INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION: STRATEGY AND METHODS
Syllabus and Readings

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
4.) J. Michael Greig and Paul F. Diehl, International Mediation, 2012

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)

Further Readings:

- Zartman, I. William and Touval, Saadia. “International Mediation” in *Leashing the Dogs of War* (Ch. 25) (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)

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)
• Beardsley, Kyle. “Using the Right Tool For the Job: Mediator Leverage and Conflict Resolution.” *Penn State Journal of International Affairs*. (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)

- 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)

**Western Sahara:**

- Theofilopoulou, Anna. “Western Sahara: The Failure of ‘Negotiations without Preconditions,’” USIP Peacebrief, April 2010 (Blackboard)
- 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).
- 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)
- De Soto, Alvaro. “Cyprus – Another false dawn?” International Herald Tribune 28 March 2008 (Blackboard)
- Congressional Research Service. “Cyprus: Reunification Proving Elusive” (Blackboard).
• Council of the European Union. “Presidency Conclusions (excerpt)” 29 January 2003. (Blackboard)
• 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)

Aceh Readings:
• 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:
- 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)
Sri Lanka profile - Timeline (Blackboard)

*Mozambique Readings:*

*Libya Readings:*
- 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)

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:
● “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) *

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)
  o Zartman text: Ronald J. Fisher, “Interactive Conflict Resolution.”
 ● Nepal Readings:
  o 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

- Whitfield, Teresa. “Engaging with armed groups.” Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, October 2010. (Blackboard)

Colombia Reading

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)
• 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)


Sudan Readings (CPA and post-independence of South Sudan):
- Knopf, Katherine Almquist. “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)

Middle East Readings:
- Greig and Diehl. pp. 20-25 (Required Text)

Colombia Readings:
r.org/downloads/NOREF_CR_Report_Colombia%20Innovations_final.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:
  - Ch. 5 “International Organizations”
  - Ch. 9 “Regional Task-Sharing”
- Crocker/Hampson/Aall. “Collective conflict management: a new formula for global peace and security cooperation?” International Affairs, 87:1, 2011. (Blackboard)
yemen
- Global Peace Operations review (excerpts pp. 91-94; 202-214;224-229) (Blackboard)

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)

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) *

Nagorno-Karabakh Readings:

Philippines/Mindanao readings:
- Hopmann, P. Terrence “Conflict Management in Mindanao: Negotiating the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro” (2013) (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.