



Peace Processes in Latin America

SIS-496/696 (section 007)

SPRING 2007, Thursdays 11:20 am-2:00 pm

Class meets in McKinley 204A

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What factors led to negotiated settlements in Central America's three civil wars of the 1980s-90s? Which aspects of peace agreements were, and were not, realized in practice, and why? Were these "successful" peace processes? Why is peace elusive in Colombia's "hot" war and Mexico's "quiet" war? How does war and peace in Latin America relate to democratization? Are the problems of post-war countries symptomatic of flawed peace, flawed democratization, or other social/economic factors? How do peace processes affect women, children and indigenous peoples? What roles do/can the US, the UN, the OAS, or international and national NGOs in the region play in peace processes? How adequate are current frameworks to address social conflicts associated with "radical" populist regimes in the Andes?

This course explores these and other questions through theory and case studies. It briefly examines theories of negotiations and mediation, then recent theoretical works on the implementation of peace agreements. It examines Central American cases, especially El Salvador, in some depth. It then explores the issues surrounding peace in Colombia and Mexico, and explores the social conflicts associated with ethnic identity and socialist initiatives under President Evo Morales in Bolivia.

By the end of the course, I hope that you will

- (a) be able to think theoretically and creatively about the process of reaching and implementing peace agreements, and the issues that peace processes have failed to address;
- (b) improve your analytic skills, able to read texts more critically and to write more persuasively;
- (c) improve your ability to work in a team and to make oral presentations in connection with negotiations over issues of peace;
- (d) have greater knowledge of the key challenges confronting peace activists and scholars in Latin America, and of their antecedents.

Course Requirements & Grading

Readings: Do all of the assigned readings. Otherwise, it will be difficult for you to participate, and you won't get as much out of the discussion. Through Blackboard, the articles and all readings should be available electronically, except for the required books. Please read the articles in the order presented, as I've arranged them with a certain logic in mind.

15%: Oral Presentation to Spark Discussion. One week you will (along with another student) offer an oral presentation designed to stimulate class discussion. The purpose of the presentations is to stimulate discussion through analytic points and questions based on the issues raised by the week's readings. The presentation should NOT summarize the readings! (regurgitation results in an automatic "C".) Instead it should indicate some combination of: the most important findings, points of divergence and convergence, relation to theories or arguments found earlier in the course, assessment of how compelling the arguments were, weaknesses in the argument, and/or reasons why a reading is useful for shaping how we look at conflict/peace. Each presentation should include 3 questions for class discussion. On Week 2, you will all sign up for the weeks of your choice (please bring back-up preferences). Each presentation cannot exceed 7 minutes (per person).

15%: Reading Review (same week as oral presentation – 5 pages double-spaced). This oral presentation will be accompanied by a 5-page reading review of that week's readings. The purpose and content of the review is DIFFERENT from the oral presentation (but of course related). This is intended to help you read and write more critically and persuasively. If you wish to score well, you should go to my personal webpage and click on the appropriate links for "critical reviews"! Below is a quick summary of those more complete guidelines:

- (a) Provide an analysis of the readings / book, not a description. But provide enough information so that someone who has not read it is not lost. This is an art, and difficult.
- (b) Be critical – even if you end up agreeing with the author and liking the reading. Perhaps this means being critical of others...
- (c) Make an argument! The argument will be based on:
 - a. Statement of the author's purpose
 - b. Assessment of how well the purpose is achieved
 - c. Evidence supporting your assessment
- (d) Base your argument on what is there, not on what you wish were there.
- (e) Quote with care.
- (f) Structure your paper with a brief introductory and concluding paragraph.

Please submit your review (and all assignments) electronically as an attachment in Word (format: Firstname Lastname Memo/Review/Whatever.doc) to me (call@american.edu). Make sure that your name is on the paper and that pages are numbered please!

20%: Analytic background memo on Colombian conflict and negotiations (7 double-spaced pages). In preparation for the simulated negotiations, you will prepare a mock memo for the newly (let's pretend) reappointed Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Colombia. It will be due the Sunday (April 1, at 5 pm) before the simulation. This memo will be your own analysis (not related to your role in the simulation) and should reflect research and be footnoted, as a mini-research paper. It will answer specific questions in approximately 1/2 to one-page each (provided later). Students who have taken my 'Human Rights in Latin America' class will have a different assignment: a 7-page paper on a particular actor in the conflict or on an aspect of the Colombian to be determined in discussions with me.

