

# Comparative Peace Processes

## SIS 4/694.004

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American University  
School of International Service  
Spring 2009  
Thursday 2:10 – 4:50 pm  
Watkins 106

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Office Hours: Tuesday 3-4:30;  
Thursday 5:30-6:30

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### Course Description and Objectives

George Bernard Shaw once said, “Peace is not only better than war, but infinitely more arduous.” Current research on peace agreements shows that over 40% of all countries with settlements or peace agreements lapse back into violent conflict within five years. This daunting figure points to the immense challenges that exist in negotiating the termination of violence and establishing structures and processes for mitigating, managing and perhaps eventually transforming violent conflict to positive peace.

In this course we will examine the process of negotiating peace agreements and settlements. These have become known as “peace processes” because of the recognition that there are multiple rounds of negotiations and sets of issues that must be addressed over time. It has become clear that peace processes are about significantly more than achieving one handshake on the Whitehouse lawn. Negotiation processes begin with the often arduous step of bringing enemies together to negotiate ceasefires before moving towards more comprehensive peace accords. Shifting from armed strategies to negotiation processes present new problems for communities and leaders. Challenges include: managing internal factions, schisms and ongoing threats of violence; dealing with the legacy of violence (from small-scale human rights abuses to war crimes and crimes against humanity); bringing civil society into peace processes; and constructing post-war societies that are just, peaceful and economically viable.

We will begin by confronting the challenges of conflict contexts. We will review current thinking on peace processes, what defines them, and the issues considered critical by scholars to date (such as managing spoilers). We will then engage in an extensive, intensive collaborative research process. We will compare a set of “peace process” cases in order to answer the perplexing question: Why do some peace processes appear to succeed while others fail?

## Required Textbooks

Darby, John and Roger Mac Ginty. 2008. *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Peace Processes and Post-War Reconstruction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

We will also regularly utilize a journal published by Conciliation Resources called *Accord: An International Review of Peace Initiatives*. All issues are available at: <http://www.c-r.org/accord/index.php>

## Course Requirements and Expectations

Seminar Participation	25%
Take-home Mid-term	25%
Research Proposal	10%
Research Paper	40%

**Participation:** This course will be run as a seminar. This means that lectures will be kept to a minimum (in order to introduce a given topic or case), and the majority of our class time will be discussion format. You are expected to co-lead at least one seminar session, and to be an engaged, informed, constructive and analytical participant in all of the classes. Course readings need to be completed before coming to class in order to contribute appropriately. You are also expected to participate in a peace process negotiation simulation which will be run in collaboration with the United States Institute of Peace. This will provide an opportunity for a hands-on experience (to strategize, react to dynamics, anticipate other moves, etc), and add another dimension to our learning.

**Seminar leadership:** You and one to two colleagues will co-lead a seminar. You will be responsible for providing a short background presentation on the case(s) we are studying that day in-class, and providing three questions for discussion in advance. The questions should be provided at least two days in advance so people can prepare. The background to the case(s) should be structured around the following four questions: What caused the conflict? How violent is (was) it? What is the nature of the peace process? And, where is it now? If you would like to assign alternative readings, or one or two additional readings to the current readings assigned for a given case you are welcome to do so, but they must be assigned at least one week in advance and the readings need to be made available for the class (e.g. on-line sources posted on blackboard).

**Research Proposal and Paper:** A journal-length research paper is due at the end of the course, by 5pm on Friday April 24. It will be a maximum twenty-five page research paper (double spaced, 12 pt font; page count does not include bibliography) that discusses at least one major thematic aspect of peace processes across several cases. A three to four page

**proposal** for the paper is due March 19. The proposal should outline the thematic aspect you are investigating, the cases you have selected, reasons for your selections (theme and cases), and the significance of the theme/cases with respect to peace processes. You should also include a preliminary bibliography with your proposal.

**Paper Deadline Policy:** The research proposals are due at the start of class; the mid-term is due by 5pm on Friday March 6 and the major paper due by 5pm on Friday April 24 at SIS Faculty Services. Papers not turned in on-time will lose 1/3 of a grade (e.g. a B+ becomes a B) and further mark penalties will be incurred over time, except in cases of genuine emergency.

