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)

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.

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.
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.
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 team-written 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.
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 Abebooks.com:


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:


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
information line at (202) 885-1100 for university-wide information. Also see [http://www.american.edu/emergency/](http://www.american.edu/emergency/) 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](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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Readings</th>
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<tr>
<td>1/17/17</td>
<td><strong>1. Introduction to the course</strong></td>
<td>Prior to (or just after) class: read all three preliminary readings.: Bercovitch, Touval &amp; Zartman</td>
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| 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).  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Reading Material</th>
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</table>
Achim Wennmann, “Getting Armed Groups to the Table: Peace Processes, the Political Economy of Conflict and the Mediated State,” *Third World Quarterly* vol. 30, no. 6 (2009): 1123-1138  
**CP, Chs. 3, 5, 7** |
| 2/14/17    | **5. Issues and Structure: Sierra Leone and the Great Lakes**       | *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.  
Read one comprehensive peace accord of your choice from the [Peace Accords](#) |

Prepare a 1 page summary of your selected peace agreement and come prepared to brief the class.
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>References</th>
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| 2/28/17    | 7. Roles of Third Parties as Mediators: Burundi and Cyprus | BCN, Chs. 3, 4 (skim 3 but read 4 carefully)  
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”  
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>References</th>
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</table>
Sanam Anderlini, *Women at the Peace Table: Making a Difference* (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2000), Chs. 1 and 2  
CP, Chs. 8, 9, 10 |
CP, Chs. 11, 12, 13 |

mid term due before class
<table>
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<th>3/28/17</th>
<th><strong>10. International and Domestic Justice: Uganda and the war with the LRA</strong></th>
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<td>4/25/17</td>
<td><strong>14. Prospects for Negotiating Peace: Syria, Afghanistan</strong></td>
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**LAST DAY OF CLASS, FINAL ASSIGNMENTS**

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:


Web-based resources

Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Conflict Database  
[http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/search.php](http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/search.php)

United States Institute of Peace  
[http://www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)

Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School  
[http://www.pon.harvard.edu/](http://www.pon.harvard.edu/)
Conciliation Resources
http://www.c-r.org/

Public Interest Policy Law Group
www.pilpg.org

University for Peace, Peace and Conflict Monitor
http://www.monitor.upeace.org/

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

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

Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
http://hdcentre.org/