

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Comparative Peace Processes  
SIS 619-008 and HNRS 302-009H Spring 2011

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)

Imagine all the people living life in peace. You may say I'm a dreamer, but I'm not the only one. I hope someday you'll join us, and the world will live as one.

-John Lennon, *Imagine* (1971)

There never was a good war or a bad peace.

-Benjamin Franklin, *Letter to Josiah Quincy* (1783)

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)

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)

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)

, Ph.D.

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Classroom:

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### ***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 that are far more complex than any other kind of international or intergroup 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 intervenors 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, factors involved.

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, or confused about next moves and their implications. They have spent time trying to annihilate each other or just survive, physically and politically. They have internal constituencies and extremists hoping to upset any negotiations. They have little or no trust in each other and are not sure they prefer the game of political negotiations to the game of confrontation. Often all sides have depleted resources, lives broken and lost, destruction of infrastructure, prisoners to get freed and exchange, rights and privileges they want implemented. They may or may not have the skills and organizational assets needed to negotiate for peace. They may need recognition of past abuses, war crimes, and other structural injustices that underlay the original conflict. There are regular and irregular troops in need of cantonment, retraining, and demobilization, not to mention gainful employment. And the economic situation may not favor their task. Promises of international assistance may or may not be counted on.

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 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 familiarity with 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:***

There is no formal prerequisite for the course, but students who have not taken SIS-611, *International Negotiation*, or SIS 696-00x *Negotiation Analysis and Skills* should complete the preliminary readings noted below.

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. It also builds on the 'peace through conflict resolution' sessions of SIS 607 *Peace Paradigms* and SIS 609 *Conflict Analysis and Resolution* (SIS 607 and 609 are broader approaches to the study and practice of peacemaking than this course). It also strongly complements SIS 619 *Peacemaking in Intractable Conflicts*, which focuses on the dynamics of third party roles in peacemaking.

### ***Who should take the course:***

The course is designed to enrich the SIS-IPCR stream of courses in International Negotiation. See our IPCR Streams document residing at <http://www.american.edu/sis/ipcr/Academics.cfm>.

The course provides practical knowledge, skills and case histories to all AU students who want to understand and even contribute to or participate in peace negotiations in their professional careers. 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 consultants, religious communities, and many others purposefully and strategically try to impact the negotiation and implementation of peace.

***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:

***1. Participation:*** (30%)

***A. Readings and Seminar Discussions:*** these have been carefully selected from vast literatures on negotiation and on 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.

***B. Peace Process Negotiation Simulation:*** the course will include a peace process negotiation simulation. This is not simply a role play, but an opportunity to strategize, react to dynamics, learn from experiences and mistakes, anticipate moves, and to plan. The simulation may be conducted in collaboration with the United States Institute of Peace or other institutions.

***2. Student Research:*** (30%) 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. These will be due at the midpoint of the course. Paper may either be the result of intense teamwork of four students, or an individual effort. The format of the paper will be provided by the instructor and will contribute to an ongoing effort to accumulate comparative data about peace processes. 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 (2008) that the instructor served as guest editor for.

***3. Peace Process Memo to the US Special Envoy or the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General:*** (40%) the final requirement is an original, brief paper of 7 to 10 pages in the form of a memo to the US Special Envoy or UN SRSG to the conflict of your choice. In this paper, you discuss the design, priorities, strategies, actors, issues, etc., in short everything you deem necessary to convince the envoy to adopt your plan.

### ***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 <http://www.abebooks.com> :

John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty, eds., *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict Violence and Peace Processes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) [CP in this syllabus]

Anthony Wanis-St. John, *Back Channel Negotiation: Secrecy in the Middle East Peace Process* (Syracuse University Press, 2010) [BCN in this syllabus]

We will also make ample use of a journal published by Conciliation Resources, a UK-based NGO:

*Accord: An International Review of Peace Initiatives* [all issues are available at <http://www.c-r.org/resources/accord.php>]

### ***Preliminary Readings***

Students who have previously taken SIS-611, 607, 609 (described above) or any other substantial conflict resolution or negotiation course, there is probably no need for you to do any preliminary readings. For all others, the following three readings will put you on a high platform of learning:

Daniel Druckman, "Negotiating in the International Context," in I. William Zartman, ed., *Peacemaking in International Conflict* rev. ed. (USIP Press, 2007)

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 (influenza 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](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for university-wide information, contact faculty and dean's office for course and school/college-specific information.

