

TURKEY'S MEDIATION INITIATIVES BETWEEN 2002 AND 2015

A DISCOURSE AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **TURKEY'S MEDIATION INITIATIVES BETWEEN 2002 AND 2015 A DISCOURSE AND CONTENT ANALYSIS**

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This dissertation aims to figure out the leading motivations of Turkey to voluntarily engage in international mediation attempts as a third party. So as to ascertain why Turkey mediates, the method of the dissertation was determined as a combination of discourse analysis of speeches made by Turkey's ministers of foreign affairs and the content analysis of the news and statements in the official website of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since the mediation attempts of Turkey have been conducted by the ministers of foreign affairs and the relevant documents of the mediation meetings have accumulatively been in the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Concordantly, the samples of the dissertation, Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Summits in the South Asia, Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit in the Balkans, Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform between Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Caucasus, and the Initiative of Neighboring Countries of Iraq in the Middle East, are comparatively examined. The argument of the dissertation is revolving around the inference that Turkey's real interests are more salient than its humanitarian approach when Turkey engages in a mediation process as a third party, when it is predicated on analyzed discourses and contents.

Key words: Conflict resolution, mediation, mediator, Turkey, United Nations

## ÖZ

### TÜRKİYE’NİN 2002 İLE 2015 YILLARI ARASINDAKİ ARABULUCULUK GİRİŞİMLERİ SÖYLEM VE İÇERİK ANALİZİ

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Bu tez, Türkiye’nin uluslararası arabuluculuk girişimlerine gönüllü olarak dâhil olmasının nedenlerini açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Metodolojik olarak, Türkiye’nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinde Türk dışişleri bakanlarının birincil rol üstlenmesi nedeniyle, arabuluculuk faaliyetleri kapsamında yaptıkları konuşmaların söylem analizi yapılmış; bunun yanı sıra, teze konu olan arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine ilişkin belgelerin toplu bir biçimde yer aldığı Türk Dışişleri Bakanlığı’nın internet sitesindeki ilgili belgeler de içerik analizi yoluyla incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda; Güney Asya’dan Afganistan-Pakistan-Türkiye Üçlü Zirvesi, Balkanlardan Türkiye-Bosna Hersek-Sırbistan Üçlü Zirvesi, Kafkaslardan Azerbaycan, Ermenistan ve Gürcistan’ın katıldığı Kafkasya İstikrar ve İşbirliği Platformu, Orta Doğu’dan Irak’a Komşu Ülkeler Girişimi örnek olarak seçilmiş ve karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiştir. Tez, dışişleri bakanlarının söylemlerini ve analiz edilen ilgili belgeleri temel alarak, Türkiye’nin arabuluculuk yapma sebeplerinin salt insanî bir yaklaşımdan değil, aynı zamanda reel çıkarlardan da müteşekkil olduğu kanısına varmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Arabulucu, arabuluculuk, Birleşmiş Milletler, çatışma/uyuşmazlık çözümü, Türkiye

To the children who were shot to death with the dirty weapons of wars

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ACCI	Afghanistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry
CSCP	Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PCCI	Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
SPM	Special Political Mission
TEPAV	Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey
TOBB	Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissionaire for Refugees
UNHCS	United Nations Center for Human Settlements
USA	United States of America

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. 1. Turkey's Last Decade within the Context of Mediation Endeavors

Accompanied with a domestically more stable and economically more secure environment, the last decade of Turkish foreign policy could be deemed a successful chapter in its history until recently, with regard to the international initiatives of Turkey, which eagerly has been taking the third party role for the resolution of international conflicts. Precisely at that point, Ahmet Davutoğlu's, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and currently the Prime Minister of Turkey, impact on Turkish foreign policy is worth discussing. When he was the foreign policy advisor of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, former Prime Minister and currently the President of Turkey, he initiated the policy of zero problem with neighbors, which suggested the resolution of Turkey's longstanding problems with its neighboring countries, and developing good relations with them.<sup>1</sup> Despite the policy of zero problem with neighbors could not be able to come to fruition, failed and brought out Davutoğlu's approach to foreign policy in the discussion, for some time, it helped Turkey actively initiate on the international arena. Besides, Davutoğlu's neo-Ottomanist approach to Turkish foreign policy, which encouraged Turkey's engagement mostly in the Balkan countries, once the territories of Ottoman State, promoted revising and strengthening of Turkey's relations with the Balkan countries.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Svante E. Cornell, "What Drives Turkish Foreign Policy? Changes in Turkey," *Middle East Quarterly* 19 (2012): 14.

<sup>2</sup> Dimitar Bechev, "Turkey's 'zero-problem' foreign policy is working...", *European Council on Foreign Relations*, March 21, 2012, accessed February 27, 2015, [http://www.ecfr.eu/blog/entry/Turkeys\\_zero-problem\\_foreign\\_policy\\_is\\_working](http://www.ecfr.eu/blog/entry/Turkeys_zero-problem_foreign_policy_is_working).

Beyond endeavoring to develop harmonious relations with its neighbors by solving the current problems, and strengthening its relations with the Balkan countries, Turkey participated in the resolution of international conflicts between different countries as a mediator and sought for the peaceful resolution of those conflicts without discriminating geographical location, in the Balkans or in the Middle East, in the Caucasus or in its neighboring countries. That meant a dramatic change in Turkish foreign policy, which had been traditionally non-interventionist, and prioritized both remaining out of the conflicts and maintaining stable relations.<sup>3</sup> Attention to increase the international visibility, diversifying the bilateral relations, and building its diplomatic capacity, Turkey also demanded to get the role of a third party, a mediator, for the resolution of conflicts, particularly the ones surrounding its territory and challenging its regional interests.

During that period, some of the public opinion polls held in the countries in which Turkey tried to increase its role of mediator for the conflict resolution indicate the positive stance of people for the mediation of Turkey. The following public opinion poll of TESEV, The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation, is among those.<sup>4</sup>

In seven countries where the research was conducted, including Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Iraq, a total of 2006 people were asked whether Turkey should play a mediatory role in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or not. Evaluating the responses, Turkey was seen appropriate for a mediation role by receiving approximately 79% of people's support in the seven countries.<sup>5</sup> In Palestine, the party of the conflict, the average of the people's support was revolving

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<sup>3</sup> William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy 1774-2000* (London: Psychology Press, 2000), 162.

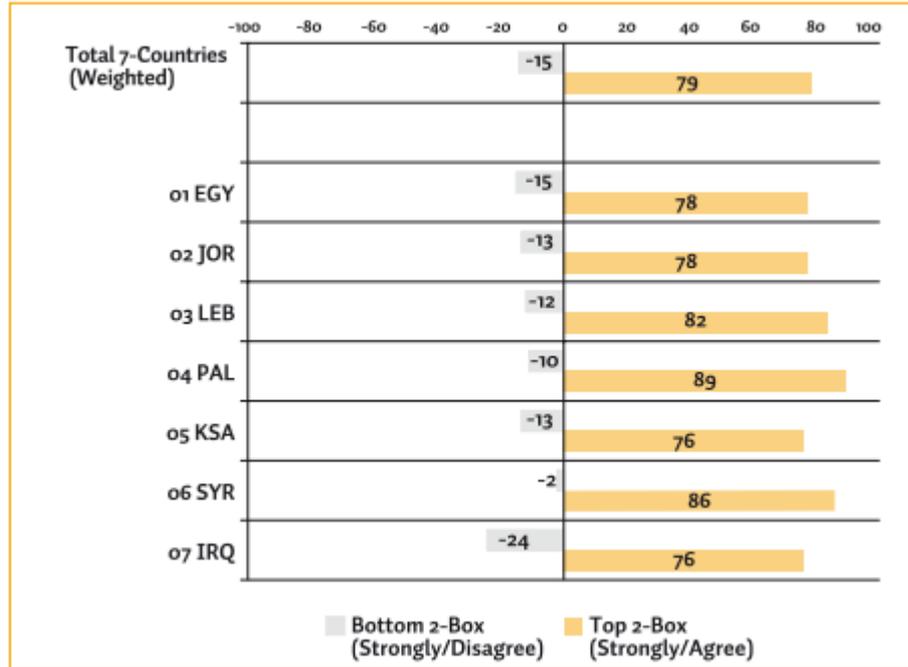
<sup>4</sup> Mensur Akgün, Gökçe Perçinoğlu, Sabiha Senyücel Gündoğar, *The Perception of Turkey in the Middle East* (Istanbul: TESEV Publications, 2010), accessed February 27, 2015, [http://www.tesevdns.net/Upload/Editor/ME%20Report%202.edition\\_d%C3%BCzeltildi%C5%9F\\_23\\_08\\_10.pdf](http://www.tesevdns.net/Upload/Editor/ME%20Report%202.edition_d%C3%BCzeltildi%C5%9F_23_08_10.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> Akgün, Gökçe, Şenyücel Gündoğar, "The Perception of Turkey in the Middle East," 17.

around 89%, which means almost 9 people out of 10 supported the mediation of Turkey for the resolution of the conflict. <sup>6</sup>

**Table 1: “Should Turkey play a mediatory role in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?”**

Source: Mensur Akgün, Gökçe Perçinoğlu, Sabiha Senyücel Gündoğar, *The Perception of Turkey in the Middle East* (Istanbul: TESEV Publications, 2010), accessed February 27, 2015, [http://www.tesevdns.net/Upload/Editor/ME%20Report%202.edition\\_d%C3%BCzeltilmi%C5%9F\\_23\\_08\\_10.pdf](http://www.tesevdns.net/Upload/Editor/ME%20Report%202.edition_d%C3%BCzeltilmi%C5%9F_23_08_10.pdf), p. 17.



Evaluating the data of the public opinion poll, the results seem controversial due to the sample size. The research comprises of 2006 people, which is quite limited to determine the opinion of people living in those seven countries, whose total population is around 187 million. <sup>7</sup> Therefore, the reliability and the generalizability of the research are low. Yet, conducting a research, which has a part to determine whether

<sup>6</sup> Akgün, Gökçe, Şenyücel Gündoğar, “The Perception of Turkey in the Middle East,” 17.

<sup>7</sup> “Countries in the world (ranked by 2014 population),” World Meters, accessed February 19, 2015. <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/population-by-country/>.

people are positive or negative on the mediation of Turkey, indicates the increasing significance of mediation issues for Turkey, because the number of research on Turkey's mediatory role or capacity has been quite limited since the last decade.

Since the very beginning of the last decade, Turkey both has offered and has been encouraged to be a mediator to the international conflicts in its surrounding region. The most salient examples of it could be observed during the Israeli-Palestinian crises. During the disengagement of Sharon government from Gaza in 2005, to exemplify, Prime Minister Erdoğan suggested mediating between Israeli and Palestinian sides of the conflict by stating that, "Turkey has the capacity to help the Palestinians after the redeployment in the economic field".<sup>8</sup> Though the Sharon government did reject this offer, Israel appreciated Erdoğan's effort.<sup>9</sup> Sharon was not the only one who was following the mediation initiatives of Turkey closely. In 2006, when former Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül made a visit to the United States, former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice appreciated Turkey's very helpful mediation efforts to ease accelerating tensions between Israel and the Palestinians as well.<sup>10</sup>

In the same period, Turkey started to be regarded as an appropriate mediator for many international conflicts. United Nations (UN) and Turkish government collaboratively took the decision of establishing a Mediation Center in Istanbul, which would be used for the mediation activities of different countries.<sup>11</sup> From Turkey's aspect, being nominated for such an initiative with regard to the mediation, represented the success of its continual efforts to be recognized as a mediator in the international arena. By

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<sup>8</sup> Bulent Aras and Rabia Karakaya Polat, "Turkey and the Middle East: Frontiers of the New Geographic Imagination," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 61 (2007): 479, accessed March 1, 2015 <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/10357710701684930>.

<sup>9</sup> Aras and Karakaya Polat, "Turkey and the Middle East: Frontiers of the New Geographic Imagination," 479.

<sup>10</sup> "Rice Praises Turkey's Very Helpful' Efforts to End Gaza Crisis," *Haaretz*, Accessed Jul 06, 2015, <http://www.haaretz.com/beta/rice-praises-turkey-s-very-helpful-efforts-to-end-gaza-crisis-1.192264>.

<sup>11</sup> Sevil Erkuş, "Turkey, UN Plan 'Retreat Center' for Mediation Acts," *Hurriyet Daily News*, April 5, 2013, accessed March 12, 2015, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-un-plan-retreat-center-for-mediation-acts.aspx?pageID=238&nid=44371>.

means of the Retreat Center, parties of any conflicts, which would be mediated by the UN, would come together with each other for the resolution of the conflicts, and Turkey would play an active mediatory role in the mediation processes by hosting the conflicting parties.

So as to increase its visibility and to enhance the capabilities of mediation, Turkey also decided to implement annual conferences on mediation named “Istanbul Conference on Mediation”. The first of them was held on February 24-25, 2012, the second one on April 11-12, 2013, and the third on June 24-27, 2014.<sup>12</sup> The main objectives of these conferences was to address the conflicts in the instable regions such as Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, and Syria, to discuss the alternative ways of resolving these conflicts through mediation, and to contribute to the building of a national capacity in Turkey in the field of mediation and conflict resolution.<sup>13</sup> Participants of the conferences were mostly from representatives of civil society and government officials, who were interested in conflict resolution and mediation. In the first conference held in 2012, making an opening speech, Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser, the President of the Sixty-Sixth session of the UN General Assembly, appreciated Turkey’s efforts to establish a Mediation Center in Istanbul, which will complement its continuing contribution to regional and international peace and security through mediation as well as praising Turkey’s multiregional approach to conflicts, which range from Arab-Israeli conflict to Afghanistan-Pakistan, from Iraq to Somalia-Eritrea.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> “II. Istanbul Conference on Mediation. Key to Successful Mediation: Perspectives from within,” MFA, accessed March 11, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-second-istanbul-conference-on-mediation.en.mfa> ; “III. Istanbul Conference on Mediation. The Increasing Role of Regional Organizations in Mediation,” MFA, accessed March 11, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/third-istanbul-conference-on-mediation-kicks-off-in-istanbul.en.mfa>.

<sup>13</sup> “II. Istanbul Conference on Mediation. Key to Successful Mediation: Perspectives from within”

<sup>14</sup> “On the Occasion of the International Istanbul Conference on ‘Enhancing Peace through Mediation: New Actors, Fresh approaches, Bold Initiatives’,” *United Nations*, accessed March 11, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/ga/president/66/statements/istanbul250212.shtml>.

Turkey, in the same period, was continuing to increase its visibility in the UN with regard to the mediation activities within the scope of The Group of Friends of Mediation, which was initiated by Turkey and Finland in 2010 and includes 41 member states and many regional and international organizations. Turkey, working together with the UN actively and closely, developed its capabilities and capacity of both conducting and contributing to the mediation activities around the world, which in turn made Turkey be among the very well-known and functional mediators.

Then, why is Turkey so enthusiastic about mediating? This is also why this dissertation tries to analyze Turkey's mediation attempts with "why" and "how" in detail.

## **1.2. Scope and Objectives**

The research question of this dissertation can be laconically predicated as, "Why does Turkey mediate?" Hence, throughout the research, it is sought for understanding the leading motivations that encourage Turkey to engage in mediations as a third party. Examining those motivations, it is aimed to find an answer to the question why Turkey mediates. The argument of the research is revolving around the assumption that Turkey's real interests are more salient than its humanitarian approach when Turkey engages in a mediation processes as a third party.

While conducting the research, a specific theory was not applied, so that the theory remained grounded. Yet, throughout the writing process, the author adhered her liberal approach to mediation by considering that mediation activities could settle cooperation or enhance more harmonious relations among the parties of conflicts as well as the third parties. It should also be carefully underwritten that liberal approach of the author did not make her fail to notice the real interests of Turkey in the mediation activities.

For the organization of the research, the ideals and interests of Turkey throughout the mediation processes were analyzed. At that point, the conceptualization was made by this means: The ideals refer to the general reasons to hold the mediations such as humanitarian aims, and the interests represent Turkey's interests and benefits in the making of mediations such as economic concerns.

### **1.3. Methodology**

So as to examine the leading motivations of Turkey to participate in mediations as a third party, the research method of this dissertation is determined as a mixed version of qualitative discourse and content analysis, which are evaluated comparatively, with regard to the regions in which the mediated countries have been.

There are two reasons to use qualitative discourse analysis and content analysis for this dissertation. The first one is that Turkey's mediation activities are conducted by the ministers of foreign affairs, so that discourse analysis of those ministers' speeches which were related to the mediations could give crucial information about the mediation processes, attempts, and more critically, about the reasons of why Turkey mediates. Second, the most objective and extensive source where the documents of the mediation meetings, conferences, summits and any other events held at diplomatic level is the website of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). Therefore, news, announcements, briefings, declarations and relevant sources pertaining to the mediation efforts have been cited from the MFA's official website within the scope of content analysis.

Specifically, speeches of ministers of foreign affairs, including Abdullah Gül, Ali Babacan and Ahmet Davutoğlu are examined for the discourse analysis part of the research. As Abdullah Gül became the 11<sup>th</sup> President of Turkey in August 28, 2007, his speeches are available on the official website of Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, and cited from this website. Besides, Davutoğlu's article entitled "Turkey's Mediation: Critical Reflections from the Field" is briefly referred two times, because Davutoğlu's arguments were quite relevant and required to explain the dynamics of those specific mediation processes.

#### **1.3.1 Sampling**

What makes that piece a comparative study is that four mediation cases from four different regions were selected as samples in order to research whether the ministers of foreign affairs' approaches to the mediation processes change according to the

dynamics of that region. Concordantly, the samples were selected as Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Summits in the South Asia, Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit in the Balkans, Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform (CSCP) between Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Caucasus, and the Initiative of Neighboring Countries of Iraq in the Middle East.

The reason why the aforementioned four cases were selected in the designation of the research sample is that they were the most sustained mediation examples with concrete outputs and intense diplomatic relations with the exception of one case, the Iraq mediation in the Middle East. Absolutely, the mediation process in Iran, which was about the nuclear issue, is more extensive than the Initiative of Neighboring Countries of Iraq. Nonetheless, the power politics, foreign intervention, radical contents, and security-related issues unreasonably dominate the mediation process in Iran. Considering the reliability of the dissertation, which would be negatively affected by that content, the mediation process in Iraq was preferred to the process in Iran.

In order to increase the reliability of the sampling, the documents of all mediations Turkey contributed in Asia, Balkans, Caucasus and the Middle East was checked, though they were not included in the dissertation. Hence, it tried to be guaranteed that the mediation samples chosen for the dissertation included the characteristics of other mediations held in the same regions. To give an example, the mediation processes of Turkey- Bosnia and Herzegovina-Croatia Trilateral Summit and the Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit were comparatively researched, and it was decided that the Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit is more extensive than the Turkey- Bosnia and Herzegovina-Croatia Trilateral Summit to be studied, and also, the contents and discourses of the Turkey- Bosnia and Herzegovina-Croatia Trilateral Summit is similar with the Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit. Therefore, the reliability and the generalizability of the samples could be deemed high.

#### **1.4. Organization of the Dissertation**

The dissertation is composed of 4 main chapters. The first one is an introductory chapter which gives detailed information about the content of the dissertation. Starting with drawing a general picture of Turkey's mediation endeavors during the last decade, the "Introduction" chapter covers the research question, the argument, the theory, the methodology, and the sampling of the dissertation.

In the second chapter entitled "Reassessing the Existing Literature on Mediation and the Mediator", a broad literature review is made in order to make the dissertation more understandable by clarifying the concepts of mediation and mediator. Following the sub-title of definition and characteristics of the mediation, the mediation types are classified as Ronald J. Fisher's "conciliation, consultation, pure mediation, and power mediation", and Frank Hanna's "facilitative, evaluative, and transformative mediations". After classifying the mediation according to the types of it, a new debate is held in consideration of the mediator. Discussing the roles and characteristics of the mediator, the tasks of the mediator throughout the mediation process is detailed. The chapter also includes the types of mediators by dividing it into two categories, namely mediators with respect to different intervention strategies, and mediators with respect to their functions.

In the third chapter entitled "Revisiting the Mediation in the United Nations", the UN as the most effective mediation organization in which Turkey tries to increase its visibility is analyzed through its key documents on mediation. With this purpose, Secretary-General's reports, UN General Assembly resolutions, and the UN guidance documents are carefully reviewed. Secondly, the UN mediations are scrutinized by focusing on the work of mediation support services, and the Group of Friends of Mediation's activities. The chapter ends with Turkey's mediation activities within the scope of the UN and tries to reveal the collaborative works of the UN and Turkey on mediation.

