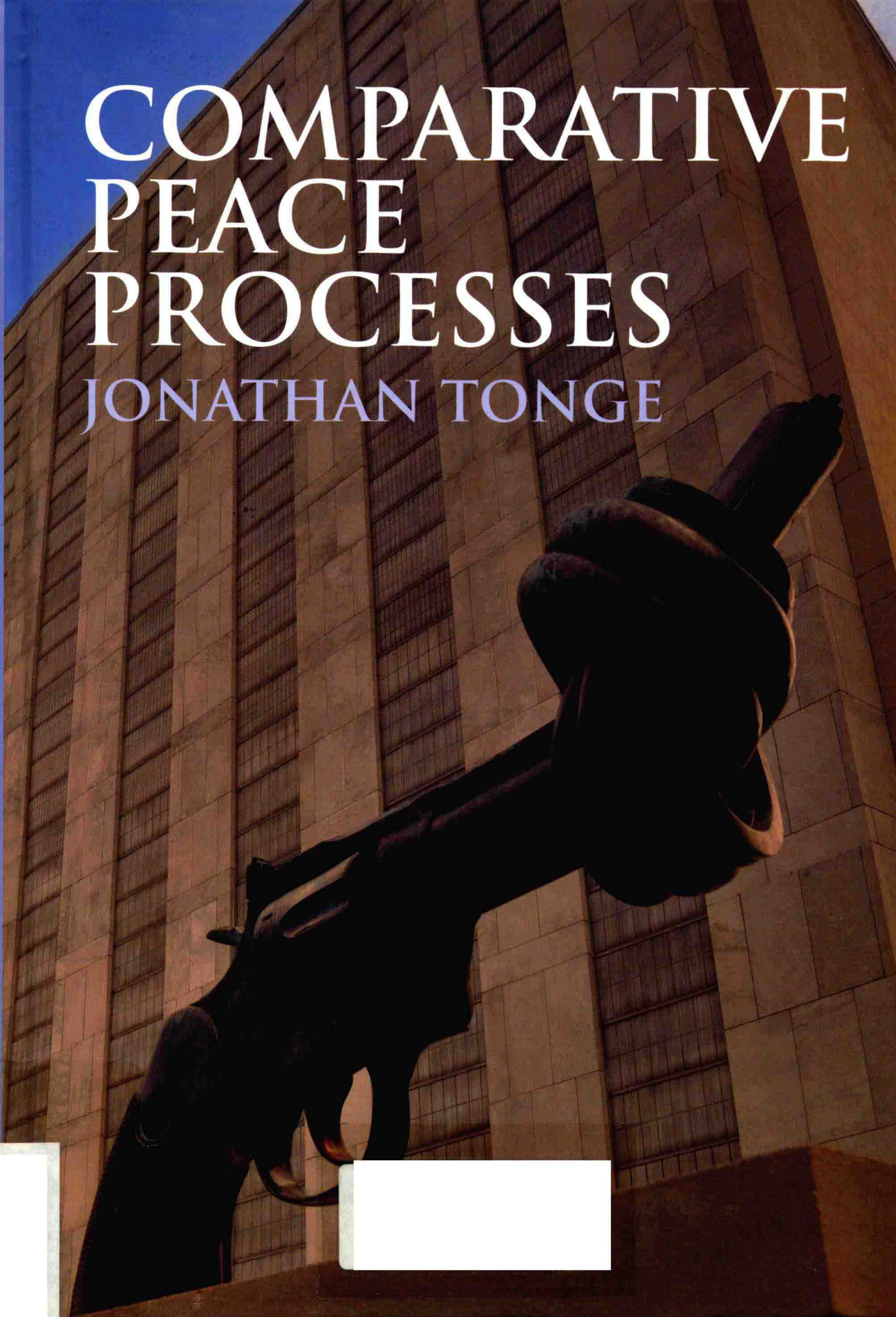
COMPARATIVE PEACE PROCESSES

JONATHAN TONGE



Comparative Peace Processes

JONATHAN TONGE

polity

First published in 2014 by Polity Press

Polity Press
65 Bridge Street
Cambridge CB2 1UR, UK

Polity Press
350 Main Street
Malden, MA 02148, USA

ISBN-13: 978-0-7456-4289-5
ISBN-13: 978-0-7456-4290-1(pb)

