

## Forgotten and Misunderstood: Social Change in Latin America

By Mark Goodale, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty, mgoodale@gmu.edu

Much of Latin America is in the midst of a period of profound transition and uncertainty. The end of the Cold War dramatically changed an important geopolitical calculation: the role and influence of the United States in the region.

Throughout the 1990s, the Clinton Administration readjusted the

U.S.'s long-standing approach by pushing for the restoration and consolidation of democratic governments, the neoliberalization of national economies, and the creation of robust civil societies often driven by an emerging human rights discourse.

The coming of the Bush regime and the events of September 11, 2001, brought a temporary re-militarization of the relationship between the U.S. and many Latin America



Above: Mural says "Evo remains, my revolution advances." Photo: Mark Goodale.

countries—for example, the expansion of the multi-billion dollar aid project known as "Plan Colombia," the passage of the heavily interdictive Andean Counterdrug Initiative, and the return of U.S. covert and conventional forces to the remote border regions of the Peruvian, Bolivian, and Brazilian Amazon—but the shift in relations had proven irreversible.

Without the logics of the Cold War to shape and circumscribe both bilateral relations and projects for social change within individual Latin American countries, the region has become an incredibly dynamic

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# ICAR's Relationship With Turkey

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

Recently, I spent two weeks as a Fulbright Senior Specialist in Conflict Resolution with the M.A. Program in Conflict Analysis and Resolution (CAR) at Sabanci University in Istanbul, Turkey. Sabanci is located on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, approximately one hour driving time from "downtown" Istanbul.

Sabanci's CAR Program was established in Fall 2000—exactly one year prior to 9/11—by the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution's (ICAR) first international Ph.D. graduate, Dr. Nimet Beriker, in consultation with former ICAR professor Dr. Daniel Druckman and myself. Over the years since the program's inception, a number of ICAR faculty (including Drs. Dean Pruitt, Daniel Druckman, Christopher Mitchell, Kevin Avruch and myself) have visited the university as guest lecturers.

During my recent visit to Sabanci, I gave lectures for Dr. Beriker's integration class, Dr. Betül Celik's course on culture and conflict and Dr. Riva Kantowitz's introductory course. In addition, I gave a University-wide lecture on "Turkey's Unique Role in Nipping in the Bud the 'Clash of Civilizations'."

Sabanci is one of a growing number of private universities in Turkey in which all courses (with the possible exception of Ottoman History) are taught in English, primarily by Turkish professors with doctoral degrees from Western (usually American) universities. English language primacy allows graduates of these institutions, who tend to be outstanding, to be globally competitive. It also allows Sabanci's CAR Program—the only one of its kind in Turkey and the region—to be attractive to potential students from other countries. Hence, Sabanci's CAR



Above: Sabanci Mosque is the largest in Turkey, built in 1998 and financed by the Sabanci family who founded the Sabanci University in 1999. Photo: Wikimedia.

Program has included students from Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Iran, Israel, Kenya, Poland, Romania, the UK and the U.S.

Two of Dr. Beriker's former students are currently completing their Ph.D. work at ICAR: Ulas Doga Eralp and Talha Kose (both from Turkey). A third, Athanasios Gatsias (from Greece), recently joined ICAR's Ph.D. Program. This, plus my visit, indicates that the ICAR-Sabanci relationship continues to thrive.

As so it should, given Turkey's unique multi-level positioning as (a) a long-time NATO member currently negotiating entry into the European Union; (b) a cultural bridge between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East; (c) a Muslim, but secular, country with a well-established Jewish community and a positive relationship with Israel, currently

acting as a mediator between Israel and Syria on the issue of the Golan Heights; (d) a model for other Muslim states, especially in Central Asia; (e) a source of positive initiatives toward Armenia (and vice versa) in finally dealing resolutely with Turkey's historical conflict with Armenians worldwide, as exemplified by Turkish President Abdullah Gul's recent visit to Armenia; and finally (f) an engine for the transmission of EU values and norms into the South Caucasus, site of Russia's recent war with Georgia over South Ossetia.

