# AMERICAN UNIVERSITY School of International Service International Peace and Conflict Resolution

# Comparative Peace Processes SIS 619-012 Spring 2017

Peace is a process, a way of solving problems. -Pres. John F. Kennedy, Commencement Address at American University, June 10, 1963

There's no such thing as a peace process -Ian Paisley, *Speech to the DUP Congress* (1998)

There never was a good war or a bad peace. -Benjamin Franklin, *Letter to Josiah Quincy* (1783)

Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice. -Baruch Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise* (1670)

Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind -John F. Kennedy, *Speech to the UN General Assembly* (Sept. 25, 1961)

There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized peace. -Woodrow Wilson, *Address to US Senate* (Jan. 22, 1917)

Anthony Wanis-St. John Associate Professor <u>wanis@american.edu</u> Class meetings: Tuesdays, 5:30pm to 8:00pm Classroom: SIS 102 Office hours: Tuesdays 1:00pm to 2:00pm Office: SIS Building, 206 Rulers of states, when attacked, therefore, cannot make a greater mistake than to refuse to come to terms when the forces attacking them are a good deal stronger than their own, especially if the overtures are made by the enemy: for the terms will never be so hard but that in them some benefit will accrue to those who accept them, so that in a way they shall share in the victory.

-Nicolo Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, Book II, "Mistakes Often Made In Connection With War" (1531)

In order to transcend the conflict, the warring parties have to give up their dependence on having an enemy to define their sense of purpose, honor, and glory.

-Hugh O'Doherty and Dannielle Kennedy, "On the Similarities of Peace of Mind and Peace in the Valley," *Int'l Journal of Group Psychotherapy* vol 63, no 2 (2013): 207-232

It isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it. -Eleanor Roosevelt, *Voice of America Broadcast* (Nov. 11, 1951)

### Overview:

This is an advanced seminar for learners who want to know what we know about ending wars through peace process negotiations. Peace processes are negotiations to end wars and build peace. They are far more complex than any other kind of international or interpersonal negotiation. Efforts to end violence that has destroyed lives and infrastructure, disrupted ways of life are worth doing well. Applying simplistic negotiation frameworks to such challenges is insufficient for their resolution. We examine peace processes that have failed, those that appear to be succeeding, and those whose outcome remains unclear.

Peace processes involve bargaining between the principal conflict parties and among their own internal factions and constituencies, and sometimes involve outside interveners who want to mediate among the parties. While classic approaches to peace processes tend to either emphasize the internal and external political contexts to explain success or failure, or test the theories of international relations related to the termination of war, this course looks at peace processes as *complex negotiations* that should lead—ideally—to the end of armed conflict and continue into implementation and the reconstruction of peaceful social and political relations. Students will be able to understand the options for structuring such a negotiation, the issues that need to be resolved, the trade-offs and tensions that are involved and the dangers and challenges along the way. Cases from the last three decades of peace negotiations will be analyzed in depth so that learners can identify the dynamics, patterns, and factors involved. Learners will also gain special insight into the Palestinian-Israeli peace process although the course is not solely about those negotiations.

Getting to the negotiation table is a strategic issue in and of itself. Once there, the parties are up against the most unfavorable of negotiation contexts: enemies (hopefully to be former enemies) staring at each other across the table, often afraid of their own followers and of each other, and confused about next moves and their implications. Each has spent time trying to annihilate the other or just survive, physically and politically. Each has internal constituencies and extremists seeking to undermine negotiations. The parties have little or no trust in each other and are not sure they prefer the game of political negotiations to the game of violent confrontation. Frequently, all sides have suffered catastrophic loss of life, resource depletion, and destruction of infrastructure. Prisoners await liberation, and rights need to be restored or implemented. Less visible but equally challenging is the reduction of resilience, the loss of trust, hope and social capital, and the erosion of cultural norms that mitigated violence. Negotiators may not have the skills and organizational assets needed to negotiate for peace. They may want recognition of war crimes and other structural injustices that underlay the original conflict. There will be regular and irregular troops in need of cantonment, demobilization, retraining, not to mention gainful employment. And the economic situation may not favor their task. Promises of international assistance might be offered but illusory.

Prof. Wanis-St. John Comparative Peace Processes International Peace and Conflict Resolution American University Page 2 of 14 The record of negotiation success—as measured by agreements reached and peacefully implemented—is not a hopeful one. Peace process negotiations are daunting and yet success is critical to avoid reverting to massive violence and all it brings in its wake. Knowledge about peace negotiations in terms of analytical concepts, issues and dynamics, is therefore critical for scholars and practitioners who are interested in creating the conditions for sustained peace.