The fourth chapter entitled "Turkey's Leading Motivations to Engage in Mediations as a Third Party" starts with a debate on where Turkey's third party role fits in the

mediation literature. After Turkey as a mediator is literally figured out, the samples of the research are examined in the fourth chapter as well, which are Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Summits, Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit, Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform between Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and The Initiative of Neighboring Countries of Iraq. Each sample is evaluated with the background of the problems which make it necessary to mediate. After giving the details of the background of the problem, the content and discourse analyses of the sources pertaining to the mediation processes are made. By this means, the leading motivations of Turkey try to be determined.

The last chapter is the “Conclusion” part of the dissertation. In this chapter, first, the dissertation will be reviewed by summarizing each chapter. Second, the findings of the content and discourse analyses made in the fourth chapter are interpreted, and the question why does Turkey mediate tries to be answered in the light of that interpretation.

## CHAPTER 2

### REASSESSING THE EXISTING LITERATURE ON MEDIATION AND MEDIATOR

*“Nation states can try to benefit from mediation as an instrument to protect or extend their own spheres of influence.”<sup>15</sup>*

#### 2.1. Introduction

The term mediation had been unremarkably used for the legal practices as an alternative for the solution of local disputes until quite recently, when the term became fashionable for the international conflict resolution matters. In spite of having an increasing trend in international politics during only several decades, indeed, mediation is not a recently emerged term, but has been among the classical methods of conflict resolution since a long time. In a letter he wrote in 1783, Benjamin Franklin points, “All wars are follies, very expensive, and very mischievous ones. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it, even by the cast of a dye, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other”.<sup>16</sup> Agreeing to settle the differences by arbitration in order to avoid war, or in other words, underlining the significance of “arbitration” for the elimination of disputes, Franklin explicitly refers to mediation, which is

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<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Kressel, “Mediation Revisited,” in *The Handbook of Constructive Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, eds. Morton Deutsch and Peter T. Coleman (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006), 739.

<sup>16</sup> Lorraine Smith Pangle, *The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin* (Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 158.

characteristically achieved by the participation of a third party, namely a mediator, or an arbitrator.

Even in quite old and memorable pieces written in Ancient Greece, mediation is sometimes referred for the crisis situations. In Homer's Iliad, which is estimated to be written between 1260 and 1240 BC and covers a maintaining and linear route disrupted by crises throughout the Trojan War, it is possible to observe various solution methods for the crises, and some of those methods almost utterly coincided with mediation and mediation techniques. In her article, "A Typology of Mediation in Homer", Dickson mentions examples of mediation in Homer's Iliad:

A priest's appeal for restitution of his daughter is rejected by a king, and plague ensues. The mediation of a prophet leads on the one hand to approval and the propitiation of offended deity, but on the other to strife between warrior and king. An elder's attempt to mediate their conflict (in which the successful intercession of a goddess is itself embedded) fails to win acceptance, and the warrior withdraws from society. His crisis triggers a second divine intervention in the form of an appeal to the highest god, whose acquiescence on the one hand subordinates all the subsequent narrative to the guidance of a Plan, at the same time as it generates conflict with yet another deity. The book closes with successful mediation (...).<sup>17</sup>

Hence, mediation has been out there as long as there have been wars and conflicts, even though it had not been conceptualized.

## **2.2. Definition and Characteristics of the Mediation**

In the literature, it is quite challenging to find an exact definition of the mediation which is agreed upon or widely accepted, because the definition of the mediation depends on the level of elaboration and complexity of the definition made by scholars. Thus, while defining the mediation, some scholars underline the third party's role and some emphasizes the voluntariness of the conflicting parties for the resolution of the conflict. Yet, scholars mostly agree upon definite characteristics of the mediation processes, which makes the definition at all but the most basic level.<sup>18</sup> Among various

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<sup>17</sup> Keith Dickson, "A Typology of Mediation in Homer," *Oral Tradition* 5 (1990): 37.

<sup>18</sup> Mark Davidheiser, "Culture and Mediation: A Contemporary Processual Analysis from Southwestern Gambia," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29 (2005): 715.

definitions of different conflict resolution methods, particularly of the ones which are frequently used for international disputes, this chapter selects solely the definitions of the mediation and the terms related to mediation and its techniques.

From a general and comprehensive point of view, mediation could be defined as “a third party conflict management activity that can be undertaken by an individual, a state, groups of states, or an organization upon the approval of both of the disputing parties, with the aim of reducing the hostilities between the disputing parties, by facilitating the formulation and/or implementation of a negotiated settlement”.<sup>19</sup> Hereby, basically three components of a mediation attempt come to the front: A conflict between at least two parties, the will of conflicting parties for the solution of the conflict, and the involvement of a third party in conflict resolution process.

Reviewing the existing literature on definition of mediation, William Zartman and Saadia Touval’s collaborative study, which is entitled “International Mediation in the Post-Cold War Era” and deemed one of the earliest studies on modern type of mediation, could be discussed.<sup>20</sup> Zartman and Touval argues, “Mediation is best thought of as a mode of negotiation in which a third party helps the parties find a solution which they cannot find by themselves”.<sup>21</sup> In their definition, the authors emphasize the significance of the “third party” factor which is supposed to find a solution to the disputes. Thus, the mediator is responsible not only for the technical or logistic part of the conflict, but also for the ideational part of it, which requires to find a solution to the unresolved conflict. Zartman, in another article of him, describes the mediation as “a mode of negotiation in which a third party helps the parties find a

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<sup>19</sup> Burcu Savun, “Information, Bias, and Mediation Success: Evaluating the Effectiveness of Mediation of International Conflicts” (PhD diss., Rice University, 2006), 11.

<sup>20</sup> William Zartman and Saadia Touval, “International Mediation in the Post-Cold War Era,” in *Managing Global Chaos*, eds. Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson and Pamela Aall (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996) 445-461.

<sup>21</sup> Zartman and Touval, “International Mediation,” 446.

solution which they cannot find themselves” and underscores the mediators’ role of “solution finding”.<sup>22</sup>

Therefore, both Zartman and Touval assign mediators heavy responsibilities and put them in the core of conflict resolution processes.

In order to draw an elaborated framework, Bercovitch and Jackson specify 7 main characteristics of the mediation:

1. Mediation is an extension and continuation of peaceful conflict resolution
2. Mediation involves the intervention of an outsider – an individual, a group, or an organization – into a conflict between two or more states or other actors.
3. Mediation is a noncoercive, nonviolent, and, ultimately, nonbinding form of intervention.
4. Mediators enter a conflict, whether internal or international, in order to affect, change, resolve, modify, or influence, it in some way. Mediators use personal or structural resources to achieve these objectives.
5. Mediators bring with them, consciously or otherwise, ideas, knowledge, resources, and interests of their own or of the group or organization they represent. Mediators often have their own assumptions and agendas about the conflict in question.
6. Mediation is a voluntary form of conflict management. The actors involved retain over the outcome (if not always over the process) of their conflict, as well as the freedom to accept or reject mediation or mediators’ proposals.
7. Mediation usually operates on an ad hoc basis only.<sup>23</sup>

It could be concluded with regard to the 7 characteristics above that mediation attempts aim at the intervention of a third party into the conflict with the purpose of peaceful resolution through consent and voluntarism by bringing the parties of the conflict together in order to reach an agreement.

### **2.3. Classification of Mediation Types**

Finding an agreed classification of mediation types is as challenging as finding an agreed definition of the mediation. In many academic studies on mediation and other conflict resolution methods, it is possible to come across different typologies of

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<sup>22</sup> William Zartman, *Negotiation and Conflict Management: Essays on Theory and Practice* (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), 117.

<sup>23</sup> Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century: Principles, Methods, and Approaches* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 36.

mediation formed by the scholars with regard to their own definition, formulation and understanding of the mediation. In this section, two of the mostly-referred classifications of mediation types, namely conciliation, consultation, pure mediation and power mediation by Ronald J. Fisher, and facilitative, evaluative and transformative types of mediation by Frank Hanna will be examined.

### **2.3.1 Conciliation, Consultation, Pure Mediation, and Power Mediation**

In his study on contingency model of third party intervention, Fisher structures a 6-step classification of third party intervention and the first 4 steps pertain to the mediation. Shaping his classification, Fisher predicates the steps of the mediation on the process in which the mediator carries out his activities. This classification is as follows, and therefore, Fisher classifies the mediation according to the role the third party plays during the mediation process.

- 1. *Conciliation*** in which a trusted third party provides an informal communication link between the antagonists for the purposes of identifying the issues, lowering tension and encouraging direct interaction, usually negotiation.
- 2. *Consultation*** in which the third party works to facilitate creative problem solving through communication and analysis using human relations skills and social-scientific understanding of conflict etiology and dynamics.
- 3. *Pure Mediation*** in which the third party attempts to facilitate a negotiated settlement on substantive issues through the use of reasoning, persuasion, the control of information and the suggestion of alternatives.
- 4. *Power Mediation*** which includes pure mediation but goes beyond to include the use of leverage or coercion by the mediator in the form of promised rewards or threatened punishments, and may involve the third party as a monitor and guarantor of the agreement.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ronald J. Fisher, "Assessing the Contingency Model of Third-Party Intervention in Successful Cases of Prenegotiation," *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (2007): 314.

### 2.3.2 Facilitative, Evaluative, and Transformative Mediations

According to Frank Hanna, there are three types of mediation, which are facilitative, evaluative and transformative mediations.<sup>25</sup>

For the facilitative mediation, Hanna explains that,

In facilitative mediation, the mediator structures a process to assist the parties in reaching a mutually agreeable resolution. He or she asks questions, validates each party's point of view, searches for interests underneath the positions taken by the parties and assists the parties in finding and analyzing options for resolution. Typically, a facilitative mediator does not make recommendations to the parties, does not give his or her own advice regarding the outcome of their case or, indeed, predict what might happen should the issue have got to court. The mediator is strictly in charge of the process, and the parties are in charge of the outcome.<sup>26</sup>

Therefore, facilitative mediators want the disputing parties to have the major influence in the decisions that are made rather than decisions being influenced by any representatives who might accompany them.<sup>27</sup>

According to Hanna, the second most common style of mediation is evaluative mediation, which refers to a process modeled on settlement conferences held by judges.<sup>28</sup> An evaluative mediator assist the parties in reaching resolution by pointing out the weaknesses of their case and predicting what a judge or jury would be most likely to decide. Furthermore, an evaluative mediator will be concerned with the legal rights of the parties rather than the needs and interests and evaluates the dispute based on the legal concepts of fairness.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Frank Hanna, *Conflict Resolution and Mediation in the Real World* (USA: Merge Consultants, 2003), 64.

<sup>26</sup> Frank Hanna, "Conflict Resolution," 64.

<sup>27</sup> Frank Hanna, "Conflict Resolution," 65.

<sup>28</sup> Frank Hanna, "Conflict Resolution," 65.

<sup>29</sup> Frank Hanna, "Conflict Resolution," 66.

When one comparatively analyzes the differences between evaluative and facilitative types of mediation, it could be observed that the evaluative mediator will structure the process like facilitative mediator, but unlike a facilitative mediator, an evaluative mediator often directly influence the outcome of the mediation.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Hanna underlines that, “The most significant difference between the two styles of mediation is that in evaluative mediation, there is an assumption that the mediator has legal expertise or substantial expertise in the area of the actual dispute”.<sup>31</sup> Because of this assumption, the majority of the evaluative mediators are attorneys or specialist in different branches of law, which makes the evaluative mediation differ from the facilitative mediation.

According to Hanna, the third type of mediation is transformative mediation, which is a new type of mediation based on the value of empowering the parties of the conflict as much as possible, as well as recognition by each of the parties of the other’s needs, interests, values and points of view.<sup>32</sup> By providing both strength and tolerance to the parties of the conflict, the transformative mediation aims to transform the relations between the parties during the mediation process with the help of the mediator who habitually meet the parties of the conflict together since only they can give each other recognition, so that parties structure not only the mediation process but also the outcome of the mediation through their relationship with each other.<sup>33</sup>

Lastly, it could be noted that all of these three types of mediation could be utilized separately or jointly in the same mediation process according to the requirements of the mediation process and the nature of parties of the conflict.

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<sup>30</sup> Frank Hanna, “Conflict Resolution,” 66.

<sup>31</sup> Frank Hanna, “Conflict Resolution,” 66.

<sup>32</sup> Frank Hanna, “Conflict Resolution,” 66.

<sup>33</sup> Frank Hanna, “Conflict Resolution,” 67.

## 2.4 Discussing the Third Party Role of Mediators

Throughout the previous sections, the concept mediation is often referred as the main component of the mediation. If so, who is a mediator and what kind of roles and responsibilities a mediator have? In this section, the mediator as the third party of the conflict will be examined in detail.

### 2.4.1 Roles and Characteristics of the Mediator

Before examining the mediator and the roles portrayed by the mediator, first, it will be better to comprehend what the “third party” is. The term third party is used to refer to a person or team of people who involves in a conflict to help the disputing parties manage and resolve the conflict.<sup>34</sup> For the resolution of the conflicts, third parties could act as consultants and they can help the parties of the conflicts to find solution by planning effective responses.<sup>35</sup> Hence, the third party represents an actor which is apart from the parties of the conflict, but intervenes in the conflict in order to find a solution, and the “third party” is named “mediator” when mediation is used as a method for the resolution of the conflict.

In mediation, a neutral third party acts as a mediator and works with the parties of the conflict by meeting them both separately and jointly in order to facilitate a resolution.<sup>36</sup> Mediators have more active and powerful third party roles, because they not only facilitate discussions between the parties but also they impose a process which is designed to encourage parties for mutual understanding and win-win agreements.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Bernhard Rinke, Christiane Lammers, Reinhard Meyers and Georg Simonis, *Interventionen Revisited: Friedensethik und Humanitäre Interventionen* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 2014), 31.

<sup>35</sup> Rinke et al., “Interventionen Revisited,” 31.

<sup>36</sup> Frank Cross and Roger Miller, *The Legal Environment of Business: Text and Cases* (Canada: Cengage Learning, 2012), 65.

<sup>37</sup> “Third Party Intervention,” *University of Colorado*, accessed March 7, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/3ptyint.htm>.

Academic debates regarding the roles of a mediator varies due to the incompatible arguments of scholars about whether a mediator is a key actor for the mediation process or a secondary actor involving in mediation. On the one hand, there are scholars who relegate mediators to the secondary position.<sup>38</sup> For instance, in one of the earliest pieces pertaining to the mediation, Marvin C. Ott underlines that the mediator is not empowered to make binding decisions, but to make only suggestions.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, Ott reduces the role of a mediator to an adviser who can only make suggestions for the resolution. Supporting Ott's argument, Arthur Meyer assumes that:

The mediator is a catalytic agent. The mere presence of an outsider, aside from anything he may do or say, will cause a change, and almost certainly a change for the better, in the behavior of the disputing parties (...) Rudeness, irritation, and the habit of not listening (...) these are as vexing as the untenable arguments that accompany them. Progress has been made through the mediator's presence, though that presence has brought nothing more than temperate speech.<sup>40</sup>

Hereby, Meyer points out a quite controversial argument that a mediator functions only because his presence prevents the parties of the conflict from acting improperly and from claiming illogical arguments towards each other. Therefore, according to Meyer, a mediator is not more than an outsider who regulates the discussions between the parties of the conflict essentially.

On the other hand, there are scholars such as Oran Young who emphasizes the significance of the mediator for the conflict resolution and puts the functions of the mediators (information functions, tactical functions, supervisory functions, etc.) in the core of a mediation process.<sup>41</sup> For these scholars, a mediator could change the structure of a conflict by becoming the part of the conflict, because there has been a

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<sup>38</sup> Bercovitch and Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century*, 35.

<sup>39</sup> Marvin Ott, "Mediation as a Method of Conflict Resolution: Two Cases," *International Organization* 26 (1972): 597.

<sup>40</sup> Arthur Meyer, "Function of the Mediator in Collective Bargaining," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 13 (1960): 161.

<sup>41</sup> Oran R. Young, "Intermediaries: Additional Thoughts on Third Parties," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 16 (1972): 55.

relationship between the characteristics of the mediator and the success of the mediation.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the more a mediator is efficient the more a mediation process is successful.

Then, what kind of roles does a mediator have in order to complete the mediation process successfully? According to Robert Benjamin, first, the professional duty and responsibility of the mediator is to protect parties of the conflict that means the mediator should assure that both parties have all necessary information related to the available options, and also the advantages and disadvantages of the each option”.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, Benjamin emphasizes the significance of protection and information of the parties by the mediator. From Morgan Brigg’s point of view, “In mapping disputes, the mediator has a responsibility to identify configurations of power which will have a bearing on any process, and to allow for the expression of the range of values and power relationships among the parties”<sup>44</sup> and adds that, “(...) Mediators do not make value judgments, serves (paradoxically) to assure participants that the mediation process is apolitical and to establish a basis for mediators to exercise power”.<sup>45</sup> Hence, Brigg underlines that mediators are responsible for identifying the power configurations, allowing expression of values by the parties, and staying neutral and apolitical during the mediation process. Last but not the least, Fred Fisher underscores in a report he has written for the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) that a mediator is expected to help resolve conflict “in the best interests of

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<sup>42</sup> Oliver Ramsbotham, Hugh Miall and Tom Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Malden MA: Polity, 2011), 51; Oliver Ramsbotham, Hugh Miall and Tom Woodhouse, “Ending Violent Conflict: Peacemaking- Mediation and Third Party Intervention,” in *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, eds. Oliver Ramsbotham, Hugh Miall and Tom Woodhouse (Malden: Polity, 2011), 184.

<sup>43</sup> Robert Benjamin, “A Critique of Mediation, Challenging Misconceptions, Assessing Risks, and Weighing The Advantages,” *Mediate*, April 1999, accessed June 5, 2015, <http://www.mediate.com/articles/critiq.cfm#bio>.

<sup>44</sup> Tony Bauman, “Speaking Across Difference: Australia,” in *Mediation in the Asia-Pacific Region: Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace*, eds. Dale Bagshaw and Elisabeth Porter (USA and Canada: Routledge, 2009), 59.

<sup>45</sup> Morgan Brigg, “Mediation, Power and Cultural Difference,” *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 20 (2003): 294.

all those involved in the mediation process”, and through this argument, he underlines that it is the mediator’s role to ensure that the outcome of the mediation would satisfy the needs and expectations of the parties of the conflict ideally.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to the roles a mediator should have, there are also characteristics a mediator should present. According to Bercovitch and Jackson, the mediator’s knowledge and skill for the conflict resolution is as significant as its prestige and authority, originality of ideas, access to resources, and ability to act unobtrusively.<sup>47</sup> In this context, Paul Wehr lists essential characteristics of the mediators as follows:

1. Knowledge about conflict situations,
2. An ability to understand the positions of the antagonists,
3. Active listening,
4. A sense of timing,
5. Communication skills,
6. Procedural skills (e.g., chairing meetings),
7. Crisis management”.<sup>48</sup>

#### **2.4.2 Tasks of the Mediator throughout the Mediation Process**

In addition to the roles and characteristics a mediator should have, there are also essential tasks of mediators to be fulfilled. In the literature on mediation, a considerable number of tasks are given to the mediators who are responsible to successfully mediate the conflicts. Among many studies, Louis Kriesberg’s study entitled “Mediation in Conflict Systems” in which Kriesberg elaborates the tasks of a mediator in detail is selected for this dissertation.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, Kriesberg’s frame for the tasks of the mediators will be scrutinized

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<sup>46</sup> Fred Fisher, *Building Bridges Between Citizens and Local Governments to Work More Effectively Together: Concepts and Strategies* (UN: UN HABITAT, 2001), 11.

<sup>47</sup> Bercovitch and Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century*, 36.

<sup>48</sup> Bercovitch and Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century*, 37.

<sup>49</sup> Louis Kriesberg, “Mediation in Conflict Systems,” *Systems Research and Behavioral Science* 29 (2012): 149.

### **2.4.2.1 Assist Communication and Transmit Information**

In order to assist communication for the parties of the conflict, mediators can play a role of bridge for the parties, and by this means, the parties can communicate with each other through the ways created by the mediators. Giving the example of Norwegian Foreign Ministry's attempts to arrange meetings between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and Israeli non-governmental academics and government officials in 1993, Kriesberg also underscores the significance of even simply providing a discrete place for the parties of the conflict or their representatives to meet confidentially.<sup>50</sup> He adds, "Sometimes each adversary prefers not to meet in the other's space, fearing that it would appear to be the supplicant. Getting together in a neutral location avoids that symbolic loss of face".<sup>51</sup> Hence, providing a neutral place to provide and maintain communication between the parties can be one of the tasks of mediators during the process.

