by comparing the product of an action to a desired goal.

Outreach Efforts

Fulbright Senior Specialist in the Philippines
By Dan Druckman, Vernon M. and Minnie I. Lynch Professor of Conflict Resolution

Dan Druckman with class in Manila

On a winter day in February 2002, I received an e-mail from an organization I was unfamiliar with, referred to as CIES. The person told me that someone suggested my name for a possible teaching stint in Manila. Rarely do I pursue messages of this sort. This one caught my attention. I had been looking for an opportunity to visit the Philippines since the early 1980s. I am a rare author who has written a book and articles (with Justin Green) about a country that I never visited. Well, here was a visiting opportunity presented out of the blue. I expressed interest only to realize that the preferred dates would not work. Disappointed, I moved on with my other activities. A month later, a call

from CIES informed me that they could consider other, more suitable, dates. I could teach my classes until the end of the semester, only missing the graduation. My wife and I moved swiftly to explore travel arrangements, fill out the necessary application materials, and contact the local hosts in Manila. Our Northwest flight left Washington Dulles International Airport on May 11, arriving in Manila on May 13, 22 hours and a 12-hour time change later.

The experience surpassed my expectations. After a free day during which I met with my American Embassy hosts, I began teaching a two-week course at Miriam College in Quezon

City. Eighteen students—teachers from colleges located in all parts of the country—were waiting for my arrival. It took me a few days to adjust to the new experience, both with regard to the country/culture and the students. It also took a few days for the students to adjust to my teaching approach and the course material. The adjustment period was capped by a weekend trip to a resort in Cebu, known around the world for its seashells. The second week went smoothly; the students were now familiar with the theoretical material and enjoyed the exercises intended to bring the concepts to life. I was impressed with their eagerness to learn, their appreciation for the

advanced training, and their honest, down-to-earth attitude toward people and events. I was especially moved by the collective expression of gratitude and their desire for more; some asked if I would return to the country to offer another course, some gave us gifts (my wife sat through and helped with the course). I think that we generated a mutual admiration society!

Following the class, I participated in a conference on American Studies held in Manila at De La Salle University. I presented a paper that offered challenges to the research community in conflict resolution. A rewarding day trip with our embassy hosts to Corrigador invoked memories of the famous WWII battle of Bataan and remembrances of the many struggles for independence, including the 1986 Peoples' Revolution. We were treated wonderfully throughout our stay, including receptions (one in our honor), special events at the Fulbright office, concerts, sightseeing trips, and special efforts to arrange interviews with people who played prominent roles during the period that we wrote

about. The trip provided me first-hand experience with the society, its institutions and values—all of which I analyzed from a great distance in the 1980s. Above all, it was a special interview that occurred, again out of the blue, that provided deeper insights into the country and its people.

A call from Imelda Marcos' secretary came into our hotel room on Monday morning, at the end of our two-week assignment. She responded to a letter I sent to her through the embassy some days earlier. I was surprised to hear from her and, then, to be invited to her home for breakfast and an interview. She sent her driver for us. Little did we know at the time what was in store for us—a five-hour discussion about her life, our earlier research, and world politics. It was a fascinating experience. We had breakfast and lunch and were treated to a series of videotaped state visits, including a portion of her negotiation of the 1974 Tripoli agreement with Gadafi in Libya. I took notes and plan to write an essay on this experience for posterity. At the end of the day

she presented us with lavish gifts. I, in turn, gave her a copy of our 1986 monograph and articles, including one in which Ferdinand Marcos is shown in the form of a caricature, hanging in effigy. The day came to a close when her driver took us to a memorial service at the American cemetery that honored both American and Filipino heroes from WWII on Memorial Day.

We then moved on to Taiwan, where I gave a public lecture in Taichung's civic auditorium. This was another great experience. But we will never forget our trip to the Philippines.

Faculty Updates

Kevin Avruch

Kevin Avruch continues as co-principal investigator on the Walsh Visa Program for Northern Ireland and the six border counties of the Republic of Ireland; President Bush signed legislation in October extending the program for another year. He also continues as a member of ICAR's Zones of Peace research team. In the past year Avruch has published two journal articles, *"Notes Toward Ethnographies of Conflict and Violence" in the Journal Of Contemporary Ethnography,* and *"Constructing Ethnicity: Culture and Ethnic Conflict in the New World Disorder," American Journal Of Orthopsychiatry.*

He has also written *"What Do I Need to Know about Culture?"* in *Into the Eye of the Storm: A Handbook of International Peacebuilding* and *"Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: A Review Essay and Annotated Bibliography,"* in *Social Justice* and republished in *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2002* (with ICAR M.S. graduate Beatriz Vejarano).