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Typeset in 9.5 on 13 pt Swift Light by
Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire
Printed and bound in Great Britain by Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

For further information on Polity, visit our website: www.politybooks.com

Comparative Peace Processes

Acknowledgements

A large number of debts have been incurred in the publication of this book, but I particularly wish to thank colleagues in the Department of Politics, the School of Histories, Cultures and Languages and the Sydney Jones Library at the University of Liverpool, for offering an environment conducive to research. Polity has been a very patient publisher and I thank them for their generosity. Researching and writing the book has taken a considerable period at the expense of quality time with Maria, Joseph, Frances and Connell. I am very grateful to my family for their considerable forbearance, and this book is dedicated to them.

Abbreviations

AIPAC	American Israeli Public Affairs Committee
AMODEG	Mozambican Association of the War Demobilized
ANC	African National Congress
CIRA	Continuity Irish Republican Army
DDR	Demilitarization, demobilization and reintegration
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
EA	Basque Solidarity
EAE-ANV	Basque Nationalist Action
EHAK	Communist Party of the Basque Homelands
ELA	Basque Workers Solidarity
ELN	National Liberation Army (Colombia)
ETA	Basque Homeland and Freedom
FALANTIL	Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces (Colombia)
FMLN	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (El Salvador)
GAL	Anti-Terrorist Liberation Group
GDP	Gross domestic product
GFA	Good Friday Agreement
GNP	Gross National Product
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union
HET	Historical Enquiries Team
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IFOR	Implementation Force
IPKF	Indian Peacekeeping Force
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JVP	People's Liberation Front (Sri Lanka)
KAS	Patriotic Socialist Coordination (Basque Country)
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KPNLF	Khmer People's National Liberation Front
LAB	Nationalist Workers Committee
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MPLA	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PDK	Party of Democratic Kampuchea

PIC	Peace Implementation Council
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party
PNU	Party of National Unity
PNV	Basque Nationalist Party
PP	People's Party
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
PSOE	Spanish Socialist Workers Party
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
RIRA	Real Irish Republican Army
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary
SDA	Party of Democratic Action
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party
SFOR	Stabilization Force
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
TELO	Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization
TNA	Tamil National Alliance
TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front
UFF	Ulster Freedom Fighters
UN	United Nations
UNF	United National Front
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force
UNITA	National Union for the Independence of Angola
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force

About the Author

Jonathan Tonge is Professor of Politics at the University of Liverpool and a former Chair and President of the Political Studies Association of the UK. He has published 14 books and more than 50 journal articles and chapters, mainly on political aspects of peace processes and conflict, including pieces in *Political Psychology*, *Party Politics*, *West European Politics*, *Political Studies*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Irish Political Studies*, *Representation*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *Nations and Nationalism* and the *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. His 2010 book on *Former Prisoners and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland*, co-authored with Peter Shirlow, Jim McAuley and Catherine McGlynn, won the Political Studies Association of Ireland prize for the Politics book of the year. Professor Tonge has completed six Economic and Social Research Council and two Leverhulme Trust funded projects over the last decade.

Contents

Introduction

Recent decades have seen the growth of the term 'peace process' to describe the often protracted period of ceasefires, negotiations, settlement and implementation of deals designed to achieve peace. The proliferation of peace processes does not herald a more peaceful geopolitical environment. Many peace processes end in failure, some catastrophically, but their expansion does highlight the capacity and desire for peace-building. The persistence of wars has been accompanied by burgeoning attempts to ameliorate conflict via processes embracing mitigation, conciliation and reconciliation, increasingly via third-party intervention. Realist perspectives will continue to point to the anarchic nature of the world system, shaped by nations having permanent interests rather than enduring allies, maintaining the inevitability of war. They point to the mediocre record of peace processes as hopes against history or actuality. Longitudinal examination of conflicts demonstrates that peace processes offer only a modest record in solving conflict. Nonetheless, there is tentative evidence that this record is improving and that peacemaking and peacekeeping capacities are becoming more adept. Successful peace processes have now been developed in every region of the world (Wallensteen 2011). It is necessary to explain how and why this progression is evident.

