

**Letter of Review of Ph.D. Dissertation of PhDr. Martina Klimešová:
“Using Carrots to Bring Peace? Negotiation and Third Party Involvement”**

At the beginning of this review, it is necessary to state that the reviewer is not an expert in the three case studies explored in the thesis and therefore all his comments concern the theoretical and methodological chapters only.

The reviewed Ph.D. thesis covers an interesting topic that is both theoretically and policy relevant. Moreover, the topic has been completely neglected in the Czech Republic thus far. The quantity of interviews conducted to support the thesis' arguments is impressive and they are bound to offer new insights in the subject matter. Overall, the thesis clearly fulfills all of the standard criteria for this type of academic work.

Concerning the criticism and shortcomings, the author has made significant revisions based on my first review for the internal departmental oral defense. Three points of concern have, nonetheless, remained even in the final version and they should therefore be discussed during the final public oral defense:

1. The independent variable. Important changes have been made – from p. 32, it now appears that there is a rather long list independent variables, plus one “primary independent variable” defined „as a strategic web consisting of perception of ripeness by the third parties, internal and external actors, and the external toolkit (i.e. external incentives).” I still find this problematic because it is not clearly specified in the thesis how the three parts of the strategic web are linked together and whether all three must be present together in one place at the same time to the same degree. It is also not sufficiently clarified why is there a long list of “regular” independent variables in addition to a “primary” independent variable.
2. The dependent variable discussion has also been substantially elaborated but it still does not really address the important questions when does the influence of third parties stop and for how long can we really attribute the changes in a negotiation process to the (lack of) incentives or disincentives by third parties? I would argue that this is a major debate/problem in terms of evaluating the impact of any third party intervention. The newly added footnote no. 27 does not really do justice to this dilemma.
3. The third major point that is still not sufficiently developed in the theoretical part of the thesis concerns the difference between conflict management versus conflict resolution, or perhaps more appropriately, Conflict resolution vs. Conflict management. The difference is crucial for the reviewed thesis because it shapes the perception of both the dependent variable of the thesis – e.g. desirable outcomes of negotiated conflict settlements – and the independent variable(s) of the reviewed thesis – e.g. the quantity and type of incentives provided by third parties to address a given conflict. Whether or not third parties care only about negative peace makes a big difference. Similarly, it is still not acknowledged that there are several other approaches to addressing internal conflicts – see especially the work by John Paul Lederach on conflict transformation.

Overall, I recommend the reviewed thesis to be defended.

doc. Mgr. Oldřich Bureš, M.A., Ph.D.

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