Joan B. Kroc
Institute for
Peace & Justice
University of San Diego

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JOAN B. KROC DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES - URY

JOAN B. KROC

Distinguished Lecture Series

William Ury

From the Boardroom to the Border: Negotiating for Sustainable Agreements

Joan B. Kroc
Institute for
Peace & Justice
University of San Diego

Fostering Peace, Cultivating Justice, Creating a Safer World

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Distinguished Lecture Series

Delivered on the 18th of November, 2009 at the

JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies
University of San Diego
San Diego, California

William Ury

From the Boardroom to the Border: Negotiating for Sustainable Agreements

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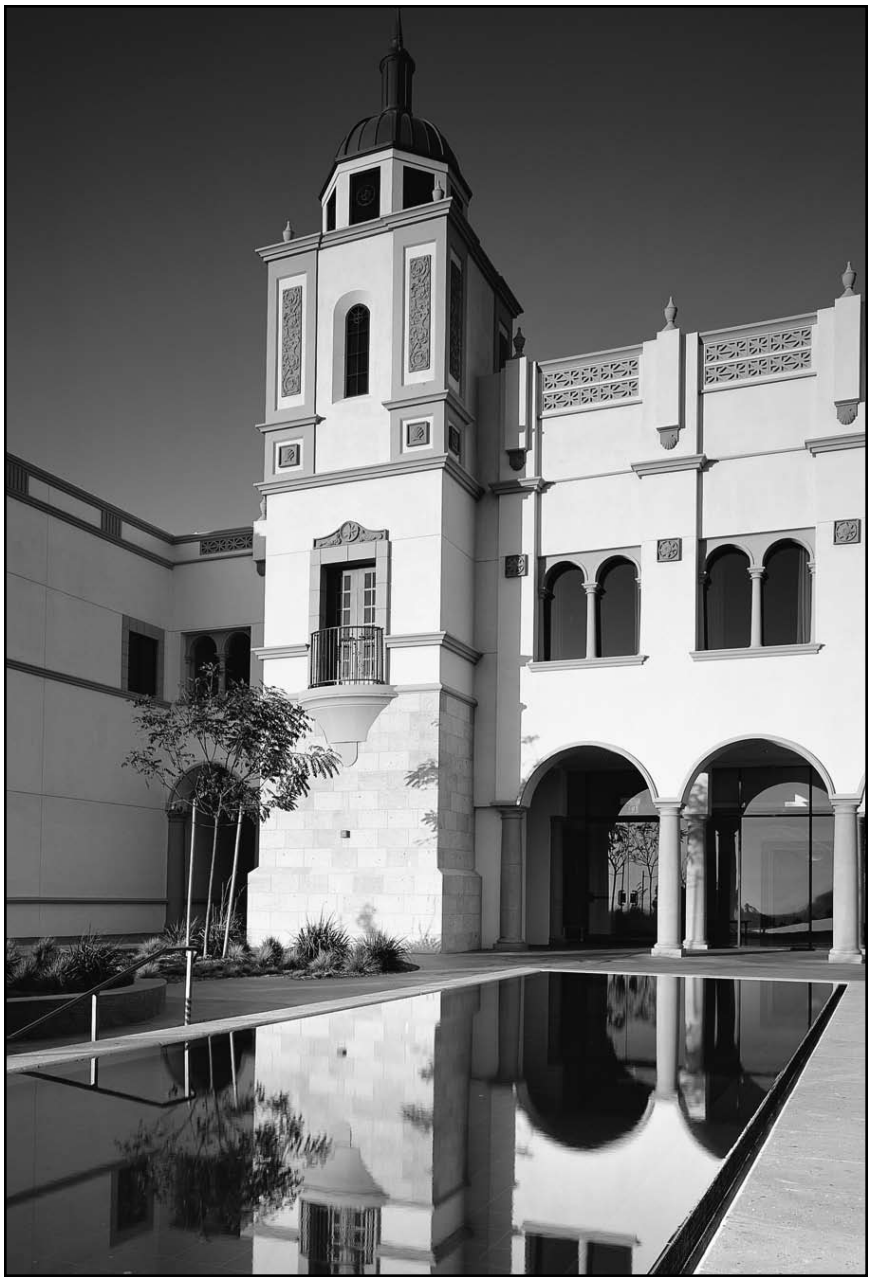

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JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

The mission of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) is to foster peace, cultivate justice and create a safer world. Through education, research and peace-making activities, the IPJ offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights.

The IPJ, a unit of the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, draws on Catholic social teaching that sees peace as inseparable from justice and acts to prevent and resolve conflicts that threaten local, national and international peace. The IPJ was established in 2000 through a generous gift from the late Joan B. Kroc to the University of San Diego to create an institute for the study and practice of peace and justice. Programming began in early 2001 and the building was dedicated in December 2001 with a conference, "Peacemaking with Justice: Policy for the 21st Century."

The Institute strives, in Joan B. Kroc's words, to "not only talk about peace, but to make peace." In its peacebuilding initiatives, the IPJ works with local partners to help strengthen their efforts to consolidate peace with justice in the communities in which they live. In Nepal, for example, the IPJ continues to work with Nepali groups to support inclusiveness and dialogue in the transition from armed conflict and monarchy to peace and multiparty democracy. In West Africa, the IPJ works with local human rights groups to strengthen their ability to pressure government for much needed reform and accountability.

The Women PeaceMakers Program documents the stories and best practices of international women leaders who are involved in human rights and peacemaking efforts in their home countries.

WorldLink, a year-round educational program for high school students from San Diego and Baja California, connects youth to global affairs.

Community outreach includes speakers, films, art and opportunities for discussion between community members, academics and practitioners on issues of peace and social justice, as well as dialogue with national and international leaders in government, nongovernmental organizations and the military.

In addition to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies includes the Trans-Border Institute, which promotes border-related scholarship and an active role for the university in the cross-border community, and a master's program in Peace and Justice Studies to train future leaders in the field.

JOAN B. KROC DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES

Endowed in 2003 by a generous gift to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice from the late Joan Kroc, the Distinguished Lecture Series is a forum for high-level national and international leaders and policymakers to share their knowledge and perspectives on issues related to peace and justice. The goal of the series is to deepen understanding of how to prevent and resolve conflict and promote peace with justice.

The Distinguished Lecture Series offers the community at large an opportunity to engage with leaders who are working to forge new dialogues with parties in conflict and who seek to answer the question of how to create an enduring peace for tomorrow. The series, which is held at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, examines new developments in the search for effective tools to prevent and resolve conflict while protecting human rights and ensuring social justice.

DISTINGUISHED LECTURERS

April 15, 2003	Robert Edgar General Secretary, National Council of Churches *The Role of the Church in U.S. Foreign Policy*
May 8, 2003	Helen Caldicott President, Nuclear Policy Research Institute *The New Nuclear Danger*
October 15, 2003	Richard J. Goldstone Justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa *The Role of International Law in Preventing Deadly Conflict*
January 14, 2004	Ambassador Donald K. Steinberg U.S. Department of State *Conflict, Gender and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from the Field*
April 14, 2004	General Anthony C. Zinni United States Marine Corps (retired) *From the Battlefield to the Negotiating Table: Preventing Deadly Conflict*
November 4, 2004	Hanan Ashrawi Secretary General – Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy *Concept, Context and Process in Peacemaking: The Palestinian-Israeli Experience*
November 17, 2004	Noeleen Heyzer Executive Director – U.N. Development Fund for Women *Women, War and Peace: Mobilizing for Security and Justice in the 21st Century*
February 10, 2005	The Honorable Lloyd Axworthy President, University of Winnipeg *The Responsibility to Protect: Prescription for a Global Public Domain*
March 31, 2005	Mary Robinson Former President of Ireland and U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights *Human Rights and Ethical Globalization*

October 27, 2005 His Excellency Ketumile Masire
Former President of the Republic of Botswana
Perspectives into the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Contemporary Peacebuilding Efforts

January 27, 2006 Ambassador Christopher R. Hill
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U.S. Policy in East Asia and the Pacific

March 9, 2006 William F. Schulz
Executive Director – Amnesty International USA
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September 7, 2006 Shirin Ebadi
2003 Nobel Peace Laureate
Iran Awakening: Human Rights, Women and Islam

October 18, 2006 Miria Matembe, Alma Viviana Pérez, Irene Santiago
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April 12, 2007 The Honorable Gareth Evans
President – International Crisis Group
Preventing Mass Atrocities: Making "Never Again" a Reality

September 20, 2007 Kenneth Roth
Executive Director – Human Rights Watch
The Dynamics of Human Rights and the Environment

March 4, 2008 Jan Egeland
Former Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator for the U.N.
War, Peace and Climate Change: A Billion Lives in the Balance

April 17, 2008 Jane Goodall
Founder – Jane Goodall Institute and U.N. Messenger of Peace
Reason for Hope

September 24, 2008 The Honorable Louise Arbour
Former U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights
Integrating Security, Development and Human Rights

March 25, 2009 Ambassador Jan Eliasson
Former U.N. Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Darfur and Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs
Armed Conflict: The Cost to Civilians

October 8, 2009 Paul Farmer
Co-founder of Partners In Health and United Nations Deputy Special Envoy to Haiti
Development: Creating Sustainable Justice

November 18, 2009 William Ury
Co-founder and Senior Fellow of the Harvard Negotiation Project
From the Boardroom to the Border: Negotiating for Sustainable Agreements

BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM URY

William L. Ury co-founded Harvard's Program on Negotiation and is currently a senior fellow of the Harvard Negotiation Project. He is the author of *The Power of a Positive No: How to Say No & Still Get to Yes* and co-author (with Roger Fisher) of *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In*, an 8-million-copy bestseller translated into over 30 languages. Ury is also author of the award-winning *Getting Past No: Negotiating in Difficult Situations* and *Getting to Peace* (released in paperback under the title *The Third Side*).

Over the last 30 years, Ury has served as a negotiation adviser and mediator in conflicts ranging from corporate mergers to wildcat strikes in a Kentucky coal mine to ethnic wars in the Middle East, the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. With former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, he co-founded the International Negotiation Network, a nongovernmental body seeking to end civil wars around the world. During the 1980s, he helped the U.S. and Soviet governments create nuclear crisis centers designed to avert an accidental nuclear war. In that capacity, he served as a consultant to the Crisis Management Center at the White House. More recently, Ury has served as a third party in helping to end a civil war in Aceh, Indonesia, and prevent one in Venezuela.

Ury has taught negotiation to tens of thousands of corporate executives, labor leaders, diplomats and military officers around the world. He helps organizations endeavor to reach mutually profitable agreements with customers, suppliers, unions and joint-venture partners. He is also co-founder of the e-Parliament, which offers the 25,000 members of congresses and parliaments around the world an Internet-based forum in which they can learn from one another about legislative solutions that work and together tackle global problems such as climate change, energy efficiency and terrorism.

His most recent project is the Abraham Path Initiative, which seeks to connect the human family step by step by creating a permanent route of cross-cultural tourism in the Middle East that retraces the footsteps of Abraham, the unifying figure of many faiths and peoples.

Ury is the recipient of the Whitney North Seymour Award from the American Arbitration Association and the Distinguished Service Medal from the Russian Parliament. His work has been widely featured in the media, including the *New York Times, Financial Times*, ABC and the BBC.

Trained as a social anthropologist, with a B.A. from Yale and a Ph.D. from Harvard, Ury has carried out his research on negotiation not only in the boardroom and at the bargaining table but also among the Bushmen of the Kalahari and the clan warriors of New Guinea.

INTERVIEW AND STUDENT MEETING WITH WILLIAM URY

The following is an edited compilation of an interview with William Ury conducted by Dee Aker, deputy director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), and a private meeting with graduate students from the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies and the International Master of Business Administration program at the University of San Diego (USD). Both the interview and the meeting were held on Nov. 18, 2009.

Q: In the front of one of your books you say that anthropologist, negotiator and peacemaker are the words you use to weave together your profession and your passion – who you are now. Which of these dimensions emerged first to allow you to let all the other parts in?

WU: Well, my passion is peace, and what's behind that is really the question. There's always the question of how we as human beings can live together in a good way, even in our deepest, deepest differences. It doesn't mean covering over the differences; it's celebrating the differences in some way. That question probably emerged when I was a boy and went to school in Switzerland with kids from 30 or 40 different countries. And I think being part of the first generation to grow up as children of the bomb was also very formative for me. It's hard to explain this because it was almost as if we didn't actually know if we had a future. It's different now because people have different fears, but then it was an existential threat to humanity. Given our genius at developing weapons of destroying humanity, the guiding questions for me became how we could develop the moral, emotional and social technologies to actually live together, now that we're all aware of living together on this one planet thanks to global communication.

Q: Was it your studies in anthropology that suggested this possibility initially, or was it something else?

WU: Actually, I went into anthropology partly because of this question, because I thought, where else am I going to get a bird's eye view on what's happening to the human family at this point in our story? What I loved about anthropology was that the units of analysis were the human being and humanity as a whole. It was also a license to be curious, because in anthropology you can travel anywhere, learn anything. The boundaries are very diffuse; it's a holistic perspective.

Ury shakes hands with IPJ Deputy Director Dee Aker

It seems to me that we're in an era that I call, and maybe future historians will look back and call, the era of the human family reunion. As anthropologists will tell us, there are probably about 15,000 different language groups, tribes as it were, on the face of the planet. And this is the first generation where all the tribes know of each other and are linked together. There's a collective awareness. It's like a family reunion, and like many family reunions, there are a lot of feelings. There are a lot of resentments, a lot of histories, a lot of distrust – a lot of conflicts. How do we learn to deal with those differences? That's the key question that drew me into this field.

