Civilians and Modern War

Armed conflict and the ideology of violence

**Edited by Daniel Rothbart,
Karina V. Korostelina and
Mohammed D. Cherkaoui**

Abstract

The chapters below address questions rarely addressed by political and military leaders engaged in protected violent conflict, either formally or informally. Why are war's weakest participants—civilian noncombatants—subjected to a higher degree of devastation than combatants in today's protracted violent conflicts? What accounts for the very high numbers of civilian casualties compared to combatants of state-run militaries? Why are women and children frequently targeted by martial forces? What are the underlying mechanisms of warfare that continue to devastate civilians?

Before the "dogs of war" are unleashed, before the first bullet is fired, certain modes of thinking about war—its defining origins, agents, and termination—have already shaped notions about who civilians are, what they are not, and how they should be situated in relation to martial forces. Such notions are neither innocuous nor purified of moral-political conviction. From the militaristic perspective, war is, and must be, an enterprise of martial forces—military architects, strategists, tacticians, commanders, and soldiers. The institutional practices effectively work in unison to reinforce a kind of social-political "positioning" of civilian noncombatants within the military landscape of war. Most military commanders regard civilian atrocities at the hands of allied forces as rare, atypical, and aberrant—the result of an individual soldier's emotional instability, a commander's reckless injunctions, or a general's disregard of international laws of war.

With this volume, the chapter authors expose the fundamental impoverishment of the instrumentalist dualities of means-ends, gains-losses, and agents-objects associated with the militaristic perspective of war. In seeking to explain why war's weakest participants are routinely subject to a greater degree of devastation, the chapter authors examine the plight of civilians by exposing how they are assigned certain positions, as it were, in relation to war's primary agents. Despite the variety of research methodologies, all chapter authors address issues associated with explaining and understanding civilian devastation in modern warfare, deepening our understanding by probing into complex processes that effectively establish civilians' identity, their relation to the enemy, and how they should act in times of war. For such an understanding, the authors go beyond, or beneath, accounts of the incidents themselves to address the systematic preconditions that create such situations, drawing attention to causal factors linked to the structural underpinning of civilian devastation, and expanding the analytical lens to include various modes of thinking and action that underpin military strategy and tactics. This work seeks to expose, as a prelude to war's genesis, the instruments of control, domination, and vulnerability in relation to the martial forces of war, instruments that serve as a basis for devastation. In so doing, the authors seek to undermine the "tunneling effect" of the militaristic framework regarding the experiences of noncombatants, placing their encounters outside of the realm of "war's defining events," with direct implications for the ethical responsibilities of martial forces.

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Chapter 1:   The Place and Plight of Civilians in Modern War
Daniel Rothbart, Karina Korostelina, and Mohammed D. Cherkaoui

The enormous body of literature on the militarism of nations centers on the tumultuous encounters of martial forces, the political events preceding such encounters, and the cessation of hostilities with victory declared by one side. In recent years, scholars have probed beneath the actions of a particular solider, commander, or martial force, seeking to identify the root causes of civilian devastation. The plight of civilians in wars of all kinds—their extreme vulnerability to the lethal effects of combat and the scale and scope of their devastation—represent a serious challenge to the international community that has, to date, eluded resolution. The editors of this volume believe that none of the works to date examines in detail a cardinal aspect of the categories of, and relations between, civilian combatants and noncombatants. This missing aspect in recent literature on this topic is the objectification of civilians, who are cast alternatively as objects of war, frictions to the war machine, hindrances to the movement of forces, potential combatants, possible collaborators with the enemy, and so on. Such discursive practices reinforce tacitly held assumptions about the life, existence, and proper placement of civilians in relation to the primary agents of war. Underlying this is a set of practices that represent war's unofficial face, practices that are often disguised, suppressed, and distorted. The freedoms and rights that civilians enjoy, or at least sought, in times of peace must be suppressed in order for the machines of war to operate properly. The instruments of control—laws, edicts, doctrines, polities, and principles that define notions of normalcy—reinforce notions of civilian identity, their proper relationship to combatants, and military and legal norms for their behavior in times of war. The volume editors believe that certain forms of identity constructions influence strategies and tactics that create the preconditions and mechanisms of civilian vulnerability. Recent advances in the understanding of intergroup conflict (racial, religious, ethnic, and nationalistic) have a direct bearing on the studies of civilians in war.

Part one: Targeting Civilians
Chapter 2:   The Role of Civilians in American War Ideology
Richard Rubenstein

In Chapter 2 "The role of civilians in American war ideology," Richard Rubenstein examines the reasons why Americans go to war in the past two centuries. He shows how past American military campaigns have been shaped by normative beliefs regarding why "we" fight, such as the scared right and duty for self-defense, the need to suppress an evil enemy, national honor, among others. And for all of these beliefs, the responsibilities and possible sacrifices of civilian citizen (both at home and living in the enemy land) are critical. He examines the following episodes: (a) US wars against Native Americans; (b) the revolutionary origins of the American state; (c) wars of continental and colonial expansion; (d) domestic and global military crusades; and (e) wars to maintain global hegemony. Rubenstein then explores the mechanisms for defining the

category of the civilian-soldier, the role of racism in characterizing the US enemies, the ideology of American exceptionalism, and the normative dichotomy between protecting civilians at home and readiness to sacrifice civilians living with the enemy. Rubenstein argues that the blurring of combatant–civilian distinction contributed to the development of anti-war movements in the US (public response to the My Lai massacre in Vietnam is examined as a case in point). He examines implications of this contradiction for public policy formation in an age of professional military forces.

Chapter 3: Devastating Civilians at Home: the Plight of Crimean Tatars and Californians of Asian Decent during World War II
Karina Korostelina

In many wars the states engaged in hostility aboard will turn their attentions to the enemy at home, targeting individuals who disguise themselves as patriots while supporting foreign powers. Chapter 3 "Devastating civilians at home: The plight of Crimean Tatars and Californians of Asian descent during World War II" by Karina V. Korostelina highlights the inhumane treatment of civilians living in their homeland. She provides a comparative analysis of two cases: the deportation of Crimean Tatars by the Soviet government after the re-conquest of Ukraine from the German Wehrmacht and the internment of 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry by the US government in the aftermath of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. In both cases the targeted ethnic groups were accused of collaborating with the enemy: the Crimean Tatars allegedly fighting alongside the German forces and in the United States the Japanese Americans accused of preparing the homeland for a possible invasion by the Imperial Japanese Army. Korostelina documents how in both cases intense propaganda campaigns against their two ethnic minorities by government authorities exploited fears and long-standing hatreds among certain elements of the population. Such campaign had the effect of expanding category of the enemy at home, providing a platform of virulent ethnic hatreds that exploit long-standing bigotries. Such a framing enlivens normative commitments associated with purity and protection at home and danger and sacrifice abroad.

Chapter 4: Military Culture and Civilian Victimization the Case of American Strategic Bombing in World War II
Alexander Downes

In Chapter 4 "Military culture and civilian victimization: The Allied bombing of Germany in World War II," Alexander B. Downes critically examines the effects of military culture on the propensity of state militaries to target civilians during this world war. Downes takes issue with the advocates of the cultural explanation of civilian devastation on the following grounds: (1) few states plan to attack noncombatants before wars break out, and the few that do sometimes refrain from immediately implementing such a strategy because of the enemy's ability to retaliate; (2) the vast majority of systematic targeting of noncombatants in wartime occurs when a military's initial counterforce strategies fail to deliver a quick and decisive victory. Escalation to civilian victimization then occurs whether or not it is compatible with military culture, as a logical response to the need to achieve victory or stave off defeat. As a result, the need to

achieve victory leads to policies that imperil civilians. Downes supports this explanation through detailed account of the US bombing of Germany in World War II, showing that despite a culture of precision bombing, the US Air Force responded to high losses in 1943 by shifting to highly inaccurate radar bombing, known as aerial bombing.

Chapter 5: Double Victims: the Recruitment and Treatment of Child Soldiers in Chechnya
Karina Korostelina & Juliia Kononenko

       Chapter 5 "Double victims: The recruitment and treatment of child soldiers in Chechnya" by Karina V. Korostelina and Juliia Kononenko analyze the reliance by martial forces on child soldiers in two wars in Chechnya: the mechanisms of involvement of children by the self-proclaimed state of Chechnya and their treatment by Russian federal armed forces and mass media. The authors show that parties from both sides of the conflict nullified the norms familiar in peacetime by casting children as potential combatants, subjecting them to responsibilities that are suitable for adult soldiers, and, as a result creating risks that include the possibility of inhumane treatment and torture. This characterization of children in the affairs of modern warfare reinforces a set of normative assumptions about the placement and perils of children, revealing the collective axiology for parties on both sides of this conflict.
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Part two: Preserving Civilian Immunity
Chapter 6: The Politics of Civilian Identity
       Daniel Rothbart

       In Chapter 6 "The politics of civilian identity" Daniel Rothbart examines how the category of civilians in war is subject to various institutional influences from three domains of modern warfare—international law, military strategies, and the soldiers' lived experiences. Such influences are interlinked with the legal rights and obligations of civilian noncombatants in times of war. First, in the legal arena, civilians are defined by what they are not—not combatants, and not members of a viable political order—creating a conceptual vacuum that is filled by militaristic framing of war, including assumptions regarding who civilians are and what they can and cannot do. Second, in the militaristic framing of warfare, with its polarizing rhetoric ("us against them" and "their gain is our loss") civilians are often objectified as impediments, obstacles, and frictions that interfere with the operations of military machines. The chapter includes a critical reflection on the rules of engagement (ROE) for US military forces that were operative in Gulf War II, with applications to the treatment of civilians around troop convoys, military checkpoints, and surveillance operations. Third, the chapter examines soldiers' narratives of military operations, illustrating how civilians can be characterized as victims and reduced to mere elemental existence within the forces of war.

Chapter 7: Israeli Soldiers' Perceptions of Palestinian Civilians during the 2009 Gaza War
Neta Oren

Chapter 7, "Israeli soldiers' perceptions of Palestinian civilians during the 2009 Gaza War" by Neta Oren, extends certain themes from Chapter 5 to a critical study of the 2009 Gaza War. Drawing on testimonies from fifty-four Israeli combat soldiers engaged in this war, Oren extracts narratives that capture the soldiers' wartime experiences of encounters with civilians living in Gaza. For example, the narrative of "better safe than dead" captures the soldiers' need to protect themselves in the field of battle, distinction between "good violence" and the enemy's "bad violence," and the consequences of these practices and perceptions to the fate of Palestinian civilians. The chapter compares the stories of Israeli soldiers with testimonies of US soldiers from the Iraq war, and explores the broader implications of this situation to modern state-sponsored conflicts allegedly guided by international laws of war and set rules of engagement.

Chapter 8: **Civilian Vulnerability in Asymmetric Conflict: Lessons from the Second Lebanon and Gaza Wars**
Michael Gross

In Chapter 8 "Civilian vulnerability in asymmetric conflict: Lessons from the Second Lebanon and Gaza Wars" Michael L. Gross provides a critical study of two wars of military asymmetry in which the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) fought engaged guerrilla fighters. In the Second Lebanon and Gaza Wars, guerrilla fighters were entwined in various sectors of civil society, seeking safe haven in civilian society, garnering support in the basic needs for survival, and drawing upon the social institutions—medical, legal, even financial. Some of this support is directly linked to military operations—providing arms, sanctuary, and even recruits for guerrilla forces. According to Gross, when civilian participate directly in such support of guerrilla forces, civilians lose their right of immunity, based on international humanitarian law. The principle of noncombatant immunity does not protect "civilians working for the institutions that sustain guerrilla organizations." Furthermore, in both wars guerrilla troops resorted to the draconian tactic of positioning noncombatants as human shields in the line of enemy fire. Under such conditions, the IDF cannot be required to withhold their fire against enemy forces; Gross advocates the use of nonlethal weapons that disable, but not kill, the targeted individuals.

Chapter 9: **Civilians Overshadowed by Soldiers: Faceless Victims of the Public Media Narrative**
Mohammed D. Cherkaoui

In his Chapter 9 "In the shadow of soldiers: Faceless victims in public media narrative," Mohammed D. Cherkaoui examines the complexity of reporting civilian deaths in war zones beyond the classic statistical count of nameless victims and the increases or decreases of soldier deaths on both sides of the conflict. Despite the evolution of the modern media and the related mediatization shift in meaning-making, the question remains: why have not the mass media constructed a civilian framework of covering wars and moved beyond a military exceptionalism in journalism? Cherkaoui critically examines how most media organizations contribute indirectly to a collective romanticizing sentiment of war by putting the public in a hyper-mood of the uncertainty

and mobilizing them to accept the sacrifice of soldiers and civilians on both sides. The "collateral damage" frame is trumpeted more and more in the televised news conferences and repetitive media packages around the clock. This chapter discusses the media framing of faceless civilians as a mere extension of the dangerous "Other." Cherkaoui concludes that the jack-of-all-trade war reporter dilemma, dissemination of casualty agnosticism in public discourse, and the lack of a civilian body count are less problematic than the embedded journalist model if a *we-civilians* framework were to emerge across the globalizing broadcast media and internet-driven newspapers.

Chapter 10:   Civilians, Pundits, and the Mediatized Ideology
        Mohammed D. Cherkaoui

        In his Chapter 10 "Civilians, pundits, and the mediatized ideology," Cherkaoui analyzes the impact of the cognitive frames, language, and public debate which have undermined the formulation of a civilian counter-narrative in relation to the militaristic master narrative. The chapter also illustrates the constraints of language, military exceptionalism, and the dangers of spin journalism within the prospects of formulating a civil framework of the media narrative in the future. According to Cherkaoui, most media organizations have not freed themselves from the hegemonic discourse of the military in waging wars and serving their respective state politics. He examines the tendency of reporters to promote an "absenteeism" of the civilian identity in their stories, linked to the shadow of numbers. He argues that civilian casualties remain out of the public frame. In his conclusion to Chapter 10, Cherkaoui explores the prospects of a civilian framework in reporters' repertoire, practice, and worldview to narrow the gap between the objective norms and subjective applications of war reporting. When journalism moves on separate and parallel tracks of military journalism and civilian journalism, it would then narrow the gap between the objective norms and subjective applications in this public field of mass media.

Part 3: Redressing Anti-Civilian Practices
Chapter 11:   Trans-regional Military Dimensions of Civilian Protection: A Two-part Problem with a Two-part Solution
        Donald C. F. Daniel and Tromila Wheat

        In Chapter 11, "Trans-regional military dimensions of civilian protection: A two-part problem with a two-part solution," Donald C.F. Daniel and Tromila Wheat show that many internationally sanctioned peace operations are designed to stop and/or prevent civilian devastation in a war-plagued countries. But, based on recent trends, the troops needed to protect civilians cannot be deployed in many conflict regions, and that those most capable of protecting civilians cannot be counted on to participate in such operations, while those who would probably participate cannot be counted on to protect civilians in hazardous cases. The chapter utilizes data from 2001 through 2008 about national troop contributions, the characteristics of the troop contributors, and the assignments by commanders of their troops for the protection of civilians.

Chapter 12: Civilians Under the Law: Inequality, Intersectionality, and Irony
   Susan Hirsch

In Chapter 12, "Civilians under the law: Inequality, universalisms, and intersectionality as intervention," Susan F. Hirsch examines the tacit assumptions underpinning the category of civilians in war as constructed by the architects of international humanitarian law (IHL) and international criminal law (ICL). According to Hirsch, while these legal regimes distinguish civilians from combatants, they also differentiate among civilians, both explicitly (through substantive law) and implicitly (through legal processes). Specifically, she proceeds to examine assumptions about gender and age identity and difference underpinning the legal definition of civilians, assumptions that promote inequalities among various society groups. Drawing on the concept of intersectionality from critical legal theory, Hirsch shows that gender, age, and military status combine to construct multiple, particular, and irreducible subject-positions and identities that arrive from them (e.g., minor female noncombatant, adult male combatant). An intersectional approach exposes the assumptions about gender, age, and military status underlying each of these subject positions and, in so doing, helps to explain why certain individuals find that their status as civilians is contested, particularly in relation to legal processes. The chapter focuses on legal proceedings involving several African conflicts (Sierra Leone, Uganda, and Democratic Republic of Congo) to explore the particular ways in which contestations over civilian status play out in conflicts characterized by (1) a high incidence of gender violence and (2) the extensive use of "child soldiers."

Chapter 13: The Price of Justice
   Michael Miklaucic

In Chapter 13, "The price of justice," Michael Miklaucic analyzes the experience of the International Tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and the Special Court for Sierra Leone, which together constitute the commitment to hold accountable those guilty of the most egregious of crimes. His study shows that the tribunals have had a significant impact on anti-civilian ideology: they altered the framework of global governance both by establishing precedents regarding accountability and norms governing acceptable behavior. No longer will heads of state or any other leaders believe that they can act with impunity in the face of international inaction. The jurisprudence that defined genocide, established rape as a war crime, criminalized the use of child soldiers, established the culpability of "command responsibility," and set so many other legal precedents has changed the rules of international accountability and altered the calculus of political behavior.

Chapter 14: Preventing Genocide: The Quest for System Response
   Andrea Bartoli and Testushi Ogata

Chapter 14 by Andrea Bartoli and Tetsushi Ogata, "Preventing genocide: Towards systematic engagement by states," centers on the formation of an effective alliance of states committed to non-genocidal and anti-genocidal policies. The authors

examine the preconditions for genuine genocide prevention, invoking the doctrine that legitimate states should commit themselves to preventing the recurrence of genocide. The role of the state in genocide prevention should be clear—no genocide can be executed without the state being either directly involved or passively acquiescent to the genocidal forces. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948 states clearly that the adoption of measures to effect the prevention of this terrible crime is a fundamental obligation of the Convention's state signatories. However, while the document was approved the day before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, its practical application has been almost non-existent. To date 135 countries have signed the Convention, but none has developed a comprehensive, effective, or measurable strategy to prevent genocide. A systematic approach is required for an accurate and effective genocide prevention strategy at the level of the current system of nation-states.

Chapter 15: Making Amends
           Sarah Holewinski

         In Chapter 15, "Making amends: A new expectation for civilian losses in armed conflict," Sarah Holewinski concentrates on post-war reconstruction and the needs of war's civilian survivors. The international laws of war are silent on what should happen after the bombs have dropped; there is no provision that nations at war will rebuild what is destroyed; there is no expectation that warring parties will record, officially recognize, or assist in the amelioration of civilian devastation. Civilians left to pick up the pieces are in effect harmed twice: once by the bullet and a second time by wounded dignity when they are not offered recognition or amends of any kind. The author argues that civilians suffering losses in war deserve recognition and assistance by the warring parties (hereafter a practice termed "making amends") that caused the harm. Examples of warring parties putting this principle into practice already exist, and, when taken together, they show an emerging normative behavior in warfare. "Civilian protection" has become the buzz-phrase from Washington to Moscow to Kabul to Geneva. Holewinski reminds us that warring parties are under no obligation to "make amends" to these unintended victims. But war need not be totally unforgiving. When innocent people become intertwined in armed conflict, and they always will, a chance for remedy exists.

Chapter 16: Conclusion: the Road Ahead
           Daniel Rothbart, Karina Korostelina, and Mohammed D. Cherkaoui

         Can the plight of civilians in war be improved? Can martial forces adopt and implement policies that transcend parochial national interests and that override the polarizing militaristic framing of war—victory/defeat, allies/enemy, costs/benefits? Can the agents of war avoid succumbing to the patterns of civilian objectification? Can these agents find the shared humanity of the innocents of war, recognizing that all citizens of the world are potential civilians in war? What policy changes are needed to address the humanitarian imperatives in conjunction with the rights of nations (or non-state actors) to engage in just war? Chapter 16, by the volume editors, provides a critical overview of the plight of civilians in war, focusing on the political and normative underpinnings of

decisions, actions, policies, and practices of major sectors of war. Policy recommendations are offered that seek to humanize the civilian Other.

Authors' Biographies

Andrea Bartoli is S-CAR's Drucie French Cumbie chair and its dean. He has been at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) at George Mason University since 2007. He works primarily on peacemaking and genocide prevention. An anthropologist from Rome, Dr. Bartoli completed his Italian *dottorato di ricerca* (Ph.D. equivalent) at the University of Milan and his *laurea* (B.A.-M.A. equivalent) at the University of Rome. His most recent books include: *Peacemaking: From Practice to Theory* (Praeger, forthcoming Dec. 2011) and *Somalia, Rwanda and Beyond: The Role of International Media in Wars and International Crisis* (Geneva-New York: Crosslines, 1995).

Mohammed D. Cherkaoui is adjunct professor at George Mason University's School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR). In his current research, he focuses on the split of social groups, the transformation of narratives and enmity system, and the emergence of new identities. His most recent publication is *the Palestinian Media at the Crossroads: Challenges and Expectations* (March 2011). Cherkaoui has been a media practitioner at the *British Broadcasting Corporation* in London, the *Voice of America*, and the *Arab American Network* television in Washington. He is the recipient of eleven professional awards for excellence in journalism including *The Voice of America Employee of the Year*.

Donald C.F. Daniel is a professor in the Security Studies Program and a senior resident fellow of the Center for Peace and Security Studies at the Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, DC. He is also Milton E. Miles Professor Emeritus of International Relations with the US Naval War College, Newport, RI. He has been a Special Advisor to the Chairman, US National Intelligence Council, in Washington, DC, a research associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, and a resident fellow in Micro-Disarmament Project at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva. Either alone or with partners, he has authored or edited seven books on strategic affairs and on peace operations with latest being *Peace Operations: Trends, Progress, and Prospects* (2008). An earlier book written for the US Institute of Peace, *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises*, was runner-up for the Grameweyer Award for Ideas for Improving World Order.

Alexander B. Downes (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 2004) is Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at The George Washington University. Downes has written extensively on the causes and effectiveness of civilian victimization. His book *Targeting Civilians in War* (Cornell University Press) was awarded the Joseph Lepgold Prize awarded by Georgetown University for best book in international relations published in 2008. Downes has held fellowships at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University; and the Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University.

Michael L. Gross is Professor of Political Science and Chair of the Division of International Relations at The University of Haifa, Israel has published widely in medical

ethics, military ethics and at the intersection of the two as they come together in military medical ethics and related questions of medicine and national security. His books include *Ethics and Activism* (Cambridge 1997), *Bioethics and Armed Conflict* (MIT 2006) and, most recently, *Moral Dilemmas of Modern War: Torture, Assassination and Blackmail in an Age of Asymmetric Conflict* (Cambridge 2010). He has led workshops on battlefield ethics, medicine and national security for the Dutch Ministry of Defense, The US Army Medical Department and National Security College of the Israel Defense Forces.

Susan F. Hirsch, an anthropologist, is a Professor in the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) at George Mason University. Her publications include *Contested States: Law, Hegemony, and Resistance*, *Pronouncing and Persevering: Gender and the Discourses of Disputing in an African Islamic Court*, and writings on law reform, gender, participatory research, and the language of disputing. Susan's book, *In the Moment of Greatest Calamity: Terrorism, Grief, and a Victim's Quest for Justice*, received the 2007 Jacob Book Prize. Her research interests include discourse and conflict, the "war on terror," global and environmental justice, and experiential education.

Sarah Holewinski is executive director of Campaign for Innocent Victims in Conflict (CIVIC), advocating in war zones and places of policymaking for smarter, more compassionate approaches to civilian protection and harm. Sarah was a member of The White House AIDS Policy team under President Clinton, later joined West Wing Writers and was a consultant for FXB, Human Rights Watch, and The Clinton Foundation. Her Bachelor's degree is from Georgetown; her Masters in security policy from Columbia. Sarah serves on the boards of InterAction and the Truman National Security Project, and is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Juliia Kononenko is a M.A. Candidate in International Development at Jospeh Korbel School of International Studies with concentration in Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance. She graduated from the National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" with Bachelor of Arts in History and Certificate in the History of Diplomacy and participated in the Interdisciplinary Humanitarian Studies academic program at the University of Warsaw, Poland. Currently, Juliia interns for the Laboratory to Combat Human Trafficking where her major responsibilities focus on analysis and research of multidimensional factors and aspects of human rights violations. Her academic interests concentrate on the issue of the involvement of children in the armed conflicts with special focus on ethnic disputes. Her current research project addresses the complex political and cultural phenomenon of child soldiers in the North Caucasus region.

Karina Korostelina is an Associate Professor and a Director of Program on History, Memory and Conflict at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University. She is a publishing extensively on identity-based conflicts, ethnic and religious conflicts, interfaith dialogue, history education and conflict resolution. She has been Fulbright New Century Scholar, a Regional Scholar at the Kennan Institute and a Fellow at the Open Society University. She has received grants from the MacArthur Foundation, Soros Foundation, the United State Institute of Peace, US National Academy of Education, Spenser Foundation, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of USDS,

USAID, INTAS, IREX, and Council of Europe. Among her books are: Why they Die? Civilian devastation in violent conflict (2011) (with D. Rothbart), The social identity and Conflict (2007); Structure and Dynamics of Social Identity (2003). She is an editor of Identity, Morality and Threat (2006) with D. Rothbart) and Interethnic Coexistence in the Crimea: The Ways of Achievement (2002).

Michael Miklaucic is the Director of Research, Information and Publications at the Center for Complex Operations (CCO) at National Defense University. He is also the Editor of PRISM; the journal of CCO. Prior to this assignment he served in various positions at the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Department of State, including USAID representative on the Civilian Response Corps Inter-Agency Task Force, as the Senior Program Officer in the USAID Office of Democracy and Governance, and Rule of Law Specialist in the Center for Democracy and Governance. In 2002-2003 he served as the Department of State Deputy for War Crimes Issues. He is an adjunct professor of U.S. Foreign Policy at American University, and of Conflict and Development at George Mason University.

Tetsushi Ogata is Director of the Genocide Prevention Program at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR), George Mason University. He has been involved in management and execution of the Engaging Governments on Genocide Prevention (EGGP) workshops, providing trainings for state officials of UN member states to operationalize genocide prevention. Co-author of "Emerging Paradigms of Genocide Prevention" in Politorbis, he is a doctoral candidate at S-CAR. He teaches genocide prevention courses at the undergraduate program of S-CAR. He is Secretary-Treasurer of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. He completed his BA in Liberal Arts with concentration in International Studies from Soka University of America and his MS in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from George Mason University.

Neta Oren is a visiting scholar at the School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University. She got her PhD in Political Science from Tel Aviv University and her MA from the Hebrew University. The results of her research were presented at numerous international conferences such as Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association and the Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology. Her publications include chapters in books such as *The Psychology of Ethnic and Cultural Conflict* (2004) and articles in international journals such as *Journal of Peace Research* and *Social Issues and Policy Review*.

Daniel Rothbart is Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University and Professor of Philosophy at the same university. In the field of conflict analysis his primary research centers the sources of identity-based conflicts (religious, ethnic, nationalistic). A co-edited book, *Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict*, examines the power of threats as a source of violent conflict. In his co-authored book published, *Why They Die: Civilian Devastation in Violent Conflict*, Dr. Rothbart examines the character and causes of civilian suffering in contemporary warfare. He is currently editor for a book series entitled "War, Conflict, and Ethics" for Routledge Press. Professor Rothbart

earned a Ph. D. in philosophy at Washington University, St. Louis. In addition to his positions at George Mason University, he was Visiting Research Scholar at Linacre College, Oxford, Dartmouth College, and the department of philosophy of science, University of Cambridge.

Tromila Wheat graduated from Mary Baldwin College with a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations and Political Science in 2008. During college, she completed a long term research project on the Omani political system and studied the role that women have in international politics. While completing her Master's in Security Studies at Georgetown University, she was a Research Assistant at the Center for Peace and Security Studies.