

Item	Resource
1	<p>Comment from a PJSA member is below:</p> <p><b>“If Obama is elected, I wonder if it might be wise and timely to dedicate a certain amount of next fall's conference (PJSA conference) to planning for pushing for peace, Dept. of Peace, etc.”</b></p>
2	<p><b>The book, <i>Great Peacemakers: True Stories From Around The World</i>, by Ken Beller and Heather Chase</b> came highly recommended.</p> <p>Main website: <a href="http://www.greatpeacemakers.com/">http://www.greatpeacemakers.com/</a>  Study Guide: <a href="http://www.greatpeacemakers.com/images/site_content/college%20%26%20university.pdf">http://www.greatpeacemakers.com/images/site_content/college%20%26%20university.pdf</a></p>
3	<p><b>The Network for Peace through Dialogue's Shaping Our Future program will be commencing its next online dialogue session in mid-February</b>, and we would like to invite you to join. This dialogue will focus on root causes of and means of addressing conflict on the African continent.</p> <p>Through Shaping Our Future, the Network for Peace through Dialogue has been engaged in online dialogue since 2006; topics covered in the past have included issues related to migration, whether peace is possible, and addressing drug addiction, among others. A report about a past dialogue session can be found here: <a href="http://networkforpeace.com/Resources/online-archives.html">http://networkforpeace.com/Resources/online-archives.html</a></p> <p>If you are interested in participating in this dialogue, or would like more information about this dialogue program, please send an email to <a href="mailto:shaping.our.future.dialogue@gmail.com">shaping.our.future.dialogue@gmail.com</a></p>
4	<p><b>The Peace Support Network is sponsoring a YouTube video contest.</b> Create a short film based on the theme, "Create Peace." Show us your creativity and you could be given the grand prize of \$1000 or three runner-up prizes. All ages, school classrooms, not-for-profit groups, as well as individuals are urged to participate! For complete details please see <a href="http://celebratingpeace.org/videos.cfm">http://celebratingpeace.org/videos.cfm</a></p> <p>Post your vision of peace right away, but no later than February 28, 2009.</p>
5	<p>According to the PJSA member, <b>the film "Seeds of Peace" has worked especially well for them with youth groups and younger college students</b> because almost all the people featured are young people, roughly equal numbers of Israeli and Palestinian youth engaging each other at a camp in the US and then going back with camaras to visit one another in their homes. It's gotten rave reviews at our workshops and classes, partly because it is so well edited (a longer film reduced to 40 min. for a Nightline show), and partly because it is so moving to watch these youth gradually open up and engage each other.</p> <p><b>This and about 60 other films, about half mainstream feature films and half documentaries are on an annotated list on the Peace &amp; Justice Resource Center web site on everything from domestic violence, hunger, nonviolence movements, racism and prejudice, and foreign policy (<a href="http://www.pjrcbooks.org">www.pjrcbooks.org</a>) a half dozen inches down on the right hand side.</b> Here's the blurb:</p> <p>Films for Exploring Peace and Justice Themes: dozens of options for group discussion, film series, and individual use.</p>
6	<p>Each year, the nonprofit <b>Peace &amp; Justice Resource Center</b> (<a href="http://www.pjrcbooks.org">www.pjrcbooks.org</a>) serves hundreds of individuals, programs, and groups. The largest center of its kind in the Pacific NW, the PJRC's services include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>A REFERENCE LIBRARY</b> with 12,300 books as well as files, videos, and data bases: PJRC volunteers assist teachers, scholars,</li> </ul>

activists, and librarians with resources in such areas as nonviolent responses to conflict; international issues; race, gender, and economic justice; social ethics; organizing and leadership skills; and the arts and social change.

- **WORKSHOPS AND EXHIBITS** for conferences, community groups, teacher in-service days, universities, and schools: Topics include Youth and Peacemaking, How to be a Bridge in a World of Walls, Peace and Justice in the Real World, and The Vision and Challenge of Martin Luther King, Jr. Our "Wall of Hope" exhibit and activities have been used by over 600 groups and events attended by more than 150,000 people.
- **A BOOK SERVICE** offering recommended books to teachers, scholars, activists, libraries, and university programs: The PJRC reaches out with book tables at several dozen conferences and events each year. We also donate 2000-3000 books most years to Books to Prisoners, a network of shelters, tribal schools, etc.
- **RESOURCE GUIDES** bibliographies, and fact sheets, as well as commentaries published in *Fellowship magazine*, *NY Newsday*, the *Peace Chronicle*, *Seattle Times*, *Houston Chronicle*, academic journals, and interviews on many media news and talk shows.

Since 1977, the nonprofit **Peace & Justice Resource Center** has helped scores of libraries select and make available peace and justice materials. We have provided resources and training for several hundred social change leaders, projects, and groups. The PJRC is volunteer-run and supported by contributions, book sales, workshop honoraria, and occasional grants. PJRC leaders serve on the planning committee for Peace Day Seattle and other regional and national efforts. The PJRC's director was selected as US delegate to the international meetings held in India to plan the United Nations Decade for Peace.

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**Psychologists for Social Responsibility** ([www.psysr.org](http://www.psysr.org)) is a vibrant, diverse, and growing community of members and supporters. Spanning a range of disciplinary perspectives and professional backgrounds, we **share a commitment to the application of psychological knowledge in addressing today's pressing societal challenges and in building cultures of peace with social justice.**

PsySR is an independent, non-profit 501(c)3 corporation, funded primarily through dues and contributions.

Through Action Committees and Initiatives we work to:

- Apply the growing body of knowledge about conflict resolution and violence prevention
- Facilitate positive changes for victims and survivors of personal, community, and civil violence
- Advocate for basic human needs--including actions that decrease poverty, ensure ethnic and gender equality, increase work opportunity, promote healthy and sustainable environments, and achieve a wiser balance between human needs and military budgets
- Ensure that relevant information from psychology is used in local, national, and international public policy

**PsySR is an independent organization with no official ties to the American Psychological Association. We have, however, appreciated our collaborations on many projects over the years with Division 48 (Peace Psychology) and other APA divisions.**

The PsySR Central Office in Washington, DC supports the work of the Steering Committee and the Action Committees. PsySR has an executive director, an administrator, and several interns who organize the logistical support for PsySR's projects. The executive director

Colleen Cordes can be reached by phone at 202-543-5347 or by email at [ccordes@psysr.org](mailto:ccordes@psysr.org). For general inquiries, please email [info@psysr.org](mailto:info@psysr.org).

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**The mission of the Center for Community Change ([www.communitychange.org](http://www.communitychange.org)) is to build the power and capacity of low-income people, especially low-income people of color, to change their communities and public policies for the better.**

The Center for Community Change strengthens, connects and mobilizes grassroots groups to enhance their leadership, voice and power. We believe that vibrant community-based organizations, led by the people most affected by social and economic injustice, are key to putting an end to the failed go-it-alone politics of the past and building a better America for everyone based on community values.

Founded in 1968 to honor the life and values of Robert F. Kennedy, the Center is one of the longest-standing champions for low-income people and communities of color. Together, our expert staff and dynamic partners confront the vital issues of today and build the social movements of tomorrow.

#### WHAT WE BELIEVE

Only by challenging the failed go-it-alone politics of the past and building a better America for everyone based on community values can we achieve social and economic justice.

- We believe that everyone should have a voice in the decisions that affect our lives and be fully engaged in our democracy.
- We believe in an America that honors the diversity of our racial and ethnic backgrounds as well as our experiences, talents and dreams.
- We believe that only together – by sharing our hopes, connecting with each other, and taking action together – can we change our communities and nation for the better.

#### WHAT WE DO

*Amplify Community Voices:* We ensure that grassroots voices are heard in Washington and shape the national conversation about building a better America.

- Strong community-based organizations and their brilliant leaders are our source of great ideas and real power. We strengthen the local power of these groups and elevate their voices from the grassroots to the national level.
- We deliver the grassroots message with authentic voices. We leverage our relationships with grassroots community leaders, ethnic and mainstream media, and national opinion makers to advocate for low-income people.

*Combine Grassroots Power to Win:* We unite grassroots groups and leaders across race and ethnicity, issues and geography to solve some of the most pressing problems facing low-income people today.

- We bring together grassroots leaders to learn from one another and our expert staff, and to join forces on common causes.
- We are a catalyst for action. Leveraging one of the broadest and most diverse networks of community based organizations, we've built a

	<p>40 year history of winning real improvements to the lives of low-income families.</p> <p><i>Build the Social Movements of Tomorrow:</i> We find and nurture the brilliant leaders and great ideas of tomorrow.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We nurture the next generation of leaders. We discover opportunity and potential where others don't. Thousands of organizers and community leaders touch the Center for Community Change each year – we are dedicated to finding the stars of tomorrow and preparing them to lead.</li> <li>• We incubate the ideas that will shape a better tomorrow. We bring together the most creative thinkers from the grassroots to the ivory tower to develop innovative solutions and a vision for an America where we're all in it together.</li> </ul>
9	<p><b>Founded in 1973 the Midwest Academy (<a href="http://www.midwestacademy.com">www.midwestacademy.com</a>) is a national training institute committed to advancing the struggle for social, economic, and racial justice.</b> From local neighborhood groups to statewide and national organizations, Midwest Academy has trained over twenty-five thousand grassroots activists from hundreds of organizations and coalitions. Midwest Academy teaches an organizing philosophy, methods and skills that enable ordinary people to actively participate in the democratic process. Courses and consulting services are designed for progressive organizations and coalitions that utilize civic engagement activities to build citizen power at all levels of our democracy.</p> <p><b>History</b></p> <p>Inspired by years of organizing in the student, labor, women's, and civil rights movements, and funded by a back-pay award in an unfair labor practice suit, Heather Booth founded the Midwest Academy in 1973. With Steve Max, the Academy's first trainer and current Associate Director.</p> <p>Heather Booth developed a curriculum to pass on the lessons learned in these movements, provide organizers with a political and economic context, and teach the skills necessary for effective organizing.</p> <p>The Academy's program was premised on building a network across many different kinds of organizations in which activists could share their experiences, develop relationships, and shape a vision not bound by the limitations of any one form of organizing.</p> <p>In its early years, the Academy trained many leaders of the women's movement. Here they found a place where they could be reinforced as organizers. As word of the training spread, both experienced and would-be organizers came, bringing diversity to each session that has allowed activists from all parts of the country to benefit from each other's experience.</p> <p>Over the years, the Academy has been instrumental in helping to build statewide coalitions in many states.</p> <p>Today, the Academy continues to provide training to these multi-issue, statewide organizations, as well as to numerous other groups, ranging from students to senior citizens and from neighborhood to national organizations.</p>
10	<p><b>Homes not Bombs (<a href="http://www.homesnotbombs.ca">www.homesnotbombs.ca</a>) is an all-volunteer, Ontario-wide coalition of people who use nonviolent direct action in an attempt to confront institutional and personal violence, seeking a transformative solution which results not in winners versus losers, but in a society which becomes more equal and loving, more just and compassionate.</b></p> <p>While much of our focus is based on campaigns which highlight the fact that Canada spends well over 900% more on war than on affordable housing, we</p>