With regard to providing a healthy communication between the parties of the conflict, another challenge, which can be overcome with the help of the mediator, is the skeptic approach of the conflicting parties, which in turn makes the communication open to misunderstandings. At this point, Kriesberg recommends that, "Informal meetings across adversarial lines can help provide transformational information. Learning of the differences among members of the opposing side is often enlightening, instead of viewing the other side as homogenous and antagonistic. Such contacts can reduce the demonization of the enemy that is the hallmark of destructive conflicts".<sup>52</sup> At that point, mediator's neutral transmission of information between the parties can eliminate the problem of misunderstandings and decrease the level of mistrust.

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<sup>50</sup> Kriesberg, "Mediation in Conflict Systems," 151.

<sup>51</sup> Kriesberg, "Mediation in Conflict Systems," 152.

<sup>52</sup> Kriesberg, "Mediation in Conflict Systems," 152.

#### **2.4.2.2 Help Adversaries Initiate Negotiations and Ease the Negotiating Process**

Mediating always has its own risks, particularly if the conflict has been a longstanding and a thorny one. According to Kriesberg, a mediator's task in such a situation is to, "[...] explore what negotiating partners, agenda and context would make negotiation seem plausible".<sup>53</sup> By this, the hesitations and shyness of the conflicting parties aim to be eliminated, and their active participation into the mediation process is guaranteed. Among the suggestions of Kriesberg, there has been the mediator's offering of giving symbolic gift to each other in order to break the ice.

After providing the initiation of the conflicting parties into the negotiation process, the mediator should also guarantee the maintenance of the process by finding the ways to ease it. According to Kriesberg, "Mediators may set rules and suggest techniques that enable disputants to discuss differences and yet minimize adversarial argument".<sup>54</sup> These rules and suggestions can cover ensuring time constraints on speaking, encouraging the participants to ask questions to learn the each other side's and so on.<sup>55</sup>

#### **2.4.2.3 Help Invent New Options**

According to Kriesberg, it is the mediator's responsibility to help the conflicting parties to find new options in order to enhance the mediation process. When the mediation process is interrupted or gears down, the mediator should take the initiative to arrange the process accordingly.

At that point, what Kriesberg recommends to the mediator is to find the most appropriate and applicable option to overcome the challenges in the process. To give an example, Kriesberg states, "[...] when representatives from one side reject a proposal from another party, the mediator may ask, 'What if the other side said such and such, would that be better?' Then, if the response is, 'That's better, but it's not

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<sup>53</sup> Kriesberg, "Mediation in Conflict Systems," 152.

<sup>54</sup> Kriesberg, "Mediation in Conflict Systems," 152.

<sup>55</sup> Kriesberg, "Mediation in Conflict Systems," 152.

enough,” the mediator may ask, “What would you add to improve it?’ The idea is to demonstrate to participants how they can get beyond rejecting a proposal and rather think how to make it acceptable”.<sup>56</sup> Thus, a mediator both can find and make the conflicting parties invent new options.

#### **2.4.2.4 Represent Persons Absent from the Negotiations**

In every mediation process, there is the risk of absent groups which are not presented in the negotiations. Thus, the interests, concerns, demands and priorities of those groups remain out of the negotiation table, which in turn make the mediation process less representative. Hereby, what a mediator should provide is the representation of the interests of the absent groups in order to make the mediation process more reliable and easy to reach an agreement, which represent the consent of all parties in the conflict. Furthermore, they should take the “general norms of fairness or of human rights”, according to Kriesberg, in order to “[...] make the resulting agreement more sustainable”.<sup>57</sup>

#### **2.4.2.5 Relevant Resources**

Sometimes, the parties of the conflict cannot be able to reach at the necessary resources, which will ease the negotiations. In such a situation, the mediator, if able to reach at those resources, should help the conflicting parties reach at them. From providing the support of external organizations such as the UN, the US, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) can ease the mediation process as well as the contributions of any other third countries which can provide needed resources.<sup>58</sup>

The promise of assistance by external organizations, such as the USA, the UN or the, to recover from the devastation of internal strife can encourage adversaries to end their

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<sup>56</sup> Kriesberg, “Mediation in Conflict Systems,” 153.

<sup>57</sup> Kriesberg, “Mediation in Conflict Systems,” 153.

<sup>58</sup> Kriesberg, “Mediation in Conflict Systems,” 153.

fight and reap benefits for doing so. Exert Pressures for an Agreement Help Rally Support for an Agreement.

In this section, the roles, characteristics and tasks that mediators have been discussed in detail, because this study presumes that a mediator is a catalyzer which brings the parties of the conflict together and creates a suitable ground for the compromise of the parties. Therefore, both the roles and the characteristics of the mediator matter for the mediation process' course of proceeding.

Then, how could the mediators be classified according to their roles, characteristics or any other criteria? In the following section, types of mediators will be discussed in detail.

## **2.5. Classification of Mediator Types**

The literature on mediation includes a variety of classifications for both mediation and mediator types. In this section, the mostly referred mediator types which are formed according to the intervention strategies and functions of the mediator, and types of activities a mediator holds will be scrutinized in order to have a better understanding of the mediator.

### **2.5.1 Mediators with Respect to Different Intervention Strategies**

Examining the mediator with regard to the strategies it prefers to use, several prominent scholars of conflict resolution such as Druckman, Crocker and Beriker, offer two distinct categories, which are structural conflict prevention and conflict transformation/social psychological approaches.<sup>59</sup> In this chapter, these two categories will be scrutinized in order to comprehend the strategies of the mediators and to make a classification of mediators according to these strategies.

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<sup>59</sup> Meliha Altunışık and Esra Çuhadar, "Turkey's Search for a Third Party Role in Arab – Israeli Conflicts: A Neutral Facilitator or a Principal Power Mediator?," *Mediterranean Politics* 15 (2010): 377.

### 2.5.1.1 Structural Conflict Prevention

Conflict resolution depends upon concentrated attention on the structural circumstances that have the potential to develop into violent conflict. Conflicts emerge due to some forms of malfunction in a society, so that preventive measures should be determined and implemented at a time when that society is not directly on the path to war.<sup>60</sup> At this point, the direct prevention, which refers to the direct actions to reduce and eliminate violence, could come to the front. Yet, this kind of an intervention does not eliminate the real factors triggering the conflicts between the parties. Conversely, structural conflict prevention is not immediately tied to the possibility of an armed conflict, but it involves the promotion of democracy, ethnic integration, international regional cooperation, arms control and disarmament.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, structural prevention requires considerable building attempts of mediators.

Beriker briefly defines the structural conflict prevention as, “Actor intervenes as a third party, and carries out activities designed to change the incentive structure of the disputing parties with an expectation that they would lead the parties to change their conflict behavior”.<sup>62</sup> In order to conceptualize the structural conflict prevention, Altunışık and Çuhadar explains, “Structural prevention refers to institution building efforts of the third parties in a conflict, such as contributing to the development of social capital, establishing and maintaining legal and political institutions that offer incentives for the non-violent waging of the conflict and negotiations, and conflict-sensitive development assistance”.<sup>63</sup> To clarify, the strategy of structural prevention points out that mediation consists of various attempts that helps the parties of the

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<sup>60</sup> Peter Wallensteen, “Reassessing Recent Conflicts: Direct vs. Structural Prevention,” in *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System*, eds. Fen Osler Hampson and David Malone (USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 213.

<sup>61</sup> Wallensteen, “From Reaction to Conflict Prevention,” 214.

<sup>62</sup> Nimet Beriker, “Conflict Resolution: The Missing Link between Liberal International Relations Theory and Realistic Practice,” in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, eds. Dennis J. D. Sandole, Sean Byrne, Ingrid Sandole-Staroste and Jessica Senehi (New York: Routledge, 2008), 260.

<sup>63</sup> Altunışık and Çuhadar, “Turkey’s Search for a Third Party Role,” 377.

conflict to change their rational calculations about a negotiated settlement as well as providing assistance to conflicting parties to reach at a negotiated settlement. To that end, the authors offer that, “Institution building and capacity building (and their withdrawal or the threat of their withdrawal) can be offered by the third party as side payments or incentives to create an environment conducive to negotiations”.<sup>64</sup>

### **2.5.1.2 Conflict Transformation/ Social-Psychological Approach**

Stern and Druckman defines conflict transformation as, “the effort to reach accommodation between parties in conflict through interactive processes that lead to reconciling tensions, redefining interests, or finding common ground”.<sup>65</sup> In this context, Beriker suggests that, “Third parties can have crucial roles in conflict transformation. In other words, third parties may help conflicting parties to reach mutually satisfactory outcomes in cases where parties cannot reach an agreement through their own efforts. A third characteristic is that all parties to the conflict affect the relationships”.<sup>66</sup> According to Stern and Druckman, this kind of a strategy of intervention differs from the “logic of enduring national interests” by its two assumptions which are intertwined to each other: First, “Interests and conflicts of interest are to some degree socially constructed and malleable”, and second, “It is possible for groups to redefine their interests to reduce intergroup tension and suspicion and to make peaceful settlements more possible”.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, this strategy paves the way of new opportunities for reconciliation and the recognition of new possibilities for solution.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Altunışık and Çuhadar, “Turkey’s Search for a Third Party Role,” 377.

<sup>65</sup> Paul C. Stern and Daniel Druckman, *International Conflict Resolution after the Cold War* (Washington: The International Academies Press, 2000), 5.

<sup>66</sup> Beriker, “Conflict Resolution,” 266.

<sup>67</sup> Stern and Druckman, *International Conflict Resolution*, 5.

<sup>68</sup> Stern and Druckman, *International Conflict Resolution*, 5.

Recently, Stern and Druckman have contributed to the literature on mediation by adding a third intervention strategy which was named “power mediation” and mixed mediation with usually hard power based instruments.<sup>69</sup> Because it is not a widely accepted and referred type of a strategy yet, in this section, it is excluded and solely structural conflict prevention and conflict transformation. A mediator could pick one of them or use more than one together during a mediation process. In the following chapter, mediators will be classified with regard to their functions throughout the mediation process.

## **2.5.2 Mediators with Respect to Their Functions**

Developing a different framework for the classification of types of both mediation and mediators, this category stems from the functions of mediators which they hold throughout the mediation process. Even though roles and functions of mediators vary with respect to different parameters such as the nature of the conflict, mediation type or conflicting parties, hereby, three main and agreed functions of mediators, which are facilitation, formulation and manipulation, will be discussed. This kind of a classification represents not only the functions and responsibilities of the mediators but also the type of mediation activities utilized by the mediators.

### **2.5.2.1 Communicator/ Facilitator**

According to Beardsley et al., “The mediator as facilitator or communicator serves as a channel of communication among disputing parties, focusing on ensuring continued discussion and dialogue. Facilitative mediation is closely associated with an integrative strategy that is, a set of techniques that help the actors correctly identify agreements within the overlapping range of possible nonviolent outcomes”.<sup>70</sup> According to this classification, mediator is responsible to prepare an appropriate ground for the communication and dialogue between the conflicting parties, which will

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<sup>69</sup> Stern and Druckman, *International Conflict Resolution*, 5.

<sup>70</sup> Kyle C. Beardsley, David M. Quinn, Bidisha Biswas and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, “Mediation Style and Crisis Outcomes,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50 (2006): 62-63.

pave the way of mutual understanding and create the opportunity to meet on a common ground for the parties of the conflict. Furthermore, if parties of the conflict have sufficient information about the capabilities and intentions of the each other, they will be able to identify “mutually acceptable alternatives to violent conflict”, or vice versa, lack of information about the opponent part of the conflict will make the conflicting parties underestimate or overestimate the capabilities of each other.<sup>71</sup> This, in turn, will both create hesitation and discourage the parties for the mediation.

Consequently, facilitative mediators try to guarantee the information-sharing between the parties of the conflict in order to help them develop a mutual understanding and estimate the range of preferably outcomes.<sup>72</sup> Even though there are many scholars who classify facilitator/facilitation as different from the mediator/mediation, and describe the facilitator as a communication channel or an adviser, the common understanding is that facilitation is a type of duty a mediator should hold.<sup>73</sup>

#### **2.5.2.2 Formulator**

According to Zartman and Touval, the point of origin of the formulating function of the mediator is the need of the mediator to perform an active role in the mediation process when the mediator does want to do more than providing communication between the conflicting parties or when the mediator feels that providing communication between the parties does not help the resolution of the conflict. They state,

“In such a situation, the second role-mediator as formulator-is needed as well. Third parties must be capable of innovative thinking that is not possible for the parties to the conflict, constrained as they are by their commitments. Redefining the issues in a conflict, or finding a formula for its management or resolution, is the substantive key to its termination, and the parties frequently need help not only in finding a key hidden in the morass of bad relations but, more frequently, in inventing a key out of pieces of the

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<sup>71</sup> Beardsley et al., “Mediation Style and Crisis Outcomes,” 63.

<sup>72</sup> Beardsley et al., “Mediation Style and Crisis Outcomes,” 63.

<sup>73</sup> William J. Dixon, “Third-party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlement,” *International Organization*, 50 (1996): 658.

conflict itself . In this role, mediators need to add the qualities of creativeness and invention to the communicator’s traits of tact and empathy, and must seek to discover the parties’ real and basic interests, and their component ingredients”.<sup>74</sup>

Through this quotation, two authors underline several points about the functions of the mediators. First, the communicator role of the mediators may not be sufficient or work as required all the time. Hence, a new role, namely formulation, could need to be held by the mediator. Second, for the formulation role of the mediators, authors underscore how the creativity and alternative thinking of the mediators are vital for the conflict resolution. With the help of these abilities, mediators should create new formulations which are appropriate for the solution of the conflicts between the conflicting parties, which is the function of mediators as formulators. Third, while formulating new alternatives for the solution, mediators should consider the basic needs and expectations of the parties in order to have a permanent solution. Therefore, these three functions are all covered within the category of mediators as formulators.

**Table 2: Styles in the Context of Mechanisms and Tactics**

**Source: Kyle C. Beardsley, David M. Quinn, Bidisha Biswas and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, “Mediation Style and Crisis Outcomes,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50 (2006): 67.**

<i>Style</i>	<i>Tactics</i>
Facilitation	Make contact with parties Gain the trust and confidence of the parties Arrange for interactions between the parties Identify underlying issues and interests Clarify the situation Supply missing information Transmit messages between parties Fact finding

<sup>74</sup> Saadia Touval and William Zartman, “Introduction: Mediation in Theory,” in *International Mediation in Theory and Practice*, eds. Saadia Touval and I. William Zartman (Johns Hopkins University: Westview Press, 1985), 38.

**Table 2 (cont'd)**

	Offer positive evaluations
	Allow the interests of all parties to be discussed
Formulation	Control the pace and formality of the meetings
	Control the physical environment
	Ensure the privacy of mediation
	Highlight common interests
	Control timing
	Help devise a framework for an acceptable outcome
	Help parties save face
	Keep the process focused on the issues
	Make substantive suggestions and proposals
	Suggest concessions parties could make
Manipulation	Keep parties at the table
	Change parties' expectations
	Take responsibility for concessions
	Make parties aware of the costs of non-agreement
	Supply and filter information
	Help negotiators to undo a commitment
	Reward concessions made by the parties
	Press the parties to show flexibility
	Promise resources
	Threaten withdrawal of resources
	Offer to verify compliance with the agreement
	Add incentives
	Threaten punishments
	Threaten to withdraw mediation

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### 2.5.2.3 Manipulator (Power Mediator)

Last step of the classification of mediators with respect to their functions is mediator as a manipulator, or in other names, as a power mediator. In some situations, neither communication nor the formulation roles of the mediator does not work properly for the resolution of the conflict. For such kind of a situation, Zartman and Touval offers that, “Mediators may have to take on a third, even more active role - that of mediator as manipulator, utilizing their positions and other resources to move the parties into agreement, or perhaps into a particular agreement that appears most stable or favorable”.<sup>75</sup> Authors assert that, this is a structural role, because it directly involves manipulation and power relations, which refers to the power politics indeed.<sup>76</sup> With regard to the function of manipulation through power politics, “mediators transform the bargaining structure from a dyad into a triangle, and become actors with interests or ‘full participants’ (to use current diplomatic language)-not just neutral intermediaries”, according to the authors.<sup>77</sup> Touval and Zartman are of opinion that a manipulator’s essential contribution to mediation process like a formulator mediator. Yet, what makes manipulators different from formulator ones is that manipulator mediators use their leverage to affect the mediation.<sup>78</sup>

In this section, three types of mediators are examined with regard to their functions, which are respectively facilitator, formulator and manipulator. In the Table 2, the functions of the different types of mediators can be seen in detail. In the following chapter,

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<sup>75</sup> Touval and Zartman, “Introduction: Mediation in Theory,” 39.

<sup>76</sup> Touval and Zartman, “Introduction: Mediation in Theory,” 39.

<sup>77</sup> Touval and Zartman, “Introduction: Mediation in Theory,” 39.

<sup>78</sup> Beardsley et al., “Mediation Style and Crisis Outcomes,” 64.

## CHAPTER 3

### REVISITING THE MEDIATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

*I believe we have only begun to explore the full potentialities of the United Nations as an instrument for multilateral diplomacy, especially the most useful combinations of public discussion on the one hand and private negotiations and mediation on the other.*<sup>79</sup>

– Dag Hammarskjöld

#### 3.1 Introduction

Though the mediation is generally deemed a state-level activity, which is initiated and moderated by mediator states, indeed, a considerable number of mediations have been conducted by the regional, international, and transnational organizations.<sup>80</sup> The UN, African Union, Arab League, Organization of American States and many other international organizations have a sizable share in the global efforts of mediation.<sup>81</sup> According to Diehl and Greig, in the wake of World War II, particularly during 1940s and 1950s, international organization were conducting the 60% of the mediation attempts of the world, while the number was around 38% during the 1990s.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Extract from an address by former Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld to the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 11 September 1954. For more information, please check: <http://www.un.org/wcm/webdav/site/undpa/shared/undpa/pdf/SG%20Report%20on%20Preventive%20Diplomacy.pdf>

<sup>80</sup> Jacob Bercovitch, *Theory and Practice of International Mediation: Selected Essays* (USA and Canada: Routledge, 2011), 80.

<sup>81</sup> Paul F. Diehl and J. Michael Greig, *International Mediation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012) 64.

<sup>82</sup> Diehl and Greig, *International Mediation*, 64.

The UN has been among the most active international organizations with regard to the mediation attempts. According to Bercovitch, “In the post-Cold War era’s outbreaks of low-level violence, civil wars and ethnic conflicts, the United Nations is often seen as the only actor capable of resolving conflict independently”.<sup>83</sup> Dealing with deeply-routed reasons of the conflicts, the UN has been a successful center for initiating into the different kinds of conflicts, including a broad geographical area, from Somalia to Bosnia, from Angola to Afghanistan.<sup>84</sup> Still, the UN has been the only international organization conducting a considerable number of mediation attempts, which makes it worth to scrutinize.

### **3.2 Overviewing UN Mediations at the Documental Level**

In this section, the key UN documents particularly in the areas of conflict, conflict resolution, mediation and peace making will be elaborately examined in order to have a clearer understanding of UN’s conflict resolution and mediation activities. The key documents of the UN pertaining to the conflict resolution and mediation are determined as the Secretary-General’s reports, General Assembly resolutions and the documents of UN Guidance, and each of these documents will be analyzed in detail through their contents.

#### **3.2.1 Secretary-General’s Reports**

Secretary-General’s reports have been the most to the point and professionally designed documents of the UN’s conflict resolution attempts. Heretofore, UN Secretary General has released regular reports on conflict resolution and pertaining issues. Specifically, this chapter will include the most recent 3 reports on the UN’s mediation.

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<sup>84</sup> Bercovitch, *Theory and Practice of International Mediation*, 80.