Indeed, for these and other reasons, Turkey is well poised to advance the goals of national, regional, and global peacemaking and peacebuilding. Sabanci's CAR Program can play a meaningful role in this regard and, through its continuing relationship with Sabanci's CAR program, so can ICAR. ■

# Building Bridges Across Programs

## Graduate Students in New Roles Teaching Undergrads

By Susan Hirsch, Ph.D., ICAR Faculty and Undergraduate Program Director, shirsch4@gmu.edu

Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) graduate students have been in on the ground floor of the development of CAR, the Institute's undergraduate program, and have contributed significantly to its growth. In the four years of its existence many graduate students and ICAR alums have taught courses for the CAR Program, and some have served as graders or course assistants. These students and alums bring tremendous enthusiasm and cutting-edge knowledge of the field into the undergraduate classroom. In the coming years, ICAR graduate students will play increasingly important roles in teaching and program development.

Last year, CAR established its first Graduate Teaching Assistantship (GTA) and awarded it to Mery Rodriguez. CAR's first GTA taught sections of *CONF 101: Conflict and Our World* and served as an academic advisor to CAR majors and minors. Also last year, CAR began a major initiative in curriculum revision, and Mery led the effort by conducting a thorough review of *CONF 101*.

For 2008-09 academic year, the ranks of CAR teachers are swelled by three new GTAs. Each GTA teaches one course per term



Above: ICAR doctoral candidate Min Oo teaches an undergraduate class for the Conflict Analysis and Resolution program. Photo: Kyle Mitzner.

and advises students in addition to working ten hours a week on a project. Min Oo finds *CONF 101* a great context for teaching students to think critically. He is developing assessment tools to be used in individual courses and to evaluate the program as a whole. In teaching *CONF 240: The Social Dynamics of Terrorism*, David Alpher seeks to personify the "reflective practitioner." Talha Kose is spearheading a curriculum review of CAR's most popular course, *CONF 340: Global*

*Conflict and its Resolution*, and developing units to involve students in simulated international conflict resolution processes.

Critics of higher education question whether graduate students are as effective in the undergraduate classroom as more experienced teachers. CAR's emphasis on teaching basic social science theories and methods, and such general skills as analytic writing and critical thinking, can pose a challenge to graduate students steeped in the specialized knowledge required to complete a Ph.D. Mindful of the need for pedagogical training, ICAR has twice offered *CONF 695: Teaching Skills for the Undergraduate Classroom*. The ICAR faculty also decided to develop a more comprehensive approach to preparing graduate students for classroom teaching and also for mentoring their progress as teachers. This initiative, spurred by the growth of the CAR Program, positions ICAR as a leader in conflict analysis and resolution pedagogy. ■



Above: ICAR doctoral candidate David Alpher talks with CAR major Kyle Mitzner on the Mason campus. Photo courtesy of Lisa Shaw.

initiatives

# ICAR Working Group Explores African Ethnoscape at POV Talk

By Martha Mutisi, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, [mmutisi@gmu.edu](mailto:mmutisi@gmu.edu)

## EVENTS

**O**n September 27, 2008, the scenic and serene Point of View center (POV) at Mason Neck was characterized by a buzz of human activity coming from the Virginia and Washington D.C. metro area. This was a gathering of intellectuals and practitioners from Africa and other nationals, who have the development of Africa at heart,

who gathered to deliberate and brainstorm ways to erase the myth that Africa is a dark continent.

Members of the Africa Working Group (AWG) at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) and interested stakeholders came together at POV for the first ever joint retreat and seminar. The working group is an organization comprised of students, faculty, alumni and practitioners who

are interested in Africa. The event provided the opportunity for participants to reinvigorate debate on and celebrate conflict resolution initiatives in Africa. In his opening remarks for the POV event, ICAR professor and group advisor Dr. Wallace Warfield reiterated the importance of the group in steering ICAR's

and other stakeholders' interest towards Africa as a region and subject of focus in policy, development and conflict resolution.

Point of View was the ideal location for an event of this caliber. The full day event allowed for some critical discussion, reflection, networking and imaging of the future. In line with George Mason's theme of building community, the event provided the opportunity for AWG members and



Above: Attendees at ICAR's African Working Group Event at POV. Photo courtesy of Martha Mutisi.

### Upcoming ICAR Community Events

For more info on events, email [esoren@gmu.edu](mailto:esoren@gmu.edu).