Q: How did you get started?

WU: I wanted to apply anthropology to something that was meaningful, so I looked around for a while and debated between peace and development,

and ultimately settled on peace. The question of war and peace. Obviously I took on a question that's not going to yield an easy solution. It's a lifetime's work, and so here I am 34 years later still working in that field. But I take satisfaction in the fact that as hard as it is, when I started working in the field the conflicts my colleagues and I were looking at were conflicts like South Africa, Northern Ireland, the Cold War. And universally, at that time, everyone said they were impossible.

I've watched those conflicts over the years, and I went to all those places and to many others around the world because I have an attraction to places of difficulty. Even in very hard situations I've watched conflicts of various kinds transform themselves through gradual, persistent, patient dialogue, negotiation and nonviolent action. It's not that the conflicts went away, but they've transformed themselves dramatically. So my question is: Why not anywhere? Why not the Middle East? That's a conflict right now that people say is absolutely impossible, that there's no way to resolve it. Why not? And that's why I take hope being here at a university, because it will take a new generation to deal with those issues.

Nepal is another conflict where I've had some passing involvement over the past four or five years. Again, four or five years ago people said, "That's totally stuck. It's going to be forever locked into war." And it's not that that conflict has gone away, but it's gone through a dramatic change in the last few years. It's an inspiration to the world to see what happens in places like that.

Q: Do you think this human family of ours has become too violent to draw back from the brink of destroying itself? Do you ever worry about that?

WU: I worry, but I have this unquenchable conviction that it's possible to live differently. I've yet to experience a conflict where I didn't see the possibility of transforming the conflict. It's not easy though. It's the hardest thing in the world sometimes. It takes patience. It takes persistence. And it takes

the activation of what I call the third side, which is the community *within* supported by the community *without*.

Q: Did you consider the Bushmen[1] – who were obviously some of your informants who you talk about in your books – subjects to study or friends? What was that relationship like?

WU: The relationship was for me to learn from them. I was a student because they had something that I wanted to learn about. They were living in a modern world, but all the same they represented to me a kind of connection or glimpse of the way of life that's basically the most distinctive human way of life: living as hunters and gatherers in bands. What I wanted to know was how they dealt with their differences. Because of their hunting needs, these groups all had access to this poison they made from beetle dung that was absolutely fatal to human beings, so it's a little bit like each person is carrying the equivalent of a nuclear bomb. That to me is a microcosm of what humanity is facing: How do we deal with our differences? What I found, with profound respect, is they had an immensely sophisticated system of preventing differences from turning violent.

I encapsulate it in the term "the third side." There was this kind of individual and collective responsibility for the conflicts around them, so there was always this container available to try to work out differences. I saw that among them, and I saw it when I visited the Semai tribesmen in Malaysia,[2] and also in reading extensively. It just makes sense. Every indigenous society has that kind of mechanism, and I realized that's how we survived as human beings. Because we *do* have conflicts, and we do at one point have weapons, so how *did* we survive? If human nature is basically aggressive or just fighting each other, we wouldn't have survived. So the answer to your question is they were friends, but I was their student.

Q: It's true that there has been a very big change in Nepal, but after this change most of the underlying issues have come to the surface. People have started to

1 Of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa. They are also known as the San people.

2 One of Malaysia's indigenous groups; they resolve disputes nonviolently through a *barcaa*, or a public assembly led by the headman.

think this is more serious than the previous conflict. In the southern part of Nepal there is a big problem. You cannot count the number of armed groups in that region – there are possibly more than 50 armed groups. Besides that, in the hilly region and the mountains, people have started to think that their rights can be achieved by violence. People have started to come under the umbrella of any political party just for the security. I think we're probably going to face similar conflict in the days to come. In this situation, who could be the third side, and what would be the role of that third side?

WU: I don't consider myself an expert on Nepal in particular, but I have an interest in it. I've been invited, but I haven't actually been to Nepal. It's an interesting story. I got a call from a woman who worked for a rural foundation in Northern California that had a small project in Nepal helping farmers, and they could no longer do their work. The farmers reported back that no one could do their work because the Maoists would come in the village one day and the royalists would come in the next day. Everything had become paralyzed in the countryside. So she asked if I could come to Nepal right away to help. I try to work in only one or two conflicts at a particular time, so I said, "I don't know right now, but let me see if I can find someone. I have a friend who might be able to."

So I got in touch with a friend of mine who was then in Tajikistan, a wonderful mediator and third-sider by the name of John Paul Lederach.[3] He came back a week later from Tajikistan, and we took a call from a friend of ours in Nepal who explained the whole situation. He said, "Can you come next week?" We explained that we couldn't quite come next week, and he said, "Well, would you talk to me if I came next week?" How are we going to say no to that? Sure enough, the next week he was there. We spent a couple days of him educating us about the situation in Nepal and us sharing our information.

You have to think about this in terms of at least 10 years because you're trying to transform a society. The trouble with a lot of conflicts is we take a very short time perspective. We think about a year, six months, two years. But those conflicts have dynamics where you have to take a much longer

3 Lederach is a professor of International Peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at Notre Dame.

time view than is prevalent here in this country where things are very fast and people are impatient.

John Paul did the bulk of the work and mapped out a 10-year process for trying to awaken or activate the third side within Nepal, working with all kinds of groups. One was the Forest Users group,[4] which was about 4 million people, and also women's groups. And then they were linked to the Maoists and the royalists and the different political parties. He sent that plan to the foundation, and believe it or not that little foundation in Northern California got back to us and said, "OK, we'll fund you for 10 years." Can you imagine? Philanthropic Americans saying they're going to fund this for 10 years? So many good things start and then run out of money. It's typical of the American and maybe the international NGO scene: People lose interest.

I think this is one of the problems that addresses your question in Nepal. When the war with the Maoists came to an end, that's the time when *more* help is needed, in the post-conflict phase. It's not even accurately described as "post-conflict"; it's still very much "conflict." To say "post-conflict peacebuilding phase" is a misnomer to me because it's an ongoing conflict. That's when you need more help because that's when a lot of other conflicts or injustices that have been suppressed suddenly emerge. In a new democratic situation, things emerge.

I've watched this happen in many countries. It happened in a very deadly fashion in Yugoslavia, for example. We're watching it happen in Iraq. Once you remove the coercive structure on the top, lots of things that have been suppressed percolate. The third side really is a container for conflict transformation, and if you don't have a system, a kind of container to engage those issues, deal with them, listen to people, figure out ways of dealing with it, then you're going to have problems. And I think that's what's been happening in Nepal.

John Paul has probably gone there 15 times in the last six years since we started. That's what it takes, and that's just one outsider. But the key thing

4 Federation of Community Forest Users, Nepal: www.fecofun.org

is that he has helped convene grassroots groups like the Forest Users, civil society, and then started working together with the Carter Center and political parties. There's a whole nexus. If those outside third-siders like John Paul are doing their work well – as I believe he does – they're like honeybees.

But the main work is always within the country and how to catalyze and support that. One of the problems with our international system is the world tends to pay attention when there's a really big problem, like when Nepal was about to collapse and could have affected the whole region, but once the transition takes place the world says, "OK, on to the next one." That, in fact, is when we actually need more help and need to have that long-term point of view.

Q: Guatemala is another post-conflict conflict. How do you deal with widespread, invasive corruption and drug traffickers? How do you get those kinds of people to the table?

WU: Well, it's hard. When I'm talking here I try to keep things simple, but simple doesn't mean easy in my book. Simple just means understandable. Again, I don't know that much about Guatemala, just passing knowledge, but there's the same phenomenon in Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, and I've seen those situations before. There's a way in which violence becomes endemic and deeply rooted, and it's not like there are just two sides; there are many sides, multiple actors.

You have to take a systemic view, a long-term view. You have to take an environmental, ecological view. There's a social ecology in which these are players, and the question is, how do you begin to shift the micro-motives of a narco-trafficker or the people around them? This is why the third side is such a useful framework – because it requires coming at it from all different angles. I would take heart from the fact that many of those same factors were present in other conflicts that have turned around.

What the third side basically does is to change the environment around

people. It starts to shift their motives; it starts to shift the stories. It's not just an agreement that's going to shape those things. It's going to be a whole-hearted, holistic effort of coming at it through unexpected angles – through people's families, through the economic environment – that turns the situation around. It's difficult, but it's not impossible.

Q: How do you remain impartial as a third-side mediator? What tactics can you employ to do that successfully?

WU: First of all, just to be clear, a mediator might naturally need to be impartial in that particular role, but a third-sider doesn't have to be impartial. One reason why I was trying to conceptualize the third side was that, for me, Nelson Mandela was a third-sider. He was hardly impartial in that conflict. Mahatma Gandhi was the epitome of a third-sider; again, hardly impartial.

If you're in the mediation role, yes, you have to have the trust of both sides. It's going to be hard to have the trust of both sides unless you're perceived in some way as relatively impartial, although that's not always the case. But it's generally the case, and you have to work hard to do that. One way is to pay attention to how you come into the conflict. If you're brought in by one side – and often the invitation comes from one side – then immediately it makes your impartiality difficult. Because the other side will say: Who brought you in? Where are you receiving your resources? Where are you receiving your support?

Perceptions really matter, and what's critical there is not so much objective impartiality; it's perceived impartiality. You have to be perceived as trustworthy in order to be accepted, in order for the process to flow. It requires a constant focus, and it's not that I don't sometimes have sympathies working as a third party. I might have sympathies with one side. In fact, generally the whole idea of the third side is that you create a framework where you can have sympathies with both sides. You can understand all sides. The third side is not just that tiny area in between both sides. The third side is a circle.

Q: We read *The Third Side*[5] in one of our classes, and I really loved the 10 roles you laid down at the end. Can you speak specifically to the conflict in Afghanistan and what role these possible third-siders can and should play there?

WU: I'm not an expert on Afghanistan, although I've had an interest in Afghanistan for a long time. When I was a graduate student in anthropology I was planning to go work in Afghanistan, before the Soviets invaded. I wanted to work among the Pathans in particular and explore and understand their conflict resolution and conflict management mechanisms. As I recall they had a very interesting use of third parties, of third sides, to deal with disputes. So right there, already in Afghanistan's cultural heritage, you have cultural assets of ways of dealing with conflict that go back centuries.

To me, the first thing to do wouldn't be to say, "OK, we come from the West. We've got this latest thing, mediation, and we're gonna import it into Afghanistan." No, it exists there in the culture. You go and you listen. You find out what's already there and you try to assist. You build on it. It's about the third side, and it is not some new idea. It's the oldest human heritage. It's our cultural birthright, and it's what really makes us human.

And so, with respect you have to go there and find the natural third side that is already present in the peoples of Afghanistan and the culture, learn about it and then ask: How can we respectfully support that? Rather than an intervention – which almost sounds like coming out of the blue – it's a much more organic process, and a supportive one. The first role then would be to listen, study, consult. As I recall, there's the system of the *loya jirga*[6] in Afghanistan, the idea of convening people. I would start there and look at how the role of the outside community is to support the third side inside the community. Then ask people, "How can we support you? What is it that you need?"

5 Ury's book *The Third Side: Why We Fight and How We Can Stop* was previously published as *Getting to Peace*.

6 *Loya jirga* translates to "grand council" and is a traditional decision-making institution, usually made up of tribal elders.

Looking at the 10 roles of the third side is just a useful vocabulary or framework to name what's already there. Which roles can be strengthened? Which roles aren't being played sufficiently? How can we help? Is it economic help? Is it witnessing? I would say it's all about putting the third side within Afghanistan front and center, rather than putting the focus on the third side outside of Afghanistan. The outsiders are in service to the insiders.

Q: Speaking of the communities within and without, you say in *The Third Side* that a century ago, half of humanity – the world's women – were socially and legally subordinated to their fathers and brothers. And you say that the women's movement has made remarkable progress. Yet working with women and traveling the globe a lot, I'm not sure I see that quite the same way. Somehow, in spite of U.N. resolutions,[7] we really see what appears to be an increase in femicide – the murder of women just because they're women – or trafficking or sexual exploitation and sexual violence. So I'm wondering about that part of the human tribe.

WU: We live in very difficult times. We live in times of huge transition and change. And in times of huge change you actually get more conflict, not less. I'm not saying inevitably we're going in the right direction. That's not my conviction. I'm saying we have the potential, the possibility, and it depends on us. It depends on human will.

It's true that huge injustices continue to be done to women, and it's one of the great challenges facing humanity right now – a deep, deep wound. At the same time, if you take the perspective of the last 100 years and then imagine the next 100 years, I personally would be very surprised if 100 years from now the general trend hasn't been toward much more equality among the genders. I devoutly hope there will be a sharp reduction in violence against women, which is totally unacceptable.

Q: Have you ever negotiated with any groups for women's rights, inclusion

7 U.N. Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security include 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889.

or gender equity? Has that ever been part of one of the processes you've been involved in?

WU: Not as the main focus, but let me just give you an example of the project I'm working on right now, the Abraham Path. I've seen since the beginning that a major focus of it is the empowerment of women. It is not a surprise to me that more women than men are walking the path – because it's about building bridges between human beings. Women are also the ones principally receiving people, a lot of the income is going to women, and I've even begun to see the first signs of some of the money going to the education of young women. We actually have a women's empowerment initiative as part of the path in our first projects, both in Jordan and Palestine. I truly, truly believe in the centrality and importance of that. All the studies I've seen show that investing in the education of young women has extraordinarily beneficial effects for the entire society.