# Learning Outcomes

Comparative Peace Processes will enable learners to attain:

- 1. A conceptual, theoretical and empirical understanding of how complex negotiations to end a conflict and build a sustainable peace are structured, including what works, and what doesn't in specific cases.
- 2. A deep and broad knowledge of diverse cases of peace negotiations across the globe.
- 3. The ability to identify the substantive issues to be resolved, the dynamics that affect the process and outcomes, factors that influence success, and overall patterns of complex peace negotiations.
- 4. The ability to critically analyze the practices of peacemakers.

# Complementary courses, prerequisites:

All students should complete the preliminary readings. There are no prerequisites for the course.

This course is designed as a stand-alone learning experience, but learners will find that it complements SIS-611, *International Negotiation*, a course that offers a basis for understanding a broad variety of globally significant negotiation and bargaining contexts and also provides the general theoretical bases upon which much negotiation analysis is based. The behavioral focus of my other graduate seminar *Negotiation Analysis and Skills* makes a fine complement to the process and topical focus of this course.

## Who should take the course:

The course provides practical knowledge, skills and case histories to all learners who want to understand how peace is made, and for those whose professional goal is to participate in peace negotiations. Opportunities to participate directly or indirectly in peacemaking are no longer the exclusive domain of top-level diplomats. Front line political or military and humanitarian personnel, civil society leaders, local and international NGOs, development professionals, religious communities, and many others purposefully and strategically try to impact the negotiation and implementation of peace. The course enriches the SIS-IPCR concentration in International Negotiation.

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## Structure of the course:

There are several structural components of the course, each of which maximizes our opportunity to learn about the challenges inherent in the negotiation of peace. We meet once a week to discuss, critique and apply readings to past, current and future realities.

# **1.** *Participation:* (10%)

A. Readings and Seminar Discussions: these have been carefully selected from vast literatures on negotiation, security, war and peace, with an eye toward global coverage, regional distribution, and thematic content. We may occasionally have guest lecturers involved in peace processes come in and discuss their work with us in person or via videoconference. Every class session is a seminar discussion and learners are expected to come having completed the week's readings in advance to discuss them intelligently.

**B.** Peace Process Negotiation Simulation: the course will include a peace process negotiation simulation. This is a role-play that offers you an opportunity to strategize, react to dynamics, learn from experiences and mistakes, anticipate moves, and to plan.

2. Student Research: (45%) a medium-length research paper discussing at least one major thematic aspect of peace negotiations across several peace processes *or* analyzing several critical thematic aspects in an in-depth single peace process case study. For example, if you want to do a paper on the issue of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), you would research several cases to see how DDR was negotiated *and* implemented in those cases, drawing on course readings, theoretical knowledge and pragmatic considerations. Alternatively, you could write an in-depth paper on the peace negotiations in Chad (or Sudan, or El Salvador, etc.) in the past decade. Your historical analysis would then be rooted in a set of theories or concepts from the course that you either wish to test, challenge, validate or modify. These are due at the midpoint of the course. Research papers may be teamwritten by up to four students, or can be an individual effort—the choice is yours. Individual papers are limited to 10 pp. Two author page limit is 16 pp. Three authors; 21 pp. Four authors; 25 pp. Add a title page, table of contents and a full bibliography and references. High quality is expected. A past student paper for this course was published in a special issue of the journal *International Negotiation*, vol. 13, no. 1. Some however did not get passing grades. This is 45% of your final grade.

**3.** *Peace Process Memo to the US Special Envoy or the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General*: (45%) the final requirement is an original, brief paper of 2 to 3 pages (double-spaced) in the form of a memo to the US Special Envoy or UN Special Representative of the Secretary General working on a current conflict. In this paper, you briefly lay out the design, priorities, strategies, actors, issues, etc., in short everything you deem necessary to convince the envoy to adopt your plan. The brevity of this assignment should not be confused for simplicity. It is a test of your ability to synthesize the readings and apply them to a real, ongoing conflict in a concise and very precise way.