**Academic Integrity:** Students are expected to follow the standards of academic integrity set forth by the University. Violations of academic integrity will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken. Please see me if you have any questions about what constitutes a violation of academic integrity. You can read the University's full Academic Integrity Code here: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code/htm>

**Grading Policy:** "F": Failing work. "D": Lack of fundamental knowledge of the material but sufficient knowledge for a passing grade. "C": Satisfactory knowledge of the basic information or data presented in the course. This is primarily knowledge of the "facts" or content and involves memorizing details and material. "B": Good ability to explain how certain issues and events are related to one another according to explanations currently held in the field; sees relationships between events and theories and can reproduce arguments. "A": Excellent, independent and original thinking and/or creative work.

**Background Readings:** If you have not taken a substantial conflict resolution or negotiation course before the following readings should be done in preparation:

Druckman, Daniel (1997). "Negotiating in the International Context" in I. William Zartman and Lewis Rasmussen (eds.) *Peacemaking in International Conflicts*. Washington, DC: USIP Press.

Bercovitch, Jacob (1997). "Mediation in International Conflict: An Overview of Theory, A Review of Practice" in I. William Zartman and Lewis Rasmussen (eds.) *Peacemaking in International Conflicts*. Washington, DC: USIP Press.

Kriesberg, Louis (2007). "Contemporary Conflict Resolution Applications" in C.A. Crocker, F. Osler Hampson and P. Aall (eds) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. Washington, DC: USIP Press.

## Course Outline

### January 15 Introduction

Overview

Introduction to Course

The challenge of violent conflict and prospects for peace

### January 22 Peace Processes...?

Elements, dynamics, patterns; comparative research; seminar sign-up

#### Readings:

- John Paul Lederach (2005) *The Moral Imagination* (NY: Oxford University Press) Chapter 5 (pp.41-49) (Blackboard)
- John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty (2000) (eds) *The Management of Peace Processes*, Introduction and Conclusion (pp.1-15, 228-262) (Blackboard)
- Darby and Mac Ginty, *Contemporary Peacemaking*, Introduction (pp.1-8)
- Lotta Harbom, Stina Höglach & Peter Wallensteen (2006) “Armed Conflict and Peace Agreements” *Journal of Peace Research* 43 (5): 617-631. (Blackboard)
- Ibrahim Elbadawi, Håvard Hegre and Gary J. Milante. (2008) “The aftermath of civil war” *Journal of Peace Research* 45 (4): 451-459. (Blackboard)

#### Seminar Questions:

- What defines a peace process?
- What accounts for the recent proliferation of peace processes and accords?
- How do we define “success?”

### January 29 Analyzing Themes

Context, Negotiations and Violence

#### Readings:

- Darby and Mac Ginty, *Contemporary Peacemaking*, chapters 1 – 13 (pp.11-191)

#### Recommended Readings:

- Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (2004) *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases*, chapters 2-6. (Reserves)

#### Seminar Questions:

- What elements of the conflict context do you think are most important for peace processes to begin?
- Why are negotiations so difficult for parties?
- What themes or elements (“variables”) appear to be most significant for peace processes during early negotiation phases? Why?

## February 5 Northern Ireland

### Readings:

- *Accord* Vol. 8 (1999) <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/northern-ireland/contents.php>
- Stephen Farry, “Northern Ireland: prospects for progress in 2006?” USIP Special Report 173, September 2006. <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr173.pdf>
- Darby and Mac Ginty *Contemporary Peacemaking*, Part IV (pp.193-253)

### Recommended Readings:

- *The Joint Declaration on Peace* (Downing Street Declaration), 15 December 1993. <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/dsd151293.htm>
- *The Good Friday Agreement* (Belfast Agreement), 10 April 1998. <http://www.nio.gov.uk/agreement.pdf>

### Seminar Questions:

- What themes or elements were important in initiating the negotiations?
- How did violence affect the peace process?
- How did the accord process tackle issues such as power sharing and security? Do you foresee future challenges?

## February 12 Sierra Leone

### Readings:

- *Accord*, vol. 9 (2000) <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sierra-leone/contents.php>
- Darby and Mac Ginty *Contemporary Peacemaking*, most of Part V. (pp.255-338)

### Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.

## February 19 Burundi

### Readings:

- International Crisis Group (1998). *Burundi's Peace Process: The Road from Arusha*. ICG Africa Report no.2. 20 July 1998. [http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report\\_archive/A400219\\_20071998.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400219_20071998.pdf)
- International Crisis Group (2002) *Burundi After Six Months of Transition: Continuing the War or Winning Peace?* Africa Report no. 46, May 24, 2002.