This book undertakes a number of tasks, adopting a distinctive analytical approach. It marries analysis of the growth of peace processes, assessment of the tools of conflict management and analysis of the increasing importance of post-conflict restorative justice with a series of case studies. Whilst comprehensive coverage of all peace processes is obviously impossible, this book chooses a particular selection of the most successful processes in terms of reductions in violence, such as those in Bosnia and Northern Ireland and the most unsuccessful, such as in Sri Lanka, which had a catastrophic end, and that in Palestine, bereft of any obvious chance of political success. The book thus avoids the possible trap of choosing winners and readily acknowledges the limitations of even the most successful processes. Thus alongside the major political progress in the Bosnian and Northern Irish cases there has been only modest societal reintegration. A key feature of the book is its detailed exploration of consociational power-sharing as a means of conflict management. Given the shift in conflict away from inter-state to intra-state forms and the predominance of inter-ethnic rivalries, power-sharing between antagonists has become a key tool of diverting conflict into politics. The focus

on consociation does not make great claims for its success and acknowledges its limitations, but stresses its importance as a model now regularly deployed, one which can be re-defined according to circumstance to at least have some utility.

In undertaking this combination of universal and local conflict analysis, this book assesses the growth of peace processes and considers their sequencing, analysing what might be considered the essential and probable components of successful processes. The book explores which types of process succeed and why, discussing key variables such as the nature of conflict – inter- or intra-state; the length of war and the ability to utilize external brokers. The volume also examines the rise of a wide range of measures designed to offer a fair political settlement to antagonists. It considers vexed problems of implementing peace and achieving restorative and retributive justice for different groups, ranging from families of victims to war criminals. The focus of the work is upon the political tools available to broker, implement and maintain peace. The book is deliberately aimed at the politics of peace processes, not upon the military aspects of conflict which pre-date (and often accompany) peace processes.

In attempting these tasks, the book is divided into two sections. The first outlines the development of peace processes. Chapter 1 begins with an assessment of the growth of the term 'peace process' and explores its usefulness weighed against realist assumptions of the ubiquity of violence, empirical evidence of the persistence of conflict and the failure of a majority of peace processes. The chapter highlights the rise of peace processes amid the partial displacement of inter-state wars by intra-state conflict and discusses which type of conflict may be easier to settle. The chapter examines the common sequencing of peace processes, from secret talks to ceasefires, implementation and future prevention. The essential and useful features of peace processes are identified and the relative importance of endogenous and exogenous factors considered.

Chapter 2 begins with a critical assessment of ideas of ripeness for peace, contending that asymmetry may be as liable to yield peace as a supposedly mutual hurting stalemate. The chapter then examines the utility of various political prescriptions applied to conflict arenas, including consociation, partition, secession and devolution. Amid a growth in ethno-national conflicts around issues of identity, the chapter assesses the extent to which power-sharing deals based upon proportionality for ethnic pillars can endure, amid sectarian retrenchment and polarization.

Chapter 3 looks at the difficulties of implementing peace processes. The chapter examines the capabilities of United Nations peacekeeping forces in physically preventing re-ignition of conflict and assesses how reconstruction can take place after war. It then turns to an exploration of the psychological healing attempted as the denouement of peace processes, via such mechanisms as truth and reconciliation commissions. It contrasts the 'soft' approach

of truth commissions with the 'hard' retributive ending of war crimes trials.

The second section of the book offers empirical scrutiny of a selection of peace processes of recent decades. There is little point in merely selecting the most recent or the most dated such processes, but much greater value in analysing how the modus operandi of peace processes have varied across different types of conflict and across time. Moreover, to select peace processes which appear to have worked would offer scant value. As such, the case studies include some deemed broadly successful; others far less able to resolve underlying problems and an example of one which collapsed amid slaughter precipitated by the successful pursuit of victory by one side.

