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International Mediation in Theory and Practice

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correct and supportable, but without endnotes—given the admittedly partisan nature of his values—the reader feels somewhat at the author's mercy.

"Damning by faint praise" seems a tactic as well. For example, during a diatribe against Special Envoy Philip Habib—one of the author's State Department "accommodationists," the role Habib played in the Marcos-Aquino election of February 1986 is brought up. Following a denigration of Habib's services in the Lebanon crisis the author states, "Somehow this record of negotiating experience suggested to the State Department that Habib was the right person to become special envoy to the Philippines in late 1985 (sic) when the United States finally realized that the Marcos regime was in crisis. As it turned out, Marcos was the architect of his own demise: it was Mrs. Corazon Aquino and the Philippine people who brought about the democratic transition." Having been in Mrs. Aquino's Makati campaign headquarters the afternoon that Ambassador Habib's mission was announced in Washington—and a student of all that followed—I can state with some authority that subsequent to his non-sense visit to Manila he *was* instrumental in getting President Reagan to reassess U.S. foreign policy vis-a-vis Marcos, in favor of Mrs. Aquino. In at least this instance Mr. Menges is at best misleading and at worst incorrect. But Habib is just a bit player in *Inside the National Security Council*. The real ammunition

is saved for George Shultz and Robert McFarlane.

Most of the book is devoted to uncovering the Shultz-McFarlane-Deaver connection and demonstrating its linkage to the Iran-contra scandal. While careful to avoid implicating Secretary of State Shultz directly in Iran-contra, the author does lead the reader on a pathway in which NSC Advisor McFarlane is unwittingly led by Shultz to a position from which Iran-contra was an almost inevitable step. This progression seemed particularly unproved to the reviewer.

In summary, despite its prejudices and the highly polemical style, *Inside the National Security Council* is worth reading. It offers a perspective that few have talked about. The author makes no secret of his political ideology and states a forceful case for improved NSC procedures (which have been realized). Had it been more inclusive, with less pleading and more factual substantiation, it would be an even better work. The ultimate value of *Inside the National Security Council* to the National Security community lies in its unflinching look at bureaucratic politics gone awry.

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This issue of the School of Advanced International Studies Papers, in the Conflict Management Studies series, is more timely today than when it was published. This is due, in no small part, to the willingness of the Superpowers to de-escalate their so-called regional disputes. Thus, mediation is returning to the international political agenda as a viable dispute settlement alternative. Or, perhaps, it would be more accurate to suggest that dispute prolongation employing various levels of violence is giving way to dispute termination, although not necessarily reconciliation.

Not unexpectedly, these case studies in mediation deal almost entirely with Third World disputes. For example, Part I contains: "Algeria and the U.S. Hostages in Iran" by Gary Sick; "Iran and Iraq at Algiers, 1975" by Diane Lieb; "The Zimbabwe Settlement, 1976-1979" by Stephen Low; "The Namibia Negotiations" by Marianne A. Speigel; and "The Soviet Mediation of the 1966 Indo-Pakistani Conflict" by Thomas Perry Thornton. Part II contains multilateral examples of third-party mediation, involving the OAS, the OAU, and the International Red Cross; discussed by L. Ronald Scheman, John W. Ford, Michael Wolfers, and David P. Forsyth, respectively.

A comment made by Gary Sick could apply to most of these

vignettes, "The negotiating process that led to this outcome was tortuous and unpredictable. . . ." We know that political will, of course, is the first prerequisite to success, and this motivation has as much to do with internal power struggles as with external relations. In addition, the leverage that the third party can bring may enhance or diminish prospects of success.

It should be made clear, however, that a mediator, whether an agreed upon individual, private group, or third state, can never be effective if the proper political circumstances are not present. The Angolan situation is a case in point. The best efforts of the United Nations in regard to South Africa were to no avail—resolution to the contrary notwithstanding—until the various parties in this domestic insurrection overlaid with superpower rivalry and proxy armies were willing to discover a common basis of settlement. Therefore, the mediator must be prepared to seize the opportunity when it arrives and be sufficiently perceptive to recognize the opportunity for what it might be.

In sum, this book is a valuable reader on such an important and timely subject. What has occurred in world politics since its publication only serves to reaffirm this.

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Ronzitti, N., ed. *The Law of Naval Warfare: A Collection of Agreements*