### 3.2.1.1 S/2009/189: “Enhancing Mediation and Its Support Activities”, April 2009

Indicating the challenges throughout the resolution processes, the very first of the Secretary-General’s reports entitled “Report of the Secretary-General on Enhancing Mediation and Its Support Activities” was published in April 2009 in order to examine “the challenges faced by the United Nations and its partners” in providing “professional mediation assistance to parties in conflict”.<sup>85</sup> The main theme of the report is the lessons learned from the previous mediation experiences of the UN and it offers useful strategies for UN’s mediation attempts such as resolving disputes in a timely manner, establishing a lead actor, selecting the most appropriate mediator/mediation team, engaging the parties early, structuring mediation to address the root causes of conflict and its support activities.<sup>86</sup> Evaluating the past experiences and lessons learned from the mediation attempts, the report discusses crucial aspects of mediation such as, how to achieve peace agreements that facilitate implementation, how to strengthen regional capacity for mediation and national/local capacity for conflict prevention/resolution and how to provide mediation support.<sup>87</sup> Hence, the report was both an extensive re-evaluation of successes and failures of UN conflict resolution efforts and a guideline for the upcoming mediation efforts which would be held in the presence of the UN.

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<sup>85</sup> “Report of the Secretary-General: Enhancing Mediation and its Support Activities,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed March 11, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport\\_EnhancingMediation\\_S2009189%28english%29.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport_EnhancingMediation_S2009189%28english%29.pdf).

<sup>86</sup> “Report of the Secretary-General: Enhancing Mediation and its Support Activities,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed March 11, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport\\_EnhancingMediation\\_S2009189%28english%29.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport_EnhancingMediation_S2009189%28english%29.pdf).

<sup>87</sup> “Report of the Secretary-General: Enhancing Mediation and its Support Activities,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed March 11, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport\\_EnhancingMediation\\_S2009189%28english%29.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport_EnhancingMediation_S2009189%28english%29.pdf).

### **3.2.1.2 S/2011/552: “Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results”, August 2011**

The second of Secretary-General’s reports entitled “Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results” was published in August 2011. The report illustrates “how recent preventive diplomacy engagements have made a difference on the ground in a range of different contexts”.<sup>88</sup> Comparing to the first report, the second report was more like an extended version of its former. Similarly, The Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results figures out the key challenges and elements for success, but it was more stressing on the preventive diplomacy and its significance. At this point, the preventive diplomacy refers to “to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur”.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, the main theme of the report is revolving around the significance of preventive diplomacy in order to prevent the conflicts from occurring or eliminating the factors that will turn the disputes into irrevocable conflicts or would inconvenience the mediation attempts.

### **3.2.1.3 A/66/811: “Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution”, June 2012**

The most recent one of the Secretary-General’s reports was published in 2012 in reply to the request of the UN General Assembly which was declared in its resolution 65/283 to submit a report on the implementation of the resolution entitled “Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution”.<sup>90</sup> The title of the report is somehow like a summary of the main theme

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<sup>88</sup> “Report of the Secretary-General: Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council: An agenda for peace: Preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peacekeeping,” *UN Security Council*, accessed March 11, 2015, [http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/89-92/Chapter%208/GENERAL%20ISSUES/Item%2029\\_Agenda%20for%20peace\\_.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/89-92/Chapter%208/GENERAL%20ISSUES/Item%2029_Agenda%20for%20peace_.pdf).

<sup>89</sup> “Report of the Secretary-General: Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council: An agenda for peace: Preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peacekeeping,” *UN Security Council*, accessed March 11, 2015, [http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/89-92/Chapter%208/GENERAL%20ISSUES/Item%2029\\_Agenda%20for%20peace\\_.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/89-92/Chapter%208/GENERAL%20ISSUES/Item%2029_Agenda%20for%20peace_.pdf).

<sup>90</sup> “Report of the Secretary-General: Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed March 12, 2015,

of it. The report is discussing the recent developments, trends and challenges of today's mediation and recommends favourable solutions to the challenges in fields such as women's participation in mediation, capacity-building at the regional, national and local levels and optimizing the use of mediation.<sup>91</sup> In the question-answer part of the report, both fundamental and complicated questions such as "What are the qualities of a good mediator?" and "What are the key attributes of an effective mediation process, including during the design and implementation process?" are answered properly, so that the report draws a convenient guideline for the mediation processes.<sup>92</sup>

The cases of three Secretary-General's reports evaluated in this section indicate the main challenges and opportunities of the mediation, and draw roadmaps in order to deal with the enduring challenges of mediation processes. In these roadmaps, different strategies are recommended. In the Report of the Secretary-General on Enhancing Mediation, the significance of experienced and knowledgeable mediators is in the core of the strategy. In the Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results, the preventive diplomacy and learning lessons from the past experiences in order to eliminate the future challenges is underscored as the key strategies. Lastly, the Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution offers an equal inclusion and active participation of civil society actors in the mediation process to fulfil the mediation processes successfully.<sup>93</sup>

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[http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport\\_StrengtheningtheRoleofMediation\\_A66811.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport_StrengtheningtheRoleofMediation_A66811.pdf), 2.

<sup>91</sup> "Report of the Secretary-General: Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution," *UN General Assembly*, accessed March 12, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport\\_StrengtheningtheRoleofMediation\\_A66811.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport_StrengtheningtheRoleofMediation_A66811.pdf), 2.

<sup>92</sup> "Report of the Secretary-General: Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution," *UN General Assembly*, accessed March 12, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport\\_StrengtheningtheRoleofMediation\\_A66811.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport_StrengtheningtheRoleofMediation_A66811.pdf), 2.

<sup>93</sup> "Report of the Secretary-General: Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution," *UN General Assembly*, accessed March 12, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport\\_StrengtheningtheRoleofMediation\\_A66811.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SGReport_StrengtheningtheRoleofMediation_A66811.pdf), 6.

### **3.2.2 UN General Assembly Resolutions**

General Assembly resolutions reflect the perspectives and demands of the member states of UN in the General Assembly, so that the General Assembly resolutions on the conflict resolution and mediation will be better analyzed in order to determine the dynamics, opportunities and challenges of the mediation attempts. Comparing to the Secretary-General's reports, General Assembly resolutions are less detailed and shorter, but they are focused enough to understand the member states' approaches to mediation. Heretofore, in almost every year, a number of General Assembly resolutions on relevant issues have been released. Specifically, this chapter will contain the most recent 3 General Assembly Resolutions on the UN's mediation strategies.

#### **3.2.2.1 A/RES/65/283: Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution, July 2011**

Emphasizing the necessity of enhancing and increasing the intensive use of mediation activities, the resolution declares that the states recognize “the growing interest in and the provision of mediation, and its use as a promising and cost-effective tool in the peaceful settlement of disputes, conflict prevention and resolution, without prejudice to other means”.<sup>94</sup> The active participation of civil society actors in mediation processes, increasing the cooperation and coordination among these actors, and the strategies to achieve the relevant goals are discussed in the resolution.<sup>95</sup> The strategies offered include “The consent of parties to a particular dispute or conflict, the

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<sup>94</sup> “Resolution adopted by the General Assembly: 65/283 Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed May 15, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GARes\\_StrengtheningTheRoleOfMediation\\_ARES65283%28english%29\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GARes_StrengtheningTheRoleOfMediation_ARES65283%28english%29_1.pdf), 3.

<sup>95</sup> “Resolution adopted by the General Assembly: 65/283 Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed May 15, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GARes\\_StrengtheningTheRoleOfMediation\\_ARES65283%28english%29\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GARes_StrengtheningTheRoleOfMediation_ARES65283%28english%29_1.pdf), 4.

impartiality of the mediators, their compliance with agreed mandates, respect for national sovereignty, compliance with obligations of States and other relevant actors under international law, including applicable treaties, and the operational preparedness, including process and substantive expertise, of the mediators”.<sup>96</sup>

### **3.2.2.2 A/RES/66/291: Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution, September 2012**

The main goal of this one-page resolution is to encourage actors to strengthen their roles in mediation processes in order to peacefully settle the disputes, contribute to conflict prevention and conflict resolution, and while doing these, to use the UN’s Guidance for Effective Mediation appropriately.<sup>97</sup> Hence, the resolution aims “the development of mediation capacities and cooperation, in particular in specific mediation contexts, by all relevant actors involved in mediation, in accordance with the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter”.<sup>98</sup>

### **3.2.2.3 A/RES/68/303 Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution, July 2014**

Comparing to its formers, the most recent resolution of General Assembly is a quite elaborated one. The main goal of the resolution is to offer regional and sub-regional organizations to develop their mediation capacities with the help of UN Guidance for

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<sup>96</sup> “Resolution adopted by the General Assembly: 65/283 Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed May 15, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GARes\\_StrengtheningTheRoleOfMediation\\_ARES65283%28english%29\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GARes_StrengtheningTheRoleOfMediation_ARES65283%28english%29_1.pdf), 5.

<sup>97</sup> “Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. 66/291. Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed May 10, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA\\_ResolutionMediationA66291\\_English\\_0.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA_ResolutionMediationA66291_English_0.pdf), 1.

<sup>98</sup> “Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. 66/291. Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed May 10, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA\\_ResolutionMediationA66291\\_English\\_0.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA_ResolutionMediationA66291_English_0.pdf), 1.

Effective Mediation, and to encourage the civil society actors to actively participate in mediation processes through organizing and attending to the civil initiatives such as mediation workshops, conferences, and seminars.<sup>99</sup> Women's equal participation to the all stages of mediation processes, enhancing cooperation with regional and sub-regional organizations, and many other recommendations were made in the resolution.

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Reconsidering the most recent 3 resolutions of UN General Assembly, there have been a couple of prevailing emphasises on the same issues in all of the resolutions. Participation of civil actors, particularly women, in the mediation processes, increasing the number of mediation attempts as well as developing the existing mediations, and cooperating with regional and sub-regional organizations are the examples of these issues. Therefore, the strategies in the UN General Assembly resolutions are parallel and compatible with the Secretary-General's reports, which should not come as a surprise.

### **3.2.3 The UN Guidance Documents**

For the UN, the mediation is one of the most practical method of conflict management and resolution, and of preventing conflicts from occurring or reiterating itself. Similar with other initiatives of the UN, mediation attempts also necessitate a properly designed framework, a roadmap for mediator countries, which would ease the mediation processes for mediators and also systemize the process' itself. With this purpose, UN has released several documents that will guide the mediators when the

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<sup>99</sup> "Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. 68/303. Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution," *UN General Assembly*, accessed May 10, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA\\_ResolutionMediationARES68303\\_English\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA_ResolutionMediationARES68303_English_1.pdf), 3.

<sup>100</sup> "Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. 68/303. Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution," *UN General Assembly*, accessed May 10, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA\\_ResolutionMediationARES68303\\_English\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA_ResolutionMediationARES68303_English_1.pdf), 2-3.

need arises. Through these documents, UN also determines its own mediation strategies and declares them officially through the documents. In this section, two of these guidelines, namely “UN Guidance for Effective Mediation”, and “UN Guidance for Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements” will be examined in detail.

### **3.2.3.1 UN Guidance for Effective Mediation, April 2013**

As an annex to the Secretary-General’s report entitled “Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution”, which underscores the need of a guideline, the UN Guidance for Effective Mediation was released in April 2013.<sup>101</sup> The 23-page Guidance, a concise piece, is the accumulation of experiences of the international community for the mediation, which includes “inputs from member states, the UN system, regional, sub-regional and other international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), women’s groups, religious leaders, the academic community, as well as mediators and mediation specialists” according to the UN.<sup>102</sup>

Following a brief chapter of “Mediation Logic”, which explains the basics of a mediation process such as the characteristics of mediation, strategies for a successful mediation, and relevant issues, the Guidance concentrates on the chapter of “Mediation Fundamentals” by dismantling them into the subtitles namely Preparedness, Consent, Impartiality, Inclusivity, National Ownership, International Law and Normative Frameworks, Coherence, Coordination and Complementarity of the Mediation Effort,

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<sup>101</sup> “Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. 65/283. Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution,” *UN General Assembly*, accessed May 10, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA\\_ResolutionMediationARES68303\\_English\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GA_ResolutionMediationARES68303_English_1.pdf), 4.

<sup>102</sup> “Guidance for Effective Mediation,” *United Nations*, accessed May 20, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation\\_UNDPA2012%28English%29\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28English%29_1.pdf), 22.

and Quality Peace Agreements.<sup>103</sup> Each fundamental is briefly figured out with its significance and challenges for the mediation. Immediately after, a part named Guidance explains how to overcome the mentioned challenges and how to achieve the specific goals of the mediation fundamentals. For instance, in the part of Impartiality, which is deemed the “cornerstone of mediation”, first the meaning and significance of the term impartiality are demonstrated, then a guidance to achieve impartiality is elaborated.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, the Guidance has been serving to the mediators with its roadmap on mediation process.

### **3.2.3.2 Mediation Start-up Guidelines, September 2011**

As a response to the diversity and increasing number of mediation activities held within the scope of the UN, the Mediation Start-up Guidelines’ purpose is to apply all operations and steps of the mediation process institutionally. The need of a start-up guidance appeared when it was noticed that different initiatives entail different strategies. Exemplifying this need, it is written in Guidelines that, “Peacekeeping operations and special political missions (SPMs), for example, have good offices and mediation functions, but these missions have specific requirements in terms of funding and staffing”.<sup>105</sup> Correspondingly, the Mediation Start-up Guidelines fills the gap by providing institutional roadmaps for the new mediation initiatives.

In the part of Strategic Planning for Mediation Engagements of the Guidelines, the logistic information about the actors to be cooperated and coordinated is given name by name in detail. Herewith, from technical support for a process led by another

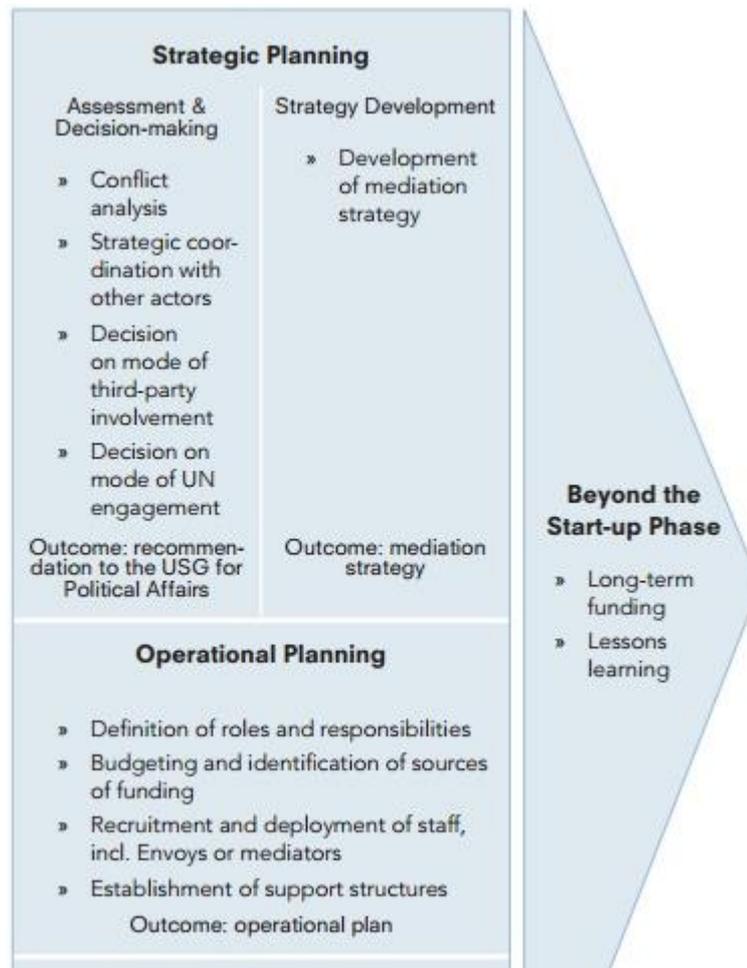
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<sup>103</sup> “Guidance for Effective Mediation,” *United Nations*, accessed May 20, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation\\_UNDPA2012%28english%29\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_1.pdf), 23.

<sup>104</sup> “Guidance for Effective Mediation,” *United Nations*, accessed May 20, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation\\_UNDPA2012%28english%29\\_1.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_1.pdf), 10.

<sup>105</sup> “Mediation Start-up Guidelines,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed June 2, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidelines\\_UNDPA2011.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidelines_UNDPA2011.pdf), 3.

organization and the peace and development advisers and mediation advisers, to the deployment of a UN mediation team led by a senior representative of the Secretary-General, a number of technical issue is elaborated and a strategic planning which includes regulations pertaining to the mediation initiatives’ engagements is illustrated through diagrams.



**Figure 1: A diagram from the UN Mediation Start-up Guidelines’ Strategic Planning Part.**

Source: “Mediation Start-up Guidelines,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed June 2, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidelines\\_UN\\_DPA2011.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidelines_UN_DPA2011.pdf), 7.

In the parts of Roles and Functions and Operational Planning for Mediation Processes, the information pertaining to the logistical and financial support were detailed as well as the administrative structure with regard to the tasks of each leading and supporting

components. With this purpose, the structural organization in order to start a mediation process was dismantled with diagrams. Therefore, the technical, organizational and logistical difficulties the mediators will get into are tried to be eased and eliminated.

PHASE		TASK	LEAD COMPONENT	SUPPORT COMPONENT
STRATEGIC PLANNING	Assessment and decision-making	Monitoring of conflicts	RD	PPU
		Conflict analysis	RD	
		Assessment of engagement options	EOSG, USG, ASG	RD, MSU
		Liaison and coordination with other international actors, including selection of lead mediator	EOSG, USG, ASG	RD
		Determination of mode of UN engagement	EOSG, USG, ASG	RD, MSU
	Strategy development	Development of mediation strategy	Lead mediator, RD	MSU, Partners
		Endorsement of mediation strategy	EOSG, USG, ASG	RD
OPERATIONAL PLANNING		Identification of resources required to support strategy (staff functions, operational needs, security)	Lead mediator, RD, MSU	EO, DSS
		Cost estimates and budgeting	EO	RD
		Identification of sources of funding	EO/FP for donor relations	
		Decision on support structure	Mediation team, EO, RD	
		Identification of suitable candidates, including envoys	EOSG, OUSG, RD	MSU
		Selection of candidates, including envoys	EOSG, OUSG, RD	MSU
		Issuance of contracts	EO	
		In-briefing of staff	RD	MSU
(continues)		Travel arrangements	EO	RD

Figure 2: A diagram which describes the lead and support components and their tasks in strategic and operational processes of mediation.

Source: “Mediation Start-up Guidelines,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed June 2, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidelines\\_UNDPA2011.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MediationStartupGuidelines_UNDPA2011.pdf), 41.

### 3.2.3.3 UN Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements

In the UN's "Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and Peace Negotiations: Implementing Security Council Resolution 1820" colloquium, which was held in June 2009 by UN Development Fund for Women, Department of Political Affairs, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UN Development Programme, and Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the decision of preparing a guidance which would address the conflict-related sexual violence and peace negotiations to eliminate sexual violence was taken.<sup>106</sup> As an annex to that decision, a guideline named UN Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements was prepared in January 2012.

- Are transitional security arrangements mandated to combat conflict-related sexual violence through police and military responses?
- Have provisions been included to vet former combatants with a history or association with conflict-related sexual violence from entry into security institutions?
- Have plans been included for the development and funding of training for military and law enforcement capabilities to prevent and respond to conflict-related sexual violence?
- Are there plans for information and education campaigns on the content, implications and expectations of the agreement, including those relating to conflict-related sexual violence?

**Figure 3: An example of mediators' checklist in the Guidance.**

**Source:** "Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and Peace Negotiations: Implementing Security Council Resolution 1820", *Stop Rape Now*, accessed June 11, 2015, <http://www.stoprapenow.org/uploads/features/JuneColloquium-SummaryReport.pdf>, 1.

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<sup>106</sup> "Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and Peace Negotiations: Implementing Security Council Resolution 1820", *Stop Rape Now*, accessed June 11, 2015, <http://www.stoprapenow.org/uploads/features/JuneColloquium-SummaryReport.pdf>, 1.

The Guidance mainly addresses conflict-related sexual violence during ongoing hostilities and ceasefire agreements, in security arrangements, and in framing provisions for post-conflict justice and reparations. In each chapter, there is an implementation guidance and a checklist for the mediators in order to achieve the mediation of conflict-related sexual violence successfully.

Up to this point, the most recent 3 Secretary-General reports, 3 General Assembly resolutions, and 3 UN Guidance documents were scrutinized accordingly. There is a number of Security Council resolutions, which address conflict-related sexual violence and women in conflicts. As the conflict-related sexual violence is evaluated in the UN Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements part in detail, the Security Council resolutions are excluded from this part.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, there are 2 Security Council's presidential statements pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security with the help of mediation and settlement of disputes.<sup>108</sup> The maintenance of international peace, which refers in a sense to the conflict prevention as well, is discussed in Secretary-General's reports entitled Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution thoroughly. Therefore, Security Council's presidential statements were excluded from this part too. The challenges and alternative solutions, the significance of preventive diplomacy, women's participation in mediation processes, capacity building at regional, national and local levels, development of mediation capacities through cooperation and coordination with regional and sub-regional actors, encouraging civil society actors to participate in mediation processes are among the salient subjects underscored in the aforementioned UN documents.