	<p>act on the very clear links between militarism and poverty as well as the connections to sexism, racism, homophobia, classism, and all related forms of discrimination.</p> <p>Whether we are dressed as Santa Claus emptying toy store shelves of war toys. organizing long-distance walks to support the families of Muslim men facing secret trials in this country, creating a festival of life outside of a war show, trying to transform Moss Park Armoury into housing for the homeless, or occupying the entrance to the War Department, our actions and campaigns are rooted in three basic concepts: they are confrontational, they are transformative, and they are nonviolent in word and deed.</p>
11	<p><b>STAND UP and TAKE ACTION (<a href="http://www.standagainstopoverty.org">www.standagainstopoverty.org</a>) is the third annual Stand Up mobilization coordinated by the <a href="#">Millennium Campaign</a> and the <a href="#">Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP)</a> to coincide with the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty on October 17.</b></p> <p>Stand Up is a massive global mobilization and advocacy efforts to put pressure on world leaders to take action on poverty and to meet and exceed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).</p> <p>In 2006, for the first ever Stand Up mobilization, 23.5 million people Stood Up on one day in a massive and unique global call to action against poverty and inequality and set a new world record. In 2007, people in 127 countries took part in Stand Up and Speak Out and broke the record with a remarkable 43.7 million people taking part. In 2008, from October 17 – 19, people all over the world are called upon to Stand Up and Take Action against poverty and inequality and for the MDGs.</p> <p>The purpose of this action is to raise awareness of the (MDGs) and the root causes of poverty, and to publicly demonstrate to policy makers the growing global support for the achievement and exceeding of the MDGs and for the strengthening of development policies in both Northern and Southern countries.</p>
12	<p><b><i>Encounter Point</i> (<a href="http://www.encounterpoint.com/about/index.php">http://www.encounterpoint.com/about/index.php</a>) is an 85-minute feature documentary film that follows a former Israeli settler, a Palestinian ex-prisoner, a bereaved Israeli mother and a wounded Palestinian bereaved brother who risk their lives and public standing to promote a nonviolent end to the conflict.</b> Their journeys lead them to the unlikeliest places to confront hatred within their communities. The film explores what drives them and thousands of other like-minded civilians to overcome anger and grief to work for grassroots solutions. It is a film about the everyday leaders in our midst.</p> <p>For 2 years, the Just Vision crew followed the stories of ordinary people who feel driven to work for an end to bloodshed and occupation in favor of peace. We traveled from Tel Mond to Tulkarem, from Hebron to Haifa documenting the courageous, painful and moving stories of regular people who refuse to sit back as the conflict escalates. These civic leaders navigate suicide bombings and checkpoints to confront militancy on both sides, the wounded and apathetic masses.</p> <p><i>Encounter Point's</i> Israeli/Palestinian/North American/ Brazilian <a href="#">production team</a> of young women includes: director &amp; producer Ronit Avni (formerly of WITNESS), co-director Julia Bacha (co-writer/editor of the award-winning documentary, Control Room), producers Nahanni Rous and Joline Makhlouf, the first Palestinian female pilot. <i>Encounter Point</i> was edited in Jerusalem and Park Slope, Brooklyn, and features original music by Kareem Roustom, who combines classical Arabic melodies and instruments with traditional Jewish Klezmer to form a harmonious fusion that mirrors the subject matter.</p> <p><i>Encounter Point's</i> World Premiere was at the 2006 Tribeca Film Festival. The Canadian premiere was at Hot Docs, and the West Coast premiere was at the San Francisco International Film Festival, where it won the Audience Award for Best Documentary. <i>Encounter Point</i> has</p>

	<p>subsequently won the 2006 Audience Award for Best Documentary at the Rencontres Film Festival in Montreal, the Best Musical Score Award at the Bend Film Festival and the 2006 Spirit of Freedom Award at the Bahamas Film Festival. It has screened in Dubai, Jerusalem, Jenin, Gaza, Ramallah, Amman, Sderot and more than 150 cities worldwide. It recently appeared on CBC in Canada as well as on Al Arabiya, one of the largest Arabic satellite stations in the world.</p> <p>For DVD inquiries, contact: <a href="mailto:dvd@justvision.org">dvd@justvision.org</a>. For screening inquiries, contact: <a href="mailto:screenings@justvision.org">screenings@justvision.org</a></p>
13	<p>Famed abolitionist Frederick Douglass wrote, "Power concedes nothing without demand." <b>THE DEMOCRATIC PROMISE: SAUL ALINSKY AND HIS LEGACY (<a href="http://www.itvs.org/democraticpromise/story.html">http://www.itvs.org/democraticpromise/story.html</a>) is the story of ordinary people making demands for the power to govern their own lives.</b> Narrated by Alec Baldwin, the documentary examines both the history of community organizing - through the work of Saul Alinsky - as well as the current state of community organizing, as shown by contemporary organizations in New York and Texas. In a larger sense, <b>the program is about the restoration of American democracy through shared public participation in civil life - a vital antidote to an era of increased citizen alienation and voter apathy.</b></p> <p>The first half of the program focuses on Alinsky's techniques and philosophy, chronicling his work with three influential organizations: The Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, The Woodlawn Organization and FIGHT. Started in 1939 in Chicago's blighted stockyards community, The Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council was an organization comprised of neighborhood groups, small businesses and labor unions. By forming an unprecedented coalition between the Catholic Church and the Meatpackers Union, the Council was able to force several landmark concessions from the meatpacking industry. In 1959 Alinsky helped found The Woodlawn Organization on Chicago's south side, which brought the struggle for civil rights to the North and challenged Mayor Richard J. Daley's powerful Democratic machine. In the mid-'60s in Rochester, New York, the FIGHT organization took on Eastman Kodak over the issue of racial hiring, resulting in a series of impressive victories and a transformation of race relations in that city.</p> <p>The second half of the documentary looks at two contemporary "people's organizations", both members of the Industrial Areas Foundation (a national network of community organizations originally formed by Alinsky in 1940). These groups are employing the organizing techniques developed by Alinsky today. Organizing one of New York's most devastated neighborhoods to do battle with city administration, East Brooklyn Congregations are fulfilling their goal of building 1,200 new low-income housing units in their community. In Dallas, Texas, members of Dallas Area Interfaith are lobbying their state legislators to increase funding for an innovative public education program. The struggles and successes of both groups, as they take hold of their own destinies, reveal the power of Alinsky's pioneering work - still relevant for today.</p>
14	<p><b>The Second Edition of the Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict (<a href="http://www.elsevierdirect.com/brochures/violenceandpeace/">www.elsevierdirect.com/brochures/violenceandpeace/</a>) provides crucial and contemporary information about antagonism and reconciliation within both the public and private realms.</b> Reflecting upon current turmoil, this three volume set represents essential reading both for students and scholars working in the field of peace and conflict resolution studies, and for those seeking to explore alternatives to violence and share visions of social change.</p> <p><b>From the Foreword:</b></p> <p>Have you noticed how easy it is to read about war? Bookstores carry shelves of war books. Universities have departments and courses in war studies. The news, every day, is replete with war. When you compare the reams of material, which either glorify war or take a neutral stance on its legitimacy, it's enough to make peace-lovers weep.</p> <p>But don't despair. When we were fighting – peacefully – against apartheid in South Africa, people told us a racial conflagration was inevitable. Yet, when the struggle finally ended, peaceful means (such as various types of nonviolent sanctions) had played a much bigger role than violence in bringing about the change.</p>

We humans are made for peace, for harmony, for togetherness, for interdependence -- and I have no doubt we can and will achieve it. This Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, with its extraordinary variety of contributions from a range of disciplines and magnificent scholars from around the world, will help us get there. We see in this encyclopedia some of the best minds working to solve the problem of violence. When one reviews in these pages how much we really know about ending violence, it becomes clear that the dream of peace is closer than we imagine. This collection gives us much to celebrate and hope for, and much to do.

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**The *National Index of Violence and Harm (NIVAH)*, <http://www.manchester.edu/links/violenceindex/> was developed in 2000 by a team of researchers at [Manchester College](#). The goals of this project are to quantify levels of violence and harm done to people in the United States and identify trends over time. The initial version of the Index, spanning the years 1995-98, was released in December, 2000. The following links provide details on the construction of the Index and findings from the 2007 release (covering the period 1995-2005).**

- [2007 Index News Release](#) (PDF)
- [Project Overview and Findings](#) (PDF)
- [Variable Definitions and Sources](#) (PDF)
- [1995-2005 Numerical Summary](#) (PDF)
- [2005 Variable Detail](#) [1995-2004 Variable Detail](#) (PDF)
- Overall Index Graphic: [JPG](#) [PDF](#)
- [Variable Trends: 1995-2005](#) (PDF)
- Archives of Previous Releases: [2006](#) [2003](#) [2002](#) [2001](#) [2000](#) [1999](#) [1998](#)

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## **'Dirty War Index': New Tool Identifies Rates Of Prohibited Or Undesirable War Outcomes**

Web address: <http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2008/12/081216104317.htm>

ScienceDaily (Dec. 19, 2008) — Researchers have developed a new tool called the "Dirty War Index (DWI)" based on the laws of war, a tool which identifies rates of prohibited or highly undesirable ("dirty") war outcomes, such as torture, child injury, and civilian death.

