



# NEGOTIATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

Understanding Persuasion

Edited by

DEBORAH GOODWIN

# NEGOTIATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT



THE SANDHURST CONFERENCE SERIES

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- 1 *The Media and International Security*  
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Edited by Deborah Goodwin
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Edited by Stephen Badsey and Paul Latawski

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**DEBORAH GOODWIN**  
*Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

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General Editor  
**Matthew Midlane**

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*For all the peacekeepers around the world,  
and my family.*

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## Contributors

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**SUSAN C. DRISCOLL** is a psychologist working with the Defence Evaluation Research Agency. Her interests concern semiotics and images as represented in the media and in interpersonal encounters.

**DEBORAH GOODWIN** is a senior lecturer in the Department of Communication Studies, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. She has lectured both in the UK and internationally on many aspects of negotiation, and her PhD research covers low-level military negotiation tactics and structure. In March 1999 she organised a conference on negotiation at Sandhurst, which formed the inspiration for this publication. In October 1999 she conducted training on negotiation for delegates from around the world attending the international peacekeeping negotiation and mediation course at the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, Canada. She also lectures widely within the UK on this subject, and has worked with the US War College, and Fort Bragg.

**STUART GORDON** is a senior lecturer in Defence and International Affairs, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. He has numerous publications to his name and his specialism lies in mediative dispute resolution at the strategic and operational levels of a conflict.

## *Negotiation in International Conflict*

STEPHEN HILL is an assistant professor in the Political Science Department at the University of Georgia, in Athens, Georgia. Previous publications include a co-authored text, *Peacekeeping and the United Nations* (Dartmouth Press, 1996), 'Disarmament in Mozambique: Learning the Lessons of Experience', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 17: 1 (1996), and 'To Prosecute or Not', *The World Today*, 56: 8 (2000).

ALEXANDER KENNAWAY worked at the Conflict Studies Research Centre based at RMA Sandhurst. A Russian by birth, he moved to Britain and served with the Royal Navy before embarking on an academic career. He was a prolific writer and speaker, and died in May 2000, prior to the publication of this book. His widow has kindly given permission for his work to be included here.

BRAD MCRAE holds a doctoral degree in counselling psychology from the University of British Columbia, and is a psychologist, consultant and the president of McRae & Associates, his company which provides services in staff training and development and management consulting. He was trained in negotiation skills at the Project on Negotiation at Harvard University, and lectures on negotiation across Canada and the United States. He has written the following books: *Negotiating and Influencing Skills: The Art of Creating and Claiming Value*; *How to Write a Thesis and Keep your Sanity*; and *Practical Time Management: How to get More Done in Less Time*.

ASHLEY STOCKER is a staff officer for the British Army Civil Affairs Group based at Gibraltar Barracks, Minley. The group is responsible for developing liaison with civilian agencies such as international organisations (UN, Oxfam, etc.), governmental organisations (DFID, USAID) and non-governmental organisations (Oxfam, MSF), and local government and civilian agencies when the military deploy on operations.

KEITH WEBB is the director of studies of the International Conflict Analysis Programme at the Graduate School of International Relations, University of Kent, Canterbury. He has been involved in political-level mediation in Moldova, and is currently assisting in the production of the Moldovan constitution.

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## Series Editor's Preface

*Negotiation in International Conflict: Understanding Persuasion* is the third volume in the Sandhurst Conference Series, following *The Media and International Security* edited by Stephen Badsey and *Aspects of Peacekeeping* edited by D.S. Gordon and F.H. Toase. They will be followed by *Britain, NATO and the Lessons of the Balkan Conflict*, edited by Stephen Badsey and Paul Latawski. All the titles draw their inspiration from a series of international conferences held at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in recent years. Their purpose has been to draw together the diverse communities of academia, the military, the civil service and the media to explore issues which have arisen or become more salient in the post-Cold War era. Discussion has been intense, at times fierce, but in practice there has been more common ground than had seemed likely when we planned the conference. That said, they provide an enormously valuable forum in which to explore differences and edge towards a sense of mutual understanding.

This volume has its origins in the research of the editor, Deborah Goodwin, who has pioneered work on negotiation skills in the Department of Communication Studies at Sandhurst, which has introduced the subject to the academy's syllabus. At Sandhurst the debate has drawn military and academic colleagues ever closer as we seek ways to improve the training and education of our aspirant officers. *Negotiation in International Conflict* is a discussion of negotiation at all levels of command, from the strategic to the tactical, but with its main emphasis on the importance of developing this skill in more junior commanders. It has a theoretical backdrop but keeps firmly in the foreground the need to formulate clear guidelines on the practical art of negotiation in the field as well as in the cabinet room. For many it will be an introductory volume to a subject of which they are generally aware but have no detailed knowledge. Few issues could be of more direct relevance to the British Army, which has been immersed in Peace Support Operations for the last decade.