Q: It's interesting because women are often seen as the local peacemakers. They often play a role even in the loya jirga systems that you mentioned earlier, but when it comes to major peace negotiations, they're almost always absent from the table. Do you think it would make a difference if they were at those tables as well?

WU: I do, I do. In the conceptual framework of the third side obviously both sexes participate, but I would say on the whole, and historically, women are natural third-siders. Women are genetically programmed to pay more attention to relationship, and the third side is about creating a relational context within which you can deal with differences. So I do think it makes a difference. What is needed is deep respect and appreciation for women and what they can contribute to peace.

Just from my own observations, women make up the majority of people in peacemaking and mediation training programs. I don't think it's a coincidence,

and I'm pleased to see there are some steps along the way – we have a woman secretary of state, and we've had three women secretaries of state in the last 10 years. Again, I think it's gradual. It's slow. It's two steps forward, one step back. But I really believe it's a healthy trend that's going in the right direction.

Q: As a fellow anthropologist, in one sense I totally have to agree with you. Historically, I think the hunter-gatherer culture worked because most of the gatherers were women. They were dependent upon the women.

WU: That's one of the great characteristics of the hunter-gatherer culture. It suggests that in the life we came from, the relative status of women and men was fairly equal. Human nature was probably forged – our genetic makeup was created – in a way of life in which women and men were equal. What we've now seen is an evolutionary aberration that will be corrected. Or can be corrected, at least.

Q: Back in the mid-1980s you participated in a program in Austria that was designed to bring together Contras and Sandinistas[8] and American policy people, both from the Reagan administration and the more left community. Carl Rogers, an influential psychologist at the time,[9] was also there. You both have talked about listening a great deal, but you have very different styles of negotiation. I'm curious whether that process was comfortable. Was it useful working together in that setting?

WU: It was very useful. I have a lot of admiration for Carl, and I learned a lot from him. He's a master. It was inspiring for me to see what a deep, deep belief he had in the power of listening alone to shift the situation. I've always believed that listening is deeply important and it's part of a sequence where listening leads to discussing the problem, looking into the interests behind the positions and seeing if we can invent creative options. But he had an unwavering faith that listening alone would shift the conflict, and I have to tip my hat to him.

8 In 1979 the *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* (FSLN) overthrew Nicaragua's dictator. The Contras, backed by the U.S. government, were the main rebel groups that opposed the Sandinista revolution.

9 Carl Rogers was one of the founders of the field of humanistic, or client-centered, psychology, which encouraged environments of open communication.

Q: That Austria experience was difficult because the United States had mined the harbor in Nicaragua, and the rest of the world was pretty concerned that there was going to be a major war, so people were very serious about this process. There were long meetings every day, but then there was the green wine celebration at the end of three days of intensive conversation, and things began to break open there. Suddenly Sandinistas were talking to Republican think tank groups and planning for the next year and getting together. Do you think the third side approach to dealing with challenges of getting people together was modeled in that setting?

WU: I do, of course. We had Sandinistas there, and we had some people who were close to the Reagan administration there. And then we had a large community of third-siders. With a third side perspective, you hold the whole *and* are willing to actually put yourself in the shoes of the other, listen to them, and out of that spirit seek some way forward through dialogue. So to me, that was an example of the third side.

Q: Another thing that you were doing in the '80s was your focus on nuclear issues. Can you tell us more about that?

WU: After writing *Getting To Yes* and doing some work in the Middle East, I really wanted to go back to my passion and original question. I wanted to go back and see if I could devote myself in service to finding out if there was any way of reducing the risk of nuclear war and all the terrible suffering that would result. This was the time that this country spent hundreds of billions of dollars trying to figure out how to win a nuclear war. There was similar talk in the Soviet Union, so I was thinking, where can we find some common ground here? It occurred to me that there was one thing everyone could agree upon: No one wanted an accidental nuclear war.

So I thought, OK, that's the place to go in. At this point government officials on both sides weren't even talking to each other. Relations were basically in a cold freeze. Together with some colleagues I got a grant from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to study past U.S.-Soviet nuclear crises – the Cuban Missile Crisis the most prominent among them – and see what lessons might be drawn to improve our collective capacity to prevent an inadvertent nuclear war.

I began to make trips back and forth to the Soviet Union, seeking to talk with Soviet academics and policy analysts as well as with their American counterparts in Washington. I started collaborating with a group of members of Congress, Democratic and Republican, who were also concerned about this problem. It turned out that probably the biggest risk of a nuclear war was by accident – it wasn't just a tiny part of the problem. If nuclear war was going to happen, it probably would happen inadvertently, in the midst of a crisis.

I participated in a project at Harvard where a group of Harvard academics convened a meeting in Moscow of former participants in the Cuban Missile Crisis. We had Americans like McNamara, Bundy, Sorensen and John Scali.[10] And on the Soviet side we had people like Andrei Gromyko[11] and Anatoly Dobrynin, who had been the Soviet ambassador, and [Cuban President Fidel] Castro sent over his chief of staff. We all sat around in a room and asked, "What happened?" I realized that no one really had a good grasp of what had been going on in the other side's mind, and it's largely by sheer good fortune that we're all still around.

I wrote a report and the principal measure was an idea for improving the hotline system. I had thought the hotline was some kind of red telephone from the movies, but actually it wasn't. I found out it was some antiquated Teletype in the basement of the State Department. I mean, we're in the age of computers already, so why not have *computers*? And why not have human beings working together in Washington and Moscow, in constant touch with each other? Because missiles misfire. All kinds of things happen. So it was

10 Robert McNamara, U.S. secretary of defense; McGeorge Bundy, President John F. Kennedy's national security adviser; Theodore Sorensen, President Kennedy's speech writer; and John Scali, an ABC news reporter who became an intermediary between the Soviet and U.S. governments during the crisis.

11 Soviet foreign minister who met with Kennedy during the crisis.

a proposal for what came to be called nuclear risk reduction centers in Washington and Moscow that were to be staffed around the clock. It took some years. There was all this distrust and fear of espionage.

But in the end, when President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev got together for the first time in Geneva in 1985, what was the very first point they could agree upon? Creating these nuclear risk reduction centers to avoid the chance of accidental nuclear war. That agreement, modest as it was, was the beginning of the agreements that led to the end of the Cold War.

It gave me a lasting appreciation for how just a small group of individuals – some of us academics, some in politics in Washington or Moscow – could just take something and be entrepreneurial about it and see if it could make a difference. That was a great adventure.

Q: More recently, you have been involved in Aceh. How did you first get involved and what was your role there?[12]

WU: I got a call, which I think originally came through the Carter Center, from a small organization in Switzerland that does very good work called the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, based in Geneva. It had originated as an offshoot of the International Committee of the Red Cross. They said they were going to convene the political military leadership of the Free Aceh Movement, the GAM,[13] together with members of the Indonesian government, there in Geneva for quiet talks to explore the possibility of an end to the violence. It was quite difficult to organize. We had a series of meetings, and I was one of the third-siders.

The key to me was to have time alone with each side before trying to bring them all together. I remember we had a day up front alone with the leadership of the Free Aceh Movement, and I asked them to help me understand their interests: "Why do you want independence?"

12 Ury talks more about the Aceh negotiations in his lecture.

13 *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (GAM) was the guerilla movement fighting for autonomy from Indonesia for the people of Aceh Province.

I'm still struck by this. There was an uncomfortable silence in the room because I think they knew *what* they wanted, but they weren't really clear about *why* they wanted it. We had a conversation about that, and then I said to them, "So if you want to pursue those interests, one way to pursue them is by war, by continuing fighting. But what are the chances you think you're going to be able to prevail and meet these interests in the next 10 years?"

They were quite realistic that they were outnumbered vastly by the Indonesian army, and 10 years from now people would still be dying. I said, "I'm not asking you to make peace. I'm just asking you to do what you think is in your best interest. Have you considered the possibility of forming a political movement? You don't even have to surrender your ultimate dream if you don't want, but what's logically going to help you?"

We spent a day on that, and I think it left them profoundly perturbed because they hadn't really thought about it. It hadn't really occurred to them as a strategic option. They spent the next couple of years debating this option within the movement and ultimately decided to move in this direction. Eventually, their political movement succeeded in electing the governor and vice governor of an autonomous Aceh.

Q: I think the lessons learned in the process really do empower those who grasp them. You've mentioned Jimmy Carter several times. How did you get to know him?

WU: I met him personally for the first time after his presidency. As a graduate student I had a passing involvement with some negotiating process proposals that went to him and his aides at the Camp David Peace Summit in 1978. I think I met him around '86 or '87 when I had a third-side kind of idea to bring to him. There had been a sea-change around that time in which most of the world's conflicts were no longer the external, international conflicts that the United Nations was set up to deal with, but rather internal conflicts within countries. At least at first, the United Nations was not welcome at all

by many countries with conflicts because their governments didn't want to internationalize their conflict – just as in Aceh. And yet the world didn't really have any systematic way of working with those conflicts, of trying to resolve and contain and even prevent them in the first place.

It occurred to me that what was needed was some kind of third-side network of eminent persons like Jimmy Carter or the secretary-general of the United Nations who would undoubtedly be getting requests to intervene or help in some way. Together with university researchers who could do research, mediators who could facilitate meetings, foundations who could provide funding, we could form a network that could distribute the tasks and really try to respond to the acute need for outside help. Jimmy Carter might be getting 50 requests, but what could he – just one human being – do with all of them? A network might help. So I brought that idea to Jimmy Carter and asked him if he was interested in trying to convene a network like that. It turned out that he was, and he convened a meeting at the Carter Center.

At the very first meeting we had Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who was the U.N. secretary-general; we had the secretary-general of the Organization of American States (OAS); we had the secretary-general of the Commonwealth (all the former British colonies) Sonny Ramphal;[14] and we had Sir Brian Urquhart, who was the under-secretary of the United Nations. What was amazing was here the Carter Center was working in Central America, the U.N. secretary-general was working in Central America, the OAS was working in Central America, and they didn't have any way of coordinating or really communicating with each other. In fact, at the very tops of their various organizations, they felt isolated.

So out of a conversation in which people began to inquire with each other – What are you doing in this conflict area? How can we help you? – was born what became the International Negotiation Network. It was spearheaded by Dayle Spencer, William Spencer and myself. We were the three coordinators of this network, and it was led by a council that included President Carter

14 Sir Shridath Surendranath Ramphal

and Desmond Tutu – a group of luminaries who needed a lot of worker bees to try and get things done.

Q: That's so interesting. What about Roger Fisher?[15] What were the kinds of projects you focused on with someone like him? Was it only the book, or did you work together at any other point?

WU: We worked together on the book for sure, but we also worked together on a number of different conflicts during the writing of the book and even subsequently. One project concerned the Middle East, and some of the ideas were then fed into the peace negotiations. We also worked on the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Roger had created an ongoing seminar at Harvard that he called the "Devising Seminar," which he asked me to coordinate for him. Every week or two we'd take a different conflict and bring in specialists from Harvard as well as visiting diplomats and we would just brainstorm: Who could do what tomorrow morning to help advance the transformation of this conflict? Proposals would emerge, we would distill them into memoranda, and those memoranda might be sent to different government leaders involved in the particular conflict. In that general sense we did quite a bit of work together on the U.S.-Soviet conflict as well as on conflicts in the Middle East, South Africa, Northern Ireland and so on.

Q: Did that project then somehow influence your idea for the e-Parliament?

WU: I've been trying to make some sense of all these different projects in my mind, about how they emerged and what the underlying thread is. And I've realized, more in retrospect than prospectively, that I've taken three general approaches in trying to work on the question of war and peace. I've worked on methodologies or conceptual frameworks, like *Getting to Yes* or *Getting Past No*, and even *The Third Side*. I've also at times worked actively as a third party to be of assistance in different conflicts either through training

15 Fisher and Ury co-authored the book *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In*.

or serving as a facilitator of peace talks. Lastly, I've also been looking at the architecture of peace. How do you create third-side containers within which conflict can be gradually transformed?

To me, the e-Parliament is just this – a third-side container for negotiating solutions to global problems. In a sense, if you think about it, democracy may be the greatest peace instrument ever devised. People used to have civil wars and the barons used to fight each other, and now, instead of killing each other, you vote. Even in the British parliament the aisle is still two swords' length apart, a reminder of the days when people used to engage in physical fights.

One of the questions that intrigues and concerns me in the world today is: How do we create a truly democratic container for our differences? How can we take baby steps toward global democracy? The e-Parliament was born out of this ongoing conversation, which I would have with a friend of mine, a New Zealander by the name of Nicholas Dunlop, who had been the secretary-general and one of the founders of the Parliamentarians for Global Action. He and I were always talking about the possibility of a democratic U.N. chamber, one elected by popular vote. How could we get there? As you can imagine, it was quite difficult to move that system. Sometimes, however, you can get major change through new "disruptive technologies," and we thought maybe the advent of the Internet offered that possibility.

Our idea was basically to act as if a global election for a global parliament has already taken place and that the representatives are the very people you've elected anyway to represent you in the national assemblies – the members of congress or the members of parliament. Then we would begin to link these representatives together and get them working together informally through the Internet on issues of common interest such as climate or avoiding an arms race in outer space. So over the last few years we've created a Web site, held global parliamentary hearings on key issues identified through polling members of parliament. We probably have a couple thousand members of parliament from 50 different countries who've been involved in one way or another.