10%: Performance in Simulated Negotiations. We will (during class one week) conduct a simulated negotiation session (role-play) aimed at reaching a comprehensive peace agreement with all armed groups in Colombia. Each student will be assigned / select a role for the simulation well in advance, and conduct research on that role.

Roles include:

The Government & Armed Forces	FARC / ELN
Paramilitaries	Group of Friends
United Nations (Dept of Political Affairs, OHCHR, UNHCR)	
Catholic Church	Civil Society Coordinadora
Colombian Human Rts groups	US government
Colombian Youth Movement	Colombian Women's Council
Afro-Colombian Organization	Colombian Indigenous Coordinadora

Your grade will reflect your oral performance during the simulated negotiation (further details on the role-play will be provided later). This means how well you articulate and defend your position, drawing on materials and documents as needed (i.e., based on doing your homework), and how accurately you play your role.

10%: Position Paper for Simulated Negotiations. 10% of your course grade is based on a 2-page single-spaced public position paper due the Tuesday (April 3, 5 pm) before the Simulated Negotiations. That position paper will signal what your main concerns are to the other folks around the table, helping you achieve your negotiating goals. It should not include your private strategies or tactics or misgivings. It will reflect your role.

30%: Research Paper on Topic Related to Peace Process in a Given Latin American Case(s). Almost one-third of your grade will be based on a research paper, to draw heavily on published sources (i.e., don't just look up stuff on the internet!) on a given topic to be decided by Wednesday March 28 with my approval. The topic can be related to any aspect of peace processes, including on wartime preparations for peace, negotiations, or post-conflict topics, and any aspect that relates to these (e.g., civil society, human rights, private sector, ethnic identity, gender, children, DDR, governance, democratization, economic policies). The paper must be 18-20 pages in length, double-spaced.

Class Participation: Attendance is mandatory, and class participation in this graduate seminar is important. If you wish assistance in enhancing your participation, please let me know. More than one absence or lack of thoughtful participation in classroom discussions will lower your grade by one letter grade (possibly more for more absences). Conversely, clearly positive (in quality, not necessarily quantity) participation will boost your grade.

Late Assignment Penalties. I do not accept late papers without penalty except in case of genuine emergency (health, family death). If you are more than five minutes late submitting an assignment, then your paper will be downgraded by 1/3 letter grade (e.g., B+ to B). If your paper is more than two hours late, then it will be downgraded 2/3 letter grade (e.g., B+ to B-). If the paper is more than 24 hours late, then the paper is downgraded a full letter grade. After 24 hours past deadline, you should contact me about the assignment. I do not accept papers that are over 72 hours late without discussion & special exception.

Required Texts:

Beatriz Manz, *Paradise in Ashes: A Guatemalan Journey of Courage, Terror, and Hope* (Berkeley, CA: UC Press, 2004).

Cynthia Arnson, *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1999).

Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens (eds.) *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002.

Week 1 (Jan 18): Introduction to the course: Syllabus & Video

- Video: *Crisis in Central America, part 4 "Battle for El Salvador"* WGBH-TV, 1985. (60 mins.) VHS 5519

Week 2 (Jan. 25): Understanding the Context: War on the Micro-level in Guatemala

- Beatriz Manz, *Paradise in Ashes: A Guatemalan Journey of Courage, Terror, and Hope* (Berkeley, CA: UC Press, 2004).

Week 3 (Feb. 1) Issues in Peace Processes I: Definitions and Negotiations Theory

- William I. Zartman, "Conflict Management: The Long and the Short of It," *SAIS Review* 20.1 (2000) 227-235.
 - *This brief review is included because of the big picture issues it raises: the short-term "negotiators" vs the longer-term "dialoguists," and the weakness of this (and many other) distinctions or claims about the "right way" to get to peace.*
- Daniel Druckman, "Negotiating in the International Context," in William Zartman & Lewis Rasmussen, *Peacemaking in International Conflict* (USIP Press, 1997), pp. 81-124.
 - *This piece is the main overview in this course of different hypotheses & schools or thought/approaches to negotiations. Take notes – try to organize these into categories that you can remember.*
- Jacob Bercovitch, "Mediation in International Conflict: An Overview of Theory, A Review of Practice," in Zartman & Rasmussen, *Peacemaking in International Conflict* (USIP Press, 1997), pp. 125-154.
 - *Discusses the who, why and what of "mediation".*
- Cynthia Arnson, "Introduction," *Comparative Peace Processes*, pp. 1-29.
 - *Note the definition of "peace processes," plus context provided and distinctions among cases.*