### **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."

<b>Session Date</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Readings</b>	
1	Introduction to the course	Preliminary readings by Druckman, Bercovitch, Touval & Zartman	
2	<b>Negotiating Peace, Piece by Piece:</b> Aspects, Dynamics and Patterns of Peace Processes	John Paul Lederach, <i>The Moral Imagination</i> (Oxford Unity Press, 2005), ch. 5 "On Peace Accords," pp. 41-49  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  Lotta Harbom, Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts: 1946-2009," <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> , vol. 47, no. 4 (2010): 501-509	
3	<b>Ending Violence:</b>	<i>Accord</i> vol. 17 (2005) <a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/nagorny-">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/nagorny-</a>	

	<b>Armenia &amp; Azerbaijan</b>	<a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/karabakh/index.php">karabakh/index.php</a> CP, Chs. 2, 3	
4	<b>Getting Parties to the Table: Ecuador &amp; Peru</b>	CP, Chs. 5, 6, 7 BCN, Ch. 2  A. Wanis-St. John, "Third Party Mediation over Kashmir: A Modest Proposal," <i>International Peacekeeping</i> vol. 4, no. 4 (1997): 1-30  David Scott Palmer, "Overcoming the Weight of History: 'Getting to Yes' in the Peru-Ecuador Border Dispute," <i>Diplomacy and Statecraft</i> , vol. 12, no. 2 (June 2001), pp. 29-47	
5	<b>Issues and Structure: DRC and the Great Lakes</b>	<i>Accord</i> , vol. 9 (2000) <a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sierra-leone/index.php">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sierra-leone/index.php</a>  Patricia Daley, "Challenges to peace: conflict resolution in the Great Lakes region of Africa." <i>Third World Quarterly</i> vol. 27, no. 2 (2006): pp. 303-319  William Lacy Swing, Special Representative of the Secretary-General 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 available at <a href="http://www.monuc.org/downloads/wswing_usip_en.pdf">http://www.monuc.org/downloads/wswing_usip_en.pdf</a>	
6	<b>Unity vs. Fragmentation: Sudan</b>	<i>Accord</i> , vol. 18, <a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sudan/index.php">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sudan/index.php</a>  Hugo Slim, "Dithering Darfur: A Preliminary Review of the International Response," <i>International Affairs</i> , vol. 80, no. 5 (October 2004): 811-828	

		<p>Shadrack Wanjala Nasang'o and Godwin Rapando Murunga, "Lack of Consensus on Constitutive Fundamentals: Roots of the Sudanese Civil War and Prospects for Settlement," <i>African and Asian Studies</i>, vol. 4, no. 1/2 (2005): 51-82</p> <p>Lydia Polgreen, U.S. Governor Brokers Truce for Darfur," <i>New York Times</i>, January 11, 2007 [online edition]</p>	
7	<b>Roles of Third Parties as Mediators: Burundi</b>	<p>Mohammed Maundi, I. William Zartman, Gilbert Khadiagala, Kwaku Nuamah, <i>Getting In: Mediators' Entry into the Settlement of Africa's Conflicts</i> (USIP Press, 2006), Ch. 3 "Burundi"</p> <p>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</p> <p>International Crisis Group, <i>Burundi's Peace Process: The Road from Arusha</i> ICG Burundi Report no2, July 20, 1998, available at: <a href="http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400219_20071998.pdf">http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400219_20071998.pdf</a></p>	
8	<b>Civil Society</b>	<p>ICG, <i>Nepal: From People Power to Peace</i> <a href="http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4099&amp;l=1">http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4099&amp;l=1</a></p> <p>BCN, Chs. 4, 5</p> <p>CP, Chs. 8, 9, 10</p> <p>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</p>	
9	<b>Violence</b>	BCN, Ch. 6	

