



AMERICAN UNIVERSITY  
WASHINGTON, DC

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**SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE**  
**International Peace & Conflict Resolution**

**Comparative Peace Processes**  
SIS 494/696-021 Spring 2007

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Class meetings: Tues 5:30pm-8:00pm

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Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice.

*-Baruch Spinoza*

The only alternative to coexistence is codestruction.

*-Jawaharlal Nehru*

There never was a good war or a bad peace.

*-Benjamin Franklin*

Am I not destroying my enemies when I make friends of them?

*-Abraham Lincoln*

Peace is not only better than war, but infinitely more arduous

*-George Bernard Shaw*

There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized peace

*-Woodrow Wilson*

**Overview:**

This course seeks to increase our learning about the optimal negotiation of peace processes. To do so, will examine peace process negotiations that have failed, those that seem to be succeeding, and those whose outcome remains unclear. To do so, we must understand negotiation and bargaining, including how to conceptualize an optimal negotiation. Also of critical importance, we must distinguish peace process negotiations from other peacemaking activities and other kinds of negotiations in the international sphere. Peace processes are negotiations that are typically far more complex than any other kind of international negotiation. First of all, the primary goal of outside intervenors (mediators) and sometimes, of the conflict parties involves the ambitious transformation of violent, militarized conflict and the transition to ‘normal’ politics.

But just getting to the negotiation table is a strategic and bargaining problem. 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 or confused of the next moves and their implications. They have spent time trying to annihilate each other or just survive, physically and politically. They have complicated internal constituencies and extremists hoping to upset any accommodation. 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 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 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.

Peace processes involve bargaining between the principal conflict parties and among their own factions and constituencies, and sometimes involve outside intervenors who want to mediate among the parties. Thus, a course on peace processes benefits from knowledge of both international negotiation and international mediation. 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. Cases from the last three decades of peace negotiations will be analyzed in depth.

Some of the analytical variables that will be explored in the course include the dynamic of who was included and excluded from the negotiation table, the issues covered or left unaddressed, the problems resolved or deferred, the negotiation process choices used, and numerous others.

***Complementary courses, prerequisites:***

There is no formal prerequisite for the course, but students who have not taken SIS-611, *International Negotiation*, will wish to obtain supplementary readings at the beginning of the course. See below for preliminary readings. This course builds on SIS-611, *International Negotiation*, which 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). This course also complements other IPCR courses, such as SIS 596.002, *International Mediation And Problem Solving*, which focuses on the entry, roles and impacts of mediation and other external party activities that can be employed in armed conflicts and political crises. Finally, the course nicely complements SIS-596.004, *Peace Processes in Latin America*, which focuses more on the peacebuilding aspects and less on the negotiation of peace. This course will not cover cases covered in the latter course, although some themes and concepts serve as a common foundation.

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

The course is designed to enrich the SIS-IPCR stream of courses in International Negotiation. It 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 is no longer the exclusive domain of political or military officials. International organizations, civil society leaders, local and international NGOs, humanitarian workers, development consultants, religious communities, and so many others purposefully and strategically try to impact the negotiation and implementation of peace.

***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 the memorizing of details and material. "B": Ability to explain how certain issues and events are related to one another according to explanations currently held in the field. It reflects the ability to use the interpretive skill of seeing the relationships between events and theories. Here one knows not just the results or conclusions of methods or theories in a subject, but can summarize or reproduce the arguments and logic by which these results were achieved. "A": Demonstration of independent analysis, original insight, or

creativity (an analytical approach). Such level could be reached through critical examination of the theories and concepts of peace negotiations, synthesis of various approaches, dilemmas and problems, application of these to cases generally, and the ability to analyze specific cases in order to derive more general knowledge. Insight into the gaps of learning in the field, as well as opportunities for future learning from research, reflection and practice are also inherent in the latter group.

***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.

***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.

***Peace Process Negotiation Simulation:*** the course is centered around a major peace process negotiation simulation that evolves and unfolds across the entire semester. 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. Additionally, I am tentatively planning a full day simulation to be conducted in collaboration with the United States Institute of Peace

***Student Research:*** a medium-length research paper totaling forty pages and 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 end of the course. Each paper will be the result of intense teamwork and will be the collective, original product of a small group of 4 students. 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.

***Guests and Visits:*** International peace process negotiators are difficult to get hold of, yet we will strive to invite a select few to a phone, video or on-site visit. We will coordinate a visit to the United States Institute of Peace to learn about its involvement in peacemaking, negotiation, practice and research

***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 abebooks.com :

Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela R. Aall, *Taming Intractable Conflict* (USIP Press, 2004) [TIC in this syllabus]

John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty, eds., *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict Violence and Peace Processes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) [CP 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/accord/index.php>]

### **Preliminary**

### **Readings**

Students who have previously taken SIS-611, 607, 609 or 596.002 or 596.004 (described above) or any other substantial conflict resolution or negotiation course, there is no need for you to do any preliminary readings. For all others, the following readings should be carefully done in preparation for the course:

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

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

Saadia Touval and I. William Zartman, "International Mediation in the Post Cold-War World," in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela R. Aall, eds., *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (USIP Press, 2001)

