

**MDIPS
Dip 878
International Mediation**

Contact details for lecturer

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Outline of the course

Day 1

Overview of academic questions and debates on international mediation, with focus on mediation bias and mediation leverage.

Day 2

The theory of conflict ripeness: How do we know when a conflict is ripe for resolution?

Day 3

Policy perspectives on international mediation: The UN, AU and capacity deficiencies.

Day 4

The political challenges of mediation: case study of African Union mediation for Darfur.

Day 5

Strategising for mediation and peacemaking: skills development through case study and role play.

Assessment

International Mediation has been designated the overarching research theme for the MDIPS third intake (2011/2012), and therefore this course forms an integral part of DIP 878 (Methodology of Diplomatic Studies). One written assignment will be required (see addendum to this guide), and will constitute the progress mark in DIP 878. The examination component of DIP 878 will be based on an individual research proposal for the mini-dissertation.

International Mediation

Mediation in violent national conflict has long been undertaken by the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), other multilateral organisations and individual states. In

Africa alone, over the past three decades mediators have laboured to end deadly conflict in Angola, Burundi, the Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

The stakes are very high in these situations: the success or failure of the mediation determines whether the country remains locked in strife or is able to embark on a path of reconciliation and reconstruction. In the case of Rwanda, the negotiations mediated by Tanzania in 1992-3 broke down and were overwhelmed by the genocide. In Kenya, by contrast, the mediation led by Kofi Annan in 2008 prevented a descent into protracted violence. In other cases, like the DRC, the results have been mixed, with both war and peace prevailing in different parts of the country.

Where mediation is successful, the content of the peace agreement has a major bearing – for better or worse – on justice, security, power, governance, respect for human rights and the potential for violent conflict in the post-war society. Mediation and negotiations are thus the bridge, sometimes tenuous and sometimes robust, between war termination and long-term peacebuilding and state building.

Despite its self-evident importance, however, international mediation has not been conducted and developed in a systematic and professional manner. Indeed, it has suffered from an acute lack of professionalism, expertise and rigour.

A comparison with the military is instructive in this regard. Like the conduct of warfare, mediation is complicated, volatile, unpredictable and risky. Yet unlike professional armed forces, the field of international mediation has placed no emphasis on training and education, on developing doctrines, strategies and operating procedures, on setting and maintaining standards, on appointments based on clear criteria and proven ability, and on learning from past experience in order to improve performance and avoid mistakes in the future. In short, international mediation has been regarded as synonymous with diplomacy rather than as a specialised activity.

Against this background, the International Mediation Module seeks to contribute to the professionalisation of mediation in Africa. The Module has the following aims:

- To develop an understanding of the key academic and policy debates regarding international mediation.
- To provide students with key concepts that are useful in analysing conflict and conducting mediation.
- To develop analytical and strategising skills for the purpose of mediation and other forms of peacemaking.

Themes

Overview of Academic Questions and Debates on International Mediation

- Key concepts and definitions
- The logic of mediation
- The role of the mediator
- Mediation styles
- The question of bias in mediation
- Mediation with or without leverage?

The Theory of Conflict Ripeness

- The key questions and implications regarding 'conflict ripeness'
- Zartman's theory of ripeness
- Stedman's refinement of the theory
- Kleiboer's critique of the theory

Policy Perspectives on International Mediation

- The view of the UN Secretary-General
- Common mistakes by mediators
- Lack of mediation expertise
- Bad appointments
- Relations between the UN, the AU and the RECs

The Political Challenges of Mediation

- Case study on AU mediation for Darfur
- The imperative of ownership
- From negotiation to implementation

Strategising for mediation and peacemaking

- Skills development through case study and role play: focus on conflict analysis skills and strategising skills

Reading list

Overview of academic debates on international mediation

Essential reading

Kleiboer, M. 1996, 'Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 360-389

Additional readings

Svensson, I., 2007, 'Bargaining, Bias and Peace Brokers: How Rebels Commit to Peace', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 177-194

Zartman, I.W. and Touval, S., 2007, 'International Mediation', in Crocker, C.A, Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P. (eds), *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*, Washington DC: US Institute for Peace, pp. 437-454

The theory of conflict ripeness

Essential readings

Zartman, I.W., 2001, 'The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments', *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, vol. 1, no. 1

Kleiboer, M., 1994, 'Ripeness of Conflict: A Fruitful Notion?', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 31, no. 1

Additional readings

Stedman, S., 1991, *Peacemaking in Civil War: International Mediation in Zimbabwe, 1974-1980*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner

Zartman, I.W., 1989, *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, Oxford University Press

Contemporary policy perspectives on international mediation

Essential readings

United Nations Security Council, 2009, 'Report of the Secretary-General on Enhancing Mediation and Its Support Activities', *UN document S/2009/189*, 8 April

Brahimi, L. and Ahmed, S., 2008, *In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation*, Center on International Cooperation, New York University

Additional readings

'Draft Guidelines on UN-AU Mediation Partnerships', June 2010

The challenges of mediation

Essential reading

Nathan, L., 2006, 'No Ownership, No Peace: The Darfur Peace Agreement', *Working Paper*, series 2, no. 5, Crisis States Research Centre

Additional readings

Bradbury, M., and Healy, S. (eds), 2010, 'Whose Peace Is It Anyway? Connecting Somali and International Peacemaking', *ACCORD Series*, no. 21, Conciliation Resources

Crocker, C.A, Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P. (eds), 1999, *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*, Washington DC: US Institute for Peace

Crocker, C.A, Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P., 2005, *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases*, Washington DC: US Institute for Peace

Hume, C., 1994, *Ending Mozambique's War*, Washington DC: US Institute for Peace