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<sup>107</sup> For the Security Council resolutions, please see: <http://www.peacemaker.un.org/resources/key-un-documents>

<sup>108</sup> For the Security Council's presidential statements, please see: <http://www.peacemaker.un.org/resources/key-un-documents>

### **3.3 UN Mediations at Actors Level**

In this section, different UN actors who are conducting mediations attempts within the scope of UN's organizational structure and with the help of UN documents will be discussed in detail. With this purpose, Mediation Support Services, Mediation Support Network, Group of Friends of Mediation, Academic Advisory Council and some of the meetings held by regional organizations will be specifically focused. Thereby, a general picture of how UN organizational structure works on mediation processes will be drawn.

#### **3.3.1 Mediation Support Services**

Mediation Support Services was established in 2006 within the Policy and Mediation Division of the UN Department of Political Affairs, and within the unit, the creation of a Standby Team of mediation experts.<sup>109</sup> The purpose of establishment of the Mediation Support Services is summarized by the UN as, “supporting relevant actors to achieve a just and sustainable peace through the pacific settlement of disputes, the unit engages in and supports a wide range of operational activities and projects and works closely with a number of partners”.<sup>110</sup> Hence, the Support Services' establishment could be deemed a considerable initiative on the way of a more professional approach to the UN's mediation attempts.

##### **3.3.1.1 Mediation Support Unit**

Mediation support Unit is a part of UN's Murithi describes the Support Unit as, “[...] a focal point for interaction with other third-party mediation efforts in which the UN can play a supporting role”.<sup>111</sup> Mediation Support Unit focuses on three main areas.

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<sup>109</sup> “Mediation Support Activities and Services,” *UN Peacemaker*, accessed June 11, 2015, <http://www.peacemaker.un.org/mediation-support/activities-and-services>.

<sup>110</sup> “Mediation Support Activities and Services,” *UN Peacemaker*, accessed June 11, 2015, <http://www.peacemaker.un.org/mediation-support/activities-and-services>.

<sup>111</sup> Tim Murithi, *The Ethics of Peacebuilding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 88.

The very first one of them is technical and operational support for peace processes.<sup>112</sup> Mediation Support Unit provides support for “planning, implementation, and evaluation” stages of the mediation processes.<sup>113</sup> In addition to contributing to the strategy development, the Unit also provides support for process design for mediation, facilitation and dialogue initiatives.<sup>114</sup> The thematic issues to which the Unit give advices are security arrangements such as ceasefires, constitution-making, power-sharing, natural resources issues and gender issues.<sup>115</sup>

The second main area the Unit focuses is the capacity building at the operational level by providing “tailored-made one-on-one coaching” for the mediation teams.<sup>116</sup> Throughout the coaching, the Unit guides mediation teams on effective techniques of mediation and negotiation, and tries to contribute to the development of skills and strategy. Therefore, Kirchhoff explains, “in the field of international mediation and knowledge sharing for the international peace making community as a whole”, the Mediation support Unit plays a key role.<sup>117</sup>

The third main area of the Mediation Support Unit includes Mediation guidance, lessons learned and best practices. In order provide guidance for the mediators, the Unit provides knowledge and guidelines which outline the potential challenges and

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<sup>112</sup> “Mediation Support Unit Annual Report 2015,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed July 5, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MSU-2015.pdf>, 1.

<sup>113</sup> “Mediation Support Unit Annual Report 2015,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed July 5, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MSU-2015.pdf>, 1.

<sup>114</sup> “Mediation Support Unit Annual Report 2015,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed July 5, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MSU-2015.pdf>, 1.

<sup>115</sup> “Mediation Support Unit Annual Report 2015,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed July 5, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MSU-2015.pdf>, 1.

<sup>116</sup> “Mediation Support Unit Annual Report 2015,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed July 5, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MSU-2015.pdf>, 1.

<sup>117</sup> Lars Kirchhoff, *Constructive Interventions: Paradigms, Process and Practice of International Mediation* (USA and UK: Kluwer Law International, 2008), 316.

opportunities of the mediation processes.<sup>118</sup> Thus, the Unit tries to both introduce the field and to prepare them for the potential difficulties in advance. The UN Guidance for Effective Mediation, Special Envoy Briefing Package, Mediation Start-up Guidelines, and many relevant works have been prepared by the Unit with the intention of guidance and introduction of lessons learned.<sup>119</sup>

### 3.3.1.2 Mediation Support Network

Mediation Support Network, which comprises primarily non-governmental mediation actors, support mediation attempts during the peace negotiations.<sup>120</sup> As a global network of non-governmental organizations, the Mediation Support Unit is a member of the Network as well as a number of renowned organizations such as Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, United States Institute of Peace, and Swiss Peace.<sup>121</sup>

In 2013, the Network revealed a report entitled “Translating Mediation Guidance into Practice: Commentary on the UN Guidance for Effective Mediation”. The report reflects a quite rich accumulation of mediation cases from the field, which examines 13 cases around the world according to the main themes in the UN Guidance of Effective Mediation namely preparedness, consent, impartiality, inclusivity, national ownership, international law and normative frameworks, coherence, coordination and complementarity of the mediation effort, and quality peace agreements.<sup>122</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>118</sup> “Mediation Support Unit Annual Report 2015,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed July 5, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MSU-2015.pdf>, 1.

<sup>119</sup> “Mediation Support Unit Annual Report 2015,” *UN Department of Political Affairs*, accessed July 5, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MSU-2015.pdf>, 1.

<sup>120</sup> Stefan Wolff and Christalla Yakinthou, *Conflict Management in Divided Societies: Theories and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 105.

<sup>121</sup> “Mediation Support Network,” *UN Peacemaker*, accessed June 7, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/mediation-networks/MSN>.

<sup>122</sup> “Translating Mediation Guidance into Practice: Commentary on the UN Guidance for Effective Mediation,” *UN Peacemaker*, accessed June 7, 2015, [http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/TranslatingMediationGuidanceIntoPractice\\_MSN\\_2012.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/TranslatingMediationGuidanceIntoPractice_MSN_2012.pdf).

the Network stands as a significant contribution of non-governmental organizations to the activities of the UN.

### 3.3.2 The Group of Friends of Mediation

The Group of Friends of Mediation was formed with the initiative of Finland and Turkey in September 2010. According to the UN documents, the fundamental purposes of the foundation of the Group is “to promote and advance the use of mediation in the peaceful settlement of disputes, conflict prevention and resolution, as well as to generate support for the development of mediation”.<sup>123</sup> As one of the most extensive initiatives of the UN for the mediation, the Groups serves the functions below in order to create and promote an atmosphere for the enhancement of mediation attempts:

- Raise awareness of the need for and utility of mediation at all stages of the conflict continuum especially with a view to preventing conflict.
- Encourage relevant actors, including regional and sub-regional organizations, to undertake mediation activities and to engage more women in mediation.
- Highlight the importance of the full and effective participation of women at all stages and at all levels of peace processes as well as the crucial role of gender expertise in mediation.
- Provide a forum to bring together expertise and to share lessons learned between different actors.
- Create, foster and expand the network of mediators.
- Improve cooperation and coordination amongst different actors, in order to increase complementarity and coherence of efforts.
- Increase the capabilities for mediation, especially within the UN framework.
- Promote mediation-related capacity building, including through regional arrangements and networks.
- Promote the development of guidelines and/or a code of conduct for mediation, taking into account the specific nature of each conflict.
- Mobilize more resources in order to secure sustained funding for mediation activities.
- Support the development of early warning response capabilities.
- Provide political support to UN appointed mediators.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> “Group of Friends of Mediation,” *UN Peacemaker*, accessed June 7, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/friendsofmediation>.

<sup>124</sup> “Group of Friends of Mediation,” *UN Peacemaker*, accessed June 7, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/friendsofmediation>.

The Group of Friends of Mediation is composed of 41 members, the UN's itself, and 7 regional and international organizations.<sup>125</sup> The members of the Group are mainly the representatives of governments with bilateral relations with the governments, which have been in the Group, according to Whitfield.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> "Group of Friends of Mediation," *UN Peacemaker*, accessed June 7, 2015, <http://peacemaker.un.org/friendsofmediation>.

<sup>126</sup> Teresa Whitfield, *Working with Groups of Friends* (USA: United States Institute of Peace: 2010), 12.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **A CONTENT AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TURKEY'S MEDIATION INITIATIVES BETWEEN 2002 AND 2015**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

Until this chapter of the dissertation, a conceptual and theoretical framework of both mediation and the mediator has been drawn, which was accompanied by a general overview of Turkey as a mediator within the scope of UN's mediation activities. This chapter will discuss Turkey's mediation initiatives between 2002 and 2015 through content and discourse analyses. The results of the analysis briefly indicate that Turkey's style of mediation mostly fits in a mixed kind of structural prevention and conflict transformation, since Turkey participates in institution building efforts and attempts the development of social capital as well as trying to provide communication channels between conflicting parties. Throughout the findings of this paper, in spite of having a number of interests and benefits in mediation processes, it is argued that Turkey is not a manipulator mediator. Turkey is not a formulator mediator as well, since it generally emphasizes his agenda and does not stress the significance of creating a mutually acceptable formula. As a communicator/facilitator, Turkey acts like a communication channel between the conflicting parties.

#### **4.2 South Asia: Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Summits**

Taliban, an Islamic fundamentalist group established in Afghanistan and has been active since 1994, poses the thorniest problem between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Due to its human rights abuses and armed insurgency, Taliban was added to the list of Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations by executive order in July 2002 by the

United States.<sup>127</sup> As Taliban have grown stronger and more deadly over the past 13 years, Pakistan is blamed for supporting Taliban's growth and its bloody activities in Afghanistan both by Afghanistan and many other actors of the international community, though Taliban claims that their militancy in Afghanistan is entirely independent of Pakistan.<sup>128</sup>

Then, what are the roots of Taliban problem which makes Afghanistan and Pakistan clash with each other? The problematic sides of Afghanistan-Pakistan relations have taken their roots from the historical disputes of demarcation of the borders which was unwelcomed by Afghanistan, and the situation of Pashtun community, which has been the largest community of Afghanistan.<sup>129</sup> As Pashtuns were not asked to decide whether they wanted to move Afghanistan or to stay within Pakistan borders, today, 25 million members of Pashtun community lives in Pakistan, while this number is around 15 million for Afghanistan.<sup>130</sup> Particularly after World War II, historical disputes got bitter and paved the way for future conflicts.

Turkey started its official efforts to mediate between Afghanistan and Pakistan in 2007, when President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan organized a joint talk with Afghan President Hamid Karzai and Pakistani President General Pervez Musharaf.<sup>131</sup> At the end of the talks, the Ankara Declaration was signed in order to promote peace, security, stability and economic development in the

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<sup>127</sup> "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," *U.S. Department of State*, accessed May 10, 2015, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>.

<sup>128</sup> Hekmatullah Azamy, "It's Complicated: The Relationship Between Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Taliban," *Foreign Policy*, February 3, 2015, accessed May 10, 2015, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/03/02/its-complicated-the-relationship-between-afghanistan-pakistan-and-the-taliban/>.

<sup>129</sup> Abubakar Siddique, *The Pashtun Question: The Unresolved Key to the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 11.

<sup>130</sup> Ömer Ersoy, *İki Ülke Arasında: Afghanistan – Pakistan* (Ankara: SDE, 2014), 1.

<sup>131</sup> "Afghanistan / Pakistan Relations: Ankara Declaration," *The Archived Material of Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, accessed May 10, 2015, [http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/releases/2007/fa051\\_07.html](http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/releases/2007/fa051_07.html).

region. The trilateral summits of three countries continued with periodic meetings. In the following section, the content and discourse analyses of this process is made.

#### 4.2.1 Content and Discourse Analyses

In Ministry of Foreign Affairs' explanation entitled "Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Meeting was held in Ankara" which also includes Former President Abdullah Gül's explanation on the issue briefly, it is possible to disclose Turkey's real interests in the mediation process. The explanation is as follows:

Giving a speech at the joint press meeting and reminding that the start of trilateral summits goes back to the 2007, President Gül explained that the 8th of those meetings is being held with the purpose of developing the cooperation between Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and of providing better and more efficient cooperation between the significant institutions of three countries.

Here, it could be observed that the main purpose of the mediation is briefly to provide peace and security in Afghanistan and Pakistan, which in turn contributes to the peace and stability in their region, when concentrating on Gül's speech. As a bona fide, this is more pertaining to the idealist part of the mediation. In the following part of his speech, Gül underlines the significance of providing cooperation between Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and between the institutions of three countries as well as the significance of developing economic cooperation s such:

Gül stated that, "We are making quite explicit, sincere and profitable meetings in order to provide tranquillity in Asia, to accelerate the peace process in Afghanistan, and to create a suitable atmosphere for collaboration among the institutions of Afghanistan and Pakistan", and also emphasized the importance of developing the economic cooperation between three countries, particularly between Afghanistan and Pakistan.<sup>132</sup>

The use of words "profitable", "collaboration among institutions", "economic cooperation" give some clues about the real interests and expectations of Turkey. In a mediation summit, which aimed at the reconciliation of Afghan and Pakistani sides of the conflict, referring to the economic cooperation between three countries, not the

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<sup>132</sup> "Türkiye-Afganistan-Pakistan Üçlü Zirve Toplantısı Ankara'da gerçekleştirildi," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, accessed May 18, 2015, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye\\_afganistan\\_pakistan-uclu-zirve-toplantisi-ankara\\_da-gerceklestirildi.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye_afganistan_pakistan-uclu-zirve-toplantisi-ankara_da-gerceklestirildi.tr.mfa).

cooperation between only Afghanistan and Pakistan, indicates that Turkey has economic interests in the region, and is eager to expand the capacity of its economy and to diversify its economic activities. Therefore, Turkey also looks out for its own interest during the mediation attempts.

A number of meeting were held with the purpose of having a positive outcome of the mediation process. In the aftermath of 8<sup>th</sup> meeting of President Abdullah Gül, President Karzai and President Şerif, a joint declaration was published in the MFA's website. The main points in the Joint Declaration are as follows:

To maintain the close dialogue between three fellow countries,  
To cooperate in various fields including security and intelligence,  
To prevent sheltering, educational and financial aid to terrorists and anti-state groups,  
To be aware of that peace and stability in Afghanistan are vital for the peace and security of the whole region,  
To support common projects which aims to provide socio-economic development and will provide mutual trust and cooperation between Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan.<sup>133</sup>

In addition to reiterating their goals of mediation such as resisting and cooperating against the activities of terrorist groups and strengthening peace and security in the region, there are also a number of points which emphasize the cooperation, particularly economic cooperation, between three countries.

At this point, an interesting detail should be revealed. Three leaders who have attended the mediation meeting were also informed by Head of Turkey Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) Rifat Hisarcıklıoğlu about the works of İstanbul Forumu at the end of the meeting.<sup>134</sup> İstanbul Forumu which brings TOBB,

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<sup>133</sup> “Afganistan İslam Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı ve Pakistan İslam Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı'nın Sekizinci Üçlü Zirvesi Sonucunda Kabul Edilen Ortak Bildiri,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, accessed May 18, 2015, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/afganistan-islam-cumhuriyeti-cumhurbaskani\\_-turkiye-cumhuriyeti-cumhurbaskani-ve-pakistan-islam-cumhuriyeti-basbakani\\_nin-sekizi.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/afganistan-islam-cumhuriyeti-cumhurbaskani_-turkiye-cumhuriyeti-cumhurbaskani-ve-pakistan-islam-cumhuriyeti-basbakani_nin-sekizi.tr.mfa).

<sup>134</sup> “Afganistan İslam Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı ve Pakistan İslam Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı'nın Sekizinci Üçlü Zirvesi Sonucunda Kabul Edilen Ortak Bildiri,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, accessed May 2018, 2015, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/afganistan-islam-cumhuriyeti-cumhurbaskani\\_-turkiye-cumhuriyeti-cumhurbaskani-ve-pakistan-islam-cumhuriyeti-basbakani\\_nin-sekizi.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/afganistan-islam-cumhuriyeti-cumhurbaskani_-turkiye-cumhuriyeti-cumhurbaskani-ve-pakistan-islam-cumhuriyeti-basbakani_nin-sekizi.tr.mfa).

Afghanistan Chamber of Commerce (ACCI) and the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (PCCI) together was established in April 2007 with respect to the call of the leaders of Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan at their first meeting of the trilateral summits, and held its first meeting in Istanbul in October 2007, the second and third meetings in January 2008 and December 2008, fourth meeting in January 2010, fifth and sixth in 2011, and the seventh one in Ankara, in December 2014.<sup>135</sup> In order to contribute to the creation of atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkey, and to the international efforts related to this issue, The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV) also supports the works carried out by the Istanbul Forum.<sup>136</sup>

When it comes to the function of the forum, it aims to develop the private sector in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the serving capacity of TOBB, and the cooperation between these three countries.<sup>137</sup> With this purpose, the forum held a remarkable amount of projects. For instance, Sectorial Investment Environment analyses were made for Pakistan, the district governors from Afghanistan were trained for the “administration” issues, and Turk-Afghan firms came together in 2010 on occasion of Istanbul Regional Economic Conference and debated the potential cooperation fields.<sup>138</sup> Again, it is both interesting and strategic enough to discuss the İstanbul Forumu just after the summit, which aims to mediate between Afghanistan and Pakistan particularly for terrorism and security issues. Considering the overall process and the documents analyzed, it could be evaluated that Turkey brings the sides of the conflict together in order to

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<sup>135</sup> “Türkiye, Afganistan ve Pakistan arasında Ekonomik İşbirliği için İstanbul Forumu,” *TOBB*, accessed May 18, 2015, <http://www.tobb.org.tr/AvrupaBirligiDairesi/Dokumanlar/Faaliyetler/istanbulforumu/if%20nedir.pdf>.

<sup>136</sup> “İstanbul Forumu,” *TEPAV*, accessed May 18, 2015, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/en/calismalarimiz/s/362>.

<sup>137</sup> “Türkiye, Afganistan ve Pakistan arasında Ekonomik İşbirliği için İstanbul Forumu,” *TOBB*, accessed May 18, 2015, <http://www.tobb.org.tr/AvrupaBirligiDairesi/Dokumanlar/Faaliyetler/istanbulforumu/if%20nedir.pdf>.

<sup>138</sup> “Türkiye, Afganistan ve Pakistan arasında Ekonomik İşbirliği için İstanbul Forumu,” *TOBB*, accessed May 18, 2015, <http://www.tobb.org.tr/AvrupaBirligiDairesi/Dokumanlar/Faaliyetler/istanbulforumu/if%20nedir.pdf>.

mediate between them ideally by rationalizing its mediator role through the tools of shared cultures and cultural ties with Afghanistan and Pakistan. In addition to these, Turkey aimed to follow notably its economic goals while mediating between them, and as a consequence, achieved to turn the mediation into opportunity for its economic goals.

The mediation initiative of Turkey between Afghanistan and Pakistan has idealist part as well. In his article entitled “Turkey’s Mediation: Critical Reflections from the Field”, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu points out these ideals as follows:

Beginning with the Ankara Declaration after trilateral meetings in April 2007, we had several meetings as part of this process. It has been the most meaningful platform for easing the tension between the two neighbors and for discussing, developing, implementing and overseeing various cooperation projects. In every meeting, we have referred to the same values and to Turkey’s cultural ties with both countries. These are not directly related to any specific interest, but facilitate Turkey’s access to both countries.<sup>139</sup>

The ideal of the mediation process is to decrease tension between two countries from Davutoğlu’s perspective. Furthermore, he underlines the shared values and cultural ties between Turkey, Pakistan and Afghanistan in order to find a common ground to open communication channels. Though Davutoğlu claims that these attempts are not directly related to the interests of Turkey, he explains the significance of sharing the same values and cultural ties to help Turkey’s access to both countries, so that there is a concern for Turkey. Besides, Davutoğlu mentions the importance of the trilateral meetings for the cooperation projects however he does not explain in detail what kind of cooperation projects Turkey expects from the mediation process. Therefore, mediating Afghanistan and Pakistan are not only idealistic attempts, but also aims at achieving Turkey’s interests.

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<sup>139</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu, “Turkey’s Mediation: Critical Reflections from the Field,” *Middle East Policy Council*, 20 (2013): 87.

