

Prof. Chester A. Crocker
MSFS 526
Spring 2018
Tuesday 9:30-12:00
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.) Amy L. Smith and David R. Smock: “Managing a Mediation Process” (USIP, 2008: ISBN 978-1-60127-037-5
 - 4.) J. Michael Greig and Paul F. Diehl, International Mediation, 2012
ISBN-13:978-0-7456-5331-0 (pb)
 - 5.) Sumantra Bose, Contested Lands, 2007, **ISBN** 978-0-674-04645-0 (pb)

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 four-step 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. Discussions and exercises will be used to illustrate the perspectives of mediators and conflict parties.

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, briefings, and in-class exercises (20%). Each student will prepare one-page written briefs to be presented orally on at least one ‘primary case’ or ‘mini-case’ and one ‘mediation concepts’ reading. Available readings for briefing will be distributed to students in the first class meeting. A final written paper will address current challenges in mediation practice with reference to peace processes we have discussed in the course. (40%).

Assignment Dates:

- **February 20: Take-Home Paper Due**
- **March 27: Take-Home Paper Due**

Primary cases (all students to be prepared to discuss): Kashmir, Western Sahara, Cyprus, Syria, Northern Ireland, Middle East (Oslo and recent phase), Colombia, South Sudan, Philippines

‘Mini-cases’: Turkey/Qatar/Norway mediation, Aceh #1 and #2, Sri Lanka, Iraq, Kosovo, Basque-Spain, Libya, Mozambique (2013-16), Angola-Mozambique comparison (1990s), Nepal, Kenya, OSCE (Ukraine and Nagorno-Karabakh)

I. THE FIELD OF MEDIATION

January 16

- Scope and objectives of seminar
- Mediation and the ‘field’ of conflict resolution
- Mediation as strategy and the strategy of mediation
- Paradigms of mediation
- When is mediation the answer?

Readings: Please READ AHEAD in preparation for first class!

- Zartman, I. William ed., Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods & Techniques, (**Required Text**)
 - “Introduction” (Zartman)
 - Ch. 1 “The Conflict Resolution Field” (Kriesberg)
 - Ch. 4 “Mediation in International Conflicts” (Bercovitch)
- Crocker/Hampson/Aall, “The Shifting Sands of Peacemaking: Challenges of Multiparty Mediation” (*International Negotiation*), (Blackboard)
- Greig and Diehl, Ch. 1 (**Required Text**)
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Further Readings:

- Zartman, I. William and Touval, Saadia. “International Mediation” in Leashing the Dogs of War (Ch. 25) (Blackboard)
- Kriesberg, Louis and Bruce W. Dayton, Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution, Chapter 8 “Mediation in Conflicts” – pp. 215-234 (Blackboard)

II. CONFLICT DIAGNOSIS: STEP I /CASE: KASHMIR

January 23

- 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? Current status of the process (if any)
- Conflict shape and structure – what must be settled?
- Sources of leverage for mediation
- Case #1: Kashmir diagnosis

Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 5 (**Required Text**)
- Smith and Smock, p. 9-20; 31-36 (**Required Text**)
- Ikle, Fred Every War Must End, Ch. 4 (Blackboard)

Kashmir Readings:

- Bose, Ch. 4 (**Required Text**)
- Shashank Joshi, review essay of *Not War, Not Peace: Motivating Pakistan to Prevent Cross-Border Terrorism* by George Perkovich and Toby Dalton
- USIP, Kashmir Report from Oct 16, 2006 event (Blackboard)
- Coll, Steve, “The Back Channel,” The New Yorker, March 2, 2009 (Blackboard)
- International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Armed Conflict Survey*, “India-Pakistan - Kashmir” 2017 (Blackboard).

Kashmir Further Reading:

- “India-Pakistan Partition 1947.” YouTube. (link via Blackboard)
- Kashmir Timeline of Events, from the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Kashmir negotiation simulation (Blackboard)
- Insight on Conflict- Kashmir Conflict Timeline (link on Blackboard)

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

January 30

- Continue discussion of the framework: timing and ripeness; sources of leverage, variety of mediatory actors, their roles/instruments
- 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 networking capacity
- The place of relationships, insiders, ‘partners’
- Relating the mediator to the case: who’s good at what and why?

Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch.2 (**Required Text**)
- Greig and Diehl, Ch. 3 – (**Required Text**)
- Quinney, Nigel. “Culture Counts: A Diplomatic Perspective on Culture and Regional Conflict Management.” Rewiring Regional Security in a Fragmented World Eds. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall. United States Institute of Peace: 2011. (Blackboard)
- Beardsley, Kyle. “Using the Right Tool For the Job: Mediator Leverage and Conflict Resolution.” Penn State Journal of International Affairs. (Blackboard)
- Carnevale, Peter J. “Mediating from Strength.” Studies in International Mediation Ed. Jacob Bercovitch. Palgrave Macmillan: 2003. (Blackboard)

Small and Medium State Mediators

- Eralp, Doga Ulas, “Conclusion: Making Sense of it all: What is the future of Turkish Mediation?” from *Turkey as a Mediator: Stories of Success and Failure* (Blackboard)
- Robins, Philip. “Turkey’s ‘Double Gravity’ Predicament: the Foreign policy of a Newly Activist Power.” International Affairs 89:2, March 2013 (Blackboard)
- Kamrava, Mehran. “Mediation and Qatari Foreign Policy.” Middle East Journal 65:4, Autumn 2011 (Blackboard)
- Khatib, Lina. “Qatar’s Foreign Policy: the Limits of Pragmatism.” International Affairs 89:2, March 2013 (Blackboard)
- Store, Jonas Gahr. “Norway’s conflict resolution efforts – are they of any avail?” House of Literature, Oslo. 11 June 2010. Speech. (Blackboard)

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

February 6

- Operationalizing the Framework for Conflict Analysis
- Learn from negotiating history: master the brief and identify what’s missing
- Strategic implications of timing and ripeness
- Where to begin – the roll-out and quest for momentum/initiative
- Defining whom to include in peace process
- Identify sources of leverage to move parties; define the basis for mediator engagement and build relationships
- What is the mechanism for mediation? Change it or propose new one

Readings:

- Crocker, Hampson and Aall. Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch 4, 5 (review), 6.

(Required Text)

- Pruitt, Dean G. “Whither Ripeness Theory,” pp. 1-12 (ICAR Working Paper Number 25, 2005) (Blackboard)
- Zartman, I. William. “Negotiation as a Choice of Partners” PinPoints (Blackboard)

Southern Africa:

- Crocker, Chester A. “Peacemaking in Southern Africa” in Herding Cats, Ch. 10 (Blackboard)
- Aldana Escalante, Carlos. Transcript of Comments. Plenary Session of South Africa/Angolan Talks. New York. 11 July 1988. (Blackboard)

Western Sahara:

- Theofilopoulou, Anna. “Western Sahara: The Failure of ‘Negotiations without Preconditions,’” USIP Peacebrief, April 2010 (Blackboard)
- Theofilopoulou, Anna. “Ban’s Misstep in Western Sahara,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 28 March 2016. <http://fpif.org/bans-misstep-western-sahara/>
- Pham, J. Peter. “Not Another Failed State: Toward a Realistic Solution in the Western Sahara,” Journal of the Middle East and Africa 1, 2010 (Blackboard).
- UN Security Council S/2017/308. “Report of the Secretary General on the situation concerning Western Sahara.” 10 April 2017. http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2017/307
- UN Security Council Resolution 2285 (2016) [extending MINURSO for one year]. 29 April 2016. http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_res_2285.pdf
- Spector, Samuel J. “Negotiating Free Association between Western Sahara and Morocco” International Negotiation 16:1, 2011 (Blackboard)

Cyprus:

- Greig and Diehl. pp. 151-172: Peacekeeping and Cyprus (**Required Text**)
- Bose, Ch. 2 on Cyprus (**Required Text**)
- Annan, Kofi. “Opportunity beckons for peace, unity and EU entry: My plan for Cyprus,” International Herald Tribune, March 10, 2003 (Blackboard)
- De Soto, Alvaro. “Cyprus – Another false dawn?” International Herald Tribune 28 March 2008 (Blackboard)
- UN Security Council S/2016/598. “Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus.” 8 July 2016 (Blackboard) http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2016/598
- UN Security Council Resolution 2234 (2015) [extending UNFICYP until 31 January 2017]. 26 July 2016. http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_res_2300.pdf
- Congressional Research Service. “Cyprus: Reunification Proving Elusive (Blackboard).