Session Date	Topic	Readings	Additional Information
1/16/07	Introduction to the course		
1/23	<b>Negotiating Peace, Piece by Piece:</b> Aspects, Dynamics and Patterns of Peace Processes	<p>John Paul Lederach, <i>The Moral Imagination</i> (Oxford Unity Press, 2005), ch. 5 “On Peace Accords,” pp. 41-49</p> <p>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</p> <p>Lotta Harbom, Stina Hogbladh, Peter Wallensteen, “Armed Conflict and Peace Agreements,” <i>Journal of Peace Research</i>, vol. 43, no. 5 (2006): 617-631</p>	
1/30	<b>Inter-state Peace Processes:</b> Egypt & Israel, Ecuador & Peru Ethiopia & Eritrea	<p>William Quandt, <i>Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967</i> (Brookings, 1993), pp. 255-331, 560-565</p> <p>TIC, Chs 1, 5-9</p> <p>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</p> <p>CP, Introduction and ch. 2</p> <p>John Prendergast, “U.S. Leadership in Solving African Conflict: The Case of Ethiopia-Eritrea,” <i>USIP Special Report</i> no. 74, September 7, 2001, available at <a href="http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr74.html">http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr74.html</a></p>	

2/6	<b>Sectarian Strife:</b> Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Cyprus	<p><i>Accord</i> vol. 8 (1999) <a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/northern-ireland/contents.php">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/northern-ireland/contents.php</a></p> <p>Stephen Farry, “Northern Ireland: Prospects for Progress in 2006?” USIP Special Report 173, September 2006, available at <a href="http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr173.html">http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr173.html</a></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>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>	
2/13	<b>Ethnic and Internal Wars:</b> Armenia & Azerbaijan	<p><i>Accord</i> vol. 17 (2005) <a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/nagorny-karabakh/index.php">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/nagorny-karabakh/index.php</a></p> <p>CP, Chs. 5-11</p>	
2/20	Georgia & Abkhazia	<p><i>Accord</i> vol. 7 (1999) <a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/georgia-abkhazia/index.php">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/georgia-abkhazia/index.php</a></p> <p>Public Interest Law Group, Peace Agreement Drafter’s Handbook, <a href="http://www.publicinternationallaw.org/areas/peacebuilding/peacehandbook/index.html">http://www.publicinternationallaw.org/areas/peacebuilding/peacehandbook/index.html</a></p>	
2/27	No class	ISA Convention, class to be rescheduled	

3/6	Sierra Leone, DRC	<p><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></p> <p>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</p> <p>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></p>	
3/20	Uganda	<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>	
3/27	Burundi	<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>International Crisis Group, <i>Burundi’s Peace Process: The Road from Arusha</i> ICG Burundi Report no. 2, 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> <p>International Crisis Group, <i>Burundi After Six Months Of Transition: Continuing The War Or Winning Peace?</i> Africa Report no. 46, May 24, 2002, available at <a href="http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400667_24052002.pdf">http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400667_24052002.pdf</a></p>	
4/3	Nepal	<p>ICG, <i>Nepal: From People Power to Peace</i></p> <p><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>	
4/10	Sudan	<p>Accord 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></p> <p>Hugo Slim, “Dithering Darfur: A Preliminary Review of the International Response,”</p>	

		<p><i>International Affairs</i>, vol. 80, no. 5 (October 2004): 811-828</p> <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, accessed January 11, 2007]</p>	
4/17	Palestine-Israel	Anthony Wanis-St. John, "Back Channel Negotiation: International Bargaining in the Shadows," <i>Negotiation Journal</i> , vol. 22, no. 2 (April 2006): 119-144	
4/24	Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka	<p><i>Accord</i> vol. 6 (1999) <a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/philippines-mindanao/contents.php">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/philippines-mindanao/contents.php</a></p> <p><i>Accord</i> vol. 4 (1998) <a href="http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sri-lanka/index.php">http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sri-lanka/index.php</a></p> <p>Bruce Matthews, "In Pursuit of an Interim Administration in Sri Lanka's North and East: Opportunity or Peace Trap?" <i>The Round Table</i>, vol. 93, no. 373 (January 2004): 75-94</p> <p>John Stephen Moolakkattu, "Peace Facilitation by Small States: Norway in Sri Lanka," <i>Cooperation and Conflict</i> vol. 40, no. 4 (2005): 385-402</p> <p><a href="http://www.hdcentre.org/Aceh%2C+Indonesia">http://www.hdcentre.org/Aceh%2C+Indonesia</a></p>	
5/1	Prospects for Negotiating Peace: Iraq, Kosovo, Afghanistan	CP, Chs. 20, 21 and Conclusion	

Additional resources:

Eisenberg, Laura Zittain and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (Indiana University Press, 1998)

Gartner, Scott Sigmund 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

Hampson, Fen Osler, *Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail* (USIP Press, 1996)

Lyons, Terrence, *Demilitarizing Politics: Elections on the Uncertain Road to Peace* (Lynne Rienner, 2005)

Mitchell, George J., *Making Peace* (Alfred Knopf, 1999)

Pillar, Paul R., *Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process* (Princeton University Press, 1983)

Richardson Jr., John M. 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)

Stedman, Stephen John, 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.pcr.uu.se/database/index.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/>