**November 11: Celebration and Launch of the *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution***

5:00-7:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

**November 13: Launch of the 2008-2009 ICAR Advisory Board Mentoring Program**

7:15-8:30 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

**November 18: Brown Bag Lecture Featuring Rafi Nets-Zehngut on Palestinian Refugee Issues**

5:00-7:00 pm, Truland Building, Room 555

**November 20: ICAR Open House and Auction**

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

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



Above: Members of the Africa Working Group picnicking at Point of View. Photo courtesy of Martha Mutisi.

non-members to spend some quality time together, engaging in serious discussion on critical issues but also concretizing future plans for the academic year.

The presentations focused on conflict resolution initiatives in Somalia, Liberia, Ghana and Sudan, acknowledging the role of the local leaders and

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## ICAR STUDENT OPINION

### November 4: A Vote for Your Future

By Jason Reader, ICAR M.S. Student

November 4, 2008, will be remembered centuries from now when the histories of these times are written. The next president faces a myriad of convergent leadership challenges and opportunities that are unique to this historic moment.



First, the global financial crisis is beginning to look more and more like another Great Depression. In one year, the Dow Jones Industrial Average on the New York Stock Exchange shaved off 40 percent with most of it occurring in the first week of October.

Presidential leadership will be necessary if the United States and other nations are to discover new avenues of cooperation that will ensure more peaceful and productive relations down the road. Economic cooperation will also save taxpayer dollars on both sides of the Atlantic.

Second, NASA's James Hansen and over one-thousand other international scientists have warned us that we have less than ten years to stop global warming before it is too late. Warnings of more frequent and stronger Katrina-type storms are enough to curdle your blood just thinking of New Orleans and the failure of leadership from President Bush.

The world is increasingly cooperating towards a future of green technology that will see cheaper and more renewable sources of energy, air that we can actually breathe, and conserved land ripe for adventure. Presidential leadership will be needed to steer the U.S. along the world's path towards a greener future.

Finally, enough people in America and the world think that we should overcome our racial, ethnic, and gender divisions. Barack Obama, if elected, will be the first ethnic/racial minority chief executive and head of state for any Western nation. If John McCain is elected, Sarah Palin will be the first female vice-president of the United States.

Consequently, I hope the histories will show that born now is a world of humanity devoid of the archaic divisions of race, ethnicity, and gender. The next president will have an opportunity to lead the charge in erasing these archaic divisions. I can now imagine a world where a person's success is measured by their merits and not their appearance.

The only thing I implore you to do is vote. It does not matter if your vote is for Senator McCain or Senator Obama. Your vote is your voice in history. Your participation in this election is a vote of confidence in America, a vote to overcome the "isms" that divide us, and a vote for your future. ■

## Recent ICAR Articles, Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor

### The Call for Change In the White House Is an Understatement

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate, and U.S. Representative Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD)  
*Roll Call, 10/28/08*

### Palin's Makeover

By Nawal Rajeh, ICAR M.S. Student  
*Washington Times, 10/25/08*

### Veterans Have Earned and Deserve Help and Respect

By Katie Bowen, ICAR Undergraduate Student  
*Roanoke Times, 10/21/08*

### Obama: The Model Candidate for American Muslims in 2008

By Jana El Horr, ICAR Ph.D. Student  
*Al Hayat, 10/15/08*

### Talking to the Taliban

By Michael Shank, ICAR Ph.D. Candidate  
*The Guardian, 10/14/08*

### At the Heart of the Faith Healing Debate

By Lori-Ann Stephensen, ICAR M.S. Student  
*The Oregonian, 10/13/08*

### U.S. Should Send Aid to Both South Ossetia and Georgia

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor  
*Christian Science Monitor, 10/09/08*

### Slogan Diplomacy

By Susan Allen Nan, ICAR Professor  
*Washington Times, 10/05/08*

### We Do Need Change - In U.S. Policy in Mideast

By Marc Gopin, ICAR Professor  
*Washington Jewish Week, 10/01/08*

press

# Jana El Horr

By Zoe Rose, ICAR Graduate Admissions Assistant and M.S. Student, zrose@gmu.edu

**A**s this year's recipient of the Mary Lynn Boland award, a Fulbright scholar, and founding member of the Center for Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding, I asked Ph.D. student Jana El Horr what else she would like to accomplish. Her response was simple: "My next big goal is to finish my dissertation in addition to learning five new languages." This is one full plate, and there is still more. Jana is the International Peacebuilding Fellow at the American Islamic Congress and is spearheading efforts to strengthen Arab-Muslim participation in the Darfur movement. Jana has worked extensively with issues of conflict resolution in the Middle East and organized youth training seminars on issues of leadership,



youth empowerment, and human rights. Recently, Jana met with U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to discuss Lebanon and what steps are necessary to promote an indigenous movement for democracy promotion in the country.

