

Prof. Chester A. Crocker
MSFS 526
Spring 2010
Tuesday 2:15-4:05
ICC 202

INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION: STRATEGY AND METHODS

Syllabus and Readings

- Texts:
- 1.) I. William Zartman, (ed) Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques (rev edition, 2007)
ISBN: 978-1-929223-66-4
 - 2.) Chester A. Crocker, Fen O. Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds., Taming Intractable Conflict: Mediation in the Hardest Cases, 2004
ISBN-10: 1929223552
 - 3.) Chester A. Crocker, Fen O. Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds.
Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict
ISBN-10: 1929223609

Other Readings: Available on Blackboard or Web
Office Hours: Monday 3:30-5:00 or by appointment.
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Scope and Purpose:

This seminar explores the role of mediation as an instrument of conflict management and a foreign policy technique. Students will consult both theoretical and case study materials, and become adept at analyzing the suitability of diverse mediatory approaches and actors to concrete conflict situations at diverse stages of the conflict life cycle, using a five-phase model of mediation tradecraft. Adopting the mediator's perspective, they will address the challenge of how to design and conduct mediation as a form of third party intervention in violent international conflict. The course will identify and explore strategies and tactics used at different points to overcome obstacles to a mediated settlement in intractable conflicts. Mediation analysis exercises will be used to illustrate the perspectives of mediators and conflict parties, and to introduce the phased model of mediation strategy.

Course Requirements:

There will be two mediation analysis memos assigned (take-home papers, 20% each). Students will prepare briefings on assigned cases and participate in classroom discussion and in-class exercises. (20%) A final written paper (in memo format, 10-page max, due last week of class) will address a current peace process or a 'neglected' conflict (case to be selected from approved list). (40%).

I. THE FIELD OF MEDIATION

January 19

- scope and objectives of seminar
- mediation and the ‘field’ of conflict resolution
- mediation as foreign policy: a strategy of conflict management
- paradigms of mediation

Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 1 (required text)
- William Zartman (ed.) Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods & Techniques, “Introduction” (Zartman), Ch. 1 “The Conflict Resolution Field” (Kriesberg), Ch. 4 “Mediation in International Conflicts” (Bercovitch) (required text)
- Crocker, “Peacemaking and Mediation: Dynamics of a Changing Field” International Peace Academy website:
http://www.ipacademy.org/asset/file/153/CWC_Working_Paper_PEACE_MAKING_CC.pdf

Further Readings:

- Zartman, I. William and Touval, Saadia “International Mediation” in Leashing the Dogs of War (Ch. 25) (Blackboard)
- Slim, Hugo, “A guide to mediation: Enabling peace processes in violent conflicts,” *Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue*, 1 October 2007. Available at http://www.hdcentre.org/files/singapore_med_guide_LO.pdf

II. CONFLICT DIAGNOSIS: STEP I /CASE: KASHMIR

January 26

- mediation as strategy and the strategy of mediation
- Getting the diagnosis right: a framework for conflict analysis (hand-out)
- analyzing the parties and their interests (direct/indirect); their internal structures
- the ‘balance of forces’; role of military and other ‘balances’
- which third parties care? why? can this case be mediated? is mediation the answer?
- conflict shape and structure; shape of a possible deal; needs, creeds and greed
- case: (#1) Kashmir diagnosis

Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 5 (Required Text)
- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Grasping the Nettle, (Kashmir case -

- Schaffers) (Required Text)
- USIP, Kashmir Report from Oct 16, 2006 event, available at: <http://www.usip.org/resources/building-blocks-stumbling-blocks-prospects-peace-in-kashmir>
- Steve Coll, “The Back Channel”, The New Yorker, March 2, 2009 http://www.newamerica.net/publications/articles/2009/back_channel_1119_1
- Howard B. Schaffer, The Limits of Influence: America’s Role in Kashmir, Ch. 6, Ch. 8 (p. 180-92), Ch. 9, and “Kashmir Chronology” (Blackboard)