Avruch published a review of *"The Limits of Coexistence: Identity Politics in Israel" (R. Torstrick)* in *American Anthropologist.* He was also especially pleased to contribute the Forward to ICAR Ph.D. graduate Jayne S. Docherty's new book, *Learning Lessons from Waco: When the Parties Bring Their Gods to the Negotiation Table.*

Daniel Druckman

Dan Druckman had a busy summer. A month-long trip included a teaching stint in Manila (see article in this issue), a public lecture in Taichung, Taiwan, a visit with a colleague (Dean Tjosvold) in Hong Kong, and the IACM meetings in Salt Lake City. A second trip in July included working meetings in Paris and Marseille with a French team collaborating on developing negotiation training materials, and a visit at Sabanci University in Istanbul where he attended the graduation of the first class from the master's program on international conflict resolution. A third trip in August to Santa Cruz, Bolivia, with Giselle Ober consisted of consultation with the faculty at Nur University and an eight-hour workshop on negotiation skills offered to the public. He continues to pursue his Lynch chair research agenda, including progress on the textbook, *Doing Research in Conflict Analysis: Methods of Inquiry.* In addition, the ICAR textbook (co-edited with Sandra Cheldelin and Larissa Fast) has been submitted to the publisher, and articles have appeared in such journals as *Group Decision and Negotiation* and *International Negotiation.* Druckman has published chapters in the second edition of a book edited by Kremenyuk on international negotiation and a book edited by Bercovitch on mediation, and is theme editor of a set of papers authored by ICAR faculty to appear in the *Encyclopedia of the Life Sciences.*

Ho-Won Jeong

Ho-Won Jeong published several book chapters and journal articles. He was invited to the workshop "Training of Civil Society in Conflict Prevention" organized by United Nations Peace University's Central Asian Program, and he presented a paper, *"Ethnic Conflict, Identity and Self-Determination,"* in July 2002. In addition, he served as a member of an International Affairs Merit Review Panel for 2000 National Security Education Program Graduate International Fellowships (funded by the U.S. Congress and administered by the Academy of Educational Development) last March.

Jeong's most recent research focused on peace building. It led to the publication of a book titled *Approaches to Peace Building* by Palgrave Macmillan last summer (see review in this issue). The edited volume includes chapters on capacity building, peacekeeping, reconciliation, rehabilitation, and women and policy design. His co-authored article, *"Reconciliation and its Social and Political Dimensions,"* with Charles Lerche, was published in the September 2002 issue of *International Politics.* His other article, *"Peace Building: Operational Imperatives and Organizational Co-ordination,"* appeared in *Hiroshima Peace Science* in June 2002. Another article, *"Redefining Third Party Roles in Peace Building,"* was published in the last spring issue of *Peace Times.*

He also published "Development of Peace and Conflict Studies" in the June 2002 issue of Peace Studies Bulletin. He is currently working on the second edition of *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction,* published by Ashgate in the fall of 2000. He contributed chapters *"Third Party Roles in Peacekeeping and Peace Building"* and *"Structural Sources of Conflict"* included in Daniel Druckman, et al., eds., *Human Conflict: Resolution and Practice,* to be published by Cassell.

Linda M. Johnston

Linda M. Johnston completed her doctoral work at ICAR in 2000 and returned to ICAR as a visiting professor this year after two years at Antioch University McGregor teaching conflict resolution in their master's program. While at Antioch, she had the opportunity to develop skills both in online learning and curriculum development. She was also elected vice chair and then chair of the graduate faculty senate.

Johnston recently made two presentations, one at the doctoral conference at George Mason on the updates to the conflict over tobacco in the United States, and another at the Peace and Justice Studies Association on justice, reconciliation, and revenge. Her article on teaching and learning online was accepted by Conciliation Quarterly. Now back at ICAR, Johnston is working on the State Department Project in Ukraine, teaching the applied practice and theory courses, and conceptions of practice.

