

operations, the government or the rebels in question did not seek out the aid-giver as a possible dispute mediator.

How does the aid giver measure up as mediator? Oran Young postulates that any potential intermediary must possess certain resources and capabilities.⁸² Intermediaries must be impartial and independent, with nothing to gain from the disputants or from a third-party with an interest in the conflict. They must possess certain ascribed resources. These include: salience; the prominence of the mediator in the eyes of the protagonists; respect, derived from the mediators status, credentials, or the feeling on the part of the protagonists that the third party empathizes with their problem; and continuity, the feeling that the mediator will hang in over the long haul. In addition, the potential mediator should have the knowledge and skill needed to deal with the issues. Also required are certain requisite physical resources, such as transportation and communication equipment, or verification capabilities. Finally, the mediator must possess leverage, the ability to put pressure on one or both parties to accept a proposed settlement.

Though Young identifies NGOs, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), as one of several different potential mediators, he criticizes them for being weak in too many of the necessary resources. He argues that their only strength lies in the areas of impartiality and independence.⁸³ But the process of negotiating a humanitarian ceasefire and the experience of carrying it to a successful conclusion would tend to increase the NGOs ascribed resource base. This would be especially true if, like in El Salvador, the experience was repeated annually. It would be hard to deny, for example, that UNICEF has not acquired the resources of salience and respect among the people of El Salvador. Indicative of this were the banners carried by some of the people during the days of tranquillity which said, "UNICEF the people are grateful to you for the vaccines," and,

⁸² Oran Young, *The Intermediaries*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967, pp. 80-91.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.108-109.