Further reading:

- Sumantra Bose, “Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace,” Survival, Vol.41, No.3 (Autumn 1999), pp. 149-171. (Blackboard)
- Dennis Kux, India-Pakistan Negotiations: Is Past Still Prologue? (USIP, 2006), pp. 49-65. (Blackboard)

III. MEDIATING ACTORS: TYPES, MOTIVES, ATTRIBUTES, AND RELATIONSHIPS

February 2

- The mediator as a “party” to the conflict – motives and interests (the spectrum of rationales for mediatory intervention)
- Attributes of successful mediators: issues of style, ‘trust’, ‘bias’, neutrality, commitment, and leverage
- The place of relationships, insiders, ‘partners’
- Relating the mediator to the case: who’s good at what and why?
- The variety of mediatory actors, their roles/instruments and sources of leverage

Readings:

- Wehr, Paul and Lederach, John Paul “Mediating Conflict in Central America”, in Bercovitch, Jacob. Resolving International Conflict: The Theory and Practice of Mediation. (Blackboard)
- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch.2 (Required Text)
- Cohen, Raymond, “Negotiating Across Cultures”, in Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Turbulent Peace Ch. 28 (Blackboard)
- Robert F. Worth, “Qatar, Playing all Sides, is a Nonstop Mediator”, New York Times, July 9, 2008: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/09/world/middleeast/09qatar.html?hp>
- Carnevale chapter 2 in Jacob Bercovitch, Studies in International Mediation (Blackboard)
- Rubin, Jeffrey, “Conclusion: International Mediation in Context” in

Bercovitch, Jeffrey and Rubin, Jacob (eds.) Mediation in International Relations. (Blackboard)

IV. DEVELOPING A STRATEGY: STEP II / Cases: Namibia-Angola, Western Sahara and Aceh/Indonesia

February 9

- Strategic implications of timing and ripeness
- Defining the agenda for negotiation
- Identifying sources of leverage: the power bases of mediation
- Grasping the negotiating history: lessons learned, what's missing?
- Sequencing the issues; identifying key ingredients of the settlement package
- Namibia-Angola (instructor case)

Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch 4, 5 (review), 6. (Required Text)
- Kriesberg, Louis and Stuart J. Thorson, Timing the De-Escalation of International Conflicts, Ch. 10 (Rubin) (Blackboard)
- Pruitt, Dean G., “Whither Ripeness Theory,” (ICAR Working Paper Number 25, 2005) (Blackboard)
- Chester Crocker, “The Time is Ripe”, Washington Post, March 20, 1991 (Blackboard)
- Aaron David Miller, “Start with Syria”, Washington Post, Nov 26, 2008 at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/11/25/AR2008112501885.html>

Case Readings:

- Crocker, “Peacemaking in Southern Africa” in Herding Cats (Ch 10) (Blackboard)
- Theofilopoulou, Anna, “The UN and Western Sahara”, USIP Special Report #166, July 2006, available at <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr166.pdf>
- Whitfield, material on Western Sahara case Chap. 6. (165-190) (Blackboard)
- Martin, Harriet, Kings of Peace, Pawns of War, Ch. 3 (Griffiths) (Blackboard)
- Aspinall, Edward and Harold Crouch, “The Aceh Peace Process: Why it Failed” (East-West Center, 2003) available at: <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/stored/pdfs/PS001.pdf>

****Take Home paper assigned; applying Steps I and II to a case TBD (due February 16)***

V. **INTRACTABILITY, OBSTACLES AND MEDIATOR READINESS:
Cases: Ecuador-Peru**

February 16

- Intractable and recurrent conflicts: what’s ‘hard’ about the hardest cases?
- Mediator ‘readiness’ – operational and strategic issues: resources, flexibility and mandates
- The multiparty mediation phenomenon: the pros and cons of ‘complexity’; is unity of action still possible? Is division of effort realistic?
- Case for presentation/discussion: Ecuador-Peru
- **TAKE HOME PAPER IS DUE**

Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Grasping the Nettle, Introduction and Ch. 3 (Zartman)(Required Text)
- Blum, Gabriella and Mnookin, Robert “When Not to Negotiate”, in Schneider, Andrea Kupfer and Honeyman, Christopher (eds) The Negotiator’s Fieldbook: The Desk Reference for the Experienced Negotiator (Blackboard)
- C/H/A, Taming, Ch. 5 (pp. 109-115) (Required Text)
- C/H/A Ch 12 “Two’s Company but is Three a Crowd? Some Hypotheses about Multiparty Mediation” in Bercovitch, Studies in International Mediation (Blackboard)

Case Readings

- Chester A. Crocker, Fen O. Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds., Herding Cats, Ch.16 (Ecuador-Peru) (Blackboard)
- Herz and Nogueira, Ecuador Versus Peru: Peacemaking Amid Rivalry, selections to be assigned. (Ch. 2-4 available on Blackboard)
- Tongeren, Paul Van, Malin Brenk, Marte Hellema, and Juliette Verhoeven People Building Peace, Ch. 21.5 (Ecuador-Peru) (Blackboard)
- Beth Simmons, “Territorial Disputes and Their Resolution: The Case of Ecuador and Peru”, (USIP, 1999) available at: <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/pwks27.pdf>

VI. **DESIGNING AND LAUNCHING THE MEDIATION MECHANISM:
STEP III / Case: Eurasia (Nagorno-Karabakh) and Sri Lanka**

February 23

- How the mediator gains access and becomes ‘interesting’ to the parties;
- Avoid ‘process traps’ and ‘precondition games’
- The varieties of mediation mechanism and structure: informal, formal and multiparty procedures such as “groups of friends”

- Cases: N-K and Sri Lanka (comparative case Namibia-Angola)

Readings:

- C/H/A , Herding Cats, Ch. 10 (review) (Blackboard)
- C/H/A, Taming, 5 (review) and 6 (Required Text)
- Whitfield, Teresa, Friends Indeed?, Ch. 1 and Ch. 8 (Blackboard)

N-K Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Grasping the Nettle, Ch. 11 (Eurasia, King) (Required Text)
- Conciliation Resources, Accord Nagorny Karabakh Project (brief essays by de Waal, Jacoby, Liburdian, Zulfukarov, Antonenko and Freizer) at: <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/nagorny-karabakh/contents.php>

Sri Lanka Readings:

- Martin, Harriet, Kings of Peace, Ch. 4 “The Straight Talkers” (Helgesen/Solheim) (Blackboard)
- Bose, Sumantra, Ch. 21 “Flawed Mediation, Chaotic Implementation” in Stedman, Stephen John, Rothchild, Donald and Cousens, Elizabeth M., Ending Civil Wars (Blackboard)
- K. Höglund and I. Svensson / *International Negotiation 13 (2008) 341–364* ‘Damned if You Do, and Damned if You Don’t: Nordic Involvement and Images of Third-Party Neutrality in Sri Lanka (Blackboard)
- Camilla Orjuela, “Domesticating Tigers: The LTTE and Peacemaking in Sri Lanka”, Bruce W. Dayton and Louis Kriesberg (eds.) Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding (Routledge, 2009) (Blackboard)

VII. ROLE OF NGOs, QUANGOs AND NON-OFFICIAL ACTORS IN MEDIATION / Case – Aceh/Indonesia, Middle East Oslo and Geneva

March 2-16

- A typology of NGOs and QUANGOs active in conflict management
- The interests, attributes and niche of these groups in mediation: the special challenge of ‘forgotten conflicts’ layering senior mediators, IOs and professionals
- Sources and limits of NGO/QUANGO effectiveness
- Grassroots and sectoral interventions
- Religious actors and reconciliation challenges
- Training and education as a form of mediatory intervention
- Workshops and “ICR”
- Cases: Aceh/Indonesia and Middle East Oslo phase and 2003 Geneva accord

Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Leashing the Dogs of War, Ch. 27 (Aall) (Blackboard)
- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Grasping the Nettle, Ch 5 (Chigas) (Required Text)
- C/H/A, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 3 (Required Text)
- Tongeren, Paul Van, Malin Brenk, Marte Hellema, and Juliette Verhoeven, People Building Peace, Ch. 6, 10, and 21 (Blackboard)
- “Not a Sword, but Peace” The Economist, July 3, 2008 and “The Discreet Charms of the International Go-Between”, The Economist, July 3, 2008. (Blackboard)
- Ronald J. Fisher “Interactive Conflict Resolution”, Cynthia Sampson “Religion and Peacebuilding” and Pamela Aall, Jeffrey Helsing and Alan Tidwell “Addressing Conflict Through Education” in Zartman, Peacemaking in International Conflict (Required Text)

Further reading:

- Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, Conflict Resolution in the 21st Century, Ch 10 (Nonofficial Diplomacy) (Blackboard)

Aceh/Indonesia Readings:

- Aspinall, Edward, Paper #20 “The Helsinki Agreement: A More Promising Basis for Peace in Aceh” (East-West Center, 2005) available at: <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/stored/pdfs/PS020.pdf>
- Morfit, Michael, The Road to Helsinki: The Aceh Agreement and Indonesia’s Democratic Development, International Negotiation, Vol 12 (2007) (Blackboard)

Middle East Readings:

- Aggestam, Karen, “Quasi-Informal Mediation in the Oslo Channel” in Bercovitch, Studies in International Mediation, Ch. 4 (Israel-Palestine) (Blackboard)
- Jan Egeland chapter 20 in Herding Cats
- www.geneva-accord.org and <http://www.geneva-accord.org/mainmenu/geneva-initiative-abroad> for textual resources

VIII. SHAPING THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE: STEP IV / Cases: Ecuador-Peru, Aceh, Sudan

March 23

- settling the past or settling the future; peace and justice issues
- how much to include in a settlement; what to settle?
- developing formulas: disaggregating issues, linkage
- Mediation exercise scenario and role assignments

Readings:

- Zartman and Kremenjuk, Peace vs. Justice: Negotiating Forward- and Backward-Looking Outcomes, Ch 14 (Blackboard)
- Alex de Waal, “Dilemmas of Multiple Priorities and Multiple Instruments: the Darfur Crisis”, Conciliation Resources, 2008 available at: http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/incentives/darfur_1.php
- Mark Simmons and Peter Dixon (eds.), Peace by Piece: Addressing Sudan’s Conflicts, 2006, (selection: Summary of CPA) available at: <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sudan/contents.php>
- C/H/A Taming, Ch. 7
- Exercise materials (Blackboard)

****Take Home paper assigned; TBD (due March 30)***

March 30

IX. EXERCISE CONCLUDES/DEBRIEF IMPLICATIONS AND LESSONS

- Settlement Strategies of the mediator and the parties
- Mediator tactics
- **TAKE HOME PAPER DUE**

X. ENDGAME STRATEGY AND POST-SETTLEMENT IMPLEMENTATION: STEP V / Cases – Middle East and Sudan

April 6-13

- The concept of a continuing peace process
- Sequencing security, political and others issues
- Sustaining the 3rd party role: leadership and parenting in peace processes
- How to institutionalize the peace process for implementation phase
- Cases: Sudan, Oslo/Middle East, Angola/Mozambique

Readings:

- C/H/A, eds., Herding Cats, Ch. 20, 22-23 (Blackboard)
- C/H/A, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 7 (Required Text)
- Elizabeth Cousens, “It Ain’t Over ‘til it’s Over: what role for mediation in post-agreement contexts?” at: <http://www.hdcentre.org/files/Elizabeth%20Cousens%20Post%20Agreement%20WEB.pdf>