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### **Required Readings**

The class sessions listed below include information on the cases covered and the corresponding case and theoretical/conceptual readings. These readings need to be completed before you come to class in order for you to contribute appropriately to seminar discussions. To make the readings more accessible to you, many are available for free either through the indicated website, or through eReserves (via Blackboard). Additionally, there are two required course texts which can be obtained from the University bookstore, directly from publishers or through other sources such as Amazon.com or at <u>Abebooks.com</u>:

John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty, eds., *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Peace Processes and Post-War Reconstruction* 2d ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) [**CP** in this syllabus]

Anthony Wanis-St. John, *Back Channel Negotiation: Secrecy in the Middle East Peace Process* (Syracuse University Press, 2011, less expensive paperback release! 2017) [**BCN** in this syllabus]

Accord: An International Review of Peace Initiatives [open source publication available at no cost]

### **Preliminary Readings**

Read these three prior to our first class:

Jacob Bercovitch, "Mediation in International Conflict: An Overview of Theory, A Review of Practice," in I. William Zartman, ed., *Peacemaking in International Conflict* rev. ed. (USIP Press, 2007)

Saadia Touval and I. William Zartman, "International Mediation," in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela R. Aall, eds., *Leashing the Dogs of War* (USIP Press, 2007)

### **Emergency Preparedness**

In the event of a declared pandemic (flu or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. This may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site (www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU

Prof. Wanis-St. John Comparative Peace Processes International Peace and Conflict Resolution American University Page 5 of 14 information line at (202) 885-1100 for university-wide information. Also see <u>http://www.american.edu/emergency/</u> for additional planning for personal, public health, natural disaster, as well as criminal or terrorist incidents.

#### Academic Integrity Code

All students must adhere to the Academic Integrity Code (http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm). As the code states, "By enrolling at American University and then each semester when registering for classes, students acknowledge their commitment to the Code. As members of the academic community, students must become familiar with their rights and their responsibilities. In each course, they are responsible for knowing the requirements and restrictions regarding research and writing, examinations of whatever kind, collaborative work, the use of study aids, the appropriateness of assistance, and other issues. Students are responsible for learning the conventions of documentation and acknowledgment of sources. American University expects students to complete all examinations, tests, papers, creative projects, and assignments of any kind according to the highest ethical standards, as set forth either explicitly or implicitly in this Code or by the direction of instructors."

#### Academic Support Center: (202) 885-3360, MGC 243

Offers study skills workshops, individual instruction, tutor referrals and services for students with learning disabilities. Writing support is available in the ASC Writing Lab or in the Writing Center, Battelle 228. Excellent resources!

#### Counseling Support: (202) 885- 3500, MGC 214

Never hesitate to reach out.

#### Disability Support Services: (202) 885-3315, MGC 206

To document disabilities and challenges and obtain accommodations in the classroom, contact DSC.

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Session Date	Торіс	Readings	
1/17/17	<b>1. Introduction to the course</b>	Prior to (or just after) class: read all three preliminary readings:, Bercovitch, Touval & Zartman	
1/24/17	2. Negotiating Peace, Piece by Piece: Aspects, Dynamics and Patterns of Peace Processes	<ul> <li>John Paul Lederach, <i>The Moral Imagination</i> (Oxford Unity Press, 2005), ch. 5 "On Peace Accords," pp. 41-49</li> <li>John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty, eds. <i>The Management of Peace Processes</i> (St. Martin's Press, 2000), Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 1-15, 228-262</li> <li>Lotta Themnér, Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts: 1946-2014," <i>Journal of</i> <i>Peace Research</i> vol. 52, no. 4 (2015): 536–550</li> <li>Timothy Sisk, "Peace Processes as a Bargaining Problem," in <i>International</i> <i>Mediation in Civil Wars: Bargaining with Bullets</i> (Routledge, 2009) Ch. 2</li> </ul>	
		Dean Pruitt, "Readiness Theory and the N. Ireland Conflict," American Behavioral Scientist vol. 50, no. 11 (2007): 1520-1541	
1/31/17	3. Ending Violence: Armenia & Azerbaijan	Accord, vol. 17 (2005) is dedicated to Nagorno-Karabakh. Get the entire issue here to see maps, acronyms, chronologies, key peace texts, as well as the full text of the issue. (These links are frequently 'touchy' and you may need to reload the page several times to get them). Thomas de Waal, "The Nagorny-Karabakh Conflict: Origins, Dynamics and Misperceptions," Accord vol. 17 (2005)	
		Gerard Libaridian, "The Elusive 'Right Formula' at the 'Right Time'," Accord vol. 17 (2005)	