### 4.3 Balkans: Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit

As Croatians and Slovenians disintegrated from Yugoslavia, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina passed a referendum aspiring independence and segregation from Yugoslavia in February 29, 1992.<sup>140</sup> In the aftermath, an international armed conflict occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina following the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between April 6, 1992 and December 14, 1995.<sup>141</sup> Particularly the multi-ethnic structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including Muslim Bosnians (44 percent), Orthodox Serbs (31 percent) and Catholic Croats (17 percent), paved the way for serious conflicts.<sup>142</sup> Boycotting the referendum and its decision of independence and segregation, representatives of the Bosnian Serbs declared their independence and establishment of their own independent republic, though the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized internationally. Taking the support of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav People's Army, Bosnian Serbs initiated a war against the independent Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to protect Serbia's' territorial integrity.<sup>143</sup>

The war expeditiously turned into a civil war and ethnic cleansing against Muslim Bosnians and Croatians. The 3-year-war accompanied with the massacres such as Srebrenica Massacre of April 1993 and Siege of Sarajevo is one of the bloodiest events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of the war, a military stalemate, which envisaged the internal partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina with respect to the Dayton Accords, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia relations have remained problematic, was provided. Turkey is one of the initiators who tried to mediate between the two countries and helped them establish peaceful relations throughout the trilateral

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<sup>140</sup> Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 105.

<sup>141</sup> Steven L. Burg and Paul Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (M.E.: Sharpe, 1999), 69.

<sup>142</sup> Alan Taylor, "20 Years Since The Bosnian War," *The Atlantic*, April 13, 2012, accessed May 11, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2012/04/20-years-since-the-bosnian-war/100278/>.

<sup>143</sup> Anthony Oberschall, "The Manipulation of Ethnicity: From Ethnic Cooperation to Violence and War in Yugoslavia" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (2000): 983.

summits. The mediation process started in 2009, and until today, 8 meetings were held with the participation of three countries. Having close cultural and historical ties with the region, Turkey's approach to the mediation process will be analyzed through content and discourse analyses.

Voluntarily, Turkey maintained its mediation efforts in the Balkans in two separate trilateral cooperation processes: First, Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit, and the second, Turkey- Bosnia and Herzegovina- Croatia Trilateral Summit. For this part, the first mediation process will be examined.

### **4.3.1 Content and Discourse Analyses**

Throughout the mediation process, multiple meetings were made within the scope of the summit. In the aftermath of the third meeting of mediation, held in May 14-15, 2013, the Ankara Summit Declaration was signed. The summary of the Declaration is as follows:

The purpose of trilateral meetings is to create a prosperous, stable Balkan region in peace with neighborly relations and regional cooperation. By focusing particularly on the cooperation in the areas of democracy, the supremacy of law, cultural plurality, dialogue, mutual understanding, tolerance, as it had been agreed upon in the previous trilateral summit; economics, culture, education, science, energy, infrastructure, transportation, sport, tourism and through highlighting the significant role the trilateral consultancy period has as a functional institutional framework. As a salient means in strengthening the mutual understanding, friendship and dialogue among our people we encourage the parliaments of Bosnia - Herzegovina, Serbia and Turkey to closely work together and partake in further cooperation. <sup>144</sup>

As can be observed in the summary, the most salient characteristic of the Declaration, is that the purposes of the mediation process are almost visibly divided into two parts pertaining to the ideals and the interests of Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. On the one hand, the idealistic part includes the encouragement provision of democracy, law, plurality, dialogue, tolerance, and in brief, the provision of positive

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<sup>144</sup> "Türkiye-Bosna-Hersek-Sırbistan Üçlü Zirve Toplantısı'nda kabul edilen Ankara Zirve Bildirisi," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 15.05.2013, accessed May 18, 2015, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-bosna-hersek-sirbistan-uclu-zirve-toplantisi\\_nda-kabul-edilen-ankara-zirve-bildirisi\\_-15-mayis-2013\\_-ankara.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-bosna-hersek-sirbistan-uclu-zirve-toplantisi_nda-kabul-edilen-ankara-zirve-bildirisi_-15-mayis-2013_-ankara.tr.mfa).

feelings of the sides of the conflict by eliminating the biases caused by the past experiences. This is inherently the idealistic part of the mediation. On the other hand, the significance of cooperation on science, energy, infrastructure, transportation and economic issues were highlighted in the mediation, and all of these fields are related to the interests of these countries.

One of the meetings within the scope of trilateral summit was held in Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 8, 2013 with the participation of Davutoğlu, Bosnian and Serbian ministers of foreign affairs. Davutoğlu's mediation attempts were announced via the website of MFA:

Minister Davutoğlu who stressed that the bilateral relations between Turkey-Serbia, Turkey- Bosnia Herzegovina and Serbia - Bosnia Herzegovina had strengthened and gained significant momentum due to the trilateral cooperation mechanism in question, told "In this region we have a common history, fate and future" at the joint press conference. After reminding that the meeting which had been held in 2009 for the first time was considered to be "one of the paramount developments after the Cold War" in that time Davutoğlu asserted that today they had gone beyond the targets set at the beginning. Davutoğlu stated that the point that had been reached was indicative of the Balkans' transformation into a basin of peace and stability.<sup>145</sup>

As is seen, Davutoğlu uses "commonality" rhetoric with history, fate and culture, and via the tool of commonality, he tries to convince the conflicting parties of Turkey's sincerity, bona fides and enthusiasm to mediate between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. Hence, this rhetoric eases the mediation process considerably.

Furthermore, Davutoğlu states how citizens of both countries are significant and precious for Turkey through this part of his speech:

Davutoğlu referring to Turkey's evacuating Bosnia Herzegovina and Serbian citizens as well as Turkish citizens from Libya during the internal conflict in the area explained, "No matter here they live in the world, the doors of Turkey's representative agencies

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<sup>145</sup> Dışişleri Bakanı Davutoğlu 'Gelinen nokta Balkanlar'ın barış ve istikrar havzasına dönüştüğünün göstergesidir', "Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15.05.2013, accessed May 18, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-davutoglu-gelinen-nokta-balkanlar-in-baris-ve-istikrar-havzasina-donustugunun-gostergesidir.tr.mfa>.

there are open to the citizens of Serbia and Bosnia Herzegovina and they will be greeted with hospitality”.<sup>146</sup>

Davutoğlu’s speech which he made after the meeting with Bosnian and Serbian counterparts will show significant points pertaining to the Turkey’s interest of the mediation. In his speech, Davutoğlu explains:

Our objective was this: Sharing the common regional vision between the three fellow countries, get the Balkans out of being an area of conflict and tension; the Balkans, as they are common geography, to remove this geography from being perceived as a mental image of countries and societies looking at each other with a jaundiced eye and re position it into our minds as an area of cooperation, consultation, and of resolving matters with diplomacy. This in itself is truly a new and pleasant development for our region. This is very important news for our region. There is a great need for news of such cooperation and such pleasant news in our region which prone to crises. We as Turkey feel a great sense of contentment due to this major development. Every friendship in the Balkans is a step which illuminates the future for us.<sup>147</sup>

In Davutoğlu’s speech, what is quiet salient is the frequent use of “our region”, and also his continuous stress on the idea that Balkans are “our common geography” and we have a “common past”. Through the “our region” rhetoric, Davutoğlu does two things: First, he points out that Turkey is a part of the Balkans, so that Turkey’s mediatory role is both appropriate and necessary for Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. Second, describing Turkey as a part of the Balkans directly makes the developments in Balkans more crucial for Turkey, which might be negatively or positively affected by these developments due to its geographical closeness. This is also the reason why Davutoğlu said in the beginning of his speech that their purpose was to get the Balkans out of being an area of conflict and tension, since a crisis in the region might directly affect Turkey when it is acknowledged as a part of it. Davutoğlu’s emphasis on peace, security and stability of the region with the help of trilateral meetings indicates this argument as well. Therefore, Turkey’s aim is not only

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<sup>146</sup> “Dışişleri Bakanı Davutoğlu ‘Gelinen nokta Balkanlar’ın barış ve istikrar havzasına dönüştüğünün göstergesidir’,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 15.05.2013, accessed May 18, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-davutoglu-gelinen-nokta-balkanlar-in-baris-ve-istikrar-havzasina-donustugunun-gostergesidir.tr.mfa>.

<sup>147</sup> “Türkiye-Bosna Hersek-Sırbistan Dışişleri Bakanları ortak basın toplantısı,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 09.02.2010, accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-bosna-hersek-sirbistan-uclu-danisma-toplantisinin-metni.tr.mfa>.

to mediate between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, but also to provide peace, security and stability in Balkans, which in turn would be in the interest of Turkey, as could be deduced from the following part of his speech:

At the end of this consultation process we obtained a highly tangible result and there shall be a Bosnia Herzegovina embassy in Belgrade as of today as we explain it and this is very good news indeed. Hence there shall be significant progress in the relations among the two states and these trilateral relationships in this format will strengthen the stability of our region. This will also strengthen the ties between us as three friendly countries, as we possess a common past stemming from our history and have a shared desire for the peace and stability of the Balkans.<sup>148</sup>

In his article, Davutoğlu states that:

When we established the Bosnia Herzegovina-Serbia-Turkey trilateral dialogue mechanism last year, we had 10 meetings; and we had great success in resolving almost all of the pending issues between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, largely owing to the fact that we shared a common vision for the Balkans<sup>149</sup>

and emphasized the common vision of Balkans and the success of the mediation attempts.

#### **4.4 Caucasus: Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform (CSCP) between Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia**

In the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, post-Soviet states which were in an unstable and even chaotic geography started to look for their own territorial integrity and try to gain their own self-administration capabilities turned the Caucasus region into a conflict-ground.<sup>150</sup> Both regime change and state building processes were necessarily conflictive and newly emerging states had to deal with power struggles

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<sup>148</sup> “Türkiye-Bosna Hersek-Sırbistan Dışişleri Bakanları ortak basın toplantısı,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 09.02.2010, accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-bosna-hersek-sirbistan-uclu-danisma-toplantisinin-metni.tr.mfa>.

<sup>149</sup> Davutoğlu, “Turkey’s Mediation,” 86.

<sup>150</sup> Christoph Zurcher, *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus* (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 2.

between old and new elites.<sup>151</sup> Furthermore, this conflictive environment triggered international conflicts between newly emerging states.

One of the problems that appeared in the post-Soviet era was Nagorno-Karabakh disputes between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Nagorno-Karabakh Republic was established in the region which includes 7 cities of Azerbaijan, so Azerbaijan accepts the establishment of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic as the invasion of its territory.<sup>152</sup> In the region where Armenian population is dense, the ethnic tension paved the way of conflicts between Armenian militants in Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan. Azerbaijanis living in these 7 cities were forced to immigrate and they were subjected to massacres. For instance, during the Khojaly Massacre in February 25-26, 1992, 613 peaceful inhabitants were slaughtered, including 106 women and 83 children; 487 citizens suffered injuries of various kinds (including 76 minors); and 1,275 people were taken hostage, according to UNHCR's report.<sup>153</sup> The Nagorno-Karabakh problem has been severing the relations of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Georgia as the neighboring country of both Azerbaijan and Armenia, has a strategic stance for the resolution of conflicts and to ease the tension between two countries, since the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia might affect the border security of Georgia which is a transit country of trade relations in the Caucasus region. Therefore, its participation in the mediation process was vital. Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform (CSCP) was formed by Turkey in 2008 in order to provide communication channels between the countries in the region: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. In the following section, the content and discourse analyses of the platform will be made.

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<sup>151</sup> Zurcher, *The Post-Soviet Wars*, 2.

<sup>152</sup> Zurcher, *The Post-Soviet Wars*, 7.

<sup>153</sup> "Letter from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Azerbaijan to the UN Office at Geneva to the UNHCR", *UNHCR*, 23 Nisan 2002, accessed May 21, 2015, <http://legal.un.org/UNJuridicalYearbook/pdfs/english/ByChapter/chpII/1992/chpII.pdf>.

#### 4.4.1 Content and Discourse Analyses

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Babacan made a speech after a meeting he held with his Georgian counterpart Yekaterina Tkeşelaşvili within the scope of Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform in 2008. Parts directly quoted from Babacan’s speech is below:

The relations between Georgia and Turkey are immensely strong and are grounded in cultural, economic and strategic foundations. The Baku-Tbilisi–Ceyhan oil which we put in place recently, the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum natural gas pipeline and the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway project which we laid the foundations of, in particular are the natural result of both our neighborly relations and strategic cooperation in the Southern Caucasus. In fact with these projects the Caspian Sea and the Mediterranean, the Caspian region and Anatolia and the Caspian Sea and the Black sea were linked with each other economically.<sup>154</sup>

In the first part of his speech, Babacan explicitly reveals the significance of the Caucasus region for Turkey’s energy relations and projects, and the sustainability of oil and gas resources. His idealist approach is not that different from Davutoğlu’s approach, so that he ideally underscores the good cultural relations as well as the economic and strategic relations of Turkey with Georgia in order to ease the mediation process and to indicate that Turkey could be a good mediator for the region. The idealist part of the mediation is more explicit in the following part of the speech:

In a highly narrow area in the Caucasus, the futures of these peoples who live together have a common future as they do a past. We need to work towards shaping this future together. A shared Caucasian home engendered by peace, stability and prosperity will be assurance for all our futures. The Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform we have initiated during these days in which tensions are high, is the outcome of this understanding and approach. These days are times where we all need to take bold steps with a long term perspective in mind to prevent regional tension from evolving into a global crisis.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> “Sayın Bakanımız İle Gürcistan Dışişleri Bakanı Yekaterina Tkeşelaşvili’nin Ortak Basın Toplantısı,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2008, accessed May 12, 2015, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimiz-ile-gurcistan-disisleri-bakani-yekaterina-tkeselasvili\\_nin-ortak-basin-toplantisi.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimiz-ile-gurcistan-disisleri-bakani-yekaterina-tkeselasvili_nin-ortak-basin-toplantisi.tr.mfa).

<sup>155</sup> “Sayın Bakanımız İle Gürcistan Dışişleri Bakanı Yekaterina Tkeşelaşvili’nin Ortak Basın Toplantısı,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2008, accessed May 12, 2015, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimiz-ile-gurcistan-disisleri-bakani-yekaterina-tkeselasvili\\_nin-ortak-basin-toplantisi.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimiz-ile-gurcistan-disisleri-bakani-yekaterina-tkeselasvili_nin-ortak-basin-toplantisi.tr.mfa).

It is striking to identify that Babacan uses the common past and common future rhetoric in 2008, and Davutoğlu uses the same while mediating Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia in 2013. Therefore, shared or common past and future are ingrained tools in Turkey's mediation processes. Furthermore, Babacan mentions that stability and security in Caucasus are vital for Turkey, since it is the neighboring country of that geography:

Maintaining peace and stability in the Caucasus is of vital importance for Turkey as a neighboring country of the region. The connections of the Caucasus with Turkey and with Europe via Turkey are again of the utmost importance. Our country has great responsibilities in this framework.<sup>156</sup>

Hence, providing peace and stability for the Caucasus region are compatible with Turkey's interests, and the mediation process is not only to the benefit of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia but also to the benefit of Turkey.

Now first of all, we see this platform to be highly significant in providing the coming together of the countries in the region and their discussion of the areas in which cooperation can be made, in sitting down together and discussing tangible steps regarding trust building safeguards and trust building precautions and also in them producing structures and mechanisms to enable problem solving. As I said, once guns are silenced, the time is the time of diplomacy, the time of political dialogue. We believe that it is important to handle this in international platforms and on a regional basis. We also believe that the work that we have done will contribute to the work carried out internationally and also serve as complementary work.<sup>157</sup>

According to the part of the speech beyond, the idealist part of the mediation includes trust building safeguards and precautions, producing structures and mechanisms to enable problem solving, providing political dialogue and diplomacy. Besides, Babacan states that Turkey sees the Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform as an opportunity to discuss potential cooperation. As he previously mentioned, these cooperation fields include particularly energy and trade relations. Therefore, in

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<sup>156</sup> "Sayın Bakanımız İle Gürcistan Dışişleri Bakanı Yekaterina Tkeşelaşvili'nin Ortak Basın Toplantısı," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2008, accessed May 12, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimiz-ile-gurcistan-disisleri-bakani-yekaterina-tkeselasvili-nin-ortak-basin-toplantisi.tr.mfa>.

<sup>157</sup> "Sayın Bakanımız İle Gürcistan Dışişleri Bakanı Yekaterina Tkeşelaşvili'nin Ortak Basın Toplantısı," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2008, accessed May 12, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimiz-ile-gurcistan-disisleri-bakani-yekaterina-tkeselasvili-nin-ortak-basin-toplantisi.tr.mfa>.

addition to its ideals, Turkey has a number of concrete and material interests in the region, which encourages Turkey to mediate Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

#### **4.5 The Middle East: The Initiative of Neighboring Countries of Iraq**

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks of al Qaeda militants, Bush administration decided to initiate a war against Iraq on the grounds that Iraq had been conducting nuclear activities and had hidden nuclear facilities, which supported the terrorist activities. Throughout the invasion of Iraq, or in name, “Operation Iraqi Freedom”, which began on March 19, 2003 and had an end on May 1, 2003, American forces invaded Iraq. As well as the American forces, England, Australia, Poland and in the duration of the war, 36 more countries had involved in the war. At the end of the war, Saddam regime in Iraq was toppled down and the U.S. withdrew its forces after a long period.

The Neighboring Countries Initiative was started by Turkey in 2003, stemming from the common interest of Iraq’s neighbors to prevent the war. By mediating between the U.S. and Iraq.<sup>158</sup> All neighbors of Iraq, except Kuwait, and also including Egypt participated in the initiative and five meetings were held with the participation of these countries before and during the invasion of Iraq.

As Turkey was the founder of the Neighboring Countries Initiative, it will be better to make the content and discourse analyses of the initiative.

##### **4.5.1 Content and Discourse Analyses**

In MFA’s website, describing Turkey’s relations with Iraq and giving information about the Neighboring Countries Initiative, it is written:

Neighboring Countries of Iraq which was initiated with Turkey’s endeavors right before the invasion of Iraq and which held its last meeting in 2008 has served a significant purpose regarding the coordination of the efforts toward Iraq firstly by Iraq’s neighbors

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<sup>158</sup> Kemal Dervis, Michael Emerson, Daniel Gros and Sinan Ülgen, *The European Transformation of Modern Turkey* (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2004), 49.

followed by interested countries and international organizations and also regarding the contributions made in order to facilitate the stability in this country. <sup>159</sup>

So, the ideal of the initiative is to create a cooperation platform for the neighboring countries of Iraq in order to provide stability for Iraq. While Foreign Minister of Turkey, Abdullah Gül made a speech in the foreign ministers meeting of the initiative. Relevant parts of this speech are as follows:

The understanding at the core of the Neighboring countries process is to reflect the responsibility to fend for the “geography” we live on. [...] This process is based on our obligation to have a positive impact upon the occurring developments in our geography. The countries of the region and the ones who govern them know better the culture of the region, social habits and political customs and are able to better evaluate them. <sup>160</sup>

Here, the ideal part of the mediation is explicitly given by Gül. Thus, the purpose of the mediation is the responsibility of neighboring countries to look after the geography they live in, as they are the ones who know best how to resolve the problems in their own country. In the following part, Gül gives some clues about the interest part of the mediation:

“The terrorism in Iraq has not only harmed the people of Iraq but has also become a problem of the region, its neighbors and the international community”. <sup>161</sup>

According to Gül, the terrorism issue in Iraq is threatening the security of Turkey and other countries in the region, so that resolving it will be for the interest of both Iraq and its neighbors, including Turkey.

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<sup>159</sup> “Türkiye - Irak Siyasi İlişkileri,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-irak-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa>.

<sup>160</sup> “Irak’a Komşu Ülkeler Genişletilmiş Dışişleri Bakanları Toplantısı'nda Yaptıkları Konuşma,” *Presidency of Turkish Republic*, 13.11.2007, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/abdullah-gul-konusmalar/371/56519/iraka-komsu-ulkeler-genisletilmis-disisleri-bakanlari-toplantisinda-yaptiklari-konusma.html>.

<sup>161</sup> “Irak’a Komşu Ülkeler Genişletilmiş Dışişleri Bakanları Toplantısı'nda Yaptıkları Konuşma,” *Presidency of Turkish Republic*, 13.11.2007, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/abdullah-gul-konusmalar/371/56519/iraka-komsu-ulkeler-genisletilmis-disisleri-bakanlari-toplantisinda-yaptiklari-konusma.html>.