- Council of the European Union. “Presidency Conclusions (excerpt)” 29 January 2003. (Blackboard)
- “Cyprus may have missed its last chance for reunification,” *The Economist*, 9 July 2017. <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21724899-collapse-talks-turkish-occupied-north-makes-deal-look-unattainable-cyprus-may?zid=307&ah=5e80419d1bc9821ebe173f4f0f060a07>
- Smith, Helena, “Cyprus reunification talks collapse amid angry scenes,” *The Guardian*, 7 July 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/07/cyprus-reunification-talks-collapse-amid-angry-scenes>
- Chigas, Diana “The Harvard Study Group on Cyprus: Contributions to an Unfulfilled Peace Process” in Lund, Michael and Steve McDonald. *Across the Lines of Conflict*. (Blackboard)

****Take Home paper assigned; applying Steps I and II to a case TBD (due February 21)***

V. Developing a Strategy (STEP II) CONTINUED: Cases: Aceh #1 and #2; Syria

February 13

- Application of the Framework to two more cases: Aceh and Syria (what could have been done to mediate the Syrian civil war)
- Mediator ‘readiness’ – operational and strategic issues: resources, flexibility and mandates; discuss ‘readiness’ in terms of cases discussed up through this class meeting
- Leverage and coherence

Readings:

- C/H/A. Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 5 (pp. 109-115) (**Required Text**)
- Smith and Smock, pp. 21-30. (**Required Text**)
- Crocker et al, “Securing Leverage in Current Conflict Negotiations: the Quest for Coherence in Turbulent Times” *St Antony’s International Review* 11:2 (2016) (Blackboard)

Aceh Readings:

- Martin, Harriet. “The Professional Maverick.” Kings of Peace, Pawns of War Continuum: 2006. p. 65-98. (Blackboard)
- Morfit, Michael. “The Road to Helsinki: The Aceh Agreement and Indonesia’s Democratic Development.” International Negotiation, 12, 2007 (Blackboard)
- Merikallio, Katri. Making Peace: Ahtisaari and Aceh, 2008 (Excerpts on Blackboard)

- Higgins, Noelle. "EU mediation activities outside Europe: The Case of Aceh." Strengthening the EU's peace mediation capacities. Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Nov. 2012. p. 45-52 (Blackboard)

Syria Readings:

- Crocker et al. "Why is Mediation so Hard? The Case of Syria" in Mauro Galluccio (ed.) (Blackboard)
- Crocker, "Syria's Crisis of Transition", *The National Interest* March-April 2013 (Blackboard)

VI. INTRACTABILITY AND COMPLEX MEDIATION MECHANISMS: LESSONS ABOUT TOUGH CASES: Friends Groups and Hybrid mechanisms. main case: Northern Ireland; mini-cases: Libya, Mozambique and Sri Lanka

February 20

- Intractable and recurrent conflicts: what's 'hard' about the hardest cases?
- How the mediator gains access and becomes 'interesting' to the parties
- Avoid 'process traps' and 'precondition games'
- The pros and cons of complex, multiparty mediation
- Friends groups
- Hybrid and chaotic models of official/non-official/multiple NGO mechanisms
- Primary case: Northern Ireland
- Mini-cases: Sri Lanka, Libya and Mozambique
- **Take home paper is due**

General Topic Readings:

- C/H/A. Taming Intractable Conflict, 5 (review) and 6 (**Required Text**)
- Whitfield, Teresa. Friends Indeed? Chapters 1 and 9. (Blackboard)
- C/H/A. "Two's Company but is Three a Crowd? Some Hypotheses about Multiparty Mediation." from Bercovitch, Studies in International Mediation (Blackboard)
- Crocker, Hampson and Aall. Grasping the Nettle, Introduction and Ch. 3 (Blackboard)

Northern Ireland Readings:

- Curran, Daniel and James K. Sebenius, "The Mediator as Coalition Builder: Georget Mitchell in Northern Ireland," *International Negotiation* 8:1 (2003). (Blackboard)
- Arthur, Paul "Multiparty Mediation in Northern Ireland" in C/H/A *Herding Cats*
- De Chastelain, John, "The Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland" in C/H/A *Herding Cats*.