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2/7/17	4. The Challenge of Getting Parties to the Table	<ul> <li><u>Volker Jacoby, "The Role of the OSCE: An Assessment of International Mediation Efforts," Accord vol. 17</u> (2005)</li> <li>Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," <i>International Organization</i> vol. 51, no. 3 (1997): 335-364</li> <li>BCN, Chs. 1, 2</li> <li>A. Wanis-St. John, "Third Party Mediation over Kashmir: A Modest Proposal," <i>International Peacekeeping</i> vol. 4, no. 4 (1997): 1-30</li> <li>Achim Wennmann, "Getting Armed Groups to the Table: Peace Processes, the</li> </ul>	
2/14/17		Political Economy of Conflict and the Mediated State," <i>Third World Quarterly</i> vol. 30, no. 6 (2009): 1123-1138 CP, Chs. 3, 5, 7	D 1
2/14/17	5. Issues and Structure: Sierra Leone and the Great Lakes	<ul> <li>Accord, vol. 9 (2000) is dedicated to Sierra Leone. Get the entire issue here to see maps, acronyms, chronologies, key peace texts, as well as the full text of the issue.</li> <li><u>David Lord, "Introduction: The Struggle for Power and Peace in Sierra Leone,"</u> Accord, vol. 9 (2000)</li> <li><u>Lansana Gberie, "The First Stages on the Road to Peace: The Abidjan Process 1996-1996,"</u> Accord vol. 9 (2000)</li> </ul>	Prepare a 1 page summary of your selected peace agreement and come prepared to brief the class.
		Ismail Rashid, "The Lomé Peace Negotiations," Accord vol. 9 (2000) William Lacy Swing, SRSG in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, "Statement to the US Institute for Peace, Washington:" "War, Peace and International Engagement in the Congo," May 2006 Read one comprehensive peace accord of your choice from the <u>Peace Accords</u>	

		Matrix database, University of Notre Dame, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies	
2/21/17	6. Unity vs. Fragmentation: Sudan	<i>Accord</i> , vol. 18, is dedicated to Sudan. For chronology, key documents, and all articles, get access to it <u>here</u> .	
		Mona Ayoub, "Land and Conflict in Sudan," Accord, vol. 18 (2006)	
		Summary of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Accord, vol. 18 (2006)	
		Julian Thomas Hottinger, "The Darfur Peace Agreement: Expectations Unfulfilled," Accord, vol. 18 (2006)	
		Laurie Nathan, "The Failings of the DPA," Accord, vol. 18 (2006)	
		Jannie Lilja, "Ripening Within? Strategies Used by Rebel Negotiators to End Ethnic War," <i>Negotiation Journal</i> vol. 27, no. 3 (July 2011): 311-342	
		Kathleen Cunningham, Kristin Bakke, Lee Seymour, "Shirts Today, Skins Tomorrow: Dual Contests and the Effects of Fragmentation in Self-	
		Determination Disputes," <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> vol. 56, no. 1(2012): 67-93	
2/28/17	7. Roles of Third Parties as Mediators:	BCN, Chs. 3, 4 (skim 3 but read 4 carefully)	
	Burundi and Cyprus	Mohammed Maundi, I. William Zartman, Gilbert Khadiagala, Kwaku Nuamah, Getting In: Mediators' Entry into the Settlement of Africa's Conflicts (USIP Press, 2006), Ch. 3 "Burundi"	
		Michalis S. Michael, "The Cyprus Peace Talks: A Critical Appraisal," <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> vol. 44, no. 5 (2007): 587-604	

		Ron Fisher, "Cyprus: The Failure of Mediation and the Escalation of an Identity- Based Conflict to an Adversarial Impasse," <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> , vol. 38, no. 3 (2001): 307-326	
3/7/17	8. Civil Society	<ul> <li>BCN, Ch. 5</li> <li>Sanam Anderlini, <i>Women at the Peace Table: Making a Difference</i> (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2000), Chs. 1 and 2</li> <li>Anthony Wanis-St. John and Darren Kew, "Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Confronting Exclusion," <i>International Negotiation</i>, vol. 13, no. 1 (2008): 11-36</li> <li>Desiree Nilsson, "Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace," <i>International Interactions</i> vol. 38, no. 2 (2012): 243-266</li> <li>ICG, <u>Nepal: From People Power to Peace</u>, Asia Report 115, May 10, 2006</li> <li>CP, Chs. 8, 9, 10</li> </ul>	
3/21/17	9. Violence Resurgent and DDR	<ul> <li>BCN, Ch. 6</li> <li>CP, Chs. 11, 12, 13</li> <li>Stephen Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," <i>International Security</i> vol. 22, no. 2 (1997): 5-53 (OK to skip the case studies).</li> <li><u>Richard Barltrop, "The Negotiation of Security Issues in Burundi</u>," <i>Negotiating Disarmament Country Studies</i>, no. 1 (March 2008)</li> </ul>	mid term due before class

