Index

Abkhazia separatist region, 57
Adams, Gerry, 77, 135, 143, 178
Adebajo, Adekeye, 60
Afghanistan, conflict in, 35–36, 46–47, 54–55, 80
Africa
  peace settlements in, 179
  proxy wars in, 67
  strategic value of after Cold War, 60, 68
African National Congress, 177
Ahtisaari, Martti, 108
Ajello, Aldo, 75
allies, in postsettlement phase, 167–168
American Friends Service Committee, 75
Angola
  conflict in, 66, 76, 85, 94, 127–128
  Cuban involvement in, 36, 40, 127, 174
  implementation of Bicesse Accords in, 66, 124–125, 173–174
  settlement implementation, 173–174, 179–180
  UN in, 127
Annan, Kofi, 66
Anstee, Margaret, 66, 125–125
Arafat, Yasser, 179
Argentina
  in Ecuador-Peru border conflict, 145–146
  in Falkland Islands/Malvinas dispute, 129–130
Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 110, 180
"armalite and the ballot box" problem, 87–88
Armenian diaspora, in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, 180–181
Arthur, Paul, 82, 87, 155, 145
Arusha accords (1993), 61
Australia
  in Bougainville conflict, 138, 142
  East Timor peace enforcement operation, 170
Azerbaijan, 57, 181

bailing out, as mediation tactic, 128–133
Baker, James A. III, 33–34, 66, 81–82, 83–84, 137, 141, 179
Balkans, conflicts in, 88
  See also specific conflicts

Baltic states, transition of power in, 55
Beira, bishop of, 78
Belarus, denuclearization of, 55
Bercovitch, Jacob, 88
Beye, Alouine Blondin, 76
Bicesse Accords (1991), 66, 124–125, 173–174
"blood diamonds," 171–172
Bolling, Landrum, 75–76
Bosnia, conflict in, 54–55, 88, 115
  Dayton accords, 74, 169–170
  use of force in, 169–170
Bougainville conflict, 138, 142
Brazil, in Ecuador-Peru border conflict, 145–146
Burundi conflict, 76, 78, 84–85
Bush administration (George H. W.), 54
Bush administration (George W.), "Road Map to Peace," 5, 157

Cambodia, conflict in, 55, 56, 53, 144
Camp David accords, 80
captive conflicts, 48, 55–57
Carter Center, 58
Carter, Jimmy, 80, 110
Catholic Church, in conflict mediation, 68
Caucasus conflicts, 56
cease-fires, as part of mediation, 157–158
Cedras, Raoul, 110
Cenepa war, 145
Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 94
Chile, in Ecuador-Peru border conflict, 145–146
China
  in Cambodia, 56
  in Kashmir conflict, 150
  as member of Perm Five in UN, 144
  in Nepal conflict, 52
  normalization of relations with Vietnam, 55
  U.S. and, 56
Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA), 150
civil society, during postsettlement phase, 168, 185
Civil Society Assembly (Guatemala), 183
Clinton administration
  Middle East negotiations, 179
  in Northern Ireland conflict, 77, 143, 181
coercion
  nonmilitary, 171–175
  used by third parties, 14
coercive inducement, 171
coercive mediation, 108, 168–171
Cohen, Herman J., 51
Cohen, Raymond, 86–87
Cold War
  captive conflicts during, 56
  orphan conflicts created at end of, 53
collaboration, among third parties, 71–72
Colombia, conflict in, 99–100, 109
command-and-control systems, in intractable conflicts, 6
Community of Sant'Egidio, in Mozambique, 37, 66–67, 68–69, 78
confidence-building measures, 159, 173