Chapter 4 analyses the peace process in Palestine. It assesses the scope for dilution of the territorial claims (infused to different degrees by religious perspectives) of Eretz Israel or a full Palestinian state based on pre-1948 borders. The chapter focuses upon fundamentalist Israeli and Palestinian (Hamas) political-religious narratives. It examines the failure of previous attempts at conflict management, assessing whether blame was attributable primarily to the structure of the deals or the flaws of the agents. The chapter concentrates particularly upon the false hope of the Oslo Agreement of the 1990s and explores whether territorial boundaries can ever be agreed for the much-vaunted two-state solution.

Chapter 5 assesses the Lebanese peace process which produced the 1989 Ta'if Agreement and discusses the extent to which loyalty to the state of Lebanon has been secured in subsequent decades. The attempts at establishing internal fidelity to 'project Lebanon' and to engage in state-building are discussed in the context of persistent external interference within the Lebanese polity and the development of Hezbollah as a governing force across much of the south of the country.

Chapter 6 examines the Northern Ireland peace process. It explores the extent to which the 1998 Good Friday Agreement secured a definitive peace in establishing consociational power-sharing political structures. The chapter measures the extent to which it has been possible to diminish sectarianism amid institutional recognition of ostensibly competitive Protestant-British-Unionist and Catholic-Irish-Nationalist identities. The persistence of low-level violence via spoiler groups, in the form of 'dissident' IRAs, is also assessed.

Chapter 7 dissects the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It explores the consociational and confederal aspects of the 1995 Dayton Agreement and assesses the contribution of each to freezing ethno-national hostilities between Croats, Serbs and Bosnians. The chapter examines the degree to which reintegration has been evident since the end of hostilities. It discusses the importance of external intervention in forcing and implementing peace, and evaluates how the avoidance of blame inherent in the Dayton deal gradually shifted towards the determined pursuit of war criminals.

The final two chapters examine what happens when peace processes

collapse entirely, amid very different levels of violence, but with the state determined in both cases to ensure the absolute defeat of insurgents without offering any tangible rewards for their rebellion. Chapter 8's exploration of the Basque peace process stretches the label of 'peace process', as what has mainly occurred is a gradual petering out of ETA's violent campaign to achieve an independent Basque homeland. The chapter discusses the Spanish government's pressure upon ETA and also discusses how the government has responded politically to demands for greater Basque autonomy or independence. The various ETA ceasefires are explored in the context of the organization's difficulty in sustaining a credible armed campaign.

Chapter 9, in its dissection of Sri Lanka, shows how a peace process can collapse via a determined onslaught from a state. Here, the promise of peace deals dissipated amid the rout of the Tamil Tigers by the Sinhalese government. The chapter traces the reluctance of both sides to clinch a permanent agreement and assesses whether the Tamils' demand for an independent homeland was ever viable. The denouement of this 'peace process', the destruction of the Tamils, was accompanied by numerous allegations of war crimes against the Sri Lankan forces.

Through its initial comparative approach and the deployment of these case studies, the book attempts to establish the central and peripheral aspects of peace processes. It explores whether the political tools associated with the management of conflict have become more nuanced and successful in, as a minimum requirement, harnessing conflict in new political institutions or constitutional structures. Alternatively, are attempts at managing conflicts through the prism of ethnic identity politics ultimately doomed to failure, as issues of sovereignty and territory continue to preoccupy antagonists?

CHAPTER ONE

The Concept of a Peace Process

Peace studies have grown in scope and depth since the Second World War. Peace research has historical roots in the field of international relations and retains the multi-disciplinary focus of that discipline, but has developed a wider remit than inter-state relationships and conflict. Peace research offers a holistic approach to the prevention of conflict and maintenance of peace. Cross-national attempts at formulating international peace are not new; the Hague Peace Conference was held at the end of the nineteenth century, but peace research was piecemeal and uncoordinated during the first half of the twentieth century.

The late 1950 and 1960s saw a collectivization of peace research, via the formation of organizations such as the Peace Research Institute Oslo, the Conference on Peace Research in History and the International Peace Research Association (see Van den Dungen and Wittner 2003). By the 1970s, peace studies had expanded vastly in scope and size, reflected in the growth of research institutes, the launch of academic journals such as the *Journal of Peace Research*, the creation of university departments and appointments of peace scholars. Allied to the importance of the research conducted, these developments facilitated a growth in confidence within the field, to the point where peace research was claimed as a discipline in its own right (Boulding 1978a). Central to the development of peace research has been the belief that scholarly research can have practical application, contributing to the management or resolution of conflict. Within the field of peace studies, deployment of the term 'peace process' is fairly recent, but has become extensive. The label has become an often unsatisfactory catch-all badge for episodic or sustained attempts at resolving conflicts.