Michelle LeBaron

Michelle LeBaron's major focus this year has been on publications. She published *Bridging Troubled Waters: Conflict Resolution from the Heart* in July 2002 to very positive reviews. The book speaks to practitioners and scholars about multiple ways of knowing, inviting the use of emotional intelligence, intuition, imagination, and somatic and spiritual awareness as partners with analysis and problem solving. Building on the work of Oscar Nudler and Mary Clark, LeBaron explores how metaphors, rituals and narratives can be used creatively in integrating multiple ways of knowing into practice. She presented a workshop on *Bridging Troubled Waters* at the Association for Conflict Resolution annual conference in San Diego, California, in August 2002, and is currently teaching an ICAR course on creativity and multiple ways of knowing in conflict analysis and resolution.

LeBaron continues work on two books about culture and conflict, the first, *Bridging Cultural Conflict,* forthcoming from Jossey-Bass in early 2003. She contributed a chapter to a forthcoming book on personal qualities of mediators edited by Daniel Bowling and David Hoffman, and a piece on connecting theory and practice in a post-9/11 world to the *Negotiation Journal.*

LeBaron presented at Women's World 2002, a major international women's congress in Kampala, Uganda, in July 2002 with Ann Baker of the School of Public Policy. With an audience from a dozen countries, their presentation explored the way women's narratives facilitate interpersonal conflict trans-

formation and community change. Michelle also presented a program on conflict and culture at the Straus Institute of Pepperdine University's School of Law in Malibu, California, in July 2002, and the University of Victoria, Canada, in June 2002. Her lecture at the University of British Columbia Green College lecture series will be released early in 2003 in a collection of papers.

LeBaron's research activities continue in the area of conflict and culture. Most recently, she collaborated on a proposal to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to study the cultural aspects of human rights and commercial cases in China, Japan, Canada, and Australia.

Chris Mitchell

Since the last *ICAR Newsletter,* Chris Mitchell has continued work on a number of ongoing research and practice projects, including the Ethiopian Notables Dialogue, now entering its third year of discussions among notable individuals from the various Ethiopian diasporas in the Washington and Northern Virginia regions; and the local zones or communities of peace project, which seeks to analyze the manner in which local communities establish and maintain violence-free areas in the midst of violent civil wars.

In connection with the latter he undertook a brief trip to Bogota, Colombia, during June in order to consult with Colombian colleagues about the viability of continuing field work now that the formal peace

process between FARC and the Colombian government has broken down—a breakdown immediately noticeable through the greatly increased presence of armed police, army units, and private security guards throughout the Colombian capital. The general feeling among Colombian colleagues seemed to be that things would get much worse before they got any better.

During June, Mitchell assisted alumnus Jannie Botes, Giselle Ober, and other members of the Latin American and Caribbean Working Group in conducting the third joint ICAR/Organization of American States Summer Workshop, this one being focused on the role of the media in conflict resolution in Latin American countries. Participants attending the workshop came from Argentina, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Bolivia, among other Latin American societies, and a great deal was mutually learned about the perils of media work in conflict zones on the continent.

Finally, the long-planned and oft-postponed conference of ICAR doctoral alumni took place in September 2002—an occasion for some nostalgia but more anticipating the future and for hoping that relationships re-established both before and during the three-day conference would be maintained and result in a strengthening of ties among the numerous individuals who have returned to the world of full-time work, carrying with them the badge of an ICAR degree (see article in this issue).

Richard Rubenstein

Professor Rich Rubenstein was very active in the fall term speaking and writing on the issues of terrorism, religious conflict, and alternatives to war. He moderated a forum on "Alternatives to War with Iraq" at George Mason's Arlington Campus, delivered several speeches on this subject at local churches and synagogues, and on George Mason's main campus, engaged in a dialogue with a proponent of an immediate invasion of Iraq. Rubenstein appeared twice as an expert on terrorism on Fox Cable News and presented a paper on religious terrorism at the American Psychological Association annual convention in Chicago. The paper is to be published as a chapter in *The New Global Terrorism*, edited by Charles Kegley. Rubenstein also completed drafting his book, *Aristotle's Children: The War between Faith and Reason in the High Middle Ages*, which Harcourt Brace will publish in 2003. His previous book, *When Jesus Became God: The Struggle to Define Christianity in the Last Days of Rome* (1999) has been translated and published in France, Brazil, Mexico, and South Korea.