I have to give full credit to my colleague Nicholas Dunlop because he has really done the lion's share of the work. The e-Parliament has pioneered perhaps the first global legislative hearings. There probably have been 10 different global legislative hearings around the world – one in Indonesia, one on energy and climate in West Africa. It's just in its infancy. Now because climate change is such a compelling, urgent issue for all of humanity, we're seeking to start a climate parliament, a world democratic forum, where our elected members of congress (who are much more accessible to citizens than our U.N. representatives) can collaborate with civil society organizations and businesses to constitute a third side for the global interest in stabilizing the transition to clean energy and averting catastrophic climate disruption.

Q: If we had Hillary Clinton sitting here, who's now reinvested in Middle East issues, what advice would you give her?

WU: That's a good question. First of all, I just want to give credit to her and to Barack Obama for changing the tonality of the relationship with the Arab world and the larger Muslim world in a comparatively short amount of time, which I think is a critical first step toward really re-engaging in the Middle East peace process. There's actually a complex linkage now, an interlinkage between all the conflicts in the Middle East: between Israel and Palestine, Syria and Lebanon, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. Either you can take them one by one as separate conflicts, or you can see creative packages, creative linkages. We have an opportunity to think creatively about the whole region.

I know, for example, that the Israeli government is hugely concerned about Iran. That's their number one fear, more so than the Palestinians, more so than the Syrians. So I would be asking the question: How do we leverage that? And I would say to them, "We are very concerned, so in order to reduce the risk of Iran getting a nuclear bomb, we need your cooperation in negotiating conditions for a viable Palestinian state."

Here's the question: How do we create a winning coalition for peace and justice in the Middle East? This requires the full participation and ownership of the Arab countries; and it will help create the right influence on Iran. In

order to create this coalition, the Israelis need to do their part because the conflict between Israel and Palestine has become a huge obstacle to peace and security for all.

How do we go about constructing a winning coalition? Where are the opportunities? What are the first steps and what is the sequence? How do we create an architecture of peace in this region? These are some of the questions we need to ask.

It helps a lot to think in third-side terms. Look at the 10 roles of the third side, see what roles or functions are genuinely being played right now and which are not. All 10 are needed systematically to bring about a shift in a conflict of this deep-seated nature. It's not just the role of the mediator that is needed, but also the roles of the witness, the provider, the peacekeeper, the healer and others. How do we identify and support the third side within the region?

It's not easy. It's immensely complicated. We need to remember that it has happened before in South Africa and in Northern Ireland. It has happened before, so why can't it happen again here in the Middle East?

Q: I'm really interested in the employment of women by the United States as mediators to conflict, like the position of secretary of state, which you mentioned earlier. I'm curious what your opinion is. Maybe it's changing the tone of the dialogue by having a different gender come in. Obviously in the Middle East it's somewhat unprecedented for a woman in that position to be a dealmaker between Palestinians and Israelis, for example.

WU: I heartily applaud it because I think things there are stuck. I've been a student of that conflict in the Middle East for about 30 years. It's like people are playing the same movie over and over again. There are seeds of change, but people are really locked into these old patterns. The way I see it, what's called for in the Middle East is new ideas. Wild ideas. Ideas coming from anywhere, just to break the stuckness. To unstick it. To get people to see it in a new perspective. So to have women secretary of states in that culture, a region with a history of patriarchy, is just great. It opens up new possibilities, and it brings new sensibilities to the process.

If I look at the Abraham Path – which is my most recent focus of work in the Middle East – it's interesting to me that already in the very first year of this path of cultural tourism, the majority of people walking the path are women. The most common thing that people said to me early on was that no one was going to walk this path. It's too scary. And who are going? Women. It just shows you that the most astonishing things sometimes are possible through women, in particular in the Middle East.

Q: Could you talk more about the Abraham Path?

WU: If you're in the field of conflict resolution, one of the questions you always get is, what about the Middle East? Do you think peace is possible? And if you say it's possible, people think you're crazy. There's this profound despair and hopelessness around that situation. And for whatever reason, if you take all of the global attention to conflicts in the world, half or more of it seems to go to one conflict, which is the conflict in the Middle East. Is that because of the number of casualties? No, a thousand times more people are dying in Africa or other conflicts around the world. Is it because there's oil there? There isn't oil in that particular part of the Middle East. So, what is it that compellingly draws the attention of the world to this conflict?

In the end, the answer I've come to is that it's story. It's narrative. It's identity. It's that there are 3.5 billion people on the planet, more than half of humanity, who feel that they have some part in that story because it's the origin of their spiritual tradition or history. In anthropology you always study the origin story of every culture, and every culture has its story of origin. In an anthropological sense, for the human family, the origin story that's most widely shared on the face of the planet is the story of Abraham.

Anthropologists have a lot of appreciation for story because as human beings we are hard-wired for stories. When you try to tell people about peace and you use abstract concepts, a lot of it just goes right over people's heads. But if you tell people a story – in a business sense it would be the brand,

the emotion – you have the chance to get to people's hearts in some way. The conflict is about land, and it's about power. But behind it, deeper, is a question of identity. Who was here first? And who did God give this land to? It's about story.

What has happened is that we have let the story be hijacked, as it were, by the more extreme voices of the three religions. We've surrendered the crown jewels. We need to learn how to rescue the story, recover its original meaning and retell it in a way that serves the needs of humanity today. This is what led me to go back and look at the story of Abraham.

Abraham hears a call to leave everything behind and go forth and find himself – to find out who he truly is. He has an insight that's a spiritual insight, but as we now know it's also a scientific insight: Everything is interconnected. All is one. His gift to his children is that everything is connected.

What's so powerful about the story is that his message that all is one coincides with the fact that his story reminds us that we are all one human family. Over half of humanity can trace their origin to him, in some way. We're all one human family and the human tribe right now needs an origin story. We need stories. New stories are great, but old stories somehow have more power. If you can retell an old story in a new way – just like Disney does all the time – that somehow has more power.

It's one thing just to tell the story, but how do you make a story come alive today? I had this idea: Why not create an opportunity for people to walk in Abraham's footsteps, each one on their own journey? Then you can marry the realm of the psychological and emotional with the realm of the physical. You can bring people into social contact with each other, people to people. There's so much fear now, particularly post-9/11, that people just separate, their prejudices get worse and their distrust increases. We need to find a compelling excuse today to bring people together across divides.

No one knows, scientifically speaking, whether Abraham actually existed. It's a *story*, but it's a very deeply rooted story, and what the story actually means is very meaningful today because it's a story of hospitality – showing kindness to strangers. What quality is more needed in the world today than showing kindness to strangers? What profoundly impresses me is that it's not just a story from 4,000 years ago. This tradition of hospitality is a living heritage of the Middle East. People have a sacred obligation to take care of strangers. And it is associated in people's minds with Abraham, or Ibrahim, as he is called in Arab culture.

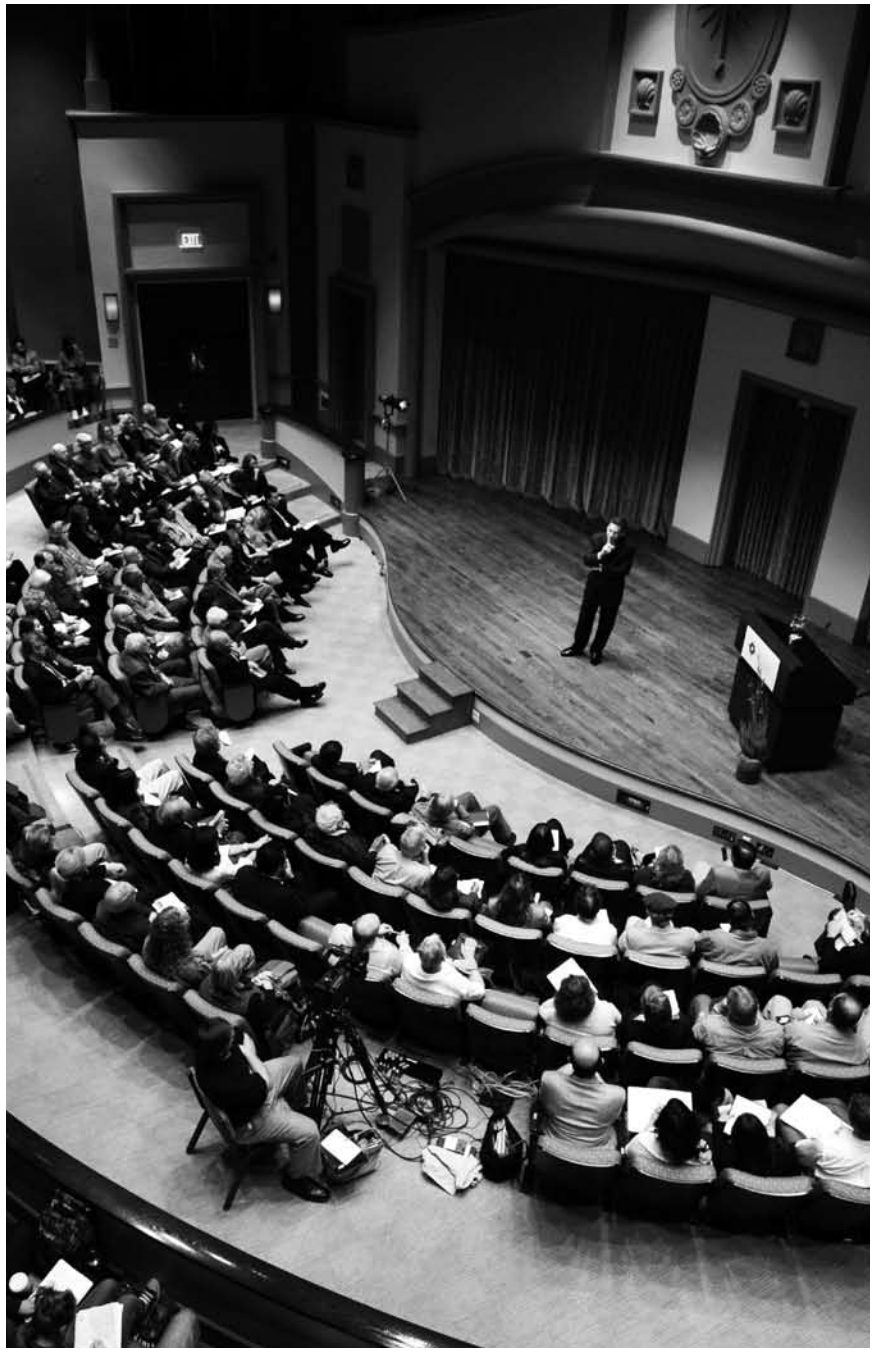
You marry the story with the cultural exchange, and marry that with the power and economic benefits of modern tourism. If you got a goodly number of travelers on the path having powerful experiences of the other, maybe you could get a little positive social virus of respect going around the world. It could help activate the third side, as travelers play the role of the witness, paying close attention, listening and showing respect.

It's not about outsiders saying, "Hey, how do we make peace in the Middle East?" People in the Middle East are quite tired of having outsiders come and tell them how to make peace and ask, "Why can't you get along?" This is the opposite: people from around the world coming to those little villages and thanking people, respecting people, for keeping alive a tradition of hospitality toward strangers. It's actually the people in those villages who are the true peacemakers. They have a gift to give the world, not so much the world that has a gift to give them.

Symbolically, Abraham and his family are the third side of the Middle East. They are the reminders that there's a larger whole – that we all belong to a larger community. The question is how to activate this larger third side.

That's the vision. The challenge is how you actually get something like that going in the midst of conflicts. Ultimately, the path goes through 10 different countries in the Middle East. We don't even say "creating a path." We're rediscovering an ancient path, not creating something new. We're simply dusting off a few footsteps and trying to proceed humbly, if we can, because that's the only way the path will emerge. And I am happy to say that it is emerging from the footsteps of travelers who are already beginning to walk it.

This is not direct conflict resolution, as we conventionally think about it. It's not talking about refugees or settlements. It's indirect in the sense that it creates a container of shared respect and shared prosperity, within which maybe the differences and conflicts can gradually be transformed. I think that a good part of the job of conflict resolution isn't just tending to the process. It's creating the context. It's creating the containers, or the architecture, if you like, of peace.



WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

Julie H. Sullivan
Executive Vice President and Provost
University of San Diego

Good evening. It is my distinct pleasure to welcome you this evening to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) Distinguished Lecture Series.

Tonight's talk is a very interesting example of the multidisciplinary nature of peacebuilding, where an anthropologist who consults for governments and businesses on negotiation processes is also using tourism in the Middle East to build international understanding across geographical and religious divides. As the keynote address for the Greening Borders conference that began today, tonight's talk is also an example of collaboration between schools, with Michel Boudrias, associate professor in the Marine Science and Environmental Studies department, working with Ami Carpenter, assistant professor in the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, as conference co-chairs to make USD a safe space for stakeholders to discuss challenging issues of transborder water management. This kind of interdisciplinary collaboration, which also includes partners from other institutions on both sides of the border and around the world, strengthens the university and offers our students, faculty and the community new ways of approaching complex issues.

I now invite Ami Carpenter to tell you more about the Greening Borders conference.