conflict management, 25
geopolitics and, 29–36
by major powers, 56
mediation and, 31–32
See also mediation
conflicts
agenda for settlement, 155–156
ceasing hostilities in, 157–158
ending as goal of mediation, 25
external context of, 107–109
forgotten, 45–47
captives, 48, 55–57
dealing with, 65–71
dependents, 48, 57–59
moving through the stages, 61–62
neglected conflicts, 48, 49–52
orphans, 48, 52–55
wards of the system, 48, 59–61, 66
intractable
"armalite and the ballot box" problem, 87–88
atmosphere of, 75
definition, 7–9
diasporas and resettled refugee communities in, 87–88
disarmament negotiations in, 87
ending, 4–6
"frozen," 7–8, 36
internal fragmentation or weakness in, 9
involvement of third parties in, 37
leadership in, 8
length, 7
linkages missing in, 9
outside actors in, 9
political extremists in, 8
resolving formula in, 9
spoilers in, 8–9, 121, 141–146, 152, 177
strategic engagement, 13–15
strategic importance as cause for intervention, 11
track-one vs. track-two negotiations, 12, 23–24, 183–184
violence in, 7, 134–136, 141–142, 142–143, 157–158, 166
weak command-and-control systems in, 6
weapons of mass destruction in, 6
loss-of-face problem, 86–87
mutually acceptable settlement formula for, 104–105, 134
mutually hurting stalemates in, 103–104
"mythology of the war" in, 77
partial agreements, 156–157
ripeness of, 103–104
sequence of issues addressed, 156–157
strategic analysis of, 96–109
"struggle talk" in, 85–86
suitability for mediation, 26
See also mediation; settlement implementation; third parties
contact groups, in settlement negotiations, 113, 160
Contadora Declaration (1995), 183
Cuba, in Angola, 36, 40, 127, 174
cultural barriers to mediation, 83–88
cultural beliefs, mediation and, 82–83

Cyprus, conflict in, 32–33, 59, 107, 114
introduction of outside incentives, 122–124
negotiating behavior in, 151–152

Danforth, John, 77
Dayton accords, 74, 169–170
de Chastelain, John, 128, 175
de Klerk, F. W., 177
declaration of principles, in mediation, 162–164
demobilization, in postsettlement phase, 172–175
Democratic Republic of Congo, conflict in, 6, 107, 170, 174, 186
Democratic Unionist Party (Northern Ireland), 77
dependent conflicts, 48, 57–59
diasporas, involvement in intractable conflicts, 59, 87–88, 180–181
diplomatic capacity, for mediation, 113–114
disarmament
as mediation topic, 87
in postsettlement phase, 172–175
disengagement, as part of mediation, 157–158
domestic issues
domestic actors as third parties, 40
effect of on engagement and mediation, 38–40, 52, 80–81, 143
public opinion on readiness for peace process, 105
in settlement phase, 152–153, 153–154, 180–181
donors
role of in mediation, 109
in settlement phase, 179–180, 181–182

East Timor
conflict in, 12, 186
peace enforcement in, 170
ECOMOG, in Liberian conflict, 60–61
economic barriers to mediation, 87–88
Ecuador, internal politics in, 146
Ecuador-Peru border conflict, 145–146, 160
Egypt
in Middle East conflict, 137
in Sudan peace process, 105, 108
Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty (1979), 84
El Salvador, UN in, 59
endgame, in mediation, 149–150
checklist for, 150–154
settlement ingredients, 154–164
Estonia, transition of power in, 35
European Union, 123, 157
exit strategies, in mediation, 121, 128–133, 141
external actors. *See* third parties
external observers and experts, in settlement phase, 161–162
external politics, effect of on mediation, 41

FAFO. *See* Institute for Applied Social Sciences (FAFO)
Falkland Islands/Malvinas War, 129–130
force, use of in inducing peace, 169–171

foreign interest groups, in settlement phase, 180
France
  as member of Perm Five in UN, 144
  in Rwanda conflict, 51, 62
Frelimo liberation movement, 67, 75
"frozen" conflicts, 7–8, 36

Gandhi, Rajiv, 50–51, 131–132
Georgia, 57, 80
globalization, of conflict, 5
Good Friday Agreement (1998), 76, 128, 135, 174, 175
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 35
governance motives for mediation, 36–38
Great Britain
  in Falkland Islands/Malvinas dispute, 129–130
  as member of Perm Five in UN, 144
  in Nepal conflict, 52
  in Sierra Leone conflict, 62, 170
  in Sudan conflict, 108
Greece, in Cyprus conflict, 32–33, 123
"Green Line" (Cyprus), 123
groups of friends, in settlement negotiations, 160, 179, 186
guarantees, negotiation of, 159–162
Guatemala
  Norwegian Church Aid in, 128
  peace process in, 183
  UN in, 59
Guelke, Adrian, 177
Gulf War (1991), 93

Haig, Alexander, 129
Haiti crisis (1990s), 40, 110, 113, 180
Hamas, 86
hanging on, as mediation option, 121–125
Hara, Fabienne, 84–85
Hare, Paul, 127–128
Holbrooke, Richard, 73–74
Holkeri, Harri, 128
human rights groups, in conflict resolution, 63
humanitarian issues
  in mediation, 159
  as motives for mediation, 27–29, 63
Hume, John, 135, 178
hunkering down, as mediation option, 126–128

IGAD. *See* Intergovernmental Authority on African Development (IGAD)
Ikle, Fred, 158
implementation councils, in settlement negotiations, 160–161
incentives, in mediation, 122–124, 173
India
  in Kashmir conflict, 130–131
  as mediator in Sri Lanka conflict, 50–51, 131–132
  in Nepal, 52
  nuclear testing by, 130–131
indirect parties, in conflicts, 97–99
indirect talks, in mediation, 138–139
Indo–Sri Lanka peace accords, 50
Indonesia-Ache conflict, 94
Institute for Applied Social Sciences (FAFO), 70–71

Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 176–177
institutional base, in mediation, 78–80
Inter-Tajik Dialogue, 128
Intergovernmental Authority on African Development (IGAD), 105
International Body (Northern Ireland conflict), 128, 137–138
International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, 76
International Monetary Fund, 182
international organizations
involvement in conflict management, 66
See also specific organizations
IRA. *See* Irish Republican Army (IRA)
Iraq war (2003), 6
Irish Republican Army (IRA), 59, 87, 175, 181
Israel
creation of, 84
in Middle East conflict, 29–32
internal politics, 85–86, 145
Madrid Peace Conference, 137
relations with U.S., 132–133
issues, in conflicts, 99–101, 156–157
Istanbul summit (OSCE), 57

joint committees, in settlement negotiations, 160–161, 179
Jordan, in Middle East conflict, 137

Kashmir conflict, 6, 98, 109
U.S. in, 130–131
Kazakhstan, denuclearization of, 35
Kenya, in Sudan conflict, 108
Khieu Samphan, 144
Khmer Rouge, 144
"know thyself" as axiom for mediation, 15–16
Kosovo crisis, 108, 145
Kosovo Liberation Army, 145

leadership, effect of on intractable conflicts, 8
legitimacy, as core issue in mediation, 84
Lesch, Ann Mosely., 83
leverage, in conflict resolution, 74, 94–95, 125
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 49, 50, 51
Liberia, conflict in, 56, 60
Libya, in Sudan peace process, 105
linkages, importance of in conflict resolution, 9
Lochery, Neil, 139
Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), 58
loss-of-face problem, 86–87
LRA. *See* Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)
LTTE. *See* Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
Lusaka Protocol, 41, 76, 127, 174

Madrid Peace Conference, 116, 137, 179
mandate, for mediation, 112
Mandela, Nelson, 76, 177
McDougall, Barbara, 110
mediation
background issues, 22–27
coercive, 108, 168–171
confidence-building measures in, 159, 173
conflict management and, 51–52

mediation *(cont.)*
derailment and recovery, 119–121
bailing out, 128–133
hanging on, 121–125
hunkering down, 126–128
domestic issues and views, 38–40, 52, 80–81, 105, 143, 153–154
donors' role in, 109
entry points for, 93–94
exit strategies, 121, 128–133
fatigue, 133
foreign policy and strategic reasons for, 13–15, 27
humanitarian motives, 27–29
regional security/governance motives, 36–38
strategic motives, 29–36
formulas for accord, 151
framework for negotiation or declaration of principles, 162–164
guarantees in, 159–162
humanitarian issues in, 27–29, 63, 159
institutional base and political context, 78–81
interim or partial agreements, 156–157
"know thyself" as axiom for, 15–16
learning to mediate, 185–188
leverage in, 74, 94–95, 125
mandate for, 112
negotiating tactics, 133–134
antics and procedural roadblocks, 139–141, 151–152
exploiting optimal moments, 121, 134–136
factions, spoilers, and weak parties, 8–9, 121, 141–146, 152, 177
new third parties and changing the subject, 121, 136–138
secret channels, side channels, and indirect talks, 138–139
on-the-ground environment, 81–82
multiple mediators, 88–90
political, cultural, and economic barriers, 83–88
psychological barriers, 82–83
in settlement phase, 152–153
personal circumstances and challenges, 75–78
as policy tool, 23–26
political gestures in, 159
political rationales, 26, 38–43
domestic opinion, 38–40
external politics and, 41–42
prestige and international status, 41–42
readiness and capability, 109–115
finding the right mediator, 114–115
operational and political capacity, 111–113
strategic and diplomatic capacity, 113–114
rolling out new strategy, 115–117
settlement issues, 149–150
mediator's checklist, 150–154
settlement ingredients, 154–164
stalled, 26–27
strategic analysis in, 96–109
symbolic rewards in, 143–144

mediation *(cont.)*
timing in, 154
tradecraft of, 187–188
as triangular political process, 23
See also conflict management; settlement implementation; third parties
mediation fatigue, 133
Middle East, conflict in, 5, 6, 85–86, 93, 104
asymmetrical domestic political structures, 145
exit option unavailable in, 132–133
Madrid Peace Conference, 116, 137, 179
Norway as third party in, 70–71, 81
Oslo accords, 38, 70–71, 81, 85, 104, 139, 179
right of return of Palestinian refugees, 155
"Road Map" for settlement, 5, 157
role of domestic politics in, 40
U.S. involvement, 29–31, 59, 79, 80, 81–82, 83–84, 116, 132–133, 141, 179
Milosevic, Slobodan, 108, 145
"mini-max" loading principle, 155–156
Minsk Group (OSCE), 42
Mitchell, George, 75, 76, 77–78, 87, 128, 181
Moldova, 57
MONUC (Democratic Republic of Congo), 170
Mozambique conflict, 57, 59, 66–69, 75, 185
MPLA (Angola), 127, 173
multilateralization, of mediation, 136–138
multiparty mediation, 88–90
mutually acceptable settlement formula, 104–105
mutually hurting stalemates, 103–104, 134
"mythology of the war," construction of, 77

Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, 33, 42, 57, 107, 114
Namibia
Angola conflict, 94, 179–180
independence of, 126, 127
South Africa in, 40, 126–127, 174
UN in, 59, 174
U.S. in, 101, 126–127
naming and shaming exercises, 171–172
National Islamic Front (NIF), 83
National Party (South Africa), 177
national sovereignty
as core issue in mediation, 84
respect for as reason for noninvolvement of third parties, 63
NATO
Cyprus conflict and, 32, 33
in Kosovo crisis, 108, 145
natural resources, management and allocation of revenues from, 172
neglected conflicts, 48, 49–52
negotiation, framework for, 162–164
Nepal, internal struggle as neglected conflict, 52
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 85
New Zealand, in Bougainville conflict, 138

news media, as opinion shapers, 80–81
NIF. *See* National Islamic Front (NIF)
Nigeria, military rule in, 60
nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
  in conflict resolution, 10, 11, 12, 22, 37–38
  consultation and coordination issues, 108–109
  freedom of movement of, 74
  hanging on and hunkering down as mediation options, 128
  as part of multiparty negotiations, 89
  in postsettlement phase, 168
  private or secret negotiations by, 116
  in Sri Lanka conflict, 51
  See also specific organizations
North Korea, 36, 56
Northern Ireland, conflict in, 5, 82, 85, 87, 101, 107
  decommissioning, 174–175
  effect of violence on, 135–136
  Good Friday Agreement, 76, 128, 135, 174, 175
  hanging on as mediation tactic in, 128
  International Body in, 128, 137–138
  soft power used in, 176–177, 177–178
  U.S. in, 75, 76, 77–78, 101, 135, 143
Norway
  in Middle East peace process, 70–71, 81
  in Sri Lanka conflict, 51, 94, 113, 157, 162
  in Sudan conflict, 108, 113
  as third-party mediator, 37–38
Norwegian Church Aid, 128
Nunn, Sam, 110

OAS. *See* Organization of American States (OAS)
OAU. *See* Organization of African Unity (OAU)
on-the-ground environment, 81–83, 152–153
Operation Desert Storm, 82
operational capacity, for mediation, 111–113
Organization of African Unity (OAU), 60
Organization of American States (OAS), 110, 113
Organization of Islamic States, 59
orphan conflicts, 48, 52–55
OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), 162
  Istanbul summit, 57
  Minsk Group, 42
  role of in European conflicts, 59
Oslo accords, 38, 70–71, 81, 85, 104, 139, 179
  design flaw in, 156–157
Ould-Abdallah, Ahmedou, 76, 78
outside actors, 9
  See also third parties
Owen, David, 54, 76

Paisley, Ian, 77
Pakistan
  in Kashmir conflict, 130–131
  nuclear testing by, 130–131

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 137, 179
Palestinian Authority, 157
Papua New Guinea, in Bougainville conflict, 138, 142
parties, to a conflict, 97–99
Pérez de Cuéllar, Javier, 123
persuasion, used by third parties, 14
Peru, in Ecuador-Peru border conflict, 146
Philippines, conflict in, 59
PLA. *See* Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA)
PLO. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
Pol Pot, 144
political barriers to mediation, 85–88
political capacity, for mediation, 111–113
political context, of mediation, 80–81
political extremists, in intractable conflicts, 8
"porcupine mode," in mediation, 126–128, 142
Portugal
  in Angola, 125
  withdrawal from African colonies, 67
Powell, Colin, 110
prenegotiation, in mediation, 138–139
primary parties, in conflicts, 97–99
procedural gamesmanship, in mediation, 139–141
proxy wars, 56, 67
psychological barriers, in mediation, 82–85

Quandt, William, 80

Rabin, Yitzhak, 85, 157, 185
reaching down, in settlement phase, 182–184
reaching out, in settlement phase, 178–182
reconstruction, postconflict, 170
refugee communities, effect of on conflicts, 87–88
regional organizations, in conflict management, 60–61
regional security motives for mediation, 56–58
relationships, importance of in conflict mediation, 69
religious beliefs, mediation and, 82–83
Renamo, 67, 68, 75
Rhodesia, liberation movement in, 67
Rio de Janeiro Protocol (1942), 145–146, 160
ripeness, of conflicts, 103–104, 186
Road Map to Peace (Middle East conflict), 5, 157
roundtables, in settlement negotiations, 160–161
Rubin, Barnett, 54, 55
Russia
  in Angola, 125
  in Caucasus conflicts, 56, 56–57
  as member of Perm Five in UN, 144
  in Middle East peace process, 157
  in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, 55, 42
  See also Soviet Union
Rwanda, interethnic conflict in, 51, 61–62, 81

Sadat, Anwar, 183
sanctions, in postsettlement phase, 171–172
Saudi Arabia, in Middle East conflict, 137
Savimbi, Jonas, 127, 174
Schaffer, Howard, 130, 131
Schaffer, Teresita, 130, 131
SDLP. *See* Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP)
secret channels, in mediation, 138–139
secret diplomacy, 128–129
September 11, effect of on intractable conflicts, 5, 52, 136
settlement implementation, 165
  force used during, 169–171
  nonmilitary coercion, 171–175
  reaching down, 182–184
  reaching out, 178–182
  soft power, 176–178
  third-party engagement, 166–168
Sharon, Ariel, 86
side channels, in mediation, 138–139
Sierra Leone, conflict in, 56, 62, 170
Sinn Féin, 77, 87, 135
Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP), 135
soft power
  key allies as source of support, 167–168
  role of in postsettlement phase, 176–178
Solomon, Richard, 86, 144
Somalia conflict
  UN in, 131
  U.S. in, 52, 81, 131
South Africa
  anti-apartheid struggle in, 67, 68, 177, 185
  withdrawal from Namibia, 40, 126–127
South Korea, 36, 56
South Ossetia separatist region, 57
South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), 126, 174
Soviet Union
  in Afghanistan, 35–36, 54–55
  in Angola, 125
  collapse of, 35, 56–57
  as cosponsor of Madrid Peace Conference, 137
  in Mozambique, 67
  in Namibia-Angola conflict, 180
  See also Russia
SPLA. *See* Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA)
SPLM. *See* Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)
spoilers, management of, 8–9, 141–142, 152, 172, 177
Sri Lanka, conflict in, 5, 80, 93, 113, 186
  cease-fire, 157
  Indian exit from, 131–132
  as neglected conflict, 49–51
  Norwegian mediation of, 51, 94, 113, 157, 162
  soft power in, 177
strategic analysis, 96–97
  external context, 107–109
  history and status of negotiations, 106–107
  issues, 99–101
  parties, 97–99
  power balances, 101–102
  turning points and timing, 102–106
strategic capacity, for mediation, 113–114

strategic engagement, 13–15
strategic motives for mediation, 29–36
"struggle talk," in conflict resolution, 85–86
Sudan conflict, 5, 28–29, 58–59, 58, 77, 83, 93, 101, 105, 107–108, 113
  U.S. in, 136
Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), 29, 58, 108
Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), 83, 108
SWAPO. *See* South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)
Sweden, in Baltic states transition, 35
symbolic rewards, in mediation, 143–144
Syria, in Middle East conflict, 137

"taboo of direct talks," 84
Tajikistan, in Uzbekistan internal conflict, 58
Taliban, 55
Tamil Tigers, 49, 50, 51, 132
Taylor, Charles, 62
Tenet, George, 79
Thatcher, Margaret, 130
third parties, 8, 9, 21–22, 79–80, 186
  adding during mediation, 156–158
  approaches
    coercion, 14
    engagement only when necessary, 11
    intervention wherever fighting occurs, 11–12
    leave it to others, 12–13
    "let it burn," 10–11
    persuasion, 14
  collaboration among, 71–72
  conflict management instead of mediation by, 56
  educational function of in settlement phase, 161–162
  failure to get involved or disengagement, 45–47, 52–54, 62–63
  in "hunkering down" option, 122–124
  institutional parties, 47
  opening moves in mediation, 115–116
  political reasons for mediation by, 26
  regional and governance reasons for mediation by, 36–38
  role of in forgotten intractable conflicts, 69–71
  selection of for mediation, 114–115
  in settlement phase, 166–168
  See also mediation; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs); United Nations
timing, in conflict resolution, 102–106, 154
track-one actors, 23–24
track-two negotiations, 12, 183–184
tradecraft, of mediation, 187–188
Transnistria separatist region, 57
treaty powers, 160
Troika (Angola), 125
Turkey, in Cyprus conflict, 32–33, 123
turning points, in conflicts, 102–106

Uganda, civil war in, 58
Ukraine, denuclearization of, 35
UNAMSIL (Sierra Leone), 170

UNAVEM (Angola), 174
UNITA (Angola), 124–125, 127, 173
United Nations
  Bicesse Accords implementation, 66, 124–125, 173–174
  in Cambodia conflict, 144, 179
  conflict intervention by, 11–12, 22, 53, 74
  in Cyprus conflict, 32, 33, 123, 151
  in East Timor, 170
  in Guatemala settlement, 183
  in Middle East peace process, 157
  in Namibia-Angola conflict, 180
  naming and shaming exercises in, 171–172
  as observer at Madrid Peace Conference, 137
  Resolution 520 (Falkland Islands/Malvinas), 129
  in Rwanda, 61
  in wards-of-the-system conflicts, 59–60
  in Western Sahara conflict, 33–34
United States
  in Afghanistan, 35–36, 54–55
  in Angola, 125
  in Bosnian conflict, 34–35
  in Cambodian conflict, 39, 144
  China and, 36
  in Cyprus, 59, 151
  diaspora populations in, 59
  in Ecuador-Peru border conflict, 145–146
  in Falkland Islands/Malvinas dispute, 129–130
  Israel relations, 132–133
  in Kashmir conflict, 109
  in Korean peninsula, 36
  as member of Perm Five in UN, 144
  in Middle East conflict, 29–31, 59, 79, 80, 81–82, 83–84, 116, 157
  in Mozambique conflict, 67, 68–69
  in Namibia, 101, 126–127, 179–180
  in Nepal, 52
  in Northern Ireland conflict, 75, 76, 77–78, 101, 135, 143
  in Rwanda conflict, 51, 61–62
  in Somalia, 52
  in Sudan conflict, 38–39, 77, 101, 107–108
  as third-party mediator, 37
UNTAG (Namibia), 174
Uzbekistan, conflict in, 58

van der Stoel, Max, 162
Vance, Cyrus, 34, 76
Vietnam, 35, 36
violence
  in intractable conflicts, 7, 134–136, 141–142, 142–143, 157–158, 166
  political economy of, 171–172

wards of the system, conflicts as, 48, 59–61, 66
weak parties, in mediation, 142–143
weapons of mass destruction, in intractable conflicts, 6
Western Sahara conflict, 33–34, 66, 114
World Bank, 182

Yassin, Sheik Ahmed, 86

Zimbabwe, 67