



Center for Conflict Analysis  
and Resolution

Occasional Paper 2

# **Negotiating Military Base–Rights with Spain, The Philippines, and Greece: Lessons Learned**

by

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National Research Council

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(16) D. Druckman, "Four Cases of Conflict Management: Lessons Learned," in *Perspectives on Negotiations*, pp. 270-271.

(17) *Ibid*, p. 275.

(18) *Ibid*, pp. 278-279.

(19) R. Fisher, "Fractionating Conflict," in R. Fisher, ed., *International Conflict and Behavioral Science: The Craigville Papers* (New York: Basic Books, 1964). See also M. Deutsch, D. Canavan, and J. Rubin, "The Effects of Size of Conflict and Sex of Experimenter Upon Interpersonal Bargaining," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 7 (1971):258-267.

(20) See D. Druckman, *Human Factors in International Negotiations: Social-Psychological Aspects of International Conflict*, Sage Professional Paper 02-020 (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1973) for further discussion of the pros and cons of confronting large issues early or late.

(21) I. W. Zartmen, "Negotiations: Theory and Reality," *Journal of International Affairs* 9 (1975):69-77.

(22) See pp. 282-283 in D. Druckman, "Four Cases of Conflict Management" for a discussion of this point.

(23) See *ibid*, pp. 281-282, for other examples of alternative negotiating formats which allow the process to continue when progress toward an agreement is stalled.

(24) B. Ramberg, *The Seabed Arms Control Negotiations: A Study of Multilateral Arms Control Conference Diplomacy* (Denver, CO: Monograph Series in World Affairs, University of Denver, 1978), p. 89.

(25) *Ibid*, p. 91.

(26) R. E. Walton and R. B. McKersie, *A Behavioral Theory of Labor Negotiations: An Analysis of a Social Interaction System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), pp. 311ff. An application of these concepts to international negotiations may be found in D. Druckman, "Boundary Role Conflict: Negotiation as Dual Responsiveness," in I. W. Zartman, ed., *The Negotiation Process* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1978).

(27) T. C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

(28) *Ibid*.

(29) Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate*.

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- (30) *Ibid.*
- (31) See D. Druckman, "Four Cases of Conflict Management," pp. 282-283.
- (32) See also, *ibid*, p. 283.
- (33) Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate*.
- (34) K. S. Thomson, "Marginalia: How to Sit on a Horse," *American Scientist* 75 (1987):69-71.

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- (30) *Ibid.*
- (31) See D. Druckman, "Four Cases of Conflict Management," pp. 282-283.
- (32) See also, *ibid*, p. 283.
- (33) Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate*.
- (34) K. S. Thomson, "Marginalia: How to Sit on a Horse," *American Scientist* 75 (1987):69-71.

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## Appendix

### Symposia Participants by Case

#### Case One: Spanish Base Negotiations

<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Role and Position</b>	<b>Topic</b>
Richard F. Grimmett	Specialist in Foreign Military Base Rights, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress	An Overview of the Formative Years: 1953-1970
Robert J. McCloskey	Chief Negotiator for the 1976 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Spain and Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations	The 1976 Treaty—Overview of the Negotiations
Philip E. Barringer	Defense Advisor in Negotiations with Spain, 1970 and 1974-1976. Director of Foreign Military Rights Affairs, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs	A Defense Perspective on the 1975-1976 Negotiations
Ted A. Borek	Legal Adviser to delegation, 1975-1976 negotiations	Legal Issues in the 1950-1976 Negotiations
Daniel Druckman	Consultant/Analyst to delegation, 1975-1976 talks	Stages, Turning Points, and Crises in the 1975-1976 Negotiations
Donald J. Planty	Department of State representative on the negotiating team—1982 Agreement on Friendship, Defense, and Cooperation with Spain	The Agreement on Friendship, Defense, and Cooperation—Overview of the Negotiations
Norman C. Lord	Joint Chiefs of Staff representative on the negotiating team for the 1982 Agreement on Friendship, Defense, and Cooperation with Spain	The U.S. Military Perspective on the 1981-1982 Negotiations
Edward Cummings	Legal adviser to the delegation, 1981-1982 negotiations. Office of Assistant Legal Adviser for Politico-Military Affairs in the Department of State	Legal Issues in the 1981-1982 Negotiations

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## Case Two: Philippine Base Negotiations

Speaker	Role and Position	Topic
Alva M. Bowen, Jr.	Specialist in National Defense, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress	The Historical Setting: 1947-1975
Patrick M. Norton	Legal Advisor to delegation to the Philippines negotiation, 1975-1977	Preliminary Negotiations for the 1979 Agreement
Rick De Bobes	Member of the delegation to the Philippines negotiation, 1975-1979 and head of the Base Rights Branch, International Law Division, Office of the Judge Advocate General, U.S. Navy	The Military Perspective
David Newsom	Member of the delegation to the Philippines negotiation, 1975-1979 and head of the Base Rights Branch, International Law Division, Office of the Judge Advocate General, U.S. Navy	The State Department Perspective on the 1977-1979 Negotiations
Jacob W. Ulvila	Analyst of the 1978 Philippine negotiations and Vice President of Decision Science Consortium, Inc.	Turning Points: An Analysis
John F. Maisto	Director of Office of Philippine negotiations and Vice President of Decision Science Consortium, Inc.	Overview of the 1983 Review
Warren H. Adam	U.S. Navy Judge Advocate specializing in the negotiation and implementation of status-of-forces agreements	The 1983 Review: A Military Perspective
Terence J. Fortune	Assistant Legal Adviser for East Asian Affairs, Department of State, involved in the 1983 Memorandum of Agreement with the Philippines	The 1983 Review: A Legal Perspective
Philip E. Barringer	Defense Adviser in 1976 Philippines negotiations	The Strategic Importance of the Philippines
Fred Brown	Member of the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and advisor on East Asia and Pacific Affairs	The Future of U.S.-Philippines Relations

**Case Three: Greek Base Negotiations**

<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Role and Position</b>	<b>Topic</b>
Richard F. Grimmett	Specialist in Foreign Military Base Rights, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress	The Historical Setting: 1953-1974
Monteagle Stearns	Chief of the U.S. Delegation to the negotiations with Greece, 1974-1977; Ambassador to Greece, 1981-1985	The 1974-1977 Period
Milton Kovner	Deputy Chief of Mission to the U.S. Embassy in Athens	The 1981 Negotiations
Dwight W. Beach	Joint Chiefs of Staff representative to the 1981-1983 negotiations with Greece	The 1975-1981 Period: A Military Perspective
Monteagle Stearns	Ambassador to Greece, 1981-1985	An Overview of the 1983-1983 Negotiations
Peter Collins	Officer in Charge of Political-Military Affairs in the U.S. Embassy in Athens, 1980-1983	A Political Perspective on the 1982-1983 Negotiations
Geoffrey M. Levitt	Legal Counsel to the U.S. Delegation in negotiations with Greece, 1981-1983	The 1983 Agreement: Legal Issues
Dwight W. Beach	Joint Chiefs of Staff representative to the 1981-1983 negotiations	The 1983 Agreement: The Military Perspective
David T. Jones	Executive Assistant to Chief Negotiator, 1982-1983 negotiations; Principal Officer in charge of Greek Affairs, Department of State	The 1982-1983 Negotiations: A Washington Perspective
Phillip E. Barringer	Director of Foreign Military Rights Affairs in International Security Affairs, Office of the Secretary of Defense	Some Notes on Base Negotiations