Ami Carpenter
Assistant Professor
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies

Good evening everyone. I teach conflict resolution at the school of peace, and I'm one of the co-chairs of the Greening Borders conference. This is a conference that advocates for an environmental conflict resolution approach to environmental conflicts and problems at our border, and that is something William Ury will speak to in part when he appears on the stage shortly.

I require my students to read Ury every semester. Among his books is one called *The Third Side*, a wonderful book about the ability of humans all around the world to live together for 99 percent of our common history, using methods that he calls "third side," and these are the methods of dialogue, community problem solving and conflict resolution.

I think the future of water governance looks a lot like the third side. I'll quote from Ury's book: "Not a transcendent individual or institution who dominates all, but rather the emergent will of the community." And on our border, that is a transboundary community. That is a community that is shared by two countries, two states, indigenous peoples, tribal governments and regulatory agencies, business interests, concerned citizens, environmental advocates, land owners, public interest lawyers – you name it, a lot of folks here have a stake in these issues. And the Greening Borders conference attempts to open a space for open and honest dialogue about those issues that brings in all of those different perspectives.

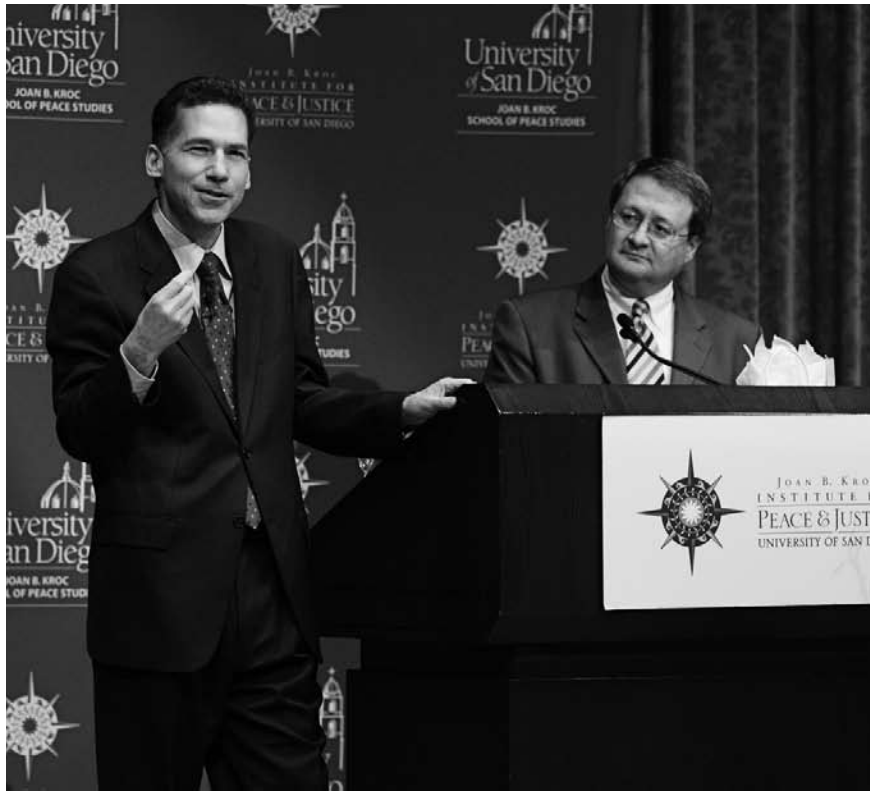
I think this matters because environmental conflict is caused on the one hand by real conditions – declining resources, increasing populations and, frankly, by poor policies that encourage exploitive human practices – and on the other hand by real disagreements between different interest groups, between different stakeholder groups, on how best to manage those conditions. So a green, healthy, resilient border is one that wages conflict resolution – collaborative problem solving and deliberative, face-to-face discussions that include diverse and conflicting perspectives.

That's why, for the next two days at the Greening Borders conference when we talk about structures that protect our border region, we will not be talking about walls and fences, but about regional administrative structures that help diverse border neighbors understand each other, work together and resolve conflict. We will look at ways to work on substantive issues – like levels of pollution – as well as relational issues like trust and confidence in one's neighbors, feeling respected and quality of communication. And we've invited other border-neighbors to share their experiences with us: India, Bangladesh, Nepal; Israel, Palestine, Jordan; and Canada.

And now it's my pleasure to turn the floor over to Milburn Line, executive director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, who will introduce our distinguished speaker this evening.

Milburn Line
Executive Director
Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Thank you, and welcome, all of you, to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. When former USD President Alice Hayes visited the institute earlier this week, she recalled that Mrs. Kroc was adamant that this institute should be a force for "positive peace" – not just the prevention of conflict, but the involvement of people in building peaceful and sustainable societies. That is what the work of the IPJ is doing with our West African Human Rights Training Initiative, with the Nepal Project, and with new peace and justice proposals that we have been preparing for Guatemala and Sri Lanka.



Now, there are a few tidbits about Dr. Ury that we had to leave out of the program because of space issues that I would like to share with you. In addition to founding the Harvard Program on Negotiation and co-authoring numerous books that are used in law, business and peace studies programs, as well as by the general public, Dr. Ury has taught negotiation to tens of thousands of corporate executives, labor leaders, diplomats and military officers around the world. Ury is also co-founder of e-Parliament, which offers 25,000 members of congresses and parliaments around the world an Internet-based forum in which they can learn from one another about legislative solutions that have worked in each locale and together tackle global problems including climate change, energy efficiency and terrorism.

Whether working to end the Cold War, stop civil wars or prevent outbreaks of violent conflict through negotiation, Dr. Ury is a bridge builder, as was recognized in a Distinguished Service Medal from the Russian Parliament. In fact, the only reason we were able to bring him here tonight was because a congressional delegation to the Middle East that he was to accompany had to be postponed, and we know he will be back in that region soon to continue his work for peace and also his most recent passion, the Abraham Path.

Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in welcoming Dr. William Ury.

From the Boardroom to the Border: Negotiating for Sustainable Agreements

William Ury

It's an enormous pleasure for me to be here this evening, and I really want to express my deep gratitude to the Institute for Peace & Justice, to the School of Peace Studies, and to Mrs. Joan B. Kroc for this opportunity and privilege to be with you.

Thirty-three years ago when I started my studies and involvement in international conflict, there were no schools for peace studies. There was no institute for peace and justice. There certainly was no conference on environmental conflict resolution. There were no courses really on negotiation or mediation, and so it's a distinct pleasure to recognize the progress that's being made in the field.

The Negotiation Revolution

Over the last 30 years, I've had the pleasure of watching and witnessing a revolution take place in the world today. A quiet revolution. A revolution that accompanies the knowledge revolution, but it's quieter. It's a revolution in the way individuals such as ourselves – our organizations, our communities, our societies at large – make decisions.

A generation ago the principal form of making decisions was very much top-down. The people on the top of the organizational pyramids gave the orders, and the people on the bottom followed the orders. Increasingly over the last 30 years, in great part due to the information or knowledge revolution, the basic structure of organizations has begun to flatten into networks more resembling what you might call networks of negotiation – from pyramids of power to networks of negotiation.

I invite you to think about your own lives for a moment. Let me define negotiation very simply and very broadly as the act of back-and-forth communication trying to reach some kind of agreement. For example, you have an ongoing relationship with a business partner or a family member, and some issue is in tension, like you might want more money for your products and services and they might want to pay you less. Let me ask you a couple questions about your own experience: Who do you find yourself

negotiating with in the course of your average day? Your wife, your spouse, yourself. Your children – that's a tough one. Who else? Your professors, your employees, your boss, your colleagues.

In the course of your day, if you had to make a ballpark estimate of how much time you spend engaged informally in the act of back-and-forth communication, trying to reach an agreement on some issue, however small, what percentage of your time would you estimate it to be? It's a huge chunk of our time. We don't always think of it as negotiation, but in the broader sense that's what we're doing from the moment we get up in the morning to the moment we go to bed at night.

Now think for a moment about the last 10 years. As you've progressed in either your educational or work career, do you find that the amount of negotiation that you've done has pretty much stayed the same, gone down or gone up? The vast majority of you say up. That's what I'm talking about. That is the negotiation revolution, and I've seen it taking place in this country, in Mexico, all through Latin America, Asia, Europe and Africa. It's a global revolution in the way decisions are made, so we're pioneers. Negotiation has gone on forever, but the amount and complexity of negotiation has increased. That's the challenge we're faced with at this point.

As that shift has taken place, it doesn't mean that conflict has gone down. If anything, a lot of suppressed conflicts have come to the surface. We're living in an era where I would say conflict is a growth industry. Conflict itself is not a bad thing. It's natural. It's human. So the choice we have is not whether to eliminate conflict; the choice is whether we choose to handle our differences in destructive ways through family feuds, lawsuits, ruinous strikes, violence and war, or whether we choose to deal with our differences constructively through listening, dialogue, negotiation, collaborative problem solving and non-violent action. The choice is whether we can transform those conflicts.

The Third Side

Having spent the last 30 years in this field and being a little bit of a sucker

for “lost causes,” I’ve been to Chechnya, Yugoslavia, Sudan, Ethiopia, South Africa, Indonesia – visiting the places of deep conflict. I’ve found that the secret of peace is actually very simple. The secret of peace is our oldest human heritage. I’ve spent time with a number of indigenous societies, and they know the secret of peace. Every society in the world has its own form of it. And it’s something that I call the third side.

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What is the third side? The third side is basically us. It’s the community of people, the friends, the allies, the neighbors, the people in conflict themselves, who constitute the whole. They have the ability to circle around – like this Greening Borders conference right now is circling around and convening a community of voices, a lot of which haven’t been properly heard or respected. Whether it’s voices of indigenous groups, voices on both sides of the border, voices of environmental groups, civic groups or businesses, it’s bringing all of them together in a community.

I watched this happen when I spent some time many years ago with several groups of San tribesmen, the so-called Bushmen in Southern Africa, Botswana and Namibia, who were still practicing the vestiges of a lifestyle that was really the human lifestyle for 99 percent of our time on earth: existing in roving bands and hunting and gathering in nature.

What I noticed about them is they have a very simple society in some ways, but they have a complex and quite sophisticated system for managing conflicts. And they have a real dilemma. All the men have weapons that are used for hunting, and because their arrows aren’t very strong, they use the poison from beetle dung that turns out to be extremely poisonous to human beings. A human being will die in two days.

So they have the challenge of figuring out: How do we deal with our differences when emotions go up? I watched them as they assembled a circle – all the men and women, and children even – and sat and talked out their issues. They constitute a third side. They’ll talk it out, listen it out, sometimes for two or three days. They ask the heavens for help, any way that they can. They don’t rest until the conflict is not only resolved, but also that there’s some process of forgiveness where the relationship is restored. And if emotions are still too high, someone may have a cooling-off period – go and visit some relatives and come back in a few months.

They have a whole system to transform conflict. When emotions start to go up in the society, everyone’s got an ear to it. Someone goes and hides the poison arrows out in the desert. I’ve seen that in every indigenous society, and really every society has these ways of convening the community.

When I began in this field 30 years ago, the impossible conflicts were South Africa (the whites and blacks were going to fight a civil war forever), Northern Ireland (Protestants and Catholics were going to kill each other forever) and the Cold War itself (the Berlin Wall would be there forever). And I watched as all of those conflicts previously considered impossible in fact yielded to patient, persistent negotiation and the transformation of the conflict. It doesn't mean the conflict ends, but the way in which the conflict is handled changes. The conflict in Northern Ireland, for example, hasn't ended, but it's been transformed from violent means to peaceful democratic means. That's really the opportunity that's available for all of us.

A number of years ago, at a time when there seemed to be more promise for negotiations in the Middle East, I was invited to Israel and Palestine to spend some time talking to Palestinian and Israeli negotiators and sharing some experiences. At one point I was asked if I would also facilitate a meeting of Palestinians and Israelis who wanted to form a network of community mediators to address disputes among adjoining communities.

It wasn't easy for the organizers to find a place where the Palestinians didn't have to cross police lines, but they found an ancient monastery there on the green line, the line dividing Israel and the Palestinian lands. So the Palestinians came in one door and the Israelis came in another door. It was quite a large group, and right in the front row one of the Israelis was in full police regalia and he had a huge weapon with him. I could tell that it was making our Palestinian colleagues uncomfortable, but no one wanted to say anything, which is a typical pattern for a lot of us. We avoid conflict. They didn't say anything because they didn't want to raise a tense issue at this first meeting that might destroy the possibility of this network going somewhere.

Early on they asked me to say something about what it would take to make a network, so I thought, OK, I'm the outsider, maybe I can say something here. So I said, "If you're forming a network, maybe you want to think about ground rules. For example: Should you allow weapons in the room?" And as soon as I said that everyone started to laugh a little bit and smile. Because I had named the problem, we began to engage. You have to move into the heart of the conflict.

Then the man who was wearing the Israeli police uniform began to protest and say he was really interested in being a community mediator, it's just that his day job was as a policeman and by regulations he'd have to go home and drop off his weapon, and he hadn't had time before the meeting. He explained and then we had a little bit of a brainstorming session on what to do about ground rules about weapons. I remember one of the participants suggested during the brainstorm, "What if we allow everyone to bring their weapons into the room?" Then I knew we had some work to do.

The role of the third side is to hold the whole for a moment. That's the key to me. It's been the key to success in South Africa, and what I witnessed there was the religious communities, the business communities, the university communities and women's communities all getting activated in reaching out to try and create a community will to transform the conflict. Nelson Mandela was a third-sider; you can be on one side and still take the side of peaceful conflict transformation. And in turn, the third side within the society was supported by a third side outside, which was people around the world, including university students here in the United States. That created a crucible within which a very difficult conflict could be transformed – not ended, but transformed.