As the world order shifted from a West versus East paradigm before the close of the twentieth century, local wars and intra-state civil conflicts assumed greater prominence. Such conflicts had always existed, but they became the subjects of greater focus and intensified peacemaking efforts, amid the demise of the rigidities of the old bipolar geopolitical perspective which had dominated much post-1945 thinking. Although the focus on regional conflict was soon accompanied by a global 'war on terror', the concept of peace processes continued to embed. The unfreezing of the old United States versus Soviet Union, West versus East, inter-bloc hostility facilitated a focus on other inter- and intra-state and inter-communal conflicts. The thawing of Cold War

hostilities encouraged fresh thinking about war and terrorism, allowing the 'superpowers' greater influence in brokering peace beyond their boundaries, rather than using countries as proxies for the pursuit of inter-bloc enmities. It is within that context that the term 'peace process' became regularly deployed to cover attempts at ending violence. The term was already developing amid the collapse of white settler regimes in African countries (Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa). An apparent resurgence in ethnic pluralism, previously suppressed within Soviet-influenced countries or dormant elsewhere in much of the northern hemisphere following the Second World War, created new conflicts and from these arose numerous peace processes.

Wars are more commonly inter- rather than intra-state clashes, and the majority of peace processes relate to internal conflicts. Indeed nearly four-fifths of conflicts are now labelled as predominantly internal (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2006: 26). However, the boundaries of states are often contested, leading to dispute over what constitutes inter- or intra-state violence. Between 1990 and 2002, civil wars accounted for 90 per cent of conflict-related deaths, overwhelmingly occurring in non-democracies (Lacina 2006: 276). Even when inter-state conflict is evident, it may not necessarily be termed 'war'. Britain's retaking of the Falkland Islands in 1982 from Argentina, whose forces briefly captured the territory earlier that year, was not preceded by a declaration of war by either of the two antagonists, yet a war it was. The conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990s erupted not through formal declarations of war, but through the determination of constituent parts of Yugoslavia to secede from that state, as each pressed claims for self-determination.

Defining and Studying Peace Processes

In analysing the concept, development and outworking of peace processes, there is a need for precise terminology over what constitutes war and peace. Superficially, this may appear straightforward, in that 'war' is associated with considerable conflict, whilst 'peace' is seen as a common label for non-war, a catch-all term covering an absence of violence. Yet war and peace may be much more difficult to identify. States may be reluctant to label internal conflicts as war, preferring to identify political violence as 'terrorism', the problems in the Basque region, South Africa, Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka all offering examples in recent decades. In these cases, the state has been reluctant to confer status upon an organization contesting its legitimacy, with the result that ETA, the ANC, the IRA and the Tamil Tigers have never formally been acknowledged as armies, their 'status' confined to that of terrorist guerrilla group.

Acceptance of the term 'peace process' requires understanding that transitions towards non-violence and the permanent eradication of conflict are non-linear, subject to regression and rarely short. Peace processes rarely have

definable start and end dates and may be marred by fractured ceasefires. How is a 'peace process' best defined? Given the different methods of brokering peace, regularity of breakdowns and sometimes indeterminate length of bartering, there is an inevitable imprecision in establishing what constitutes a peace process. The peace process generic label covers a multitude of aspects of the possible ending of conflict. It is applicable where a conflict is subject to attempts at mediation, transformation or resolution. Few conflicts are immune from such efforts and the outright failure, or longevity, of such processes ensures that the concept of a 'peace process' is imprecise. Given its elasticity, the ready deployment of the term is vulnerable to criticism of overuse. The label of 'peace process' assumes that there is at least some momentum to efforts to resolve a conflict. It is regularly deployed in the Middle East amid, at times, an absence of either peace or a discernible process. However, it is possible to attempt a workable definition regardless. A peace process is defined as the active attempt at the prevention and management of conflict between and within states, a remit covering the treatment of inter-state, inter-communal and intra-communal violence. The term peace process requires the following: the involvement of most combatants; the cessation of conflict (peace); the formulation and implementation of political arrangements, whether interim or comprehensive accords; the prevention of the re-ignition of conflict (process) and the attempted political management of differences.