Sudan readings:

- Conciliation Resources, Peace by piece: addressing Sudan’s conflicts

(2006) at: <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sudan/contents.php>
(excerpts to be identified)

- Martin, Harriet Kings of Peace, Ch. 5 (Sumbeiywo) (Blackboard)
- **The Negotiation of Security Issues in Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement**, by Richard Barltrop (HD Centre.org website)
- J. Stephen Morrison and de Waal Alex, "Can Sudan Escape its Intractability?" in C/H/A, Grasping the Nettle, (Ch 7) (Required Text)
- Sean Brooks, "Enforcing a Turning Point and Imposing a Deal: An Analysis of the Darfur Abuja Negotiations of 2006", International Negotiation, 2008 (Blackboard)

Middle East Readings:

- Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" Survival (IISS, London vol. 43 #3, Autumn 2001) (Blackboard);
- Daniel C. Kurtzer and Scott B. Lasensky Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace, (USIP, 2008, pp. 25-84) on lessons learned. (Blackboard)
- Shibley Telhami, "Beyond Resolution?" Chapter 15, Grasping the Nettle (required text)

XI. INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS and HYBRIDS AS MEDIATORS

April 20-27

- Pros and cons of RSOs as mediators; (O)AU, OSCE
- The UN: constraints and capabilities
 - Layered, composite and hybrid mechanisms
 - 'new frontiers' of mediation practice - hybrids, coalitions, process professionals
- Relevant cases: Middle East (Quartet), Cote d'Ivoire (France, UN, AU), HD Centre/Annan/UN in Kenya and Haiti (UN, OAS)

Readings:

- Chester A. Crocker, Fen O. Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds., Herding Cats, Ch. 4 (van der Stoel) (Blackboard)
- Bercovitch and Jackson, Chapter 5 "International Organizations" in Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-First Century (Blackboard)
- de Soto, Alvaro "End of Mission Report" (May 2007) pp. 23-34 and 39-45 (Blackboard)

Cote d'Ivoire Readings

- James Dobbins, et. al., Europe's Role in Nation Building: From the Balkans to the Congo, RAND Corporation, 2008, Chapter 5 (Cote d'Ivoire) (Blackboard)
- Eunice Dadson, "Examining the Role of Third-Party Mediation in Cote

d'Ivoire's Conflict: Peacemakers or Spoilers?", KAIPTC Paper No. 24, September 2008, available at:
http://www.kaiptc.org/upload/general/PEACEMAKERS_Final_Draft.pdf

Georgia Readings

- "Statement by Mr. Alexander Stubb, Foreign Minister of Finland, Chairman-in-office of the OSCE, in New York, September 26, 2008, available at:
<http://formin.finland.fi/Public/Print.aspx?contentid=137874&nodeid=41566&culture=en-US&contentlan=2>
- "OSCE 'failed' in Georgia Warnings", BBC, November 8, 2008, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7717169.stm>
- S. Neil MacFarlane, "The Role of the UN," A Question of Sovereignty: The Georgia-Abkhazia Peace Process, Conciliation Resources, 1999, available at: <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/georgia-abkhazia/un-role.php>
- Oksana Antonenko, "A War With No Winners", Survival, Vol. 50, No. 5, October-November 2008 (Blackboard)

Kenya Readings:

- See documents under: <http://www.hdcentre.org/projects/kenya> and <http://www.ke.undp.org/peaceandreconciliation.htm>
- "Kenya in Crisis," International Crisis Group, February 21, 2008, available at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5316&l=1>

Haiti Readings

- Michael Dziedzic and Robert Perito, "Haiti: Confronting Gangs of Port-au Prince" USIP Special Report 208, September 2008, available at: <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr208.pdf>
- "The OAS Electoral Observation Mission in Haiti: Chief of Mission Report to the OAS Permanent Council," July 13, 2000, available at: <http://www.haitipolicy.org/archives/Archives/June-August2000/oas9.htm>