"... you can be on one side and still take the side of peaceful conflict transformation."

The same thing happened in Europe. I spent many years growing up in Switzerland, and I watched the early beginnings of the European community. If you had been in the ruins of Berlin or London in 1945 and you had said, "Sixty years from now, this is going to be the most peaceful, prosperous part of the world," people would have thought you were certifiably insane. But

what happened is they created Europe, a larger context, an architecture of peace, based on shared prosperity and a shared sense of identity – within which the ancient feud between Germany and France and other European feuds could be peacefully transformed. That is the challenge we face in the world today: How do we create that third side?

Given that this lecture is also part of the Greening Borders conference, I'd like to share with you just four third-side, practical tools that I've found very useful for changing the game from confrontation to cooperation.

Go to the Balcony

The very first tool is foundational. Perhaps the greatest lesson I've learned since Roger Fisher, Bruce Patton and I collaborated on *Getting To Yes* is that the single biggest barrier to us accomplishing what we want in a negotiation is actually not the other side, as we often think it is. It's not that difficult person or that difficult group. It's actually right here. It's ourselves. It's in our own natural human tendency to react – to act without thinking. As Ambrose Bierce once put it, "When angry, you will make the best speech you will ever regret." That happens time and again. Even though negotiation is supposed to be goal-oriented behavior, we lose it. It's very natural, particularly because the issues are tough and the emotions are high.

"The foundational third-side negotiation ability is the ability to step back for a moment."

The foundational third-side negotiation ability is the ability to step back for a moment. I like to use the metaphor of negotiating here on a stage as part of your mind goes to a balcony overlooking that stage where you can get some perspective. It's the skill that academics would call "perspective-taking," the ability to step back for a moment. Find a place of calm and perspective where you can see the big picture. From this vantage point you can see

not just who's at the table but who's not at the table but who needs to be – remembering that you cannot expect people who are not involved in the process to approve the product.

Allow me if you will to share a personal story. Some years ago I'd been invited by President Carter to see if I could be of assistance in the emerging conflict in Venezuela between President Hugo Chavez and his supporters, the chavistas, and the people who wanted him out of office, the anti-chavistas. There had recently been an attempted coup d'etat, and there were literally a million people on the streets who supported him and a million people on the street who opposed him. There was some violence and widespread concern in the international community that this situation was going to tip into a civil war not unlike the way civil war tragically started in Venezuela's neighbor Colombia 40 years before.

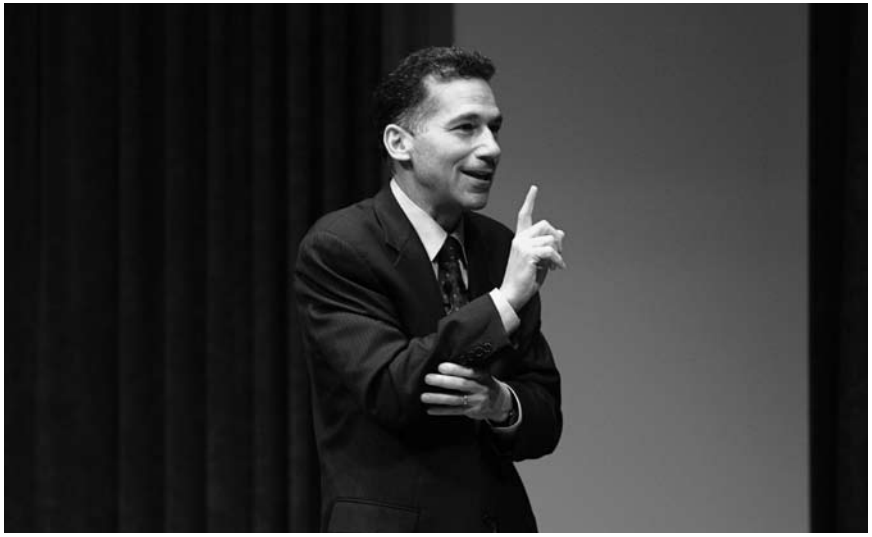
I was trying to see if it might be possible to activate the third side and build a community for peace, and at one point after the second or third trip I was invited to meet with Hugo Chavez. He would not sit down and meet with his opposition, and they didn't want to sit down with him either. The emotions were so high that there was no way. He considered them traitors; they considered him a communist. There was no talking.

I had a meeting with him at his presidential palace at 9 p.m., so I was there at 9 p.m. Then it was 9:30 p.m. 10 p.m. 10:30 p.m. 11:30 p.m. At midnight I was finally ushered in to see the president, expecting of course to find him alone at this late hour of night, but I found his entire cabinet arrayed behind him. He asked me how things were going and I said, "Well, I've been talking with some of your government ministers and the opposition leaders, and it seems to me that we're actually making some progress here in defusing the crisis a little bit."

I don't know whether he was doing this deliberately or if it was just what happened, but then he just lost it. He leaned into me and proceeded to shout at me saying, "You're being totally fooled! You're naïve! You're not seeing what the opposition is doing. They're engaged in all these dirty tricks." He

was less than six inches away from my face and proceeded to shout at me for almost 45 minutes, in front of his whole cabinet.

And of course I was getting defensive and thinking, "What do you mean? I'm not naïve!" That's what's going on inside me and I was in danger of falling off the balcony. I remembered several months earlier I'd been talking with a friend of mine from Ecuador, from the Andes, who said, "You know Bill, if you're ever in a tense situation, let me teach you a little technique. Just pinch the palm of your hand." I said, "What do you mean pinch the palm of my hand?" He said, "Yes, just pinch the palm of your hand and it will give you a tiny little bit of pain which will keep you alert."



So in that moment of need I decided to pinch the palm of my hand as a way of going to the balcony and saying, "Do I really want to get into an argument with the president of Venezuela? Is that going to advance what I'm here for?" I realized it wouldn't so I thought, *Just listen. Be patient.* So I just listened and after a while, although it turned out to be a great while, at the end President Chavez's shoulders kind of sank a little bit, and he said to me in a weary tone of voice, "So Ury, what should I do?"

That was my moment – because when you're dealing with someone who's in a highly emotional or angry state, it's virtually impossible to use reason with that person. You're just wasting your time. It's like beating your head against a stone wall. You have to wait until the right time, so that was my cue that he was open.

My suggestion actually was that the entire country needed to go to the balcony for a moment because it was just before Christmas, and the previous Christmas had almost been cancelled because of the conflict. The whole country needed a truce, a collective time to cool off for a moment, and then they could resume the conflict if they liked in January. He thought it was a very good idea, and then he started to get chummy with me and said, "Yes, and over Christmas maybe you should come traveling with me in Venezuela. I'll show you the country." But then he thought, "Well, you're neutral. Maybe that won't be so good for you because you're a mediator, but I'll give you a disguise."

"... one of the greatest powers that we have is the power not to react."

To me it illustrated that one of the greatest powers that we have is the power not to react. And that's what the balcony is. It's about focusing on what's truly important. So that is the first key skill: focusing and having that big picture perspective.

Listen

The second third-side tool, which I also tried to use in that incident, is simply the ability to listen. It may seem very simple and obvious, but most people associate negotiation with talking. We talk, and we call them "talks." That's what newspapers call them. But to me, negotiation is much more about listening than it is about talking.

The key skill that you need is the ability to put yourself in the shoes of the other, because if you think about it, negotiation is an exercise in influence. You're trying to change the other's mind. How are you going to change the other's mind if you don't know where that mind is right now? If you observe the behaviors of successful negotiators, you find that they listen much more than they talk. It's about listening, and it's about respect. Listening and respect are probably the cheapest concessions you can make in a negotiation. They cost you nothing, but they mean everything to the other side.

"Listening and respect are probably the cheapest concessions you can make in a negotiation. They cost you nothing, but they mean everything to the other side."

My own personal observation of what was really dangerous in Venezuela, what was at risk of tipping the country into a flashpoint of violence, wasn't just the enormity of the dispute over political power or economic resources, but the amount of disrespect that was being shown, the personal attacks. I remember President Chavez just being livid that he was being called a *mono*, a monkey, on the TV stations that were owned by his political opponents. He heard that as a racist insult.

Then when I met with the head of the opposition, he was just furious because all his life he was a devout Catholic – he would go and pray every morning in the central cathedral in the plaza – and now President Chavez had gone on national TV and denounced him as one of the four horsemen of the apocalypse and an enemy of the people. There was a poster with his face on it; he couldn't walk down the street anymore without getting abused. One government minister told me that he had to move his children three times in the schools. He was just furious. It's that kind of fury and humiliation that really can trigger an escalation into violence.

The key thing is respect. I've trained police hostage negotiators, and I find it interesting that the number one lesson they cite for dealing with a hostage situation is simply to be polite. If you want to try and reach someone in an agitated state of mind, be polite. Give respect. Sometimes we think of respect as something that someone has to earn. Maybe there is that kind of respect, but I'm talking about the kind of respect that is a human birthright. To me creating that environment of respect is critical in moving forward. The third side creates a larger circle of respect and inclusion.

Reframe

A third third-side tool is one of the greatest powers that we have: the ability to reframe. If we want to change the game from confrontation to cooperation, we need to learn to change the frame, the way in which we see the situation. We have that power. In any negotiation or conflict it's almost like there's a spotlight, and that spotlight can be on positions where it often is in conflicts, on each side digging into their positions: We are refusing to budge. *We* are refusing to budge.

"What's really going on? What's the heart of the issue? How do you move the spotlight from positions to a search for creative solutions that benefit all sides?"

How do you move the spotlight over to a problem-solving conversation where the basic focus isn't so much on positions, but on the interests, the needs, the desires and the concerns that lie behind those positions? What's really going on? What's the heart of the issue? How do you move the spotlight from positions to a search for creative solutions that benefit all sides? It's not easy to do. A key way of doing that is to ask problem-solving questions that move the spotlight from positions to interests – questions like, "Why do you want this? Please help me understand."

Some years ago, I was involved as a third party in a negotiation taking place between the Indonesian government and the leaders of a secessionist guerrilla movement in Aceh called the GAM, the Free Aceh Movement. Aceh is the northern part of Sumatra and there had been a war going on for 25 years, or perhaps for 125 years back with the Dutch. Thousands of people killed. Some of you may remember it as the place where the tsunami really had its greatest tragic impact a number of years ago.

We first had a day alone with the leaders of the guerrilla movement and I said to them, "I understand your position, the thing that you're fighting for, which is independence. Please help me understand what your interests are. *Why* do you want independence?" And I remember, we were sitting around the table there in Geneva and there was this silence for a while, and they were struggling with that question. The truth was that they knew what their position was, which is what we often do: We know what our position is, what we're fighting for, but sometimes we haven't really thought through what our interests are. *Why* do you want independence?

I was asking them, "Is it economic reasons? Do you want control of the natural gas resources? Is it political control? Is it cultural autonomy, that you want your kids to go to school in your language? Is it that you want a seat in the United Nations? What is it that you actually want, and what's the priority?"

Once we talked that through, once they were able to get a little bit clear about what their priorities were, then the question was: "How much is warfare going to help you in advancing your interests? How likely is it that you'll be able to do that in the next 10 years?" They were able to easily acknowledge that, in fact, given the balance of power, they were unlikely to meet those interests in the next 10 years.

And that led to the possibility of asking, "What if you formed yourself as a political party, a political movement? Could you then gain economic, political, cultural self-rule? What might be possible there?" And they began to explore that. It's not so easy in those kinds of movements because they didn't have a political party, and they didn't think it was possible, so it took a year or two of intense debate within the movement.

There were a lot of other people involved – I'm not taking any credit for this. But I was very pleased to see that in the end, after the tsunami hit and it was like a reality test, they actually were able to reach an agreement. It was interesting: The first governor and vice-governor of the autonomous province were actually leaders of the Free Aceh Movement. So again, the conflict didn't end. It just changed shape by changing the frame, focusing on the underlying interests behind the positions and looking for creative options.

Build a Golden Bridge

Once you've reframed and changed the game, the fourth tool I'll mention is what I call the golden bridge. That phrase comes from a Chinese military strategist 2,500 years ago, Sun Tzu, who wrote a book called *The Art of War*. He talked about building your opponent a golden bridge to retreat across. In negotiation I would reframe that positively as a golden bridge for both of you to advance across.

In other words, what often happens in difficult conflicts is that when we've got an idea, we tend to push the other side. We tend to try and put pressure. And of course the more pressure you put on someone, what do they instinctively do? They resist. So unless you're much more powerful than them, you're in a standoff. What you find successful negotiators do is attract. Instead of making it harder for the other side, they try to make it easier for the other side to make the decision that they would like them to make.

In a difficult negotiation, it's almost as if your mind is here and the other side's mind might be over there. You're here and you're saying to them, "Come on over to my position. Come over to where I am." But if you put yourself in their shoes for a moment, it's not so easy for them to go where you'd like them to go. It's almost like there's a canyon – a Grand Canyon or a chasm – of dissatisfaction and anxiety: Am I going to look like a sellout? Am I going to look weak? What am I going to say to my people?

It's not easy for them to move where you'd like them to move, so it's incumbent upon us to leave where our minds are for a moment, begin the conversation over there where they are, and build them a golden bridge over that chasm. Make it as easy as possible for them to move in the direction you'd like them to move.