Sri Lanka Readings:

- Bose. *Contested Lands*, Ch. 1 (**Required Text**)
- Groeneveld-Savisaar, Maria and Sinisa Vukovic. “Terror, Muscle, and Negotiation: Failure of Multiparty Mediation in Sri Lanka.” in I. William Zartman and Guy Olivier Faure eds., Engaging Extremists. USIP, 2011 (Blackboard)
- Martin, Harriet. “The Straight Talkers.” Kings of Peace, Pawns of War Continuum: 2006. p. 100-130. (Blackboard)
- Sri Lanka profile - Timeline (Blackboard)

Mozambique Readings:

- Manning, Carrie, “Can Mozambique’s Latest Attempt at Peace Succeed?” *World Politics Review*, March 24, 2017.
- Frey, Adrian, “President Nyusi announces end of international mediation in peace talks - Mozambique,” *Club of Mozambique*, February 3, 2017. <http://clubofmozambique.com/news/president-nyusi-announces-end-international-mediation-peace-talks-mozambique/>

Libya Readings:

- Manning, Carrie, “Can Mozambique’s Latest Attempt at Peace Succeed?” *World Politics Review*, March 24, 2017.
- Fishman, Ben “The UN Action Plan for Libya” (WINEP, October 2017) at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-un-action-plan-for-libya-prospects-and-challenges>
- Oxford Analytica, “Disjointed Initiatives to Hobble Libya Peace Progress,” 22 September 2017. (Blackboard)
- Oxford Analytica, “Libya Conflict Hangs in the Balance,” 10 November 2016. (Blackboard).
- Oxford Analytica, “Competing Libya Dialogues could Deepen Divisions” 20 January, 2017. (Blackboard)

VII-VIII. ROLE OF NGOs, QUANGOs AND NON-OFFICIAL ACTORS IN MEDIATION / Cases – Middle East (non-official Oslo, track 2 and Geneva) and mini-cases of facilitation

February 27 and March 13 (Spring Break is March 3-11)

- Interests, attributes, impact and limits of NGOs and QUANGOs active in conflict management
- Special challenges of ‘forgotten conflicts’
- Religious interventions
- Women in mediation: growing and broadening the field
- Facilitated dialogue, training and education as a form of mediatory intervention
- Workshops and “ICR”
- Primary case: Middle East Oslo phase and 2003 Geneva accord

- Mini-cases of facilitated dialogue (Kosovo, Iraq - USIP); Basque Track 2 (HD and others), Nepal.

February 27

- Varieties of non-official third parties, NGO assets, liabilities, and types of tradecraft
- Mini-cases: Kosovo, Iraq, Basque-Spain

General Topic Readings:

- C/H/A. Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 3 (**Required Text**)
- Smith and Smock, pp. 51-54 (**Required Text**)
- Zartman, I. William. Peacemaking in International Conflict (**Required Text**):
 - Cynthia Sampson, “Religion and Peacebuilding”
- Aall, Pamela Ch. 27 in Crocker, Hampson and Aall. Leashing the Dogs of War, (Blackboard)
- Paffenholz, Thania. “Civil Society and Conflict Management”: (Chapter 20 in C/H/A *Adrift* textbook scan for Blackboard)

Further Readings:

- Bercovitch, Jacob and Richard Jackson. Conflict Resolution in the 21st Century. Ch. 10: “Nonofficial Diplomacy” (Blackboard)
- Tongeren, Paul Van, Malin Brenk, Marte Hellema, and Juliette Verhoeven, eds. People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005. (Blackboard)
 - Ch. 10: Johnson, Douglas: “Faith-Based Organizations: The Religious Dimensions of Peacebuilding.”
- Conciliation Resources. “Women Building Peace.” Accord Insight 2013. p. 9-16, and cases on Northern Ireland, Uganda and Aceh (Blackboard)
- Klein, Roohia S., “The Role of Women in Mediation and Conflict Resolution: Lessons for UN Security Council Resolution 1325,” in *Washington & Lee Journal of Civil Rights and Social Justice*, Vol. 8, Issue 2, (2012), 277-310. (Blackboard)
- De Langis, Theresa, “Across Conflict Lines: Women Mediating for Peace,” Institute for Inclusive Security (2011). (Blackboard)