Available at:

[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report\\_archive/A400667\\_24052002.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400667_24052002.pdf)

- Elizabeth A. McClintock and T rence Nahimana (2008) “Managing the Tension between Inclusionary and Exclusionary Processes: Building Peace in Burundi” *International Negotiation: A Journal of Theory and Practice*, 13(1): 73-91.
- Mohammed Maundi, I. William Zartman, Gilbert Khadiagala, Kwaku Nuamah (2006) *Getting In: Mediators’ Entry into the Settlement of Africa’s Conflicts* (USIP Press), Chapter 3 “Burundi”

Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.

**February 26 Israel-Palestine;** and civil society inclusion/exclusion

*Tentative* Guest speaker Anthony Wanis-St. John

Readings:

- Anthony Wanis-St. John (2006) “Back Channel Negotiation: international bargaining in the shadows” *Negotiation Journal*, 22 (2): 119-144
- Anthony Wanis-St. John and Darren Kew (2008) “Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Confronting Exclusion” *International Negotiation: A Journal of Theory and Practice*, 13(1): 11-36.
- Shlaim, Avi (2005) “The rise and fall of the Oslo peace process” in Louise Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford University Press), pp. 242-259.

Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.

**March 5** *Tentative* - Simulation

Note: We will participate in a peace process simulation run by Peter Weinberger and Nadia Gerspacher. This will occur at USIP and requires some flexibility for scheduling.

**Take-Home Mid-term Exam:** will be posted on March 1 (blackboard), and due in hard copy by **5pm March 6** at SIS Faculty Services, time-stamped.

**March 12 NO CLASS – SPRING BREAK**

**March 19 Aceh and Mindanao**

Note: Research Proposal Due in-class

Readings:

- *Accord 2008 Vol. Reconfiguring politics: the Indonesia – Aceh peace process*  
<http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/aceh/contents.php>
- *Accord 1999 (updated in 2003) Compromising on autonomy: Mindanao in transition.*  
<http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/philippines-mindanao/contents.php>

Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

**March 26 Sudan**

Readings:

- *Accord 2006. Vol. 18 Peace by peace: addressing Sudan's conflicts.* <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sudan/contents.php>
- Lydia Polgreen (2007) "US Governor brokers truce for Darfur" *New York Times*, January 11, 2007 [on-line edition].

Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

**April 2 Northern Uganda**

Readings:

*Accord Vol.11 Protracted conflict, elusive peace initiatives to end the violence in northern Uganda* <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/northern-uganda/contents.php>

Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.

**April 9 Nepal**

Readings:

- ICG (2006) *Nepal: From people power to peace?* ICG Asia Report no. 115. 10 May 2006.  
[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south\\_asia/115\\_nepal\\_from\\_people\\_power\\_to\\_peace.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/115_nepal_from_people_power_to_peace.pdf)
- Lynn Tesser (2007) *Prospects for a Successful Peace Process in Nepal: internal and international perspectives.* USIP Briefing. April 2007.  
[http://www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace\\_briefings/2007/0418\\_nepal.html](http://www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace_briefings/2007/0418_nepal.html)
- ICG (2008) *Nepal's Election and Beyond.* ICG Asia Report no.149 2 April 2008.  
[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south\\_asia/149\\_nepal\\_s\\_election\\_and\\_beyond.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/149_nepal_s_election_and_beyond.pdf)

Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.

**April 16 Colombia and Guatemala**

Readings:

- *Accord* (1997) Vol. 2 *Negotiating rights: the Guatemala peace process* <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/guatemala/contents.php>
- *Accord* (2004) Vol. 14 *Alternatives to war: Columbia's peace processes* <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/colombia/contents.php>

Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

**April 23 Prospects for peace: Afghanistan and Summative Analysis**

Readings:

- ICG (2007) *Afghanistan's endangered compact*. ICG Briefing No. 59. 29 January 2007.  
[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south\\_asia/b59\\_afghanistans\\_endangered\\_compact.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/b59_afghanistans_endangered_compact.pdf)
- ICG (2006) *Countering Afghanistan's Insurgency: No Quick Fixes*. ICG Asia Report 2 Nov. 2006.  
[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south\\_asia/123\\_countering\\_afghanistans\\_insurgency.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/123_countering_afghanistans_insurgency.pdf)
- Darby and Mac Ginty *Contemporary Peacemaking*, Chapters 24 and Conclusion (pp.339- 372)

Recommended Reading:

- J. Alexander Thier (ed). 2009. *The Future of Afghanistan*. USIP Press.

Seminar Leaders:

- 1.
- 2.

**Research Paper Due Friday April 24 by 5pm in SIS Faculty Services. Please get it time-stamped when you hand it in.**