I'll give you a very simple example that comes from the film producer Steven Spielberg. He recounts that when he was about 13, there was a bully who was 15 in his class who beat him up and made his life pure hell for an entire year. He would run home from school, dive under his bed and call out "Safe!" – until one day he asked himself, "How do I get this bully off my back?"

He went up to the bully one day and said (because even then he was making home movies), "You know, I'm making a home movie about fighting the Nazis and I was wondering if you'd like to play the war hero?" The bully laughed in his face, but a couple days later he came back and said OK. So young Spielberg took him and dressed him up in fatigues and a backpack, the whole works, and made him the war hero in his movie. And after that he reports that the bully who beat him up for an entire year became his best friend.

So the question is what's the logic? What's the psychological logic by which a bully gets transformed into a best friend? Why does a bully bully? And bullies aren't only found in the school yard; they're found in the larger world, unfortunately. What's a bully looking for? Attention. Control. Power. Respect. Bullying, interestingly, doesn't come from a feeling of security; it comes from a feeling of insecurity. So what does Spielberg do? He asks what he has as his resources to meet what turned out to be basic human needs. And in doing so, he transforms the bully into his best friend.

When you're trying to build that bridge, you're faced with dozens of parties and very complex issues. I want to suggest one bridging methodology that I think might be of use or consideration. When I was a graduate student still at Harvard, I was involved with a number of professors, including my mentor

Roger Fisher, and it was the time of the 1978 Camp David Peace Summit.

We sent in a memo suggesting a certain method that had been used in the Law of the Sea negotiations.[16] It's called the single negotiating text method, and it ended up being used at Camp David. At Camp David it was Prime Minister [Menachem] Begin of Israel, President [Anwar] Sadat of Egypt and our president, who was Jimmy Carter at the time. The parties came with their positions. President Sadat wanted the entire Sinai Peninsula back, which the Israelis had occupied in the '67 War, and Prime Minister Begin was insisting on keeping about one-third or one-quarter of the Sinai Peninsula. Those were the initial positions.

Now, in a normal negotiation, what do you do? You go back and forth between the parties with their positions, asking for flexibility, so that's what began to happen. But where do you draw the line in the sand between those two positions? After a couple days with little success, the American meditators decided to explore using this single negotiating text process instead. It's a very simple process. Essentially it means that instead of starting from the two positions, the Americans went back to the Israelis and Egyptians and said, "Don't change your positions. We're not asking you to change your positions. Just tell us a little bit about what your interests are. What are you concerned about? What do you really need? Why do you want the entire Sinai back?"

To the Egyptians, they asked: *Why do you want the entire Sinai back?* "Sovereignty. The land has been ours since the time of the pharaohs." To the Israelis, they asked: *Why do you want to keep part of the Sinai?* "Security. Egyptian tanks have rolled across this land and attacked us." So then the question becomes not how do we draw up a compromise in between the two positions that would be clearly unsatisfactory, but rather how do we meet those two interests? How do we reconcile those two interests of sovereignty and security?

So there was a wild idea floating out there: Why not give the entire Sinai Peninsula back to Egypt, with sovereignty to Egypt, but at the same time turn

16 The Law of the Sea Convention governs nations in their use of the world's oceans.

the Sinai into a demilitarized zone, addressing Israeli security? The Egyptian flag could fly everywhere but Egyptian tanks could go nowhere.

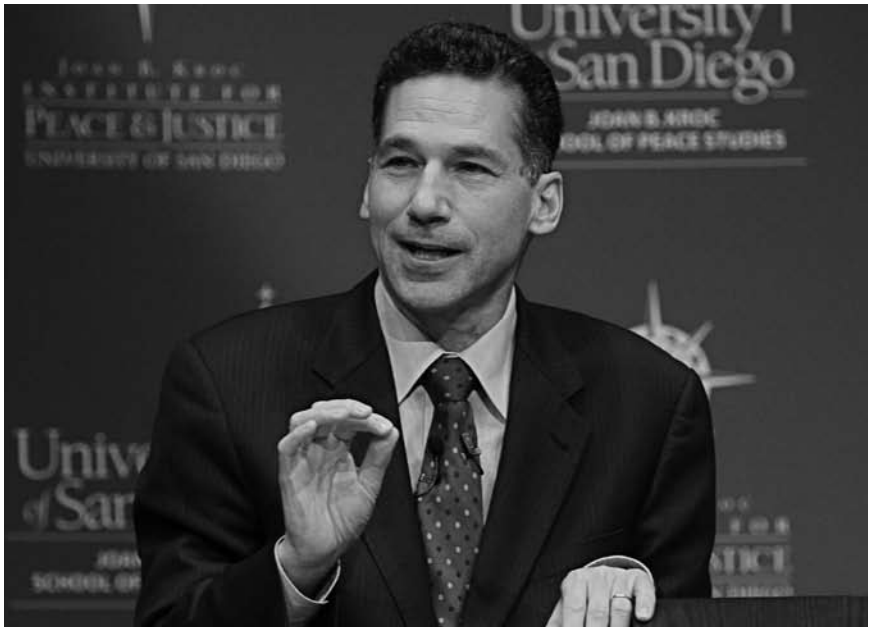
The Americans put this idea on paper and then came back to the Egyptians and the Israelis, saying, "Look, this is not a proposal. We're not asking you to accept it. All we're asking you to do is criticize it. Tell us where it doesn't meet your interests." No one likes to make a tough decision, but everyone loves to criticize, so the Israelis criticized and the Egyptians criticized, and then the Americans went back and tried to see if they could improve the idea, make it better for one side without making it worse for the other.

Then they took it back to the parties again and said, "This isn't a proposal. Just give us more criticism." They went through 22 or 23 drafts in the course of 10 days. They came to a point at the end where there was no way they could improve it for one side without making it worse for the other. Only at that point did President Carter take it to Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat and say, "This is the best we can do. Do you want it or not?"

Sadat and Begin were then faced with a very different decision than they were under the normal negotiating process of positions, where you hold on to your position and where no one wants to be weak and give in and make that first concession. Instead of having to make politically painful concessions all the way through, they only had to make one decision at the end – not at the start when making one concession could lead to another on a slippery slope, but only at the end when they could see exactly what they were going to get in return. Sadat could see he was going to get the entire Sinai back; Begin could see he was going to get this peace with Egypt. And under those conditions they chose to say yes.

In the Greening Borders conference, for example, if you have an environmental group, a national group and a federal authority, and everyone has their own positions, it's really difficult to move. But the wonderful virtue of using a single negotiating text that is non-official, simply an idea that continually gets circulated among multiple parties, is that everyone can mark it up. Everyone can tell you what's wrong with it, and then you have drafters

who are continually improving that text over time. It allows much wider participation and no one has to agree to anything until they can actually see at the end if their interests are truly being met in the document. That is one way of building a golden bridge – of involving everyone in the process. There are many other techniques that could be suggested, but I just wanted to suggest that one.



Those are just four basic third-side negotiating powers to consider: the power of going to the balcony, which is perspective-taking; the power of listening and respect, which have to do with empathy; the power of reframing; and the power of bridging. The third side allows people to find common ground. If you think about it, the third side *is* common ground. It's the sense of the whole.

What about the Middle East?

Let me turn to the Middle East for a moment. For anyone who's involved in conflict resolution, the most frequent question you get is, "You're in the

conflict resolution business – what about the Middle East?" It's the conflict that receives the most attention around the world, and it's widely held and regarded as absolutely impossible. But is it?

I've been a close student of that conflict for over 30 years now, and it's stuck for sure. But one has to ask: Where is the common ground? This is the genesis of a project I've been working on, trying to help unstick the conflict by coming at it from a completely different angle, which is to look for the symbolic common ground in the story. It lies, of course, in the figure of Abraham, from whom so many trace their descendance – 3.5 billion people on the planet trace the origin of their spiritual tradition to the story of Abraham. And it's not just tracing it to a single figure, but to a figure whose basic message is that everything is interconnected – confirmed by modern science of course – and whose basic virtue is kindness toward strangers. Hospitality.

My colleagues and I have been working on trying to go to the heart of the conflict, the heart of the story, in the heart of the Middle East by dusting off the footsteps of Abraham and reawakening the ancient path that Abraham and his family, Sarah and Hagar, are believed to have taken 4,000 years ago. Their path goes from one of his traditional birth places in northern Mesopotamia, in the southern Turkish city of Urfa and the ancient ruins of Harran where he hears the call, all the way down through Syria, Jordan and Israel, and ending in the Palestinian city of Hebron, or Al-Khalil – which is named after Abraham and where he is buried.

We studied the potential and difficulties of the idea at Harvard, and I made a number of trips to the region consulting, and a lot of people here in this country said it was impossible. A lot of people thought this was an absolutely crazy idea, that there was no way anyone would ever travel there. So we did a demonstration journey where we took 25 people of all faiths from 10 different countries. We had priests, a sheik, a rabbi, and we actually retraced the footsteps of Abraham. And there was enough interest in the region, even with all the conflict, that host committees have started to assemble, and I'm

pleased to say that this year it's no longer a vision or a crazy idea. It's an incipient reality. We now have hundreds of people every month beginning to walk the first segments of the path that are now open where no one would have imagined it possible, in the West Bank, Jordan, Turkey and even Syria.

It's quite amazing to me that the majority of travelers on the path in its very fledgling form, despite the widespread fear, are women, who are natural third-siders. Since our conference here is a U.S-Mexico conference, I'll mention one woman in particular, a young Mexican woman who was a university researcher in Britain. She'd heard about the path and this summer insisted she wanted to travel alone. We said, "No, no, we're not ready." But she had the vision. She had the call, and she set off and traveled alone through Syria for a month, passing from one village to another.

I invite all of you to come, because the path is actually created by people walking. In the words of the Spanish civil war poet, Antonio Machado, in one of his poems: *Caminante, no hay camino. Se hace camino al andar.* It means, "Traveler, there is no path. The path is made by walking."

The path is emerging as people begin to travel, as any path is, and it's emerging because of the hosts in these villages. When you travel in the Middle East you discover that our perception is hostility, but the reality you find when you're in those villages is hospitality. And what the spirit of Abraham signifies is hospitality.

As you perhaps can tell, I'm an aficionado of peace, and honestly, despite having spent time in many war-torn areas, I still believe that conflicts can be peacefully transformed. I'd like to share with you just one last story from the Middle East, one of my favorite stories that sums up what this is all about. It's a story about a man who passed away and left to his three sons, as his inheritance, 17 camels. To the first son he left half the camels. To the second son he left one-third of the camels. And to the third son he left one-ninth of the camels.

"I'm an aficionado of peace, and honestly, despite having spent time in many war-torn areas, I still believe that conflicts can be peacefully transformed."

The three sons tried to divide 17 by 2, by 3 and by 9 – but it doesn't divide by 2 or 3 or 9. Each wanted more and they started to get into a conflict. Tempers started to rise. Fraternal relationships started to get strained. So finally in desperation they went and consulted a wise old woman. The wise old woman, a third side as it were, thought about their problem for a long time and finally came back and said, "Well, I don't know if I can help you, but at least if you want, you can have my camel."

So the three brothers said OK. They took her camel, and that meant they had 18 camels, which *does* happen to divide by 2. It happens to be 9. Eighteen divided by 3 equals 6. And 18 divided by 9 is 2. So 9 + 6 + 2 = 17. They had one camel left over, and they gave it back to the wise old woman.

If you think about that story for a moment, you may find that it will resemble a lot of the difficult conflicts that we get engaged in. It seems absolutely impossible. Somehow what we need to do is take a step back from the situation, go to the balcony, change our perceptions a little bit, like that wise old woman, and come up with an 18th camel. The ideas that we're talking about are not actually new; the third side is really the oldest human heritage for dealing with differences. The third side can be one such 18th camel.

And that is why this school of peace is so important, because it is a place to gather the third side. That's why the institute is so important, why this conference is so important, and why each one of you is so important. Because there's an old African proverb that goes: When spider webs unite, they can halt even a lion. Each one of us has that power to weave a certain web, so together we can halt the lion of war. Thank you very much!

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The audience submitted questions that were read by Milburn Line.

ML: Thank you, Dr. Ury, for that fantastic talk. I wanted to follow up on your point about *caminante* and about finding the path. Is there a moment in your path that was transformative to you, when that insight of positions versus interests came to you?

WU: I wish I could say that there was, but I think all of these insights are insights of what I would call uncommon sense. They're common sense, but they're uncommonly applied. So I can't honestly say that there was a moment of illumination around positions and interests, although I'm sure there was a clarification of it.

One thing that drew me into this field and that fills me with passion is an abiding question, which probably occurred to me when I was a child in Switzerland going to school with people from about 30 different countries: How do we deal with our differences?

But I think it came more profoundly from being a child in the first generation that grew up under the shadow of the atomic bomb. Just trying to wonder, *Do we actually have a future? Could our world as we know it end just like that on a particular day with a particular crisis?* It also came from realizing that there's a race going on in the world today between the human genius at devising weapons of incredible destructiveness – that are becoming both more destructive and accessible – on the one hand, and the human genius at being able to devise social, psychological, emotional technologies for getting along with each other on the other hand. That race has really impelled me to see whether I could contribute a little bit to solutions.

I believe in the power of the third side. The third side is us. It's incumbent upon us at this particular moment in time to deal with our differences. The question is can we learn to get along? I happen to hold the hope that we can.