Week 4 (Feb. 8): War and Peacemaking in El Salvador

- Carlos Acevedo, “Historical Background to the Conflict” in James Boyce (ed), *Economic Policy for Building Peace: The Lessons of El Salvador* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. 19-30.
 - *An Economic Perspective on the Causes of War (& Peace?)*
- Elisabeth J. Wood, Chapter 3, “The Structural Foundation of a Pact: The Transformation of Elite Interests,” *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in El Salvador & South Africa* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2000), pp. 52-77.
 - *Peace due to changing economic structure: Does Wood allow for agency?*
- Terry Lynn Karl, “El Salvador’s Negotiated Revolution,” *Foreign Affairs* Spring 1992, pp. 147-164.
- Alvaro de Soto, “Ending Violent Conflict in El Salvador,” in Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Herding Cats* (USIP Press, 1999), pp. 349-385.
 - *In his own words, from one of the rock stars of int’l mediation. Some think he was responsible for peace. What does he seem to think? What theories from Druckman apply?*

Week 5 (Feb. 15): Issues in Peace Processes II: Implementation of Peace Accords

- Stephen Stedman, “Introduction” (1-40), in *Ending Civil Wars*
 - *Probably the best review of the post-conflict implementation literature available. Clarify different approaches in your mind.*
- George Downs and Stephen Stedman, “Evaluation Issues in Peace Implementation,” in *Ending Civil Wars*, pp. 43-70.
 - *What entails “success” in peacebuilding? Accord implementation?*
- Roland Paris, “The Limits of Wilsonianism,” Chapter 9, *At War’s End*, pp. 151-178.
 - *Paris’ is a coherent critique of the liberal “Wilsonian” approach to post-war peacebuilding. What are alternatives? Rejoinders?*
- We will divvy up the following 5 chapters: 2 chapters each:
 - 6. Joanna Spear, “Disarmament and Demobilization,” 141-182.
 - 7. Susan Woodward, “Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation,” pp. 183-214.
 - 9. Tonya Putnam, “Human Rights and Sustainable Peace,” 237-272.
 - 12. John Prendergast and Emily Plumb, “Building Local Capacity” 327-352, all of these four chapters from *Ending Civil Wars*.
 - Priscilla Hayner, “In pursuit of Justice and Reconciliation: Contributions of Truth-Telling,” plus de Soto’s “Reflections,” both from Arnson’s *Comparative Peace Processes*, 363-388.

- *Based on cases in and outside Latin America, these chapters address different issue areas in post-conflict peacebuilding. How might they be more or less relevant to Colombia, e.g., or Bolivia or Mexico in 2006?*

Week 6 (Feb. 22): Peace Implementation in Central America: Regional Perspectives

- Hemisphere Initiatives, *War and Peace in Central America: Comparing Transitions toward Democracy and Social Equity in Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua* (November 2004), 97 pp!
 - *Useful overview of status of peace processes in 2004, issue by issue, country by country, very accessible. Do authors implicitly embrace any theoretical approach?*

Optional: Jack Child, "External Actors: The UN and the OAS," in Thomas W. Walker & Areil C. Armony (eds), *Repression, Resistance and Democratic Transition in Central America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000), pp. 165-185.

- *Coherent, view on UN & OAS roles (by AU faculty!). Is it too uncritical?*

Week 7 (Mar. 1): Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in El Salvador

- Charles Call, "Assessing El Salvador's Transition from Civil War to Peace," *Ending Civil Wars*, pp. 383-420.
- Alvaro de Soto and Graciana del Castillo, "Obstacles to Peace," *Foreign Policy* Spring 1994.
- Roland Paris, "Nicaragua, El Salvador, & Guatemala: Reproducing the Sources of Conflict," Chapter 7 *At War's End*, pp. 112-134.
- Irina Carlota Silber, "Mothers/Fighters/Citizens: Violence and Disillusionment in Post-War El Salvador," *Gender & History*, 16, 3 (Nov 2004), p. 561-587.