On youth issues more generally, Jana acknowledges that peacebuilding approaches are ever-changing, especially when faced with new technology. "Facebook has proved to be a more efficient way to rally youth around issues than emails or ads, and we need to keep up with it," says Jana. Methods for outreach are constantly changing and Jana is at the forefront in using new technology.

On her time at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), Jana hopes the Institute "will broaden the scope of issues they are involved with in the Middle East," emphasizing that Middle East research at ICAR often focuses on the Arab-Israeli conflict, while there are other conflicts in the region that need to be addressed—including sub-Saharan conflicts, Syrian-Lebanese relations, and human rights abuses in Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Jana's efforts in resolving conflict are at the core of ICAR's goals. As an example, Jana recently published a training kit with the Council of Europe addressing issues of cultural diversity and minority rights in the Euro-Mediterranean region. Students like Jana, who are involved in both the theory and practice of conflict, exemplify the knowledge and experience that breathes life into ICAR. ■

"Facebook has proved to be a more efficient way to rally youth around issues than emails or ads, and we need to keep up with it."

—JANA EL HARR

# Hussein Yusuf

By Zoe Rose and Hussein Yusuf, ICAR M.S. Students, zrose@gmu.edu and hyusuf@gmu.edu

**H**ussein Yusuf's life changed forever in 1991 when insurgents drove his family out of Somalia. His family returned to Somalia several times after, whereupon his father set up feeding stations for refugees. Upon return, Yusuf was forbidden by his father from joining the tribal militias and to this day sees himself as a refugee. At the age of 18, Yusuf fled to Yemen where he volunteered with the Church of Christ and worked later with Partners for Development, an implementing partner for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In lieu of formal high education, Yusuf was able to use his research and language skills to benefit his work with refugees.



Hussein's work included interviewing refugees for repatriation and providing financial assistance and data regarding housing, medicine and food. As a committed service provider for internally displaced persons and refugees, Yusuf dedicated more than eight years working with numerous rescue organizations. Adamant about never forgetting the feeling of being a refugee, Yusuf continues to pursue studies all the while reflecting on his childhood.

As a current M.S. student at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), Yusuf is humbled to be in an environment where he can shed light on the issues which divide the world. Loyal to his country of birth, Yusuf hopes ICAR will help him explore and resolve the conflict in Somalia. He believes that the process to solve Somalia's conflict must involve individuals who understand the country's historical oppressions, folklore, and mythical roots of the people.

Hussein's main objectives for his research are largely driven by stories of lineages, oppressions, power, identity, and European colonialism. He hopes that ICAR will help him produce research that will contribute to lasting peace in Somalia. ■

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hodge-podge of experimentation, social conflict, and post-neoliberal possibility. The waning of U.S. influence in the region was accelerated by the concentration for much of the last eight years of both diplomatic and military resources in the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia as part of the "war on terror." The result was that Latin America became, as Michael Reid of *The Economist* has written in a recent book, a "forgotten continent." Leaving aside the error in geography, Reid's larger point is entirely correct: without latter-day Che Guevaras (and the ideology of global communist revolution) nipping at our southern borders, Latin America devolved in the minds of many U.S. policy-makers into a vast and undifferentiated region of Third World countries whose greatest significance for the U.S. was that it was the source of both much-desired and much-reviled undocumented labor.

As the price of oil rose through the mid-2000s, producer-countries like Venezuela and Mexico began to experience double-digit revenue growth, which (much like in Russia) created a new sense of economic security that in this case could be converted into political independence from the U.S. Suddenly it was the U.S., the world's largest consumer of non-renewable energy resources, that was disadvantageously locked into an involuntary "dependency" on newly resurgent Latin American countries. Even a country like Bolivia, which discovered and then finally began to actually exploit its natural gas resources, found itself able to dictate the terms of its relationship with the U.S. without having to consider the



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dire economic circumstances of provoking what the current president, Evo Morales, simply calls "the Empire."

Predictably, these profound economic, ideological, and social shifts both within Latin America, and in U.S.-Latin American relations, have been misapprehended and mischaracterized by U.S. government officials and members of the Beltway punditocracy alike. Leaders like Venezuela's Chávez, Bolivia's Morales, Ecuador's Correa, Brazil's Lula, Uruguay's

Vázquez, and now Paraguay's Lugo are widely lumped together as part of something that's described as a "new left" in Latin America. But as I have argued in a recent book, leaders like Bolivia's Morales have more in common politically and discursively with mid-nineteenth century liberal revolutionaries like Mexico's Benito Pablo Juárez, whose program for social change likewise revolved around the extension of what we would today

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### ICAR Attends 8th Annual Association of Conflict Resolution Conference in Texas

By Erin Ogilvie, Graduate Admissions and Student Services Director, [eogilvie@gmu.edu](mailto:eogilvie@gmu.edu)

Austin, Texas, was the host city for the 8th Annual Association for Conflict Resolution (ACR) Conference. The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR) hosted an exhibit table to highlight new media outreach initiatives. Past faculty and student TV interviews were digitally displayed, and information on the ICAR undergraduate and graduate programs was distributed. ICAR's Communications Director and Ph.D. Candidate Michael Shank presented a workshop titled "Impacting Policy via Media." Mr. Shank also facilitated the process of inviting and introducing former U.S. Congressman Lee Hamilton, who co-chaired the 9/11 Commission and Iraq Study Group reports, to be the keynote speaker at the conference. Mr. Hamilton spoke about the top ten principles for conflict resolution processes. A number of ICAR faculty and alumni were present at the conference, including Rachel Barbour, ICAR M.S. Alumna, who was presented with the ACR Presidential Award for her work as the 2008 ACR Conference Committee Chair. ICAR plans to attend the 2009 ACR Conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 7-10, 2009. For more information, visit [www.ACRnet.org](http://www.ACRnet.org). ■



Above: ICAR's Communications Director Michael Shank with former U.S. Congressman Lee Hamilton. Photo courtesy of ICAR Ph.D. student David Smith.

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## Forgotten and Misunderstood

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call human rights to the broad swaths of the population that had been excluded from the promises of liberalism through which the Latin American republics—children of the Enlightenment all—emerged.

What the United States must realize is that with the exception perhaps of Cuba, both the ideology of global communist revolution, and the theory of history and dialectical conflict that structures it, have dissolved in Latin America. This is what will prove to be the most important legacy of the early post-Cold War, in which the language of social conflict was reinterpreted within a human rights framework that both paved the way for the rise of leaders like Evo Morales, and tightly circumscribed the models for social change available to them once they gained power. By siding with the anti-liberal revolutionary forces in places like Bolivia—which led to the mutual expulsions of both countries' ambassadors and a further deterioration in bilateral relations—the U.S. government has (for now) failed to realize the potential in a region whose countries are modeling themselves, explicitly or not, on the Scandinavia of the 1970s, in which redistributive state economic policies were coupled with a robust human rights-based democracy, the development of social services infrastructure, the eager embrace of international norms, and a willingness to promote and develop international and interregional institutions. ■

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## ICAR Working Group

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traditional cultural systems in conflict resolution. All presenters applauded the notion that African institutions are occupying the epicenter of these processes and that Africa is rich in human and social capital, which can be effectively combined with the modern approaches to produce sustainable outcomes.

Participants also acknowledged the challenges of indigenous conflict resolution systems. In concluding the event, participants discussed future initiatives and stressed the need to continue building networks with like-minded organizations and practitioners. This will not only bridge the gap between theory and practice, but will also ensure that practitioners demystify stereotypical issues often raised about the continent.

The novel aspect about the event at POV is that it was characterized by a big representation of non-ICAR students, which helped build connections between ICAR, other Mason departments, and communities located off-campus.

In closing, Shannon Howard, a Mason Public Policy M.S. student who is also a member of AWG, gave a vote of thanks, appreciating the role of the AWG in reaching out to other departments and off-campus communities so that they too would experience what the ICAR family was learning. ■



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