ML: Excellent, thank you. From the audience, why does the United States persist in trying to bring about a solution in the Middle East when the Palestinians do not view the United States as an unbiased mediator? Who could be an honest broker for both sides?

WU: I can be critical of the United States and its role, but I would also say that the United States has a definite useful role to play. Even in conflicts where you are not perceived to be neutral, third parties (or the United States in this case) can play an important role, as long as it is accepted by both sides.

At least historically, the United States has been accepted or invited by people on both or all sides of that conflict to play a role. When I talk to Palestinians, they don't ask the United States to stop being a mediator. They just want the United States to act in a way that feels more balanced for them. But I think in the end what it's going to take in the Middle East is less of a focus on one player, the United States, and one role, mediator. The idea of the third side is that there are at least 10 different roles that need to be played by the worldwide community in supporting the third side within and among the Palestinians and the Israelis.

The Abraham Path, for example, plays the role of provider when it helps with economic development in those places. People need jobs, they need opportunity. There's healing that needs to be done. There's bridge-building. There's equalizing the power between two unequal players. There's refereeing. There's peacekeeping.

Take the analogy of a family. In a healthy family, there are lots of conflicts and disputes that are all part of life. The parents play the role of a third side. They will sometimes be a mediator, sometimes an arbiter, sometimes a bridge-builder building relationships. Sometimes they'll be a healer trying to get forgiveness. Sometimes they have to be a referee: "Just pillows, no fists." Sometimes they're a peacemaker and they have to go and separate the parties, or they're the provider, providing love and attention and basic needs. That's what makes for a healthy system.

If you look at the Middle East and ask how many of those roles are being played effectively, the answer is not very many. So maybe it's not a surprise that we're not doing so well. When people say, "What about peace in the Middle East?", my answer is, "Have we really tried?" Can we really say we've tried until we've really effectively deployed the roles that we would play in a family and play those as a human family? To me the Abraham Path is an attempt, an effort, to activate that third side by bringing people as witnesses to the Middle East. Witness is one of the key roles – to pay constructive attention to the conflict.

ML: Thank you. I'm going to continue with the same region but a different approach. Roger Cohen's op-ed in the *New York Times* yesterday[17] is along the same line: Does the negotiation process ever give way to polarity management? With the rise of fundamentalism and fixed positions, isn't it more a case of managing polarities that may never give way to full resolution?

WU: If I understand that question, I think the answer for me would be yes. The field is often called conflict resolution, but I happen to prefer the term conflict transformation because the term "resolution" sometimes sounds like you're going to wrap it up and tie it up with a nice bow. We sometimes think that if only we could get the Israelis and the Palestinians in a conference together and they'd reach an agreement, we could say, "OK, their conflict is resolved." But we know that in our own lives, if a husband and wife were having a very bitter struggle and went away for a weekend therapy workshop and said, "We have now resolved our conflict," everyone would laugh. But somehow we expect that to happen out of a place like Camp David. No, you just change the form of the conflict from a form that is destructive to a form that is constructive. So in that sense, there is some polarity management.

ML: Expanding the region a little bit, one last question on this subject. How would you handle the current situation with Iran's nuclear program? Would you accept anything short of preventing nuclear weapons? How do you deal with the fact that Israel has hundreds of nuclear weapons?

17 Cohen, Roger. "In This Together." *New York Times*. Nov. 9, 2009.

WU: Let me just say, none of these conflicts are easy. This conflict is extremely hard. The very first thing in dealing with Iran goes back to something I was talking about earlier, which is respect. It's beginning to happen, but there's been a profound lack of respect in this country in its dealings with Iran, and it costs us nothing to really understand. There's a profound ignorance in this country and also probably in Iran, but I can only speak for my own country for now.

It's partly because we haven't had any diplomatic relations for so many years, since the Iranian hostage crisis, but if you put yourself in the shoes of an Iranian – and not even an Iranian who's in favor of nuclear weapons, a dissident Iranian – they see very little appreciation for their country. They have a great history, the incredible Persian civilization, and the way that they've been treated doesn't appreciate that.

For us as Americans, history is almost non-existent. We just want to forget it, get over it, think about tomorrow. But Iranians have a keen sense of history, and for them 1953 was yesterday, which was when the United States with a CIA plot toppled the first democratically elected executive in the Middle East and stopped the growth of democracy in that sense – because of material interests.

The Iranians remember that, and all I'm saying is that we need to start there. That opens the door. That opens the conversation. But it's very difficult at this point because nuclear development, quite apart from nuclear weapons, has now become a matter tied to Iranian national pride. And we have to understand that. We also have to understand that Iran has a history where they've been attacked by their neighbors very recently. Iraq attacked them with American support, so they have fears. They have Iraq on one side and Afghanistan on the other.

If you're trying to shift someone, you have to really understand them. And then from that perspective we have to think about how we initiate a different kind of relationship with Iran, because there are a lot of natural common interests between the United States and Iran. They don't like the Taliban any more than we do. They didn't like Saddam Hussein.

We need to really rethink the way in which we sit down. This is one of the toughest situations, but it requires at first some humility, some respect, some understanding, and then some real strategy around alternatives – like looking to Russia and the other countries around Iran for a third-side way of dealing with an extremely delicate situation that if not handled properly could lead to devastation in that region and in the world.

ML: Beyond the Middle East, but unfortunately not an easier question: What about Somalia, where there's been a failed state scenario for almost 20 years? What can be done?

WU: I can't claim expertise in many of these contexts, but Somalia I happen to know a little bit. One of the principal lessons we can draw is that there's a tendency for us as a country, and for the world generally, to only pay attention to conflicts when they're really hot. Then our attention span moves. Unfortunately with Somalia there's been very little concentrated world attention – third-side attention – because the situation moved on. In other words, it really requires us to be patient. This is difficult for Americans because among the world cultures, we're probably the most impatient culture on earth. That's another thing we have to learn in dealing with Iran. Anyone can tell you that in a negotiation, if you're impatient and the other is not, you won't do so well in that negotiation.

It takes some patience and some persistence, and it really takes the world looking and saying, "Where is the natural third side in Somalia?" Those traditions exist; the Somalis have their traditions of circles. How can we strengthen that? And how can the outside third side support the inside third side? It will take time and persistence, but there are other situations where seemingly impossible conflicts gradually get transformed. It will not be easy, but it is possible.

ML: Has there ever been a situation where you felt physically threatened during tense negotiations? If so, how did you handle your fear without compromising

your effectiveness as a negotiator?

WU: There have been a few times when I felt physically threatened. One time in the midst of the war in Yugoslavia, I was going to meet with some leaders of a rebel republic that had been established in Yugoslavia. I was in a helicopter and someone shot at the helicopter, so I guess that would qualify. But for me, the important thing is to have some faith. Have some trust. The helicopter ended up being OK, and I landed and we spent two days with the leaders of this secessionist republic.

I'm not saying it's easy, but you just have to learn to go to the balcony, which is why I try to practice what I preach. It's not always perfect. In different situations, even with the Abraham Path, there's a lot of mistrust. People in the region might think it's a plot. I've received some threats at different times, but I think what keeps me going is just trying to have faith. Maybe that's why I like the figure of Abraham – because he teaches that basic virtue of trying to have some trust that things will turn out for the best.

ML: The next question may have crossed your mind as they were firing at your helicopter. Is there a point when negotiation fails and conflict becomes a necessary evil?

WU: Paradoxically, I happen to be a believer in conflict. I believe the world actually needs more conflict, not less, in the sense that every injustice in the world, every difficult issue, needs to be engaged. You need to move into the conflict. Just like in martial arts, they teach you to move into the conflict. Then the question is how you transform it from destructive to constructive.

I'm not a total pacifist. It happens at times that conflict becomes a necessary evil. I do think that sometimes force as a last resort is necessary as a protective means to protect innocent lives. But it's a last resort, and it has to be done as a third-side response. It has to be done acknowledging that it's a genuine failure. To me, when we do have force, it means it's a failure of the third side to really step in. So it needs to be understood as a last resort, and sometimes in certain cases, it is necessary. Just looking at history for example, in dealing

with Hitler my druthers would have been a preventive use of force long before it was necessary. There were opportunities back in the early '30s to step forth, and I think that might have prevented a great deal of tragic bloodshed.

ML: How can the third side accommodate the corrosive aspects of media and technology in contemporary American political life?

WU: Everyone is a potential third-sider, even the media. And the media in particular really have a potentially constructive role to play, which is being the eyes and ears of the third side. By media I don't just mean the official media, but now the social media, the Internet media. I'm a big believer in that. It's true that in different conflicts I've worked around, some of the media, but not all of the media, tend to focus and want to focus on conflict – they even foment conflict. The media is sometimes used to feed conflict, and that's a real problem. Some of the work I've done over the years, including in Venezuela, was working with the media because they would like to shift. They would like to change. If you talk to individual journalists, there are no demons out there. The question is how do you get them involved? There is a shift that needs to take place, and I believe the media have a very important role to play in the third side.

ML: How can we address the conflict between humans and nature?

WU: The world's population has soared. The way we've dealt with nature has often been at the least neglectful and in many cases abusive, and what's happening is nature is a system that responds. I think the problem of climate change is inappropriately named. A friend of mine suggested it should be called "Catastrophic Climate Disruption." That's what we're talking about. That's what we're facing. At no time in the last 30 years have I seen more need in this world – in this time of not only economic crisis but a deep and profound ecological crisis – for us to come together. We've got to come together and create a third side to protect the natural environment that we share and that all of our descendents – our children and grandchildren – will share. The opportunity that's facing us right now is to become a third side.

ML: You may have just answered this question. What motivates you to continue the work you do?

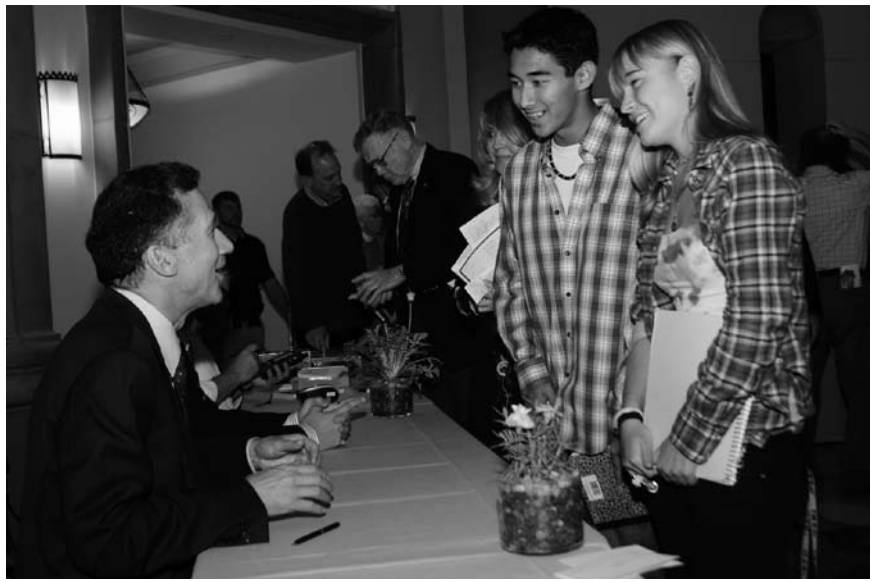
WU: I'm a devotee of peace. And by peace I don't mean some utopian outcome. I mean concrete, hard, often painful transformation of conflicts that are genuine. I think we need to surface more conflicts and engage constructively with them. We're dealing in a very conflictual world right now, and we have this opportunity to shift it. As Martin Luther King put it, peace is not so much an outcome. It's a process. It's the process of engaging with our deepest differences, and out of that can come great things.

If you think about democracy for instance, what is democracy? It's a process. It's a system of managing conflicts when people used to engage in civil wars instead. Now we use ballots, not bullets. The genuine opportunity is to see what's before our eyes, and our genuine achievements in democracy and in the world. I think sometimes we forget those achievements and forget the common human heritage that we can build upon at this particular moment when these methods are needed more than ever.

ML: Before I ask my last question, I'd like to thank three people who have been fundamental to this. Diana Kutlow is a senior program officer from the Institute for Peace & Justice. She conducted the negotiation with Dr. Ury. And I'd also like to recognize Melissa Lucas who works with us in making sure that all this runs smoothly, and was just recognized by the Community of Human Resources at the University of San Diego's 2010 Employee Recognition. And the Greening Borders Conference has been one of the products of the ceaseless efforts of Ilze Dzenovska.

Final question: Dr. Ury, don't you find the University of San Diego to be a spectacular place where you would like to spend more time?

WU: Without question. You know, peace is kind of an orphan. We spend so much money on war, and we spend so little on peace, investing. This place is here thanks to the generosity of many of you and of Mrs. Kroc. I would normally have thought I was in a business school or a law school, but never would I have imagined I'd be in a school of peace. Such a beautiful, beautiful place. The setting is gorgeous and it's an appropriate temple for the Greek goddess Eirene, the goddess of peace.



Let me just leave you with one last American poem that I've always loved, which was told to me by a man who actually heard the poet back in a rural Tennessee high school, maybe 70 or 80 years ago, declaiming this poem. The poet was a man by the name of Edwin Markham, and I think his poem has some real truth and resonance today. If I can remember it, his poem went:

They drew a circle and shut me out – heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But love and I had the wit to win. We drew a circle and brought them in.

That's what the third side does. It's an inclusive circle, and that's what is needed. That's what this conference is about. That's what this place is about. And so I wish you all much success in all your negotiations. Thank you very much!

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