The researchers, Madelyn Hsiao-Rei Hicks (Institute of Psychiatry, King's College London, UK) and Michael Spagat (Royal Holloway College, University of London, Egham, UK), argue that the new tool can help document, analyze, and prevent harmful effects of armed conflicts on populations. The DWI, they say, explicitly links these "dirty" outcomes to international humanitarian laws and exposes rates of unacceptable combat outcomes (high DWI values) from different weapons or combatant groups.

The DWI is a ratio and is calculated as: (number of "dirty" cases/total number of cases) x 100. The best possible DWI value is 0, indicating that the objectionable outcome is identified in no measured cases. The worst possible DWI value is 100, indicating that the objectionable outcome is identified in 100% of measured cases.

Hicks and Spagat give several examples of DWIs calculated for actual armed conflicts, such as a DWI that measures the proportion of civilian deaths in the Colombian civil conflict from 1988-2005. This DWI is calculated as (number of civilians killed/total number of civilians and opponent combatants killed) x 100. Using data from the Conflict Analysis Resource Center ([http://www.cerac.org.co/home\\_english.htm](http://www.cerac.org.co/home_english.htm)) on

unopposed attacks where responsibility for deaths is clear, they find that illegal paramilitaries killed 6,944 civilians and 41 combatant opponents, a DWI of 99; guerillas killed 2,498 civilians and 2,946 combatant opponents, a DWI of 46, and government forces killed 539 civilians and 659 combatant opponents, a DWI of 45. These DWIs for this conflict, say the authors, "show that paramilitaries are the 'dirtiest' in terms of proportion of civilians constituting their victims of unopposed attacks."

Any DWI rate above 0, they say, for prohibited actions or war crimes is unacceptable, and eliminating violations is imperative. DWIs for undesirable outcomes are less straightforward. "The highly undesirable outcome of civilian harm," they say "is not prohibited by laws of war if combatants do everything feasible to distinguish between civilians and military targets (the principle of distinction), if they attempt to minimize incidental harm to civilians, and if they intend to avoid harming civilians in excess of anticipated military goals (the principle of proportionality)." Nevertheless, they argue that high DWI values for undesirable outcomes indicate extreme destruction, signal the need for close scrutiny, and may suggest war crimes.

The authors argue that since DWIs give ratios, rather than absolute numbers, they "lend themselves to comparisons over time, between wars, between weapons, and between warring combatant groups to identify better versus worse performers."

Hicks and Spagat's paper is accompanied by two expert commentaries about the DWI, one that explores the public health uses and one that lays out statistical limitations.

Egbert Sondorp (Conflict and Health Programme, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, UK), who was uninvolved in developing the tool, says that the novelty of the DWI is "its expression of public health findings as a ratio, in combination with a link to a specific international humanitarian law." A whole range of DWIs can be constructed, says Sondorp, "from rape to the use of prohibited weapons to the use of child soldiers, as long as acts counter to humanitarian law can be counted."

In a second expert commentary, Nathan Taback (Dalla Lanna School of Public Health, University of Toronto, Canada), also uninvolved in developing the tool, examines statistical issues, feasibility, and interpretation of the DWI. Some of the statistical issues he discusses are the potential for selection bias (i.e. using a biased sample), the problem of missing data, and the problem of "censoring" (i.e. when the value of an observation is only partially known).

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#### Journal references:

1. Hicks et al. **The Dirty War Index: A Public Health and Human Rights Tool for Examining and Monitoring Armed Conflict Outcomes.** *PLoS Medicine*, 2008; 5 (12): e243 DOI: [10.1371/journal.pmed.0050243](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.0050243)
2. Taback et al. **The Dirty War Index: Statistical Issues, Feasibility, and Interpretation.** *PLoS Medicine*, 2008; 5 (12): e248 DOI: [10.1371/journal.pmed.0050248](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.0050248)

**developers, researchers, and volunteers with the goal of making world statistics available in a thought-provoking and time relevant format to a wide audience around the world.** Chief project coordinator is currently Sir Thomasson.

Sources are carefully selected to include only data published by [the most reputable organizations and statistical offices in the world](#).

The counters that display the real-time numbers are based on Worldometers' algorithm that processes the latest and most accurate statistical data available together with its estimated progression to compute the current millisecond number to be displayed on each counter based on the specific time set on each visitor's computer clock. Please refer to the [frequently asked questions](#) to learn more about the mechanism.

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**The Common Ground News Service (CGNews, [www.commongroundnews.org](http://www.commongroundnews.org)) seeks to promote mutual understanding and offer hope, opportunities for dialogue and constructive suggestions that facilitate peaceful resolution of conflict.** We publish and promote articles by local and international experts on current Middle East issues and the relationship between the West and Arab and Muslim communities. The service is a non-profit initiative of [Search for Common Ground](#), an international non-governmental organization (NGO), headquartered in Washington and Brussels, whose mission is to transform the way the world deals with conflict - away from adversarial confrontation towards cooperative solutions.



Launched in 2000 on the recommendation of key local, regional, and international media experts, CGNews targets media outlets, policy makers, scholars, think tanks and interested readers worldwide. Today, it has **24,000** subscribers, an active network of contributing authors and major media partners who regularly reprint CGNews articles and special series.

The CGNews board of editors comprises individuals in Amman, Beirut, Geneva, Jakarta, Jerusalem, Islamabad, Toronto and Washington, with extensive knowledge of the Middle East, Muslim-Western issues and a "common ground" orientation. The editors monitor local and regional media daily, looking for articles that:

- Provide constructive and solution-oriented perspectives;
- Promote dialogue and cooperation;
- Encourage peaceful and non-violent means to resolve conflicts and ease tension;
- Express constructive self-criticism;
- Highlight positive experiences between communities and nations that humanize the other and offer hope;
- Highlight organizations and people working for a better regional and global environment;
- Interpret information, events, polls and analyses in ways that encourage rational, moderate and positive thinking.

Each week the editors select five articles on the Arab-Israeli conflict and five on relations between the West and the global Muslim community to distribute through CGNews. The former are published in three languages, [Arabic](#), [English](#) and [Hebrew](#); the latter are available in [Arabic](#), [Bahasa Indonesia](#), [English](#), [French](#) and [Urdu](#), allowing different communities to read moderate and solution-oriented voices not normally available in their native tongues. As copyright permission is obtained for all articles, media outlets are free to republish them as desired.

In addition to its weekly distribution, CGNews commissions, with Al-Hayat and United Press International as its most frequent partners, special series on important topics such as: non-violence, the Arab Peace Initiative, the Geneva Accords, the Greater Middle East Initiative, the relationship between the Arab/Muslim world and the US/West, enlarging the window of opportunity in Israeli-Palestinian relations, the dynamics of public opinion, the role of women in US-Muslim relations, ijihad: interpreting Islamic law, religious revivalism in US and Muslim-majority countries, economics and Muslim-

	<p>Western relations and secularism. It also commissions articles from young writers for a "Youth Views" column.</p> <p>To date, CGNews articles have been republished over <b>7,000</b> times by over <b>1,000</b> different media outlets and websites including Al-Ahram, Al-Ayyam, Al-Hayat, Al-Quds, Daily Star, Ha'aretz, Ynet News, The Jerusalem Post, The Jerusalem Times, The Jordan Times, Middle East Times, The Jakarta Post, Agence Global, Le Courier International, United Press International, International Herald Tribune, The Washington Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the American Muslim, Partners for Peace, Faith in Public Life, Washington Post/Newsweek Online and The Guardian. With an expanding readership, this unique service is asserting a growing impact on opinion and informed debate in the US, Middle East region and beyond.</p> <p>CGNews was launched with funding from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Other funding for CGNews has come from the European Commission, the British, Canadian, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and U.S. Governments, the Arca Foundation of Washington, DC, the United States Institute of Peace, the National Endowment for Democracy, Rational Games and private donors.</p>
19	<p>Recent articles from Stephen Zunes (Professor of Politics, University of San Francisco):</p> <p>The first is about the recent ousting of the autocratic ruler of the Maldives, the South Asian island nation, in a <b>free election made possible by a nearly decade-long nonviolent struggle:</b></p> <p><a href="http://www.opendemocracy.net/india/article/stephen_zunes/maldives_nonviolent_conflict">http://www.opendemocracy.net/india/article/stephen_zunes/maldives_nonviolent_conflict</a></p> <p>The second article looks at how <b>a very mainstream international network of NGOs has begun to recognize that grass roots nonviolent action can be a more effective means of fighting endemic corruption than simply hoping that greater regulation and oversight alone will somehow make corporations and governments more honest:</b></p> <p><a href="http://www.opendemocracy.net/blog/stephen-zunes/2008/11/12/fighting-corruption-through-nonviolent-action">http://www.opendemocracy.net/blog/stephen-zunes/2008/11/12/fighting-corruption-through-nonviolent-action</a></p>
20	<p><b>New Tactics To Tackle Bystander's Role In Bullying</b></p> <p>ScienceDaily (Jan. 27, 2009) <a href="http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2009/01/090125193150.htm">http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2009/01/090125193150.htm</a></p> <p>— <b>A new psychodynamic approach to bullying in schools has been successfully trialed by UCL (University College London) and US researchers.</b> CAPSLE (Creating a Peaceful School Learning Environment) is a groundbreaking method focused more on the bystander, including the teacher, than on the bully or the victim.</p> <p>The study, published in the Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, shows that an easily implemented school-wide intervention focusing on empathy and power dynamics can reduce children's experiences of aggression in school and improve classroom behavior.</p> <p>Professor Peter Fonagy, UCL Clinical, Educational and Health Psychology, and lead author of the paper, says: "Bullying has an extensive impact on children's mental health including disruptive and aggressive behavior, school dropout, substance abuse, depressed mood, anxiety, and social withdrawal. It also undermines educational achievement and disrupts children's abilities to develop social relationships.</p> <p>"While school anti-bullying programs are widely used, there have been few controlled trials of their effectiveness. CAPSLE is a psychodynamic approach that addresses the co-created relationship between bully, victim, and bystanders, assuming that all members of the school community, including teachers, play a role in bullying. It aims to improve the capacity of all community members to mentalize, that is, to interpret one's own and others' behavior in terms</p>

of mental states (beliefs, wishes, feelings), assuming that greater awareness of other people's feelings will counteract the temptation to bully others. It also teaches people to manage power struggles and issues, both of which are known to damage mentalizing.”

The randomized study, working with 1,345 third to fifth graders (8-11 year olds) in nine US elementary schools, assessed the efficacy of a three-year program. In total, about 4,000 children were exposed to the study protocol. CAPSLE schools were compared with schools receiving no intervention and those using only School Psychiatric Consultation (SPC) where children with the most significant behavioral problems were assessed and referred for counseling.

Rather than simply targeting aggressive children, the CAPSLE program worked to develop mentalizing skills in students and staff across the wider school community, beginning with bystanders perceiving and accepting their own (unthinking) role in maintaining the bully-victim relationship through abdicating responsibility and making an implicit decision not to think about what the bully/victim is experiencing. The emphasis was on the need to understand rather than react to others and thus avoid the problems created by a regression into the victim, victimizer and bully. Poster campaigns, stickers and badges were used to create a climate where feelings were labeled and distress was acknowledged as legitimate, with the ultimate aim of changing the way the entire school social system viewed bullying.

In the first year of the study, teachers received a day of group training and students received nine sessions of self-defense. This training in martial arts with role-playing was designed to help children understand how they responded to victimization and how that victimization affected their capacity to think clearly and creatively. During the study, teachers were discouraged from making disciplinary referrals (such as sending someone to the principal's office) unless absolutely necessary, and classes were asked to take 15 minutes at the end of the school day to reflect on the day's activities. All classes would reflect on bully-victim-bystander relationships according to a structured format depicted in posters placed in all classrooms. Children would assess the extent to which they had succeeded in being reflective and compassionate. They would then make a classroom decision on whether or not a class banner should be posted outside the room to say that the classroom had had a good mentalizing day. The study found that children were much tougher on themselves than teachers would have been under similar circumstances

Over the course of the study, reports of aggression, victimization, bystander behavior and mentalizing were gathered twice yearly from classroom questionnaires completed by the children. Behavioral observations on a randomly chosen subgroup of children were made at regular intervals by observers who looked for 'off-task' and disruptive behaviour. The program was found to generate more positive bystander behaviors, greater empathy for victims, and less favorable attitudes towards aggression in CAPSLE schools. In these schools, fewer children were nominated by their peers as aggressive, victimized, or engaging in aggressive bystander compared with the control schools. This was confirmed by behavioral observation of less disruptive and off-task classroom behavior in CAPSLE schools.

CAPSLE made no attempt to focus on helping disturbed children individually or picking them out for treatment. It did not set explicit rules against bullying, nor did it advocate any special treatment for bullying children. Nevertheless, over time the study found that bullies came to be disempowered, initially complaining that the program was boring and should be stopped until gradually the social system tended to recruit them into more helpful roles. For example, a fifth grade bully who was "humping" the school trophy case to display his sexual prowess to much younger children became a helper of kindergarteners who were upset and helped them with tasks like tying shoelaces.

Over the course of the study, bullying increased across all the schools being monitored (no intervention, SPC and CAPSLE schools), but the percentages of children victimized were substantially larger in the first two types of schools from start to end. At the start of the study, 13 per cent of CAPSLE children were victimized compared to 19 per cent at the end. The increase among SPC children was from 15 to 25 per cent and from 14 to 26 per cent in the schools receiving no interventions. This school district had numerous socioeconomic problems over the course of the study, making the CAPSLE effects on bullying

more remarkable.

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**Journal reference:**

1. P. Fonagy et al. **A cluster-randomized controlled trial of child-focused psychiatric consultation and a school systems-focused intervention to reduce aggression.** *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 26 January 2009

*Adapted from materials provided by [University College London - UCL](#), via [AlphaGalileo](#).*

University College London - UCL (2009, January 27). New Tactics To Tackle Bystander's Role In Bullying. *ScienceDaily*. Retrieved January 27, 2009, from <http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2009/01/090125193150.htm>

21

**Restorative Justice and Peacemaking Circle Training  
for Schools, Community, and Justice Organizations**

**Cleveland, Ohio, February 25th – 28th, 2009**

Used in schools, corrections, and the community, restorative justice is a theory of justice that emphasizes repairing the harm caused or revealed by criminal behavior. Restorative programs create opportunities for victims, offenders and community members to meet to discuss the crime and its aftermath, expect offenders to take steps to repair the harm they have caused, seek to restore victims and offenders, and provide opportunities for parties with a stake in a specific crime to participate in its resolution. Peacemaking circles are one form of restorative process.

**Who Should Attend?** School personnel, school counselors, law enforcement, school based probation, juvenile courts, juvenile detention facilities, school resource officers, youth serving organizations, gang prevention and intervention workers, faith-based organizations.

**Credits Available:** Social Work, Counselor, RCH, CEUs, and Graduate Credit.

**Location:** Cuyahoga Community College – Eastern Campus, 4250 Richmond Rd., Highland Hills, Ohio 44122

**Instructor Biographical Information**

Kay Pranis, served the Minnesota Department of Corrections in the position of Restorative Justice Planner from 1994 to 2003, and currently serves as an adjunct professor at Simon Fraser University, Eastern Mennonite University and Southwest Minnesota State University. Kay served as a consultant, curriculum writer and trainer for the National Institute of Corrections, the National Institute of Justice, and the Balanced and Restorative Justice Project of the Office for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. She serves on the Board of Reference of the Conflict Transformation Program at Eastern Mennonite University and the Board of Directors of Living Justice Press, a non-profit publisher for restorative justice.

**Questions?** Call Global Issues Resource Center at 216-987-2231 or [Jennifer.Batton@tri-c.edu](mailto:Jennifer.Batton@tri-c.edu)

**To Register:** Please call 216-987-3075 and be sure to include the Course Registration Number (CRN) listed above, associated with the training or workshop you are interested in attending.

**An Overview of Restorative Justice and Peacemaking Circles  
A Training for Schools, Community, and Justice Organizations  
Saturday, February 28th, 2009 9 – 5pm**

This workshop will provide information on the implementation and evaluation of restorative justice practices in schools, the justice system, social services, the workplace and in neighborhoods. Attendees will learn about practical applications of these approaches and share new resources. Participants will learn the principles of restorative approaches and explore ways to use and adapt the practices in a wide variety of contexts including classrooms, youth programming, workplaces and the justice system. Restorative measures in schools are part of the whole school environment; restorative classroom management approaches fit well with on-going efforts, such as preventing bullying and harassment, teaching pro-social skills and discipline policies.

**Cost:** (CRN: 18774) \$50 includes all materials. Lunch on your own.

**Credit:** 6.5 Social Work, 6.5 RCH, 6.5 Counselor, and 6.5 CEUs available.

**Implementing Restorative Justice Circle Processes in Schools and Community  
Wednesday – Friday, February 25th – 28th, 2009 9 – 5pm**

Circle processes provide a way to bring people together to have difficult conversations, to work through conflict or differences and to build relationships. The peacemaking circle process is being used for decision making, problem solving, conflict resolution and community building in schools, neighborhoods, workplace, family and the criminal justice system.

This introductory training will explore:

- foundational values and philosophy of circle practice,
- ceremony and ritual of circles,
- conflict as opportunity to build relationships,
- structure of circle process,
- practical applications of circle process,
- initiating the circle process,
- challenges in circles.

Circles provide a way to enhance school safety by building community and connecting youth to adults and each to other in meaningful and practical ways. The Restorative Circle provides the school community with a way to help students who have been harmed while holding students who do harm accountable for violations without sending them away from education. Circles are used in schools to enhance teaching

	<p>and encourage accountability and care.</p> <p><b>Cost:</b> (CRN: 18775) \$150 includes all materials. Lunch on your own.</p> <p><b>Credit:</b> 19.5 Social Work, 19.5 Counselor, 19.5 RCH, 19.5 CEUs available. One credit hour of Ashland University graduate credit available for attendance at the completion of the three day training in its entirety, for an additional \$200.</p> <p><b>Questions?</b> Call Global Issues Resource Center at 216-987-2231 or <a href="mailto:Jennifer.Batton@tri-c.edu">Jennifer.Batton@tri-c.edu</a></p>
22	<p>Peace One Day is rapidly approaching the launch of our first USA Education Resource, designed to accompany the award-winning documentary, "The Day After Peace", and combine the medium of film with participatory education. <b>Peace One Day Education looks to combine participatory education with the medium of film and aims to empower young people to become responsible, active citizens and help them to understand that they, as individuals, can motivate positive social change.</b> The POD Citizenship Education Resource for Key Stages 3&amp;4 received extremely positive feedback and is now in 91% of Secondary schools throughout the UK.</p> <p><b>POD is looking for teachers who will trial lesson plans from our new Resource as participants in the POD USA Pilot.</b> It would be wonderful if you were able to help facilitate this, through either using the lesson plans yourself, or by asking a colleague or friend for their commitment. All teachers will be asked to trial two of the POD Education Lesson Plans (to be sent directly to you by January 5 2009) and will of course be sent a free copy of the feature length film, The Day After Peace.</p> <p>Feedback and evaluation forms will also be included as a part of this process, as well as a request for teachers to have a brief telephone call with our education team in the UK after the pilot. We are asking teachers to complete the two lesson plans within an eight-week time frame, culminating on February 27 2009. We are requesting that participants are responsible for humanities, arts or social sciences classes in grades ranging from 6 - 12. It would be great if interested participants could reply to <a href="mailto:education@peaceoneday.org">education@peaceoneday.org</a> with their name, school, school address, school type and classes they are responsible for.</p> <p>Please do pass on these details to teachers whom you think may be interested. A preview of the award-winning documentary The Day After Peace can be viewed at <a href="http://www.peaceoneday.org">www.peaceoneday.org</a> as an introduction to Peace One Day.</p> <p>Peace One Day</p> <p>E-mail: <a href="mailto:education@peaceoneday.org">education@peaceoneday.org</a>, Website address: <a href="http://www.peaceoneday.org">www.peaceoneday.org</a></p>
23	<p><b><i>Free On-Line Course: Managing and Resolving Conflicts Effectively in Schools and Classrooms</i></b></p> <p><i>Developed by the National Training and Technical Assistance Center for Drug Prevention and School Safety Coordinators, through a contract with the U.S. Department of Education's Safe and Drug Free Schools Office.</i></p> <p><b>Available at the Conflict Resolution Education Connection Website:</b>  <a href="http://www.creducation.org/resources/resolving_conflicts/">http://www.creducation.org/resources/resolving_conflicts/</a></p>

Let's begin with an obvious but critically important concept: teachers who must deal with frequent bullying, arguments, teasing, fighting, or other forms of conflict in or on school property have less time to provide academic instruction. An unfortunate amount of teacher time is devoted to conflict management in many schools; research suggests that between 35 - 60% of teacher time is spent intervening in and managing disruptive behavior. At the same time, teachers are challenged by an academic climate of high accountability and achievement for all students. Effective classroom and conflict management strategies and tools can make an essential difference. They create more time on task for students, support teachers striving to meet their goals and objectives, and minimize professional burn-out.

This course is designed to provide you with skills and techniques to manage and eventually reduce conflict in your school. We give you tools that will enhance your understanding of ways to manage and resolve conflicts effectively in school settings, improve the emotional climate in the school, and help you and other educators spend more time teaching.

Participate in this on-line course if you would like to do the following:

- Learn about in-school conflict management, review where and why such conflict occurs, and gain skills (for both adults and students) to manage, reduce, and work toward minimizing conflict.
- Explore the four basic program models in the United States:
  - Curriculum Infusion
  - Mediation Programs
  - Conflict Management as a Classroom Management Tool (e.g., Peaceable Classroom)
  - A Comprehensive Approach (e.g., Peaceable School Model that can help reduce and manage conflicts between and among adults and students in the school community)
- Review the research and evaluation tools available to help you monitor success and modify your plan to best meet your school's needs.
- Examine the key elements needed to develop a conflict management plan appropriate for your school and determine your next steps for creating plans for your school and district.

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**Managing and Resolving Conflicts Effectively in Schools and Classrooms** was developed by the National Training and Technical Assistance Center for Drug Prevention and School Safety Coordinators, through a contract with the U.S. Department of Education's Safe and Drug Free Schools Office. The work of the Center concluded on January 31, 2006; many of its products can be found at [www.k12coordinator.org](http://www.k12coordinator.org) and on [www.ed.gov](http://www.ed.gov). Thanks go to the following colleagues for their efforts:

Jennifer Batton, MA  
Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management

	<p>Columbus, Ohio  <a href="http://www.disputeresolution.ohio.gov">www.disputeresolution.ohio.gov</a></p> <p>Tricia S. Jones, PhD  Department of Psychological Studies  College of Education  Temple University  Philadelphia, PA  <a href="http://www.temple.edu">www.temple.edu</a></p> <p>Amalia Cuervo, MEd, LPC  Office of Safe and Drug Free Schools  U.S. Department of Education  Washington, DC  <a href="http://www.ed.gov">www.ed.gov</a></p> <p>Barbara J. Bazron, PhD  American Institutes for Research  Washington, DC  <a href="http://www.air.org">www.air.org</a></p> <p>Susan Gorin, CAE  National Association of School Psychologists  Bethesda, MD  <a href="http://www.nasponline.org">www.nasponline.org</a></p>
24	<p>The Roadmap for Peace (<a href="http://www.roadmapforpeace.org">http://www.roadmapforpeace.org</a>) is a set of principles and recommendations created by American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and other organizations to shape the foreign policy of our next administration.</p>
25	<p><b>Free Professional and Academic Networking Site in Conflict Resolution, Peace Studies, Human Rights, International Development, Gender, Civil Society Development, and more</b></p> <p>This is an invitation to join Peace and Collaborative Development Network (<a href="http://internationalpeaceandconflict.org">http://internationalpeaceandconflict.org</a>) , an online initiative to bring together professionals, academics and students involved in Conflict Resolution, Human Rights, International Development, Democratization, Social Entrepreneurship and related fields.</p> <p>The network fosters interaction between individuals and organizations around the world and currently has over 3800 members. The site is a terrific networking tool where you can find local and international partners and practitioners, share resources, read guides to careers, scholarships, internships, funding, and IT resources in the field, and exchange best practices. Discussion topics and personal blogs can be posted. The site also has a video section where members can access and view videos related to the field.</p>

	<p>Becoming a member is fast, easy and free. Please, take a minute to visit and explore the network.</p> <hr/> <p>Dr. Craig Zelizer, Associate Director  Master of Arts in Conflict Resolution  Department of Government  Georgetown University</p>
26	<p>Founded in 2002, <b>Living Justice Press</b> (<a href="http://www.livingjusticepress.org">www.livingjusticepress.org</a>) is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization whose <b>purpose is to publish and promote alternative works about social justice and community healing</b>. Every time we place one of our books into someone's hands—a student, judge, parent, business owner, or community activist—we provide a chance for that person's understanding of justice to evolve and deepen in ways that can be challenging or even life-changing. By distributing and promoting our books, we act as a catalyst for dialogue on more holistic ways of dealing with conflicts and harms.</p> <p>We publish books on restorative justice and peacemaking. Within this field, our concentration is two-fold: first, to promote the understanding and use of peacemaking circles as a means to deal with conflict in many different settings; and second, to publish the voices of those "in struggle" for justice. Our books seek to apply what we have learned about healing harms between people to the larger challenge of healing harms between Peoples.</p> <p>Publishers play a critical role in effecting social change, because they decide which books are available for use in college courses, community justice initiatives, trainings, law enforcement, and social service programs.</p> <p>At Living Justice Press, we have chosen to publish books that take the restorative justice dialogue to deeper levels by addressing racism, historic harms, and other conflicts between Peoples. To this end, we privilege the voices of those not otherwise heard.</p>
27	<p>Jarem Sawatsky has written the below book which is now available for purchase:</p> <p><b><u><i>Justpeace Ethics: A Guide to Restorative Justice and Peacebuilding</i></u></b></p> <p><i>Book Description from website:</i> People too often enter into conflict with an eye on how to resolve, manage, or transform it, thereby losing sight of the people involved and the end desired. Justice and peace too often serve as abstract ideals or distant shores. We have not yet learned enough about how these ends can also be the means of conflict resolution. Drawing on the imaginations of some leading peace and restorative justice practitioners, Justpeace Ethics identifies components of a justpeace imagination—the basis of an alternative ethics, where the end is touched with each step. In this simple companion to justpeace ethics, Jarem Sawatsky helps those struggling with how to respond to conflict and violence in both just and peaceful ways. He offers practical examples of how analysis, intervention, and evaluation can be rooted in a justpeace imagination.</p> <p>Below is all the information that you need to order a copy for your library. The book is currently on sale from the publisher for \$11.20 (US). You can order it here: <a href="http://wipfandstock.com/store/Justpeace%20Ethics%20A%20Guide%20to%20Restorative%20Justice%20and%20Peacebuilding">http://wipfandstock.com/store/Justpeace Ethics A Guide to Restorative Justice and Peacebuilding</a></p>
28	<p><b>The United States Institute of Peace is proud to unveil its new conflict management education and training program.</b> For more information email: <a href="mailto:education@usip.org">education@usip.org</a>.</p> <p>The U.S. military, ten civilian agencies, several international/regional organizations, and dozens of non-governmental organizations are devoting resources to post-conflict operations. However, these organizations vary widely in the training they provide, and no single entity offers joint training to reach the entire spectrum of practitioners, especially nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and international organizations (IOs).</p>

In addition to post-conflict work, the U.S. and the international community must work more effectively to staunch the outbreak of armed conflict and engage in effective crisis management and peacemaking when violence breaks out. Even less training exists for efforts in these areas.

A program is needed in which professionals from government, the military, NGOs, and IOs, as well as pre-professionals in the academic world, can come together and receive training on core conflict management skills, as well as best practices in conflict prevention, peacemaking, and state-building. To address this need, USIP is expanding its education and training programs to prepare practitioners to work effectively in conflict zones. Drawing on USIP's twenty years of leadership in the field of conflict management, these courses will complement existing academic programs in international security and conflict management.

Participants from backgrounds as diverse as education, the military, international organizations, the non-profit sector, and international development agencies will have a unique opportunity to enjoy a common learning experience. USIP's conflict management program will respond to both individual career needs and the ever-increasing demand for conflict management professionals.

### COURSE OFFERINGS

The courses offered through USIP's education and training center will include a mix of theory and practice, with a heavy dose of applied exercises, including case studies, simulations, and practical and small group exercises. In addition, each course will include participants from a range of intellectual and professional backgrounds.

An essential aspect of these courses will be distance learning—in time, all courses will have an online component to reach much broader domestic and overseas audiences. USIP's course in conflict analysis is already offered in Arabic, and will soon also be available in Russian, Chinese, Spanish, and Farsi.

### FALL/WINTER 2008-09 COURSE SCHEDULE

All classes held in Washington, D.C. No tuition or materials cost, unless otherwise noted. Participants are responsible for lodging and travel, including visas. Participants will receive certificate upon completion of course.

To Request an Application: Send an email to [education@usip.org](mailto:education@usip.org) with the title of the course you wish to apply to in the subject line. Qualified applicants will have a minimum of five years of relevant experience.

### CORE ANALYTICAL COURSES

#### Foundations of Conflict Analysis

Oct. 14-17, 2008

This course presents an introduction to the subject of conflict analysis, illustrating analytical tools used by practitioners through case studies and scenario gaming exercises on the Cuban Missile Crisis, Rwanda, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The course provides analytical tools for assessing local and regional causes of conflict, potential triggers for escalation, and opportunities for productive engagement by third parties in order to prevent or mitigate violence.

Prerequisite: Completion of USIP Online Certificate Course in Conflict Analysis: <http://www.usip.org/training/online/analysis.html>.

#### Preventing Deadly Conflict

Nov. 17-21, 2008

Participants will learn techniques to analyze emerging conflicts and identify opportunities for productive engagement by third parties to prevent or mitigate

violence. The course will examine long-term strategies for conflict prevention (e.g. development assistance and other economic interventions, human rights promotion, governance reform), as well as tools for preventing imminent violence or halting violent conflict in its initial stages, including economic and/or legal sanctions and the threat or use of military force. The course will also explore how to maximize the effectiveness of peacebuilding operations by enhancing cooperation with governmental and nongovernmental institutions at the local, national, and international level.

#### Introduction to Post-Conflict Strategies and Operations

Jan. 12 - Mar. 16, 2009 (two evenings per week)

This course provides students with a framework for organizing and implementing post-conflict peace and stability operations based upon the end-states that should be achieved. Students will understand the critical issues that confront post-conflict interventions in achieving each end state and the overarching leadership responsibilities involved in obtaining these objectives. This is a 'hands on' course for managers to all aspects of future peace and stability operations.

#### Institutions of Conflict Management and How They Behave

Mar. 16-20, 2009

This course covers the missions, cultures, operating procedures, and other essential characteristics of key international organizations, regional organizations, government organizations, militaries, and nongovernmental organizations involved in peace and stability operations.

#### Introduction to Peace Processes

Dates To Be Determined

The course focuses on the variety of strategies and approaches that can be employed to make peace in conflict situations. It will also cover operational aspects of peacemaking efforts, from engaging parties and promoting ceasefires to getting an agreement on track for implementation. This survey course will look at the wide range of approaches that can be taken in both track I and track II contexts. In this course, the range of peacemaking strategies, including negotiation, facilitation, mediation, arbitration, as well as more coercive strategies will be considered. Besides direct engagement strategies, the course will look at education, training, economic development, reconciliation and legal accountability efforts, and other approaches to peacemaking.

### STRATEGIC COURSES: CONCEPTS, TOOLS & SKILLS

#### Engaging With Identity-Based Differences

Oct. 20 - Nov. 19, 2008 (M/W 7-9PM)

In today's complex peacebuilding missions, civilian personnel and soldiers are routinely required to work with religious, ethnic, tribal, and minority communities. Identity-based conflicts rooted in ethnic or religious differences pose distinctive challenges for third-party mediators and other advisors. Parties to such conflicts often fear the annihilation of their group or their way of life, making them resistant to compromise or interest-based negotiations. The course will outline strategies for addressing these challenges, including countering hate speech and exclusionary policies, engaging religious and tribal leaders in peacebuilding efforts, establishing trust through intergroup dialogues, promoting educational reforms, and other measures.

#### Strengthening Local Capacity: Training, Mentoring, Advising

Nov. 3-7, 2008

A major task facing individuals engaged in complex operations is to build the local capacity of civil society organizations, the military, business groups, and government institutions. Well-versed as these practitioners are in their areas of specialization, they often have limited perspectives and experience in educating, training and mentoring others. This course covers the fundamentals of how to develop and transfer professional capacity in fragile states including: designing and implementing teaching and training programs; recruiting and engaging adult learners; establishing adequate and effective mentorship programs; understanding and accounting for political, social, and cultural specificities; facilitating cooperative relationships and collaborative

projects; understanding and managing expectations; coalition-building with local groups and leaders; and raising controversial topics.

#### Mediating Violent Conflict

Jan. 5-9, 2009

This course focuses on the objectives and methods of third-party engagement in peacemaking in interstate or intrastate conflicts. It provides an overview of international mediation in contemporary international conflict, focuses on building competence for practicing mediation, and situates mediation in a larger peacemaking or international affairs context. During the course, participants will examine: different types of intervention, including conciliation, facilitation, mediation, arbitration, and coercive measures; motivations and objectives in an intervention; means of assessing and promoting ripeness; assessing and strengthening their own institutional readiness to undertake mediation; coordination among the different third parties engaged in mediation; engaging reluctant parties; mediating in protracted conflicts; attributes and techniques of effective third parties; and best practices in support of successful third-party engagement.

#### Cultural Adaptability in Complex Operations

Jan. 5-9, 2009

Diplomats, military officers, and NGOs alike frequently cite lack of cultural awareness as a primary obstacle to success. Participants in this course will learn about and practice culturally sensitive communication; negotiating across cultures; understanding the scope and nature of cultural differences as drivers of conflict; identifying obstacles facing organizational designs and their cultural differences; interacting with local populations; incorporating culture into planning; and managing culture shock. The course emphasizes that it is equally as necessary to understand the implicit assumptions and cues behind one's own culture before it is possible to become truly aware of, or sensitive to, other cultures.

#### Leading Teams in Conflict Environments \*

Jan. 12 - Mar. 16, 2009 (two evenings per week)

This course is tailored for student from different institutional backgrounds expecting to lead teams in the field. Working in conflict and crisis environments, personnel are often thrown into chaotic, ambiguous situations, where responding institutions often work at cross-purposes. Yet, increasingly, coordination and decision-making authority is being delegated to operators in the field. The goals of the course are to help student understand core leadership functions critical to working in conflict environments, and to develop the skills necessary to implement them.

#### Negotiations from Checkpoints to High Politics

Feb. 9-13, 2009

Whether engaging in international diplomacy or responding on the ground to a local crisis, developing successful alternatives to violence requires a firm command of the practice of negotiation. This course provides a thorough conceptual framework to help practitioners structure their efforts in negotiation, with theoretical and practical investigations of: negotiation analysis and planning; negotiating styles; "hard-bargaining" versus problem-solving approaches; interest versus positions; building relationships for negotiation; value distribution versus value creation; development and use of leverage; cross-cultural negotiations; negotiating with the hard cases; and other considerations necessary to successful negotiation.

#### SECTORAL COURSES

##### Security and Protection in Fragile States

Dec. 1 - 5, 2008

This course will focus on the critical nexus between different security mechanisms for state reconstruction -- the military, intelligence, police, customs and immigration agencies. The course investigates opportunities for the development, implementation and evaluation of a security blueprint for both the policy and operational levels. The course will include issues such as the role of law enforcement organizations; broad-based security sector reform; police practices

and reform activity; stability police units; comprehensive enforcement of ceasefires; demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration of former combatants; protecting important sites, infrastructure, and evidence of atrocities; protection of the civilian population; secure national borders; and building effective security forces under civilian control. In addition, issues of legitimacy, accountability, cross-cultural training, capacity building, corruption, the effect of the transfer of ideologies, countering organized crime and the use of private security companies will be explored.

#### Governance and Democratic Practices in War to Peace Transitions

Dec. 7-13, 2008

Establishing best practices in governance in countries damaged by war and internal conflict and building environments in which democratic practices can take root is difficult, but essential. The need to support and strengthen effective and legitimate executive institutions; develop legitimate systems of political representation; and create a robust civil society to include traditionally marginalized groups is necessary in order to establish the foundation of an open and stable society. How can this be achieved in states that have collapsed? This course will distill lessons learned, and importantly analyze current troubled areas around the world in order to develop effective and practical strategies in building governance and democratic practices in war-to-peace transitions.

#### Rule of Law Practitioners Course

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Catering to the needs of practitioners of all levels of experience looking to build or refine their knowledge and skills, this course offers a comprehensive introduction to rule of law promotion in fragile and post-conflict state. Topics covered will include: reforming justice institutions (courts, prisons, prosecution, police and defense), law reform, constitution-making, transitional justice, customary justice, legal empowerment and rule of law program management.

#### Economics and Conflict

Jan. 26-30, 2009

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\* These courses are offered for credit through The George Washington University. Standard University tuition and fees apply.

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Senior Program Officer

	Education & Training Center/Domestic United States Institute of Peace
29	<p><i>The First Report to the Nation on Youth Courts and Teen Courts, The 15 Year Update 1993 to 2008</i> is now available at <a href="http://www.CREducation.org">www.CREducation.org</a></p> <p>This national report documents significant highlights and events over a fifteen (15) year period of growth. This American juvenile justice prevention and intervention program utilizes volunteer youth to help sentence their peers. The report begins in 1993, when fewer than seventy-five (75) local youth and teen courts existed in just about a dozen states. The report concludes fifteen (15) years later in 2008, when more than 1,000 local communities in 48 states and the District of Columbia now operate these local juvenile justice programs. Historic numbers of youth and adults are now involved, as more than 111,868 juvenile cases were referred to local youth and teen courts and more than 133,832 volunteers – to include both youth and adults who volunteered to help with the disposition and sentencing of these juvenile cases. The report is written and researched by Scott Bernard Peterson and Jill Beres.</p> <p>The report can be downloaded at no charge by logging on to <a href="http://www.CREducation.org">www.CREducation.org</a></p>
30	<p><b>"Learning to Live Together: Design, Monitoring and Evaluation of Education for Life Skills, Citizenship, Peace and Human Rights"</b>.</p> <p>This new guidebook moves from a review of national educational goals relating to learning to live together, to the delineation of a curriculum framework covering the basic competencies involved (interpersonal, intrapersonal, cognitive) and their application in various thematic areas - from personal conflict resolution, to human rights and participation in civic life and peacebuilding. This framework can be adapted for program design or for design of monitoring and evaluation schemas. The guidebook also covers evaluation of teaching methodologies and textbook preparation in this area. The tool (especially Box 4.5) can be used for textbook analysis, to guide preparation of interview schedules for assessing learning and impact in schools and teacher training institutions or to structure analysis of the interview responses. Especial emphasis is placed on elicitive approaches to interviews and focus group discussions.</p> <p>The tool is the outcome of collaboration between UNESCO's International Bureau of Education and GTZ. Plans are in place for a trialing by the Sri Lankan Education Ministry's Social Cohesion and Peace Education Unit. It is hoped that readers of the Global HRE List will review the document and if possible trial it with their operational programs. Feedback to Margaret Sinclair (ma.sinclair@gmail.com) or Felisa Tibbitts, a co-author, will enable an improved edition to hopefully be prepared in 2009.</p> <p>The tool is innovative, starting from the premise that schools cannot cope with lots of separate and unrelated initiatives covering students' development of prosocial skills and their application in society as well as to civic competencies and rights awareness. It insists that all children and young people have the right to education covering the whole field of what UNESCO calls 'learning to live together' and what UNICEF and NGOs often call 'life skills', as well as the human rights education required under the World Programme and the principles of humanitarian law. The tool shows that elicitive questioning of students can help evaluate whether they have been given the range of concepts, practiced the range of skills and acquired the values needed for a peaceful and democratic society. The book's focus is on evaluation of program impact in fragile states but the underlying principles are of more general application.</p> <p>The PDF version of <a href="#">Learning to Live Together</a></p>

[http://www.hrea.org/index.php?base\\_id=104&language\\_id=1&erc\\_doc\\_id=4821&category\\_id=2&category\\_type=3&group=](http://www.hrea.org/index.php?base_id=104&language_id=1&erc_doc_id=4821&category_id=2&category_type=3&group=)

(Copy the URL into your web browser to access the document)

is now available in HREA's online Library. If you are interested in trialing the materials, please contact Margaret Sinclair for a Word version of the document, so that you can more easily adapt the formats to your own situation.

Best wishes,

Margaret Sinclair  
UNHCR/UNESCO (retired)

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### **Why Hawks Win**

By Daniel Kahneman, Jonathan Renshon

Foreign Policy

<http://www.foreignpolicy.com>

January/February 2007

Why are hawks so influential? The answer may lie deep in the human mind. People have dozens of decision-making biases, and almost all favor conflict rather than concession. A look at why the tough guys win more than they should.

National leaders get all sorts of advice in times of tension and conflict. But often the competing counsel can be broken down into two basic categories. On one side are the hawks: They tend to favor coercive action, are more willing to use military force, and are more likely to doubt the value of offering concessions. When they look at adversaries overseas, they often see unremittingly hostile regimes who only understand the language of force. On the other side are the doves, skeptical about the usefulness of force and more inclined to contemplate political solutions. Where hawks see little in their adversaries but hostility, doves often point to subtle openings for dialogue.

As the hawks and doves thrust and parry, one hopes that the decision makers will hear their arguments on the merits and weigh them judiciously before choosing a course of action. Don't count on it.

Modern psychology suggests that policymakers come to the debate predisposed to believe their hawkish advisors more than the doves. There are numerous reasons for the burden of persuasion that doves carry, and some of them have nothing to do with politics or strategy. In fact, a bias in favor of hawkish beliefs and preferences is built into the fabric of the human mind.

Social and cognitive psychologists have identified a number of predictable errors (psychologists call them biases) in the ways that humans judge situations and evaluate risks. Biases have been documented both in the laboratory and in the real world, mostly in situations that have no connection to international politics.

For example, people are prone to exaggerating their strengths: About 80 percent of us believe that our driving skills are better than average. In

situations of potential conflict, the same optimistic bias makes politicians and generals receptive to advisors who offer highly favorable estimates of the outcomes of war. Such a predisposition, often shared by leaders on both sides of a conflict, is likely to produce a disaster. And this is not an isolated example.

In fact, when we constructed a list of the biases uncovered in 40 years of psychological research, we were startled by what we found: All the biases in our list favor hawks. These psychological impulses—only a few of which we discuss here—incline national leaders to exaggerate the evil intentions of adversaries, to misjudge how adversaries perceive them, to be overly sanguine when hostilities start, and overly reluctant to make necessary concessions in negotiations. In short, these biases have the effect of making wars more likely to begin and more difficult to end.

None of this means that hawks are always wrong. One need only recall the debates between British hawks and doves before World War II to remember that doves can easily find themselves on the wrong side of history. More generally, there are some strong arguments for deliberately instituting a hawkish bias. It is perfectly reasonable, for example, to demand far more than a 50-50 chance of being right before we accept the promises of a dangerous adversary. The biases that we have examined, however, operate over and beyond such rules of prudence and are not the product of thoughtful consideration. Our conclusion is not that hawkish advisors are necessarily wrong, only that they are likely to be more persuasive than they deserve to be.

## VISION PROBLEMS

Several well-known laboratory demonstrations have examined the way people assess their adversary's intelligence, willingness to negotiate, and hostility, as well as the way they view their own position. The results are sobering. Even when people are aware of the context and possible constraints on another party's behavior, they often do not factor it in when assessing the other side's motives.

Yet, people still assume that outside observers grasp the constraints on their own behavior. With armies on high alert, it's an instinct that leaders can ill afford to ignore.

Imagine, for example, that you have been placed in a room and asked to watch a series of student speeches on the policies of Venezuelan leader Hugo Chávez. You've been told in advance that the students were assigned the task of either attacking or supporting Chávez and had no choice in the matter. Now, suppose that you are then asked to assess the political leanings of these students. Shrewd observers, of course, would factor in the context and adjust their assessments accordingly.

A student who gave an enthusiastic pro-Chávez speech was merely doing what she was told, not revealing anything about her true attitudes. In fact, many experiments suggest that people would overwhelmingly rate the pro-Chávez speakers as more leftist. Even when alerted to context that should affect their judgment, people tend to ignore it. Instead, they attribute the behavior they see to the person's nature, character, or persistent motives. This bias is so robust and common that social psychologists have given it a lofty title: They call it the fundamental attribution error.

The effect of this failure in conflict situations can be pernicious. A policymaker or diplomat involved in a tense exchange with a foreign government is likely to observe a great deal of hostile behavior by that country's representatives. Some of that behavior may indeed be the result of deep hostility. But some of it is simply a response to the current situation as it is perceived by the other side. What is ironic is that

individuals who attribute others' behavior to deep hostility are quite likely to explain away their own behavior as a result of being "pushed into a corner" by an adversary. The tendency of both sides of a dispute to view themselves as reacting to the other's provocative behavior is a familiar feature of marital quarrels, and it is found as well in international conflicts. During the run-up to World War I, the leaders of every one of the nations that would soon be at war perceived themselves as significantly less hostile than their adversaries.

If people are often poorly equipped to explain the behavior of their adversaries, they are also bad at understanding how they appear to others. This bias can manifest itself at critical stages in international crises, when signals are rarely as clear as diplomats and generals believe them to be. Consider the Korean War, just one example of how misperception and a failure to appreciate an adversary's assessment of intentions can lead to hawkish outcomes. In October 1950, as coalition forces were moving rapidly up the Korean Peninsula, policymakers in Washington were debating how far to advance and attempting to predict China's response. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson was convinced that "no possible shred of evidence could have existed in the minds of the Chinese Communists about the non-threatening intentions of the forces of the United Nations."

Because U.S. leaders knew that their intentions toward China were not hostile, they assumed that the Chinese knew this as well. Washington was, therefore, incapable of interpreting the Chinese intervention as a reaction to a threat. Instead, the Americans interpreted the Chinese reaction as an expression of fundamental hostility toward the United States. Some historians now believe that Chinese leaders may in fact have seen advancing Allied forces as a threat to their regime.

#### CARELESSLY OPTIMISTIC

Excessive optimism is one of the most significant biases that psychologists have identified. Psychological research has shown that a large majority of people believe themselves to be smarter, more attractive, and more talented than average, and they commonly overestimate their future success. People are also prone to an "illusion of control": They consistently exaggerate the amount of control they have over outcomes that are important to them—even when the outcomes are in fact random or determined by other forces. It is not difficult to see that this error may have led American policymakers astray as they laid the groundwork for the ongoing war in Iraq.

Indeed, the optimistic bias and the illusion of control are particularly rampant in the run-up to conflict. A hawk's preference for military action over diplomatic measures is often built upon the assumption that victory will come easily and swiftly. Predictions that the Iraq war would be a "cakewalk," offered up by some supporters of that conflict, are just the latest in a long string of bad hawkish predictions. After all, Washington elites treated the first major battle of the Civil War as a social outing, so sure were they that federal troops would rout rebel forces. General Noel de Castelnau, chief of staff for the French Army at the outset of World War I, declared, "Give me 700,000 men and I will conquer Europe." In fact, almost every decision maker involved in what would become the most destructive war in history up to that point predicted not only victory for his side, but a relatively quick and easy victory. These delusions and exaggerations cannot be explained away as a product of incomplete or incorrect information. Optimistic generals will be found, usually on both sides, before the beginning of every military conflict.

If optimism is the order of the day when it comes to assessing one's own chances in armed conflict, however, gloom usually prevails when evaluating another side's concessions. Psychologically, we are receptive not only to hawks' arguments for war but also to their case against negotiated solutions. The intuition that something is worth less simply because the other side has offered it is referred to in academic circles as "reactive devaluation." The very fact that a concession is offered by somebody perceived as hostile undermines the content of the proposal.

What was said matters less than who said it.

And so, for example, American policymakers would likely look very skeptically on any concessions made by the regime in Tehran. Some of that skepticism could be the rational product of past experience, but some of it may also result from unconscious—and not necessarily rational—devaluation.

Evidence suggests that this bias is a significant stumbling block in negotiations between adversaries. In one experiment, Israeli Jews evaluated an actual Israeli-authored peace plan less favorably when it was attributed to the Palestinians than when it was attributed to their own government. Pro-Israel Americans saw a hypothetical peace proposal as biased in favor of Palestinians when authorship was attributed to Palestinians, but as "evenhanded" when they were told it was authored by Israelis.

### DOUBLE OR NOTHING

It is apparent that hawks often have the upper hand as decision makers wrestle with questions of war and peace. And those advantages do not disappear as soon as the first bullets have flown. As the strategic calculus shifts to territory won or lost and casualties suffered, a new idiosyncrasy in human decision making appears: our deep-seated aversion to cutting our losses. Imagine, for example, the choice between:

Option A: A sure loss of \$890

Option B: A 90 percent chance to lose \$1,000 and a 10 percent chance to lose nothing.

In this situation, a large majority of decision makers will prefer the gamble in Option B, even though the other choice is statistically superior. People prefer to avoid a certain loss in favor of a potential loss, even if they risk losing significantly more. When things are going badly in a conflict, the aversion to cutting one's losses, often compounded by wishful thinking, is likely to dominate the calculus of the losing side. This brew of psychological factors tends to cause conflicts to endure long beyond the point where a reasonable observer would see the outcome as a near certainty. Many other factors pull in the same direction, notably the fact that for the leaders who have led their nation to the brink of defeat, the consequences of giving up will usually not be worse if the conflict is prolonged, even if they are worse for the citizens they lead.

U.S. policymakers faced this dilemma at many points in Vietnam and today in Iraq. To withdraw now is to accept a sure loss, and that option is deeply unattractive. The option of hanging on will therefore be relatively attractive, even if the chances of success are small and the cost of delaying failure is high.

Hawks, of course, can cite many moments in recent history when adversaries actually were unremittingly hostile and when force produced the desired result or should have been applied much earlier.

The clear evidence of a psychological bias in favor of aggressive outcomes cannot decide the perennial debates between the hawks and the doves. It won't point the international community in a clear direction on Iran or North Korea. But understanding the biases that most of us

harbor can at least help ensure that the hawks don't win more arguments than they should.

Daniel Kahneman is a Nobel laureate in economics and Eugene Higgins professor of psychology and professor of public affairs at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Jonathan Renshon is a doctoral student in the Department of Government at Harvard University and author of *Why Leaders Choose War: The Psychology of Prevention* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006).

The FP Debate: Should Hawks Win? Kahneman and Renshon weigh in Page 5 of 5 We sincerely appreciate the debate that our article seems to have stimulated. We'd like to take this opportunity to respond to the debate and clarify our argument.

As Matthew Continetti points out, the list of cognitive biases we described is by no means exhaustive. In our article, space limitations forced us to focus on only five biases (a few more if the fundamental attribution error and optimism biases are separated into their composite parts) and mention only a handful of experiments. We could have included several other biases—such as asymmetry of regret, pseudo-certainty, the certainty effect and loss aversion. They, too, all tend to promote hawkish behavior. We were only able to mention in brief a few of the numerous experiments that have been conducted in this area of research, and perhaps we failed to clarify the key point that the cognitive biases we examine have been demonstrated in contexts that have nothing to do with conflict. For this reason, they cannot be explained by invoking prudential arguments, for example, one's distrust of the enemy. We agree that suspicion can be wise, but note that there is a bias that tends to make people even more suspicious than they should be.

We do not claim that there is a deep-seated cause for the fact that these biases tend to favor hawkish behaviors. We don't believe there is a single hawkish "gene." Our more modest claim is simply that in situations of international tension and conflict, cognitive biases generally favor hawkish behavior most of the time. We admit there are murky cases: Munich and Chamberlain come easily to mind as possible examples of doves trying to avoid an unavoidable war. However, we believe that submission to threats is better explained by fear than by optimism, and that attempts to coerce the other side are more indicative of an illusion of control than attempts to appease a bully.

Cognitive biases, of course, are not the main explanation for the decision to go to war and the failure to make peace. Conflicting interests are real. And many other factors—including beliefs, values, and material constraints—can affect any given decision. Cognitive biases are not policy destiny by any stretch of the imagination. But there is reason to believe that cognitive biases may make starting wars easier than it should be, and ending wars more difficult and costly than it should be.

Lastly, we'd like to note that our article was drafted long before the current debate on whether or not to send more U.S. troops to Iraq.

Although an understanding of cognitive biases could be relevant to current strategic dilemmas, our piece was not intended to be read as an editorial on Iraq.

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## **How Does Right-Wing Media Craft Its Message?**

A BUZZFLASH GUEST CONTRIBUTION

by Drs. Neil Wollman and Abigail A. Fuller

The following presentation styles were gleaned from an observation of right-wing broadcast media over the months leading up to the 2004 election. (The principle sources were right-wing radio, the Drudge Report and Fox News web sites, and Fox News Channel.)

We use the term "presentation styles" here, but one could also call these "techniques," "strategies," or "propaganda," depending on your take on the intention of the media outlet. No attempt was made to differentiate between the media outlets in the type or amount of usage of these styles--nor was an analysis made of left-wing broadcast media for comparison purposes. It is difficult to judge the effectiveness of such styles in swaying public opinion, but certainly some of what was presented in right-wing media was picked up by mainstream media and so exposed more widely to the public.

**1. Highlight a quote from the opponent out of context from a speech or interview.** Comments made by Ted Kennedy opposing Bush's policy in Iraq, for example, were used this way. These and similar quotes were then used to paint the liberal establishment as strident Bush haters. Although Teresa Heinz Kerry is not shy about voicing strong opinions, specific quotes that cast her in a negative light were often repeated. This is a way to hurt her credibility and, indirectly, that of her husband.

**2. Use loaded terminology to describe a disliked program.** For example, use "death tax" instead of inheritance tax or "class warfare" to describe Democratic support of a more progressive tax to benefit lower-income Americans. ([George Lakeoff](#) has discussed this in his work on political rhetoric.) An accompanying tactic is to make repeated negative associations with key concepts or constituencies so that they conjure up negative feelings (as with "Liberal" or "trial lawyer").

**3. While attacking liberals, promote the idea that it is conservatives who are under attack or marginalized, whether you actually are or not.** (Thom Frank notes this in his bestselling book *What's the Matter with Kansas?*) For example, conservatives push the idea of a liberal bias in media, academia, and Hollywood. This keeps the focus on areas of real or apparent liberal strength, without acknowledging conservative or pro-corporate influence in major social institutions.

**4. Give coverage--and thus credibility---to right-wing groups and individuals with an overtly biased perspective, while granting some limited coverage to the liberal opposition.** Conservative media outlets used this style in covering the Swift Boat Veterans' slam of John Kerry. It can set the agenda of what issues get covered (even in mainstream media), while maintaining one's claim of objectivity.

**5. Attack people and their credibility, making them rather than the issue the focal point of discussion.** Right-wing media focused more on Kerry's character and personality rather than on his political record.

**6. Find some vulnerability in the opponent and make that the focus for evaluating him or her.** Pound away on that topic until the opponent is judged only in those terms. For example, right-wing media succeeded in painting John Kerry as a flip-flopper (even when the flip-flopping was exaggerated and numerous instances of Bush flip-flops were uncovered).

**7. To divert attention away from a liberal opponent's attack on a conservative position or individual, discredit widely one piece of their argument as a way of discrediting their entire argument.** Thus, conservative media (who were followed by mainstream media) gave extensive coverage to the Dan Rather/CBS plagiarism story. This quickly deflected attention from the larger

issue of President Bush's questionable National Guard record. (It also made journalists fearful of covering related stories in the future.)

**8. Accuse the opposition of doing the same underhanded things to you that you yourself refuse to acknowledge doing to them.** For example, although conservatives launched numerous personal attacks on Kerry, they loudly complained about attacks on the president by "Bush haters" (see the first point above). This also tends to make the attacks by conservatives more acceptable given that it is "really" the other side that is the problem.

By the way, a quick perusal of the rhetorical literature revealed that many of the presentation styles presented here were discussed in the section on "Propaganda Techniques" in J. A. C. Brown's 1964 book *Techniques of Persuasion, Propaganda, and Communication!*

#### A BUZZFLASH GUEST CONTRIBUTION

Dr. Neil Wollman is a Senior Fellow at the Peace Studies Institute and Professor of Psychology at Manchester College, North Manchester, IN. (now Senior Fellow, Bentley Alliance for Ethics and Social Responsibility; Bentley College; Waltham, MA)

Dr. Abigail Fuller is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Manchester College, North Manchester, IN.

In response, we received this message with further tactics employed according to this researcher.

Dear Professors Wollman and Fuller,

I very much appreciated your recent Buzzflash Guest Contribution. I've been studying the right's rhetorical style for quite some time now (as a layman). I'd like to suggest that in addition to the styles you discussed, I've noticed a few others that may be of interest to track. If you would like I can easily provide you with specific examples from right wing articles and blogs.

1. **Be the first.** The tactic is to be the first to escalate the emotional tenor of the argument and by the use of "hot button" code words and phrases, such as "infringement of my rights," "you are a bigot," and so on. This immediately puts their opponent on the defensive. I've noticed that most of these charges are projective. That is, a white supremacist will try early on in an argument to call his/her opponent a racist for refusing to respect the rights of whites.

2. **Expropriate liberal symbols and culture.** No one seems to have noticed this, including Thomas Frank, and yet it appears to be a conscious tactic. For a very long time, the right has, whenever possible, attempted to expropriate people, songs, and texts associated with liberals and the left. A photo of Franklin Roosevelt signing Social Security legislation appeared in a commercial advocating privatization. Daniel Drezner, a conservative commentator and blogger, claims that Reisman's famous article, "The Paranoid Style" describes those who oppose George Bush. Incredibly, even a Bob Dylan protest song was invoked to scold Democrats for opposing Alberto Gonzales <http://powerlineblog.com/archives/009136.php> There are many other examples. Among the effects this tactic has is that it dramatically narrows the intellectual/cultural space for opponents to draw upon. Rhetorically, it blurs the meaning of these icons and symbols and marginalizes liberals by stripping them of any unambiguously positive references.

3. **Conflation** Often, a conservative will write as if the words "liberal" and "socialist" describe the same politics. In the same article, or similar ones, they will claim that communism is identical with socialism. They will then use "liberal" as an adjective: "the liberal Democrat [sic] Party" which rhetorically brands all Democrats as communists, i.e., discredited enemies of America.

4. **Nit-picking** (combined with changing the subject.) A perfect example was the right-wing attack on the Killian memos. The subject was changed from Bush's dereliction of duty to a detailed discussion of typewriter fonts. All sense of truth was buried under the technical minutiae of the subject. Needless to say, the conservatives who began this were by no means expert on typography. When genuine experts examined the memos, nearly all the details pointed to as "clear evidence of forgery" were debunked. But by that time, it was too late. The entire Bush National Guard story was radioactive in the mainstream media.

5. **Flood the rhetorical space.** Pack a sentence with numerous falsehoods, misconceptions and biases so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to rebut them all within a reasonable time. For example (a hypothetical one, exaggerated to illustrate the technique): "Stem cell research, concocted and shamelessly promoted by the same Godless biologists that want to ban the Bible everywhere, has one and only one purpose, which is to kill innocent human babies." By the time anyone has corrected all the errors of fact, any conceivable audience open to persuasion has fallen asleep.

In any event, good luck with your research.

Yours,

Richard Einhorn

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