Peace is not a singular event, but a conglomeration of incidents, ideas, tactics and developments. An all-embracing peace process fuses the military, political, humanitarian, psychological and restorative aspects of movement away from conflict. The use of the term 'process' acknowledges that war does not end suddenly, but is contained, managed and (possibly) resolved over a lengthy period of time. Concepts of peace can also extend towards the need for harmony in societal and inter-personal relationships, or even the psychological need to be at ease with oneself (Rinehart 1995). Whilst cognizant of Galtung's (1969) contention that issues of social justice arising from peace processes may affect issues of inter-personal harmony and aware of the need to avoid reductionist definitions of peace (see Johnson 1976), the focus of this book is upon the political development and management of non-personal conflict.

Peace is not merely the temporary absence of war and process is not merely an avowed willingness of combatants to negotiate. Bloody conflicts have followed both these circumstances and the term 'peace process' should only be utilized when sufficient ingredients are in place to indicate movement from hitherto fixed military and political positions. Peace as merely the non-presence of war is a largely static concept, bereft of dynamism, one which does not tackle the basis of conflict. Defining peace in such a negative fashion does not tell us what peace could or should comprise and indicates only what to avoid, not what action to take (Cox 1986). Temporary ceasefires need a political process to remove the conditions underpinning the conflict, or end the political paralysis arising from antagonistic relationships.

It is possible for decades of peace to have been evident without a permanent resolution of a problem, in which case the term 'political process' may appear more useable than that of 'peace process'. To take one example: Cyprus has enjoyed peace and has become a popular tourist destination in recent times. Yet the island was partitioned (although the partition was not recognized by the United Nations (UN)) following the Turkish invasion of the north of the island in 1974, a move which followed years of inter-communal violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Decades of cold peace have resulted, with 30,000 Turkish troops deployed to 'protect' the Turkish sector and a UN buffer zone separating the two sides. Attempts to unfreeze the divide and re-unite the island have not been successful. Most notably, the 2002 Annan Plan was rejected by Greek Cypriots in a referendum (see Diez and Tocci 2009). The question begged is whether the negotiations leading to the Annan Plan constituted a peace process, given the lack of immediate prior violence. Those arguing that peace processes need to challenge division and not merely address the absence of war would argue yes. Guelke (2003) notes how peace processes may come to be seen almost as substitutes for a settlement and that continual search for a solution almost becomes a surrogate for enduring peace. Cyprus, paralysed by a lack of movement and yet perennially supposedly on the verge of a 'breakthrough', offers one prolonged case.

Alongside the growth of peace processes, there has been considerable debate over the scholarly and practical value of their study. Much of this discussion has attempted to gauge the value of purely academic peace research, relative to the need for the practical application of peace studies. Anatol Rapoport (1970) claimed long ago that radical research raising fundamental questions was discouraged by governments, which withheld funding for projects challenging existing modes of thought. As a consequence, too much peace research consisted of technical matters of a narrow empirical character, with little wider value in improving knowledge of why wars start or how peace begins. Whilst acknowledging the validity of the criticism of the blinkered, narrow approach of some peace research, Kent's (1971: 47) rejoinder suggested that no radical 'would want or would expect government support for his anti-government campaigns. He [sic] can and should look elsewhere'. For Kent, the problem was that too few scholars 'know how to relate normative and empirical studies' (Kent 1971: 50), a difficulty which has not entirely dissipated. The argument of Galtung (1975), amongst others, was that peace research needed to deploy objective scientific study, beyond the control of any particular government or organization and that such research needed to be of practical and emancipatory value. For Galtung, the major challenge confronting peace researchers is to encourage the state's exercise of power in a non-violent direction, using a multifaceted approach embracing research, education and action, and concerning itself with human development as well as violence. Peace studies embrace a broader range of concerns than 'security studies'. More recently, Patomaki (2001: 726) expressed similar sentiments to those