Week 8 (Mar. 8): Peacemaking and Peacebuilding in Guatemala

- Dinorah Azpuru, "Peace and Democratization in Guatemala: Two Parallel Processes," and Balconi's "Reflections," in Arnson's *Comparative Peace Processes*, 97-128.
- William Stanley and David Holiday, "Broad Participation, Diffuse Responsibility: Peace Implementation in Guatemala," *Ending Civil Wars* pp. 421-462.
- Mark Peceny and William Stanley, "Liberal Social Reconstruction and the Resolution of Civil Wars in Central America," *International Organization*, 55, 1, Winter 2001, pp. 149-182.

- Roger Plant, “Indigenous Identity and Rights in the Guatemalan Peace Process,” Chapter 11 in Arnson, *Comparative Peace Processes*, pp. 319-338.

SPRING BREAK (Mar. 15) NO CLASS

Week 9 (Mar. 22) War and Peacemaking in Colombia

- Read some basic primers on the Colombian internal armed conflict:
On the combatants in detail: <http://www.ciponline.org/colombia/infocombat.htm>
On human rights issues: <http://www.hrw.org/doc?t=americas&c=colomb>
Others TBA
- Marc Chernick’s Appendix in Arnson, pp. 196-200.
- Marc Chernick, “Negotating Peace Amid Multiple Forms of Violence,” plus Bejarano’s “Reflections,” in Cynthia Arnson, *Comparative Peace Processes*. Pp. 159-195, 201-204.
- Adam Isaacson, “Was Failure Avoidable: Learning from Colombia’s 1998-2002 Peace Process,” North-South Center Dialogue, available at www.ciponline.org

Week 10 (Mar. 29): Peace and Instability in Nicaragua

- Rose J. Spalding, “From Low-Intensity Conflict to Low-Intensity Peace: The Nicaraguan Peace Process,” and “Reflections” by Alejandro Bendana,” in Arnson, pp. 31-68.
- Robert Pastor, *Not Condemned to Repetition*, Chaps 14-17.

Week 11 (Apr. 5) Simulation: A Global Accord for Peace in Colombia

- N. Richani, “The Politics of Negotiating Peace in Colombia,” *NACLA Report on the Americas* May/June 2005, 38, 6 pp. 17-23.
- Cynthia Arnson and Teresa Whitfield, “Third Parties in Peace Negotiations: The Case of Colombia,” in *Grasping the Nettle*.
- William Aviles, “Institutions, Military Policy and Human Rights in Colombia,” *Latin American Perspectives* 28, 1 (June 2001), pp. 31-55.

- Renata Rendon, “Diary of a Massacre,” *NACLA Report on the Americas* Mar/Apr 2006, 39, 5 pp. 8-13.

Week 12 (Apr. 12) Ceasefire without Peace: Mexico

- Neil Harvey, “The Peace Process in Chiapas: Between Hope and Frustration,” plus “Reflections” by M. Conroy in Arnson’s *Comparative Peace Processes*, pp. 129-158.
- Nicholas P. Higgins, “Mexico’s Stalled Peace Process: Prospects and Challenges,” *International Affairs* 77,4 (2001), pp. 885-903.
- Luis Hernandez Navarro, “Between Memory and Forgetting: Memory, Guerrillas, the Indigenous Movement and Legal Reform in the Time of the Zapatistas,” in Arnson’s *Comparative Peace Processes*, pp. 297-318.
- Diego Cevallos, “Mexico: Zapatistas Aren’t the Only Armed Group Ready for Action,” Global Information Network, New York, 13 July 2005, p. 1.

Week 13 (Apr. 19) Indigenous Empowerment and Peacebuilding in Bolivia

- David Rieff, “Che’s Second Coming,” *New York Times Magazine* November 20, 2005, 7 pp.
- Donna Lee Van Cott, 'A Political Analysis of Legal Pluralism in Bolivia and Colombia,' *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32 (2000), pp. 207-234.
- Nick Winer, “Co-Management of Protected Areas, the Oil and Gas Industries, and Indigenous Empowerment: The Experience of Bolivia’s Kaa Iya del Gran Chaco,” in *Policy Matters* 12 (Sept 2003), pp. 11-21 of the pdf document posted!
 - Available (only pp. 11-21!) at <http://www.uicn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/newsletter/PM12%20-%20Section%20III.3.pdf>
- Sections on Bolivia in International Crisis Group, “Coca, Drugs and Social Protest in Bolivia and Peru,” 3 March 2005, Washington, DC. Read only executive summary and sections pertinent to Bolivia (which involves skimming the report and focusing more on Bolivia sections).

Week 14 (Apr. 26) More Readings on Bolivia

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