Matthew Midlane,  
*Royal Military Academy Sandhurst*

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# Foreword

MAJOR-GENERAL A.G. DENARO CBE

Having been involved over many years in the training of negotiation techniques, and now as Commandant at Sandhurst being responsible for the education and training of young officers as they go out to command in the difficult and dangerous circumstances that prevail today, it has been interesting to reflect on the essays contained in this excellent volume. A soldier is likely to be involved at both ends of the spectrum, from the early discussions with possible adversaries, to the final conflict-resolution, if force is necessary. He must of course be well trained for the latter as the final deterrent, but his ability in the hugely complex business of the former is becoming more and more necessary.

Recent deployments have shown the greater emphasis towards conciliation and consent in 'operations other than war'. The importance of diplomacy in negotiation at every level of command is an essential tool and will become clear in the discussions and analysis presented in this volume.

What is also becoming clear is how good the soldier and young officer actually is at this business. We are witnessing the re-emergence of the historic concept of the soldier diplomat. Around the world armed forces are reviewing and rebuilding basic training programmes in order to educate the modern interventionist in the critical business of relating to people and clear communication. The act of persuading people that it is better to live peacefully than to survive in a state of war, that it is more effective to work together towards a common good than to kill each other, is only really effective at the grassroots level, which is where our soldiers operate. Many fine words may be spoken in the corridors of power, but unless those protagonists involved on the ground can see improvements occurring and are really persuaded of them, they will never agree to lay down their arms. The operational techniques of negotiation, mediation and the use of civil affairs teams are critically important today and remain an absolute requirement of an effective war-fighter.

A.G. Denaro,  
October 2000

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# Introduction

This book is an exploration of the increasing importance of negotiation as a dispute-resolution technique at all levels of a conflict. Whilst there has been some analysis of the role and impact of negotiation at the political and strategic levels of a situation, to date there has been little investigation of the nature of *tactical level* negotiation and the way in which this duty is impacting upon the responsibilities of the serving soldier. This wide range of negotiated agreements by a multiplicity of parties infers that the nature of negotiation itself must be different at various levels of command. In other words, negotiation is being used to achieve different ends, and ought to be viewed as a multifaceted skill which contains a variety of impetuses and desired outcomes. It may be argued that the type of negotiation in which Richard Holbrooke is involved (in Bosnia-Herzegovina) at the political/strategic level will have different ramifications from those of the soldier on the ground negotiating his way through an illegal checkpoint, for example.

The chapters in this book originate from the Negotiation and Mediation Conference held at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in March 1999. Several of the contributors spoke at this conference, and other informed individuals in this field of research have added their contributions to the book.

Part 1 of this book looks at the role and nature of negotiation on the world stage. Part 2 seeks to begin the discussion on the tactical-level aspects of negotiation, and the way in which the modern soldier is having to adapt to new rules of engagement, especially in peacekeeping operations. Modern mandates often require the protagonist to use negotiation as a first resort and armed force as the last; we shall discuss the implications of this for the peacekeeper. Part 3 focuses on particular case-studies: the making of a new constitution in Moldova; the role of negotiation in the



deployment of UNPROFOR in Bosnia from 1992–95; and the nature and culture of Russians and their approach to interpersonal skills.

It is to our great regret that Alexander Kennaway, author of Chapter 10, died before this book went to the printers. His chapter is one of his last pieces, and I am very pleased to include it here.

Deborah Goodwin

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## Acknowledgements

The editor wishes to thank the following: Matthew Midlane, Director of Studies RMAS for his support; John Allen, Head of the Communication Studies Department, RMAS for his encouragement in the development of negotiation training in the Communication Studies Department RMAS; Sarah Oliver at the Central Library RMAS for her unstinting assistance in finding material; and Betty Barton for her help in typing sections of the manuscript.

The views expressed in this book are those of the authors and in no way reflect the views of the Ministry of Defence.

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## Abbreviations and Glossary

ANC	African National Congress.
BATNA	best alternative to a negotiated agreement.
B-H	Bosnia-Herzegovina.
CA	Civil Affairs.
CCA	Centre for Conflict Analysis.
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States (Russia and satellite states – old Soviet Union).
DFID	Department for International Development.
EC	European Community.
ECHO	European Communities Humanitarian Office.
EU	European Union.
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
FIS	Foundation for International Security.
GPA	general peace agreement.
HQ	headquarters.
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross.
IFOR	Implementation Force.
IRA	Irish Republican Army.
LO	liaison officer.
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment.
MSF	Médecins sans Frontières.
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.
NGO	non-governmental organisation.
ODA	Overseas Development Agency.
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation.
PSW	problem-solving workshop.

*Negotiation in International Conflict*

Psyops	Psychological Operations.
ROEs	rules of engagement.
SOPs	standard operating procedures.
UNFICKP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees.
UNITAF	United Task Force (Somalia, 1992).
UNOSOM (I and II)	United Nations Operation in Somalia.
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force (March 1992–September 1993). UN force in the Balkans.
USAID	United States Agency for International Development.
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union).

## PART 1

### The Place of Negotiation in the World Today