	<b>Resurgent</b>	<p>CP, Ch. 11, 12, 13</p> <p>Anna Höglund, <i>Peace Negotiations In the Shadow of Violence</i> (Martinus Nijhoff, 2008), Ch. 7</p> <p>Bruce Jones, <i>Peacemaking in Rwanda: Dynamics of Failure</i> (Lynne Rienner, 2001), Ch. 4 “Arusha Negotiations”</p>	
10	<b>International and Domestic Justice: Uganda and the war with the LRA</b>	<p><a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/northern-uganda/index.php">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/northern-uganda/index.php</a></p> <p>Interview with Betty Bigombe, to be shown in class</p> <p>Priscilla Hayner, <i>Negotiating Justice: Guidance for Mediators</i> (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, January 2009) accessible at <a href="http://www.hdcentre.org/publications?filter0=61">http://www.hdcentre.org/publications?filter0=61</a></p> <p>CP, Ch. 23</p>	
11	<b>Implementation</b>	<p>CP Chs. 13, 14, 15</p> <p>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)</p> <p>Augustus Richard Norton, “Lebanon After Ta’if: Is the Civil War Over?” <i>Middle East Journal</i>, vol. 45, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 457-473</p>	
12	<b>Roles of Third Parties as</b>	<p>Fen Osler Hampson, <i>Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail</i> (United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996), Ch. 3 Namibia, Ch. 7 The Need to</p>	

	<b>Peacekeepers</b>	Nurture Peace	
13	<b>Building Peace, Changing Cultures</b>	BCN, Ch. 7 CP, Chs. 18, 19, 20	
14	<b>Prospects for Negotiating Peace: Iraq, Afghanistan</b>	CP, Chs. 24 and Conclusion	
April 26, 2011		Final Peace Process Design memoranda due on Blackboard	

Additional resources:

Stephen Farry, “Northern Ireland: Prospects for Progress in 2006?” *USIP Special Report 173*, September 2006, available at <http://www.usip.org/publications/northern-ireland-prospects-progress-2006>

Bruce Matthews, “In Pursuit of an Interim Administration in Sri Lanka’s North and East: Opportunity or Peace Trap?” *The Round Table*, vol. 93, no. 373 (January 2004): 75-94

John Stephen Moolakkattu, “Peace Facilitation by Small States: Norway in Sri Lanka,” *Cooperation and Conflict* vol. 40, no. 4 (2005): 385-402

International Crisis Group, *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)

John Prendergast, “U.S. Leadership in Solving African Conflict: The Case of Ethiopia-Eritrea,” *USIP Special Report no. 74*, September 7, 2001, available at <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr74.html>

- William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Brookings, 1993)
- Laura Zittain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (Indiana University Press, 2010)
- Scott Sigmund Gartner and Jacob Bercovitch, "Overcoming Obstacles to Peace: The Contribution of Mediation to Short-Lived Settlements," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 50, no. 4 (December 2006): 819-840
- Terrence Lyons, *Demilitarizing Politics: Elections on the Uncertain Road to Peace* (Lynne Rienner, 2005)
- George J. Mitchell, *Making Peace* (Alfred Knopf, 1999)
- Paul R. Pillar, *Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process* (Princeton University Press, 1983)
- John M. Richardson Jr. and Jianxin Wang, "Peace Accords: Seeking conflict resolution in deeply divided societies," in K.M. de Silva and S.W.R. de A. Samarasinghe, eds., *Peace Accords and Ethnic Conflict* (International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Sri Lanka: 1993)
- Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds. *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002)

#### *Databases and web-based resources*

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

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

Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School  
<http://www.pon.harvard.edu/>  
Conciliation Resources  
<http://www.c-r.org/>

Public Interest Policy Law Group  
[www.pilpg.org](http://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/>