Dennis Sandole

In March Dennis Sandole attended the Hewlett Theory Centers 2002 meeting on "Extracting New Directions for Theory from Practitioners' Experience: What Don't We Know? What Do We Need to Know? And How Can We Find Out?" at John Jay College, City University of New York, New York City. From this meeting emerged his online article, *"Exquisite Synergy: A Meeting of the Minds across Levels of Conflict,"* published in the proceedings of the meeting.

Sandole attended the 43rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association in New Orleans, Louisiana, also in March, where he presented the paper, *"Virulent Ethnocentrism: A Major Challenge for Transformational Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in the Post-Cold War Era,"* later published online in The Global Review of Ethnopolitics, and he acted as a discussant for the panel on *"Conflict Transformation: A Cross-Cultural Perspective."*

In April, Sandole participated as a presenter in the *"Workshop on Ethnic, Cultural and Religious Conflict in the ASEAN Region,"* cohosted by the U.S. Institute of Peace and the Institute for Defense and Strategic Studies in Singapore. He also conducted a two-day *"Workshop in Conflict Resolution"* for senior officials of the state government of Sabah, in Kota Kinabalu (North Borneo), Malaysia.

In May, Sandole presented the paper, *"The Balkans Stability Pact as a Regional Conflict Management and Prevention 'Space': An Evaluation,"* at the Third Reichenau Workshop on *"The Stability Pact for South East Europe—Dawn of an Era of Regional Cooperation?"* convened by the Partnership-for-Peace Consortium Study Group on Crisis Management in South East Europe, Reichenau, Austria.

During September, Sandole participated as a presenter in the *Certificate Course on Peace Education in Mindanao,* cohosted by the U.S. Institute of Peace and the Asian Institute of Management in Manila, Republic of the Philippines.

Sandole's article, *"Terrorism: The Need for a Comprehensive Approach,"* was published in Research Papers (Human Rights Conflict Prevention Centre, University of Bihac, Bosnia-Hercegovina).

Sandole has had a number of articles published online and has also done an online presentation, *"A Review of the JCPD's (Japan Center for Preventive Diplomacy) Second E-symposium on Conflict Prevention: The Future of Conflict Prevention in the Post-September 11 World,"* which was his contribution to the second E-Symposium on Conflict Prevention convened by the JCPD. In addition, he has written a number of short articles, dealing with, among others, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and terrorism, that appear both on the Dialogue Webpage for Conflicts Worldwide and on ICAR's September 11, 2001, web page.

Sandole's chapter, *"The Causes of Terrorism,"* will be published this fall in *Terrorism: Concepts, Causes and Conflict Resolution,* edited by Lt. Col. R. Scott Moore (USMC, ret.), Fort Belvoir, Virginia: U.S. Defense Threat Reduction Agency. His ongoing Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe/ Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe project, which he is currently working on as a book, is tentatively titled *Brave New Worlds and Beyond: Peace and Security in Post-Cold War Europe.*

Wallace Warfield

In addition to his teaching responsibilities and carrying out functions associated with being the doctoral program coordinator, Professor Warfield wrote an article for *Negotiation Journal* published in October titled *"Modest Reflections: The State of the Field as a Moving Target."* The article addresses the importance of being aware of the different epistomies of practice that are taking place in American communities by individuals and groups outside of the so-called professional paradigm. Warfield has also completed a chapter for a Jossey-Bass book edited by Janice Jenner and John Paul Lederach titled *"Is This the Right Thing to Do?: A Practical Framework for Ethical Decisionmaking in Peacebuilding."* The focus of this work is on guidelines for practitioners who are just entering the field of international peace building. The book should be available now.

On the research front, Warfield continues his work with the Zones of Peace project along with faculty colleagues Chris Mitchell, Kevin Avruch, and a team of doctoral students. A proposal for conducting research about U.S. peace zones and their linkage to civil society has been drafted, and funds are currently being sought for its implementation. A new research project has been mounted that involves Heather Scofield, ICAR M.S. student, and Phyllis Turner Lawrence, an attorney/mediator active in restorative justice. A draft proposal attempts to determine if there is a body of interest in the Northern Virginia area in developing a restorative justice program, one that has connections to the exploration of underlying causes of conflict in particular communities.

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