“I believe that the people of Iraq and the region possess the necessary historical experience, cultural background and shared values to build a common future”.<sup>162</sup>

Not surprisingly, Gül refers to the tools of common past and future of the countries in the region as well as the shared values and cultural background. Yet, the most striking part of the Gül’s speech is below:

The Middle East has rich natural, economic, human, cultural resources. There is a need for the provision of these resources to the people of the Middle East via planned and rational governance. I would like to remind you provided that these are used for the prosperity of the regional community and the progress of our countries, these resources will ensure the future safety of all the countries in the region and humanity. The realization of prosperity and progress is not envisaged without solving the security issue. Hence, the countries in the region primarily must respect one another’s safety and eradicate the security threats stemming from their own countries. Without a doubt, the realization of a political plan based on mutual trust building and the dependency of economics and trade on each other will be no easy task.<sup>163</sup>

In a meeting held to discuss the future of Iraq and how to recover it, Gül mentions the need for the provision of resources to the people of the Middle East through appropriate plans and governance, and emphasizes that these resources will ensure the future safety of the countries in the region and humanity, so he points out the interest part of the mediation, pertaining to the material resources. Furthermore, he underscores the significance of solving the security problems in the region in order to reach full prosperity through economic interdependence.

Coming back to the problems of Iraq, Gül explains, “Preventing the issues regarding Iraq from deepening and reoccurring is of paramount importance, as the deepening and

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<sup>162</sup> “Irak’a Komşu Ülkeler Genişletilmiş Dışişleri Bakanları Toplantısı'nda Yaptıkları Konuşma,” *Presidency of Turkish Republic*, 13.11.2007, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/abdullah-gul-konusmalar/371/56519/iraka-komsu-ulkeler-genisletilmis-disisleri-bakanlari-toplantisinda-yaptiklari-konusma.html>.

<sup>163</sup> “Irak’a Komşu Ülkeler Genişletilmiş Dışişleri Bakanları Toplantısı'nda Yaptıkları Konuşma,” *Presidency of Turkish Republic*, 13.11.2007, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/abdullah-gul-konusmalar/371/56519/iraka-komsu-ulkeler-genisletilmis-disisleri-bakanlari-toplantisinda-yaptiklari-konusma.html>.

persistence of these problems will pose a great risk to peace, stability and prosperity in the region and in the world”.<sup>164</sup>

Again, Gül briefly summarizes that the more Iraq is secure, the more the region, including Turkey, and the world are secure. He reiterates the significance of Iraq’s peace and stability for Turkey via these words:

Turkey wants a prosperous Iraq by its side which is at peace with itself and its neighbors. Such a neighbor, shall be an advantage in itself and a source of peace for Turkey. Through this, I would like to stress the high sensitivity Turkey has shown regarding the territorial integrity and political solidarity of Iraq and the prosperity and wellbeing of every fraction of the people of Iraq.<sup>165</sup>

So, Turkey has material interests in initiating in the Neighboring Countries of Iraq Initiative, which are particularly related to the economic potential and resources of Iraq as well as ideals such as rebuilding a more secure and stable future for Iraq.

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<sup>164</sup> “Irak’a Komşu Ülkeler Genişletilmiş Dışişleri Bakanları Toplantısı'nda Yaptıkları Konuşma,” *Presidency of Turkish Republic*, 13.11.2007, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/abdullah-gul-konusmalar/371/56519/iraka-komsu-ulkeler-genisletilmis-disisleri-bakanlari-toplantisinda-yaptiklari-konusma.html>.

<sup>165</sup> “Irak’a Komşu Ülkeler Genişletilmiş Dışişleri Bakanları Toplantısı'nda Yaptıkları Konuşma,” *Presidency of Turkish Republic*, 13.11.2007, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/abdullah-gul-konusmalar/371/56519/iraka-komsu-ulkeler-genisletilmis-disisleri-bakanlari-toplantisinda-yaptiklari-konusma.html>.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

After the content and discourse analyses, there are some research findings in hand. Before discussing these findings, it will be better to remind the research question of the dissertation and make a general overview of the chapters. Throughout the dissertation, the question “Why does Turkey mediate?” tried to be answered within the scope of a combination of discourse analysis of speeches made by Turkey’s ministers of foreign affairs and the content analysis of the news and statements in the official website of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since the mediation attempts of Turkey have been conducted by the ministers of foreign affairs and the relevant documents of the mediation meetings have accumulatively been in the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With this regard, the samples of the dissertation were selected as Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Summits in the South Asia, Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit in the Balkans, Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform between Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Caucasus, and the Initiative of Neighboring Countries of Iraq in the Middle East, and all samples are comparatively examined.

To summarize the dissertation, in the first chapter, “Introduction” gives detailed information about the content of the dissertation. Starting with drawing a general picture of Turkey’s mediation endeavors during the last decade, the “Introduction” chapter covers the research question, the argument, the theory, the methodology, and the sampling of the dissertation.

In the second chapter entitled “Reassessing the Existing Literature on Mediation and the Mediator”, a broad literature review is made in order to make the dissertation more understandable by clarifying the concepts of mediation and mediator. Following the sub-title of definition and characteristics of the mediation, the mediation types are

classified as Ronald J. Fisher's "conciliation, consultation, pure mediation, and power mediation", and Frank Hanna's "facilitative, evaluative, and transformative mediations". After classifying the mediation according to the types of it, a new debate is held in consideration of the mediator. Discussing the roles and characteristics of the mediator, the tasks of the mediator throughout the mediation process is detailed. The chapter also includes the types of mediators by dividing it into two categories, namely mediators with respect to different intervention strategies, and mediators with respect to their functions.

In the third chapter entitled "Revisiting the Mediation in the United Nations", the UN as the most effective mediation organization in which Turkey tries to increase its visibility is analyzed through its key documents on mediation. With this purpose, Secretary-General's reports, UN General Assembly resolutions, and the UN guidance documents are carefully reviewed. Secondly, the UN mediations are scrutinized by focusing on the work of mediation support services, and the Group of Friends of Mediation's activities. The chapter ends with Turkey's mediation activities within the scope of the UN and tries to reveal the collaborative works of the UN and Turkey on mediation.

The fourth chapter entitled "Turkey's Leading Motivations to Engage in Mediations as a Third Party" starts with a debate on where Turkey's third party role fits in the mediation literature. After Turkey as a mediator is literally figured out, the samples of the research are examined in the fourth chapter as well, which are Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Summits, Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit, Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform between Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and The Initiative of Neighboring Countries of Iraq. Each sample is evaluated with the background of the problems which make it necessary to mediate. After giving the details of the background of the problem, the content and discourse analyses of the sources pertaining to the mediation processes are made. By this means, the leading motivations of Turkey try to be determined.

Discussing these research findings, first, it could be observed that for each mediation, Turkey has its own agenda as well as the general purposes of the mediation which are common for all participants of the mediation process. Second, Turkey has some general ideals for all mediation processes. These are decreasing the tension in the region of mediated countries; providing peace, stability and security in the region of the mediated countries; encouraging cooperation, and peaceful and amicable relations. In addition to the general ideals, Turkey has unique ideals for each mediation, which are specific to those mediations. For Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Summit, the unique ideal is to create a suitable atmosphere for collaboration among the institutions of Afghanistan and Pakistan. For Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit, the ideal of encouraging democracy, law and plurality is unique. What ideally is unique in the Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform is the suggestion of trust building safeguards and precautions. Lastly, the unique ideal for the Neighboring Countries of Iraq is to coordinate the efforts of the neighboring countries of Iraq and the international organizations to facilitate stability in Iraq.

In addition to the unique ones, in each mediation, Turkey is generally looking out for its economic interests, and the type of these interests are mostly shaped by Turkey's needs in the mediated countries and the geography these countries are located in. In the Afghanistan-Pakistan-Turkey Trilateral Summits, developing economic cooperation between three countries is emphasized too much, and with this regard, the Istanbul Forumu is articulated in the mediation process. Considering that both Afghanistan and Pakistan are the transition countries due to their geographies and they are significant routes of trade relations, Turkey's interests in the region are shaped accordingly. Furthermore, cooperation against terrorists and anti-state groups in the region is discussed, which is an interest of Turkey as well, because the terrorist groups in the region can have potential to expand their activities in Turkey or to the countries neighboring Turkey, which will threaten the security of Turkey. For Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Serbia Trilateral Summit, Turkey emphasizes cooperation in economics, science, energy, infrastructure, transportation and tourism as its interests. In most of these fields, Turkey is more developed than these two countries, especially

than Bosnia and Herzegovina. By highlighting the cooperation in these fields, particularly for economics, Turkey tries to extend its market to these two countries. Hence, Turkey's interests in this mediation process are economic as well. In the Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform, as expected, Turkey's emphasis is on energy relations and projects, the sustainability of resources and security, because Turkey is sharing one oil, one gas pipeline, and one railway project with the region, and also providing its energy from this region, so that any kind of instability and security problem might directly affect Turkey's energy supply and economy. In the Neighboring Countries of Iraq, Turkey's interests are related to economy and security. It is emphasized that Iraq has rich natural and economic resources and an appropriate governance of these resources is required for the future security of Iraq and its neighboring countries.

Surprisingly, Gül, Babacan and Davutoğlu all use commonality rhetoric during the mediation processes. This includes common values, shared cultures, cultural ties, common vision, common history, common fate, common future, common geography, and common past. It should be underlined that these commonalities are not the reasons for Turkey to mediate between conflicting countries, instead, these are the tools to ease the mediation processes by having a common ground to meet. For the frequent use of "common geography", it seems that common geography is a trap rather than a tool. Defining Turkey as the part of these geographies, ministers express their concern for the security of these regions. Overwhelming use of "common geography" could push Turkey to be redundantly reactionary and sensitive about the instabilities in those regions. Turkey cannot act like it is in the same geography with Asia, Caucasus, Balkans, and the Middle East at the same time. Therefore, it will be better to use "common geography" only as a tool, not to transform it into a preconceived idea. In brief, the research findings of Turkey's leading motivations to engage in mediations as a third party were basically discussed in this dissertation.

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## APPENDICES

### A: TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Türkiye'nin geçtiğimiz on yıl içerisinde iç siyasette daha istikrarlı, ekonomide ise daha güvenli bir süreçten geçmesi, yakın zamanda yaşanan siyasi problemlere kadar uluslararası ilişkiler bağlamında başarılı girişimlerde bulunulmasına yardımcı oldu. Bu bağlamda, uluslararası uyuşmazlıkların/çatışmaların çözümü için aktif bir arabuluculuk rolü üstlenildiği; bu sayede hem dış politikada daha aktif bir Türkiye imajı oluşturmaya hem de uyuşmazlıkların çözümüne katkı sunan ve barış için inisiyatif alabilen etkin bir Türk dış politikası şekillendirmeye çalışıldı. Bu noktada, Erdoğan'ın başbakan olduğu dönemde dış politika danışmanlığında bulunan, eski Dışişleri Bakanı ve şimdiki Başbakan Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun Türk dış politikasına ve uluslararası ilişkilere yaklaşımını değerlendirmekte fayda var. Davutoğlu, çokça eleştirilen ve başarısızlıkla sonuçlanan “komşu ülkelerle sıfır problem politikası” yaklaşımını Türkiye'ye tanıtmış, bir süre için de olsa Türkiye'nin komşularıyla var olan sorunlarını çözerek iyi ilişkiler geliştirmesine ve bu sayede Türkiye'nin uluslararası siyasete daha aktif bir biçimde katılmasına yardımcı olmuştu. Davutoğlu'nun bir diğer yaklaşımı ise, bir zamanlar Osmanlı sınırları içerisinde bulunan Balkan ülkeleriyle ilişkileri yeniden gözden geçirmeyi ve güçlendirmeyi amaçlayan “yeni Osmanlıcılık” idi. Bu yaklaşımı temel alan Davutoğlu, Türkiye'nin Balkan ülkeleriyle daha fazla işbirliği yapmasını, böylece bölgedeki gelişmeleri yakından takip ederek daha fazla entegre olmasını amaçlamıştı.

Komşularla iyi ilişkiler geliştirme ve Balkan ülkeleriyle işbirliği alanlarını çeşitlendirme ekseninde hareket eden Türkiye, aynı zamanda uluslararası uyuşmazlıkların çözümünde de aktif olarak arabuluculuk rolü üstlenmeye ve var olan çatışmaların barışçıl yöntemlerle çözümlenmesine katkı sunmaya çalıştı. Bu çabaları herhangi bir coğrafi alanla sınırlı tutmayan Türkiye, Orta Doğu'dan Kafkaslara kadar, farklı bölgelerdeki pek çok uyuşmazlığın çözümüne arabulucu olarak katılmaya gayret etti. Bu bir anlamda, Türk dış politikasının geleneksel çizgilerinin dışına çıkmak

anlamına geliyordu. Zira Türk dış politikası genel itibariyle müdahaleci olmaktan kaçınan, bunun yanı sıra, çatışmaların dışında kalarak istikrarlı ilişkileri sürdürmeyi önceleyen bir yapıya sahipti. Dolayısıyla dış politikadaki girişimci, pro-aktif ve uyuşmazlıklara üçüncü taraf olarak katılmayı önceleyen yaklaşım oldukça yeni ve tartışmalı bulunuyordu. Acemiliklere, inişli çıkışlı dış politika stratejisi denemelerine ve tartışmalı dış politika yaklaşımına rağmen, Türkiye Arap Baharı ve yakın zamanda içine girdiği siyasi krize kadar, bahsi geçen yeni Türk dış politikası yaklaşımıyla dış politikada daha görünür bir aktör haline gelmeyi başardı. Türkiye bu sayede ikili ilişkilerini güçlendirdi, diplomasi kapasitesini geliştirdi ve hem komşu ülkelerdeki hem de Türkiye'ye yakın bölgelerdeki birçok uyuşmazlığa arabulucu oldu.

Bahsi geçen süreçte Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine verdiği önemin artması, paralel bir biçimde Türkiye'de bu konuda yapılan çalışmaların da artmasına sebep oldu. Bu çalışmaların en bilinenlerinden biri TESEV'in (Türkiye Ekonomik ve sosyal Etüdler Vakfı) 2010 yılında yaptığı bir kamuoyu araştırmasıdır. Mısır, Ürdün, Lübnan, Filistin, Suudi Arabistan, Suriye ve Irak'tan toplam 2006 katılımcıyla yapılan anketlerde, katılımcılara Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine ve dış politikada artan görünürlüğüne dair sorular sorulmuştur. Sorulardan birinde, katılımcılara Türkiye'nin İsrail-Filistin meselesinde arabulucu olmasına nasıl baktıkları sorulmuş ve katılımcıların yaklaşık %79'u Türkiye'nin arabuluculuğuna olumlu baktıklarını ifade etmiştir. Filistinli katılımcıların Türkiye'nin arabuluculuğuna bakışı %89'dur; bu da Filistin'deki her 10 kişiden 9'unun, Türkiye'nin İsrail-Filistin meselesine arabuluculuk yapmasına olumlu baktığı ifade edilebilir. Bahsi geçen TESEV araştırmasında örneklemin kısıtlı olması (Araştırmaya katılan 7 ülkenin nüfusu, 2010 yılında 187 milyon civarındaydı. Araştırmaya katılan kişi sayısı ise 2006) araştırmanın güvenilirliğini ve genellenebilirliğini zayıf kılarsa da, Türkiye'de bu tür araştırmaların yapılması, akademik çevrelerde ve araştırma kurumlarında Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk girişimleriyle ilgili artan bir ilgi olduğuna dair önemli bir örnek teşkil ediyor. Zira belirtilen zamana kadar Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetleriyle ilgili yapılan çalışma sayısı oldukça kısıtlıydı.

Geçtiğimiz 10 yıl boyunca, Türkiye'nin girişimlerinin yanı sıra, kendisine yakın bölgelerde süregelen uluslararası uyuşmazlıklara arabuluculuk yapması konusunda teşvik edildiği bazı örnekler de mevcuttur. 2005 yılında Sharon hükümetinin Gazze'den çekilmesi sürecinde, o zaman başbakanlık görevinde bulunan Erdoğan çatışmanın iki tarafı arasında arabuluculuk yapmayı teklif etmiş ve Filistin'e ekonomisinin iyileşmesi adına yardım etmeye hazır olduğunu belirtmişti. Sharon hükümeti Erdoğan'ın teklifini kabul etmese de, bu teklifi yapmasından duyduğu memnuniyeti dile getirmişti. 2006 yılına gelindiğinde İsrail ile Filistin arasındaki tansiyon yeniden yükselmiş, buna karşılık eski Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül'ün ABD'ye yaptığı ziyarette eski Amerikan Dışişleri Bakanı Condoleezza Rice, Türkiye'nin İsrail-Filistin meselesindeki arabuluculuk girişimleri ve tansiyonu düşürmeye yönelik çabalarından ötürü teşekkür etmişti.

Türkiye'nin bu süreçte gerçekleştirdiği arabuluculuk girişimlerindeki bir diğer önceliği ise, Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) vasıtasıyla yürütülen arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin önemli bir aktörü olmaktı. Bu dönemde Türkiye, kısıtlı bir süre için de olsa BM'nin aktif arabulucularından biri olmayı başardı. Öyle ki; BM ve Türk hükümeti İstanbul'da ortaklaşa bir "Arabuluculuk Merkezi" açmaya karar vermişler ve farklı ülkelerdeki arabuluculuk faaliyetlerini bu merkezden yürütmeye karar vermişlerdi. Türkiye açısından, böyle prestijli bir projeye ev sahipliği yapmak, bir bakımdan Türkiye'nin çabalarının fark edildiği, hatta meyve vermeye başladığı anlamına geliyordu. Böylelikle Türkiye tüm arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin vazgeçilmez bir aktörü olacak ve Merkez sayesinde BM'nin yürüttüğü tüm arabuluculuk faaliyetlerini İstanbul'da takip edebilecekti.

Türkiye arabuluculuk faaliyetlerini daha görünür kılmak ve bu konuda kabiliyetlerini geliştirmek adına, her yıl düzenli olarak arabuluculuk konferansı düzenleme kararı aldı. "İstanbul Arabuluculuk Konferansı" olarak isimlendirilen konferanslar dizisinin ilki 24-25 Şubat 2012 tarihinde, ikincisi 11-12 Nisan 2013 tarihinde, üçüncüsü ise 24-27 Haziran 2014 tarihinde İstanbul'da düzenlendi. Arabuluculuk konferanslarının amacı, Afganistan, Somali, Sudan, Suriye gibi sık sık çatışmalara sahne olan istikrarsız bölgelerdeki çatışmaların çözümü için alternatif yollar belirlemek, arabuluculuk

vasıtasıyla istikrarsız bölgelerdeki uyuşmazlıkların giderilmesi konusunu tartışmak ve Türkiye'nin çatışma/uyuşmazlık çözümü ve arabuluculuk konularında kapasite inşasına katkı sunmaktı. Konferanslara hükümet yetkililerinden derneklere kadar, çatışma çözümü ve arabuluculukla ilgilenen birçok kişi ve grup katıldı. 2012'de gerçekleştirilen ilk konferansın açılış konuşmasını BM Genel Meclisi 66. Oturum Başkanı Nasir Abdülaziz El Nasir yaptı. Türkiye'nin İstanbul'da Arabuluculuk Merkezi açma çabalarının bölgenin barış ve güvenliği için ne denli önemli olduğunu vurgulayan Nasir, Türkiye'nin Arap-İsrail, Afganistan-Pakistan, Irak, Somali-Eritre gibi ülkelerde süregelen çatışmaların çözümü için sarf ettiği çabadan duydukları memnuniyeti dile getirmişti.

BM'nin yürüttüğü arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinde daha aktif bir rol oynamak isteyen Türkiye, Finlandiya'yla birlikte 2010 yılında bir Dostluk Grubu kurmuş ve 41 üye ülkenin de katılımıyla arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin aktif olarak yürütüldüğü önemli bir BM grubunun kurucu üyelerinden biri olmuştu. BM bünyesinde yürütülen arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine katılmaya devam eden Türkiye, bu sayede arabuluculuk kapasitesini ve kabiliyetlerini geliştirmeyi amaçlamıştı.