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		<ul> <li>Edward Newman and Oliver Richmond, "Introduction: Obstacles to Peace Processes: Understanding Spoiling." In <i>Challenges to Peacebuilding: Managing</i> <i>Spoilers during Conflict Resolution</i>, ed. Edward Newman and Oliver Richmond. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2006, 1-19.</li> <li>Bruce Jones, <i>Peacemaking in Rwanda: Dynamics of Failure</i> (Lynne Rienner, 2001), Ch. 4 "Arusha Negotiations"</li> <li><u>UNDPKO, Second Generation Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration</u> (DDR) Practices in Peace Operations, January 18, 2010</li> </ul>	
Domes Ugand	ternational and stic Justice: da and the war he LRA	<ul> <li>Accord vol. 11 (2002/2010) is dedicated to Northern Uganda and can be accessed <u>here</u></li> <li>Ogenga Otunnu, "Causes and Consequences of the War in Acholiland," Accord vol. 11 (2002/2010)</li> <li>Barney Afako, "Reconciliation and Justice: Mato Oput and the Amnesty Act," Accord vol. 11 (2002/2010)</li> <li>Chris Dolan, "Peace and Conflict in Northern Uganda 2002-06," Accord vol. 11</li> <li>Priscilla Hayner, Negotiating Justice: Guidance for Mediators (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, January 2009)</li> <li>International Centre for Transitional Justice and Kofi Annan Foundation, "Challenging the Conventional: Can Truth Commissions Strengthen Peace Processes?" June 2014</li> <li>Leslie Vinjamuri &amp; Aaron Boesenecker, Accountability and Peace Agreements: Mapping Trends from 1980 to 2006 (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, September 2007)</li> </ul>	Interview with Betty Bigombe, to be shown in class

4/4/17	11. Implementation and Power Sharing	CP Ch. 14	
	and rower sharing	Blackboard packet on Colombia	
		Hassan Krayem, "The Lebanese Civil War and the Taif Agreement," in Paul Salem, ed. <i>Conflict Resolution in the Arab World: Selected Essays</i> (American University of Beirut, 1997)	
		Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management," <i>American Journal of Political</i> <i>Science</i> vol. 47, no. 2 (2003): 218-332	
4/11/17	12. Roles of Third Parties as Peacekeepers	Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace?" <i>International Studies</i> <i>Quarterly</i> vol. 48 (2004): 269-292	
	-	Marc Lacey, "After Failures, UN Peacekeepers Get Tough," <i>New York Times</i> , May 24, 2005	
		Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations ("Brahimi Report"), United Nations, A/55/305-S/2000/809, August 21, 2000. Read the <u>Executive</u> <u>Summary</u> only.	
4/18/17	13. Building Peace, Changing Cultures	Charles T. Call, Ch. 8 "Conclusions for Theory: Legitimacy-Focused Peacebuilding" in <i>Why Peace Fails: The Causes and Prevention of Civil War</i> <i>Recurrence</i> (Georgetown Univ. Press, 2012).	
		CP, Chs. 18, 19	
4/25/17	14. Prospects for Negotiating Peace:	BCN, Ch. 7	LAST DAY OF CLASS, FINAL
	Syria, Afghanistan	CP, Ch. 24 and Conclusion	ASSIGNMENTS

Monica Duffy Toft, "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" International Security vol. 34, no. 4 (2010): 10-36	DUE IN BLACKBOARD
And for fun (or tears) see Kofi Annan interview on the Daily Show with Jon Stewart, September 17, 2012 part 1 and part 2	

Additional research sources:

Idean Salehyan, "The Delegation of War to Rebel Organizations," Journal of Conflict Resolution vol. 54, no. 3(2010): 493-515

Paul Collier, Lani Elliot, Havard Hegre, Anke Hoeffler, Marta Reynal-Querol, Nicholas Sambanis. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. World Bank Policy Research Report. World Bank and Oxford University Press. Read only "Foreword" and "Overview".

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, UN Doc: A/47/277 - S/24111, United Nations, June 17, 1992

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Supplement to An Agenda for Peace, A/50/60, S/1995/1, United Nations, January 25, 1995

Web-based resources

Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Conflict Database <a href="http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/search.php">http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/search.php</a>

United States Institute of Peace <u>http://www.usip.org</u>

Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School <a href="http://www.pon.harvard.edu/">http://www.pon.harvard.edu/</a>

Prof. Wanis-St. John Comparative Peace Processes International Peace and Conflict Resolution American University Page 13 of 14 Conciliation Resources <u>http://www.c-r.org/</u>

Public Interest Policy Law Group www.pilpg.org

University for Peace, Peace and Conflict Monitor <a href="http://www.monitor.upeace.org/">http://www.monitor.upeace.org/</a>

United Nations Peacemaker http://peacemaker.unlb.org/index1.php

Concordis http://www.concordis-international.org/

Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue <u>http://hdcentre.org/</u>

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