Iraq Reading:

- Barber, Rusty. “Iraq: Peace Initiative in the Triangle of Death” in David Smock and Daniel Serwer (eds.) Facilitating Dialogue: USIP’s Work in Conflict Zones, Ch. 1 (Blackboard)

Kosovo Reading:

- Serwer, Daniel and George Ward. “Kosovo: Promoting Ethnic Coexistence,” in David Smock and Daniel Serwer (eds.) Facilitating Dialogue: USIP’s Work in Conflict Zones, Ch. 3 (Blackboard)

Basque Readings:

- Whitfield, Teresa. Endgame for ETA, p. xiii-xxv, 1-22, 295-317. (Blackboard)
- “Spain and ETA: A Farewell to Arms.” The Economist, February 24, 2014. (Blackboard)
- “Spain struggles to exorcise Eta’s ghosts.” The Irish Times. October 24, 2015. (Blackboard) *
- Espiau Idoiaga, Gorka. “The Basque Conflict: New Ideas and Prospects for Peace.” U.S. Institute of Peace, 2006. (Blackboard)

March 13

Middle East Readings:

- Bose. Contested Lands, Ch. 5 (**Required Text**)
- Cohen, Stephen. “Intractability and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict”, in C/H/A/ Grasping the Nettle (Blackboard)
- Aggestam, Karen. “Quasi-Informal Mediation in the Oslo Channel” in Bercovitch, Studies in International Mediation, Ch. 4 (Blackboard)
- Textual resources: The Geneva Initiative (links on Blackboard)
- Kelman, Herbert C. “Interactive Problem Solving in the Israeli-Palestinian Case.” Paving the Way Ed. Ronald J. Fisher. Lexington: 2005. (Blackboard)
 - Zartman text: Ronald J. Fisher, “Interactive Conflict Resolution.”
- *Nepal Readings:*
 - Kirstin Yanisch, “Mediation in Nepal” Case Summary Paper (Blackboard)
 -

IX. SHAPING THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE: STEP III / Cases: Basque, Israel-Palestine, Colombia (settlement principles only)

March 20

- How much to include in a settlement formula; what to settle? the contents of peace agreements
- Principles and matched commitments
- Whom to include in talks? Talking to proscribed armed groups: choices and implications
- Cases; settlement principles in the Middle East; Southern Africa - review (1980s); Basque/Spain; Colombia
- Mediation exercise scenario distributed for discussion March 28

Readings:

- C/H/A Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 7 (**Required Text**)
- Smith and Smock, p. 55-60 (**Required Text**)
- Crocker, Lasensky and Lewis. “An American Jolt for the Middle East.” International Herald Tribune, 23 November 2010 (Blackboard)
- Remarks by President Barack Obama on the Middle East and North Africa (excerpt), May 19, 2011 (Blackboard)
- Zartman, I. William and Guy Olivier Faure, eds. Engaging Extremists.

- Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2011. Introduction. (Blackboard)
- Zartman, I. William. “Negotiation as a Choice of Partners.” PinPoints 33/2009. (Blackboard-Review)
- Whitfield, Teresa. “Engaging with armed groups.” Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, October 2010. (Blackboard)
- Hogbladh, Stina. “Peace Agreements 1975-2011: Updating the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset.” States in Armed Conflict 2011 Eds. Therése Pettersson & Lotta Themnér. Uppsala University: Department of Peace and Conflict Research Report 99, 2012. (Blackboard)

Colombia Reading

- Herbolzheimer, Kristian, “Innovations in the Colombian Peace Process”
-

Basque Reading:

- Bew, John, Martyn Frampton and Inigo Gurruchaga. Talking to Terrorists: Making Peace in Northern Ireland and the Basque Country. Conclusion pp 239-259 (Blackboard)

***Take Home exercise assigned;** Exercise materials on Blackboard in March 28 folder (*due March 28*)

X. EXERCISE DEBRIEF: IMPLICATIONS AND LESSONS FROM CASE

March 27

- TAKE HOME PAPER DUE

XI-XII. ENDGAME STRATEGY AND POST-SETTLEMENT IMPLEMENTATION: STEP IV

April 3-10

- The concept of a continuing peace process
- Sequencing security, political and other issues
- Sustaining the 3rd party role: leadership and parenting in peace processes
- How to institutionalize the peace process for implementation phase
- April 4: primary case Sudan; mini case Angola/Mozambique; April 11: mini- case Middle East (post-Oslo); primary case Colombia

April 3

Readings:

- C/H/A, Taming Intractable Conflict, Ch. 7 (**Required Text**)
- C/H/A, eds., Herding Cats, 22 (Anstee-Angola), 23 (Ajello- Mozambique)

- (Blackboard)
- Cousens, Elizabeth. “It ain’t over ‘til it’s over: what role for mediation in post-agreement contexts?” OSLO Forum 2008: Center for Humanitarian Dialogue. Background paper. (Blackboard)
- Mahieu, Sylvie. “When Should Mediators Interrupt a Civil War? The Best Timing for a Ceasefire.” *International Negotiation* Vol. 12 (2007), pp.207-228 (Blackboard)

Sudan Readings (CPA and post-independence of South Sudan):

- Knopf, Katherine Almqvist. “Ending South Sudan’s Civil War” Council on Foreign Relations Special Report, November 2016 (Blackboard)
- Goulty, Alan. “United we Stand, Divided we Fall – The Sudans after the Split,” Wilson Center paper, March 2012 (Blackboard)
- Conciliation Resources, Peace by piece: addressing Sudan’s conflicts, 2006. (Blackboard)-Selections: Chronology, Summary of the CPA, Negotiating Peace I and II, Mediator’s Perspective, the Three Areas, The Unexpected Oil Deal, the Limitations of Bilateral Governance
- McCormick, Ty “Unmade in the USA” *Foreign Policy* December 2013 (Blackboard)

April 10

Middle East Readings:

- Pundak, Ron. “From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?” Survival London: IISS 43:3, Autumn 2001. (Blackboard)
- Greig and Diehl. pp. 20-25 (**Required Text**)
- Hampson, Fen and William Zartman. The Global Power of Talk, p. 23-36 and 59-71. (Blackboard)
- Daniel Kurtzer et al, The Peace Puzzle: America’s Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011. Ithaca: Cornell University, 2013. p. 213-240 and 245-267 (Blackboard)
- Ross, Dennis, Gidi Grinstein, Hussein Agha, Robert Malley. “Camp David: An Exchange.” The New York Review of Books. 20 September 2001. (link on Blackboard)
- Thrall, Nathan. “Obama and Palestine: The Last Chance.” The New York Review of Books. 10 September 2016. (link on Blackboard)
- Kurtzer, Daniel. “Sleight of Hand: Israel, Settlements, and Unauthorized Outposts.” Middle East Institute, October 2016. http://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/PF24_Kurtzer_Israelisettlements_web_0.pdf

Colombia Readings:

- Kristian Herbolzheimer, “Innovations in the Colombian Peace Process” (NOREF and Conciliation Resources) June 2016: <http://www.c->

- [r.org/downloads/NOREF_CR_Report_Colombia%20Innovations_final.pdf](https://www.refworld.org/docid/4d9d9d9d.html)
- Encarnacion, Omar. “Colombia’s Failed Peace: Why It Failed, and What Comes Next.” *Foreign Affairs*, Oct 5, 2016. (Blackboard)
- Romero, Pete. “Uribismo: How Colombia Tamed 50 Years of Violence,” *InterAgency Journal* 3.1 (Winter 2012) (Blackboard)
- International Crisis Group, “Colombia’s Armed Groups Battle for the Spoils of Peace.” *Latin America Report No. 63*. 19 October, 2017.
<https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/063-colombias-armed-groups-battle-for-the-spoils-of-peace.pdf>
- International Institute for Strategic Studies, “Peace in Colombia and the ELN,” *Volume 23* (Blackboard).

XIII-XIV. INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS and HYBRIDS AS MEDIATORS

April 17-24

- Pros and cons of RSOs as mediators; AU, OSCE
- The UN: constraints and capabilities in mediation and crisis management
'new frontiers' of mediation practice - hybrids, coalitions, mediation support programs

April 17

- **UN focus on mediation and mediation support : envoys ; gender ; capacity building ; RSOs as mediators ; hybrid coalitions**
- Primary case : Philippines/Mindanao; mini-cases Kenya (HD Centre/Annan/UN/AU); OSCE/Ukraine and Nagorno-Karabakh

General Readings:

- Bercovitch, Jacob and Richard Jackson. Conflict Resolution in the 21st Century. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009. (Blackboard)
 - Ch. 5 “International Organizations”
 - Ch. 9 “Regional Task-Sharing”
-
- United Nations. “Strengthening the role of mediation in the peaceful settlement of disputes, conflict prevention and resolution.” Report of the Secretary General A/66/811, June 2012. **p. 3-19**. (Blackboard)
- Crocker/Hampson/Aall. “Collective conflict management: a new formula for global peace and security cooperation?” International Affairs, 87:1, 2011. (Blackboard)
- Mancini, Francesco and Jose Vericat. “Lost in Translation: UN Mediation in Libya, Syria, and Yemen.” International Peace Institute, November 30, 2016.
<https://www.ipinst.org/2016/11/lost-in-transition-un-mediation-in-libya-syria-and->

[yemen](#)

- Global Peace Operations review (excerpts pp. 91-94; 202-214;224-229) (Blackboard)
- “United Nations activities in support of mediation” Report of the Secretary General, June 27, 2017
http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport-Mediation-A-72-115%282017%29.Eng_.pdf - especially paragraphs 14, 18-21 and selectively 28-56 on varieties of ‘mediation support’.

Africa/AU/Kenya Readings:

- Chapter 11, and 142, and 18 (Nathan, Khadiagala.and Ero and Sangrajka/McGhie) from Aall/Crocker C/A *Minding the Gap: African Conflict Management in a Time of Change* (2016) (Blackboard)
- International Peace Institute. “A Choice for Peace? The Story of Forty-One Days of Mediation in Kenya.” August 2009 (Blackboard)

OSCE readings:Ukraine; Nagorno-Karabakh

- OSCE. “What is the OSCE?” (Blackboard)
- Brocking, Elisabeth. “Monitoring Moscow’s Victory.” *Foreign Affairs*, 24 March 2014. (Blackboard)
- *Minsk Monitor*. European Council on Foreign Relations. Review Minsk II timeline and commentaries by Wilson and Gressel (Link on Blackboard) *
- Hill, Fiona and Steven Pifer. “Dealing with a simmering Ukraine-Russia conflict.” Brookings Center on the United States and Europe. Oct 6 2016.
<https://www.brookings.edu/research/dealing-with-a-simmering-ukraine-russia-conflict/>

Nagorno-Karabakh Readings:

- Hopmann, Terrence and I. William Zartman. “Overcoming the Nagorno-Karabakh Stalemate,” *International Negotiation*, 15:1, 2010 (Blackboard)
- STRATFOR Global Intelligence. “Waiting for an Understanding on Nagorno-Karabakh.” 8 March 2017. <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/waiting-understanding-nagorno-karabakh>

Philippines/Mindanao readings:

- Hopmann, P. Terrence “Conflict Management in Mindanao: Negotiating the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro” (2013) (Blackboard)
- Herbolzheimer, Christian, “The Peace Process in Mindanao, Philippines” NOREF, December 2015 (Blackboard)
- Moss, Trefor “Embattled Aquino Struggles to Salvage Philippines Peace Deal” *Wall Street Journal*, February 26, 2015 (Blackboard)

April 24

Course Wrap up and continue discussion of UN priorities of S-G Guterres Africa Mediation and Conflict Management Challenges.