Peki, Türkiye arabuluculuk yapma konusunda neden bu kadar istekli davranıyordu? Bu tez, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerini “neden” ve “nasıl” yaptığını etraflıca ele almayı amaçlıyor. Tezin araştırma sorusu kısaca, “Türkiye neden arabuluculuk yapar?” şeklinde ifade edilebilir. Dolayısıyla bu tez, Türkiye'nin uluslararası çatışmalara/uyuşmazlıklara üçüncü taraf olarak katılımının ve arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin altında yatan esas nedenleri, bir başka deyişle, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk yapma motivasyonunun temel sebeplerini bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Tezin argümanı, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinde reel çıkar ve beklentilerinin insani bir yaklaşıma daha ağır bastığı yönündedir. Daha detaylı bir biçimde, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk yaparken sahip olduğu reel motivasyonların, Türkiye'nin çatışmalara olan insani yaklaşımından daha görünür olduğu ifade edilebilir. Bu argüman Türkiye'nin çatışma çözümündeki insani yaklaşım ve misyonlarını reddetmediği gibi, bir devlet olarak, Türkiye'nin reel çıkarlarının insani yaklaşımından daha görünür olduğunu savunur.

Tez boyunca herhangi bir teorik yaklaşım özel olarak benimsenmemiş ve tezin teorisi, tezde uygulanacak metodun sonucunda elde edilecek verilere bırakılmıştır. Fakat yazar tez boyunca arabuluculuk konusuna liberal bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşmış, arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin ülkelerin kötü olan ilişkilerinin düzelmesine, var olan ilişkilerdeki problemleri alanların giderilmesine ve yolunda giden ilişkilerin ise daha uyumlu ve yakın bir hale gelmesine ciddi katkıları sunabileceğine dair olumlu görüşünü korumuştur. Fakat bu pozitif bakış açısı, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerindeki reel çıkarlarını ve beklentilerini göz ardı etmesi anlamına gelmemektedir. Zira fiktisel olarak arabuluculuk faaliyetleri insani söylemlere dayanan girişimler olsa da, bu girişimlerin tamamen reel çıkarlar ve beklentilerden farklı ve bu çıkar ve beklentilerden soyutlanmış ya da arındırılmış olduğunu iddia etmek rasyonel olmayacaktır.

Tezin metodu, söylem ve içerik analizinin birlikte ve dönüşümlü kullanımı şeklinde belirlenmiştir. Bu metodun tercih edilmesinde iki neden ağır basmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin dışişleri bakanları tarafından yürütülmesidir. Bu durum, arabuluculuk görüşmelerine katılan dışişleri bakanlarının yaptığı konuşmaları incelemeyi gerekli kılmış, böylelikle Türkiye'nin yürüttüğü arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin esas nedenleriyle ilgili kritik bilgilerin analiz edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Dolayısıyla söylem analizinin esas sebebini, dışişleri bakanlarının arabuluculuk faaliyetlerindeki etkin rolü teşkil etmektedir. Bunlardan ikincisi, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine ilişkin tüm belge, toplantı notları, haber, duyuru, bilgilendirme ve kararların Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın web sitesinde yazılı olarak yer almasıdır. Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın web sitesinde toplanarak mini bir arşiv haline alan bu dokümanları incelemek, arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin dinamiklerini, yürütülen diplomasinin detaylarını, süreçlerin akışını ve hepsinden önemlisi Türkiye'nin bu arabuluculuk faaliyetlerini yürütme nedenlerini anlayabilmek ve analiz edebilmek adına büyük önem taşımaktadır. Dolayısıyla, yukarıdaki kritik nüanslar göz önünde bulundurularak, tezin metodu söylem ve içerik analizi olarak belirlenmiştir.

Dışişleri bakanlarının söylemlerinin incelenmesi hususunda, sırasıyla Abdullah Gül, Ali Babacan ve Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun seçilen arabuluculuk süreçlerine ilişkin

söylemleri mercek altına alınmıştır. Abdullah Gül'ün söylemleri dışında, diğer iki bakanın söylemleri Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın resmi web sitesinden alınmıştır. Abdullah Gül'ün söylemleri, 2007 yılında Türkiye'nin 11. Cumhurbaşkanı olması sebebiyle, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı resmi web sitesinden temin edilmiştir. Söylemlerin yanı sıra, Davutoğlu'nun 2003 yılında Middle East Policy Council adlı dergide yayınlanan "Türkiye'nin Arabuluculuk Çalışmaları: Sahadan Önemli Yansımalar" adlı makalesi, tezin iki yerinde konuyla ilgili ve anlamayı kolaylaştırıcı nitelikte olduğu için içerik analizine dahil edilmiştir.

Bu teze karşılaştırmalı bir çalışma niteliği kazandıran husus, tez boyunca Türkiye'nin dört farklı coğrafi bölgede gerçekleştirdiği dört farklı arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmesidir. Böylelikle, dışişleri bakanlarının söylemlerinin arabuluculuk yapılan bölgelerin dinamiklerine nasıl şekillendiği ve bu söylemlerin bölgeden bölgeye ne tür değişikliklere uğradığı karşılaştırmalı bir biçimde ele alınmıştır. Buna uygun bir biçimde, Güney Asya'dan Afganistan – Pakistan – Türkiye Üçlü Zirveleri, Balkanlardan Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Sırbistan Üçlü Zirveleri, Kafkasya'dan Ermenistan, Gürcistan, Azerbaycan'ın aralarında bulunduğu katılımcılarla meydana gelen Kafkasya İstikrar ve İşbirliği Platformu (CSCP) ve son olarak da Orta Doğu'dan Irak'a Komşu Ülkeler Girişimi karşılaştırmalı bir biçimde analiz edilmiş ve bu analizin belkemiğini de söylem ve içerik analizleri oluşturmuştur. Dört coğrafi bölgeden seçilen bu dört ayrı arabuluculuk örneklerinin diğer örneklere tercih edilmelerinin belli sebepleri vardır. Bunlardan en önemlisi, teze konu olan arabuluculuk örneklerinin, o coğrafi bölgede yapılmış en geniş çaplı ve doküman açısından en zengin olan arabuluculuk örnekleri olmasıdır. Böylece hem detaylı hem de objektif veriler elde edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu açıklamanın dışında kalan tek bir örnek vardır; o da Irak'a Komşu Ülkeler Girişimi'dir. Esasen Orta Doğu'da Türkiye'nin yürüttüğü en kapsamlı ve doküman açısından en zengin arabuluculuk faaliyeti, İran'ın nükleer faaliyetleri sebebiyle başta ABD olmak üzere Batılı devletler ile İran arasında yürüttüğü arabuluculuk faaliyetidir. Fakat İran ve bahsi geçen diğer devletler ile yürütülen arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin dokümanlarında nükleer ve enerji meseleleri ciddi bir ağırlık oluşturduğundan, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk yapma

sebepleriyle ilgili bilgiler oldukça kısıtlıdır ve bu bilgilerin dolaylı ya da üstü kapalı olarak aktarılması, bu teze konu olması açısından sıkıntı arz etmektedir. Dolayısıyla Irak'a Komşu Ülkeler Girişimi daha dar kapsamlı olmasına rağmen İran ve Batılı ülkeler arasında yürütülen arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine tercih edilmiştir.

Tezin güvenilirliğini artırmak adına, Türkiye'nin Asya'da, Balkanlarda, Kafkasya'da ve Orta Doğu'da yaptığı tüm arabuluculuk faaliyetleri incelenmiş ve teze konu olarak seçilen örneklerin diğer arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin tüm özelliklerini kapsadığından emin olunmuştur. Örneğin teze konu olan Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Sırbistan Üçlü Zirveleri ile aynı bölgedeki, Balkanlardaki Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Hırvatistan Üçlü Zirveleri içerik olarak karşılaştırılmış, Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Sırbistan Üçlü Zirvelerinin içerik olarak Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Hırvatistan Üçlü Zirvelerini kapsayacak bir biçimde olmasından ve Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Hırvatistan Üçlü Zirvelerinden daha detaylı bilgi sunmasından ötürü, teze konu olması uygun bulunmuştur. Dolayısıyla teze konu olan örnekler, kendi coğrafyalarında Türkiye tarafından gerçekleştirilmiş olan tüm arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin özelliklerini çok büyük oranda yansıtmaktadır. Böylelikle tezin güvenilirliği ve genellenebilirliği artırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Tez dört ana bölüm ve bu ana bölümlerin her birinin içerisinde bulunan küçük bölümlerden ve alt başlıklardan oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm Giriş adlı bölümdür ve tezin genel hatlarıyla ilgili okuyucuya detaylı bilgi sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu bölümde, Türkiye'nin son on yıl özelinde gerçekleştirdiği arabuluculuk faaliyetleri, araştırma sorusu, tezin metodolojisi, argümanı, teorisi, örneklemin seçimi ve bu konudaki detay ve istisnalar genel bir biçimde dile getirilmiştir.

Tezin ikinci bölümü “Arabuluculuk ve Arabulucu Üzerine Var Olan Literatürü Yeniden İncelemek” isimli bölümdür. Bu bölüm tezin içerisinde sıkça atıfta bulunulan arabuluculuk ve arabulucu kavramlarının tanımlanmasından sınıflandırılmasına, türlerinden görevlerine kadar, literatürde var olan tüm arabuluculuk ve arabulucu tartışmalarının süzülüp özetlenerek teze uygun hale getirilmiş bir bölümdür. Böylelikle tezdeki arabuluculuk ve arabulucuya dair kavramlar ve görevler daha

anlaşılır bir hale getirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Arabuluculuk kavramının tanım ve özelliklerinin tartışılmasının ardından, yine arabuluculuk kavramının ne tür sınıflandırılmalarla açıklandığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu konuda birçok farklı akademisyenin farklı sınıflandırılmaları bulunmaktadır. Bu gerçek göz önünde bulundurularak, en sık atıfta bulunulan ve arabuluculuk konusunda argümanları ve sınıflandırmaları en çok kabul gören iki yazarın sınıflandırması baz alınmıştır. Bunlardan ilki Ronald J. Fisher, bir diğeri ise Frank Hanna'dır. Ronald Fisher'ın sınıflandırmasına göre, arabuluculuk çeşitleri uzlaşma, danışma, saf arabuluculuk ve güç odaklı arabuluculuktur. Frank Hanna'ya göre ise arabuluculuk çeşitleri kolaylaştırıcı, değerlendirici ve dönüştürücü arabuluculuktur. Arabuluculuk çeşitleri detaylıca ele alındıktan sonra, bu kez arabulucu üzerine akademik bir tartışma ele alınmış ve arabulucuya dair var olan literatür yeniden işlenerek teze uygun hale getirilmiştir. Arabulucunun rolleri, özellikleri, görevleri, arabuluculuk sürecinde yapması gerekenler ve süreci nasıl yönetebileceğine dair gereken detaylar da bu tartışmanın içerisinde ele alınmıştır. Bu bölümde ayrıca arabulucunun sınıflandırılması da yer almıştır. Buna göre arabulucu iki sınıfta incelenmektedir. Bunlardan ilki farklı müdahale stratejilerine göre arabulucular ve işlevlerine göre arabuluculardır.

Tezin üçüncü bölümü "Birleşmiş Milletlerin Yaptığı Arabuluculuk Faaliyetlerini Gözden Geçirmek" isimli bölümdür. Birleşmiş Milletler dünyadaki arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin çok büyük bir kısmını yürüten ve bu anlamda dünyanın hem en etkili hem de en kapsamlı arabuluculuk organizasyonlarından biridir. Türkiye'nin son yıllarda Birleşmiş Milletlerin yürüttüğü arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinde artan rolü ve gönüllülük isteği de göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, tezin bir bölümünü Birleşmiş Milletler ve arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine ayırmak gerekli olmuştur. Bu bölümde, Birleşmiş Milletlerin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerini daha yakından analiz edebilmek adına, Genel Sekreterlik raporları, Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Meclisi çözümlenmeleri ve Birleşmiş Milletlerin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerini daha kolay ve uygulanabilir kılmak için hazırladığı arabuluculuk rehberleri detaylıca analiz edilmiştir. Belgeleri özel bir sınıflandırma yaparak sayı bakımından kısıtlama yoluna gidilmiş ve her bir Genel Sekreterlik raporları, Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Meclisi çözümlenmeleri ve Birleşmiş

Milletler arabuluculuk rehberleri başlıkları için en güncel üç doküman seçilerek mercek altına alınmıştır. Bu zamana kadar bu başlıkta ele alınanların tümü, Birleşmiş Milletlerin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin doküman bazında incelenmiş halidir. Bu bölümün bir diğer basamağını ise aktör bazında Birleşmiş Milletlerin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin incelenmesi oluşturmaktadır. Aktör bazındaki incelemede ise, Türkiye ve Finlandiya'nın girişimiyle başlatılan Arabuluculuk Dostlar Grubu adlı girişim, arabuluculuk destek servisleri ve Birleşmiş Milletler bünyesinde yer alan çeşitli arabuluculuk üniteleri detaylı bir biçimde ele alınmıştır. Bu bölüm, Türkiye'nin Birleşmiş Milletler çatısı altında yaptığı arabuluculuk faaliyetlerini ve halihazırdaki arabuluculuk faaliyetlerine sunduğu katkıyı özetleyen bir alt başlıkla sona ermektedir. Böylelikle Türkiye ile Birleşmiş Milletlerin ortak bir biçimde gerçekleştirdikleri arabuluculuk faaliyetleri de detaylandırılmış olmaktadır.

Dördüncü bölüm ise "Türkiye'nin Arabuluculuk Faaliyetlerine Üçüncü Aktör Olarak Katılımının Esas Motivasyonları" isimli bölümdür. Bu bölümde ilk başta Türkiye'nin bir arabulucu olarak literatürde nasıl sınıflandırıldığında ve Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinin aynı literatürün neresinde yer aldığına bakılmıştır. Türkiye bir arabulucu olarak, daha sonra da yürüttüğü arabuluculuk faaliyetleri göz önünde bulundurularak literatürde konumlandırıldıktan sonra, tezin belkemiğini oluşturan örnek arabuluculuk faaliyetleri, ayrıntılı söylem ve içerik analizleri yapılarak karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Güney Asya'dan Afganistan – Pakistan – Türkiye Üçlü Zirveleri, Balkanlardan Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Sırbistan Üçlü Zirveleri, Kafkasya'dan Ermenistan, Gürcistan, Azerbaycan'ın aralarında bulunduğu katılımcılarla meydana gelen Kafkasya İstikrar ve İşbirliği Platformu (CSCP) ve son olarak da Orta Doğu'dan Irak'a Komşu Ülkeler Girişimi karşılaştırmalı bir biçimde analiz edildiği bu bölümde, Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetleriyle ilgili önemli veriler elde edilmiş, özellikle de Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk yapma konusundaki istekliliğinin ve motivasyonunun temel nedenlerine dair bulgulara ulaşılmıştır. Bu bulgular değerlendirilmek üzere, tezin "Sonuç" kısmına bırakılmıştır.

Tezin son bölümü "Sonuç" isimli kısımdır. Bu bölümde ilk önce diğer tüm bölümler özetlenmiş, ardından arabuluculuk örnekleri üzerinden yapılan söylem ve içerik

analizi ışığında elde edilen veriler detaylı bir biçimde değerlendirilmiştir. Araştırma sonucunda elde ettiğimiz verilere bakıldığında, ilginç sonuçlarla karşılaşılmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki ve en önemlisi, Türkiye'nin yaptığı her arabuluculuk girişiminde kendi gündeminin olması ve bu gündeme bağlı kalmasıdır. Bu durum, arabuluculuk faaliyetinin genel amaçlarından sapması anlamına gelmez. Fakat Türkiye'nin, sadece arabuluculuk gerektiren durumun çözümü için değil, aynı zamanda kendi reel çıkar ve beklentileri için de arabuluculuk girişiminde bulunmaya istekli olduğu anlamına gelir. İkinci bir temel bulgu ise, Türkiye'nin bütün arabuluculuk girişimleri için, istisnasız her biri için, birtakım ideallere sahip olduğu yönündedir. Burada altı çizilmesi gereken husus, Türkiye'nin sadece bu ideallerle ya da kendi ajandasıyla hareket etmediği, fakat kendi ajandasını arabuluculuk sürecinde çözüm ideallerinden daha önde tuttuğu ya da kendi ideallerinin bir şekilde söylem ve içeriklerde ön plana çıktığıdır.

Genel itibariyle, Türkiye'ni yaptığı bütün arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinde belli ortak vurgular bulunmaktadır. Bunlar arabuluculuk yapılan coğrafyalarda barış, istikrar ve güvenliğin sağlanması, işbirliği ve barışçıl ilişkilerin teşvik edilmesi şeklinde örneklendirilebilir. Bu genel ideallerin yanı sıra, Türkiye'nin her arabuluculuk faaliyetine özgü olarak sahip olduğu spesifik idealler de bulunmaktadır. Afganistan – Pakistan – Türkiye Üçlü Zirveleri sürecinde Türkiye'nin sahip olduğu idealler genel itibariyle Afganistan ve Pakistan'daki kurumların işbirliği içerisinde çalışabilmesi için uygun bir atmosfer yaratılmasıdır. Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Sırbistan Üçlü Zirveleri için bu ideal demokrasi, hukuk ve çoğulculuğun desteklenmesi şeklindedir. Kafkasya İstikrar ve İşbirliği Platformu için bu idealler genel itibariyle güven inşası üzerinden açıklanmıştır. Son olarak, Irak'a Komşu Ülkeler Girişimi'nde ise Türkiye'nin idealleri, Irak'a komşu ülkeleri koordine etmek ve uluslararası organizasyonları Irak'ın istikrarı konusunda işbirliğine davet etmektir.

Türkiye'nin her arabuluculuk faaliyetine özgü ideallerinin yanı sıra, bir de kendi açısından hedeflediği birtakım genel idealler bulunmaktadır. Türkiye arabuluculuk yaptığı bölgelerde sahip olduğu ekonomik çıkarlara ciddi önem vermektedir. Dolayısıyla Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk tavrı, bölgedeki ekonomik çıkarlarının çeşitliliğine ve önemine göre değişmektedir. Afganistan – Pakistan – Türkiye Üçlü

Zirvelerinde ekonomik vurgu çok fazladır. Hatta ekonomik anlamda yapılacak girişimleri yürütmek ve işbirliğini kolaylaştırmak adına İstanbul Forumu oluşturulmuştur. Afganistan ve Pakistan'ın transit geçiş noktaları üzerinde bulunması ise, bu durumu Türkiye açısından daha kritik hale getirmiştir. Ticari ilişkiler, terörle mücadelede işbirliği, bölgenin istikrarının ve güvenliğinin sağlanması ve böylelikle bölgenin ekonomik faaliyetlerin daha güvenli bir biçimde yönetilebileceği bir alan haline gelmesi de Türkiye'nin ajandalarından biridir. Aynı şekilde Türkiye – Bosna Hersek – Sırbistan Üçlü Zirvelerinde de ekonomi, altyapı, enerji, turizm gibi ekonomik alanlarda işbirliği yapılmasına yönelik karar alınmış ve bölge ekonomisinin hem Türkiye hem de diğer bölge ülkeleri için önemi sık sık ifade edilmiştir. Kafkasya İstikrar ve İşbirliği Platformu'nda tahmin edilebileceği üzere, Türkiye'nin enerji konusundaki beklenti ve çıkarları oldukça görünür durumdadır. Türkiye'nin bu bölgeyle petrol ve doğalgaz boru hattına sahip olması, bir demiryolu projesinin bulunması ve enerji ihtiyacının çok büyük kısmını bu bölgeden sağlaması gibi gerekçeler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Türkiye'nin neden arabuluculuk faaliyetleri esnasında bu bölgedeki ekonomik çıkarlarına odaklandığı da anlaşılabilir. Benzer biçimde Türkiye, Irak'a Komşu Ülkeler Girişimi'nde de söylemlerinde ekonomi ve güvenlik beklentilerine sıkça vurgu yapmıştır. Irak'ın zengin doğal ve ekonomik kaynaklarını göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda, aynı şekilde Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk faaliyetleri esnasında neden bu hususlara vurgu yaptığı da anlaşılacaktır.

Gül, Babacan ve Davutoğlu'nun farklı dönemlerde bakanlık yapmalarına rağmen bazı ortak vurgulara sahip olduğu da söylem ve içerik analizinin sonucunda anlaşılmaktadır. Bunlardan en fazla göze çarpan “ortaklık” vurgusudur. Ortak tarih, ortak coğrafya, ortak değerler, ortak gelecek, ortak kader ve daha nice ortaklık vurgusu her üç bakan tarafından da yinelenmiştir. Ortaklık vurgusu bir araç olarak kullanılmış ve arabuluculuk sürecinde Türkiye'ye olan güvenin artması hedefiyle kullanılmıştır.

## B: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

### YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: