



PEACE NEGOTIATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Book Series in International Relations

Menik Wakkumbura



Peace Negotiation in International Relations

Menik Wakkumbura

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First Print 2020

ISBN 978-955-703-089-0

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Cover Design by
Dinithi Siriwardhana
Sandamali Hewage
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Published by
Department of International Relations
University of Colombo
Colombo, Sri Lanka

Printed by
Colombo University Press
University of Colombo
Sri Lanka

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PREFACE

The book titled *Peace Negotiation in International Relations* presents the origin, development, characteristics & techniques of peace negotiation. This book contains four chapters—the first two chapters are examining the evolvement and definition of peace negotiation in the field of conflict resolution. The third chapter examines the ‘third-party role,’ one of the vital peacemaking interventions. The case studies discussed are referred to peace processes in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. The fourth chapter examines Norway’s role in peacemaking and peacebuilding with reference to Norwegian peacemaking efforts in the Middle East and particularly discussing Sri Lanka’s peace process (2002-2006). The author extends her research experiences during postgraduate education at the University of Oslo, Norway when examining the Norwegian role in Sri Lanka. This book is a resource material for the undergraduates and postgraduates learning international negotiation as a distinguished discipline. I wish to thank Dr. Maneesha Wanasinghe-Pasqual for reviewing of the first draft and the two friends Asanga and Himidrini for their time spent on giving impute during the writing process. I sincerely hope that this publication will be useful to readers interested about peace negotiation. This book is dedicated to my daughter Dunelie.

Menik Wakkumbura

November, 2020

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
CCR	Constructive Conflict Resolution
CFA	Ceasefire Agreement
CR	Conflict Resolution
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
GoSL	Government of Sri Lanka
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISGA	Interim Self-Governing Authority
JHU	Jathika Hela Urumaya
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MHS	Mutually Hurting Stalemate
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PA	Peoples Alliance
PRIO	Peace Research Institution in Oslo
SIPRI	Swedish International Peace Research Institute
SLMM	Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission
UN	United Nations
UNP	United National Party
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
ZoP	Zone of Peace
ZoW	Zone of War

CHAPTER ONE

PEACE NEGOTIATION IN THE FIELD OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The first chapter explains the historical evolution of peace negotiation in the field of conflict resolution. The peace negotiation is discussed before and after the Cold War (1945)—considering the time frame.

Introduction

The field of Conflict Resolution (CR) has developed through many stages. The literature argues that CR is not only confined to Peace and Conflict Studies (Schelling, 1985; Redekop, 1999; Zartman, 1991). Conflict Resolution has evolved to a discipline comprising of theories, concepts and application of methods since a peaceful negotiation comes parallel to peaceful conflict resolution. The world of literature provides a large number of examples in the international and internal conflicts where peace negotiations are held to bring peace settlements.

There is historic evidence that ancient China and India engaged in peaceful means to settle human conflicts. The Greco-Roman notion of justice, Code of Hammurabi, Judi-Christian traditions had constructive ways to deal with wars. The great empires (Austria-Hungary, Russia,

Prussia, Britain and France) of Europe had fought great wars, which led to the First World War, owing to the inability to identify peaceful resolutions. There were attempts by empires to reach peaceful settlements, proposed to resolve wars. These attempts have tried to stop violence and extensive damage caused by armed battles. One significant outcome in history was the *Congress of Vienna* in the year 1814-1815, where a peaceful resolution to war was mandated and legislated. The conference developed a system of conflict resolution and an agreement in the balance of power to stop the war. As argued the success of Vienna Congress was not only the collective diplomacy but also collective conflict prevention.

Those who emphasize the success of the Vienna system tend to highlight the diplomatic effort to look ahead and avert war, as opposed to the traditional role of peace conferences in bringing to an end wars that were already being fought. This is true to an extent, but it still needs to be recognized that the regime of collective security established at the Vienna Congress and after was as much about crisis management as about crisis prevention (Robert Jervis cited in Vick, 2015, p.3).

Before making legal boundaries in the discipline of CR, there are plenty of moral ideologies and practices about a

peaceful settlement, which appeared in historical writings that need to be recognised. Carl Von Clausewitz, who is a war veteran in the early nineteenth century, also a contributor to the development of war philosophy, has noted that 'war should be the final option of the state'. According to Clausewitz war is an act of violence, and war calls for extension of power. His ideas of the 'real war' became more famous and application of war analysis and conflict resolution after the end of World War I.

The world has historically experienced many wars and conflicts. The wars were different from each other in nature and outcomes. Some of these wars were civil wars, religious wars, crusades, international wars such as the two World Wars and the Cold War. The two World Wars (1917-1939) were notable in many aspects. The CR considers aspects like economic and humanitarian losses of the conflict, strategies of the conflict, dynamics of the disputants and many more. The World Wars have noticed the value of the use of 'multilateralism' as a tool for conflict resolution. The Cold War during the 1945-1989 significant with the proxy-wars and ideological warfare has brought a new dimension to warfare as well as CR. As examined by Babbitt (2009) who contributes to the International Conflict Resolution (ICR) says the Cold War created some major transformation of international dimension of the conflict. She further states:

The Cold War opened the space for three major evaluations of ICR such as a) an expansion from a focus on superpower negotiating strategies to a wider peacebuilding agenda, b) an increase in the role of nongovernmental actors as both disputants and third parties in international conflicts, and c) a growing concern about human security in addition to state security, which created both tensions and opportunities for collaboration between governmental and nongovernmental bodies (Babbitt et al. 2009, p.540).

At the end of the Cold War, there were many other types of conflicts such as guerrilla warfare, low-intensity conflicts, sectarian violence, ethnic conflicts and violent civil riots. The wars and conflicts around the world have pushed the decision-makers to take rigorous measures and act wisely about monitoring conflicts and to take actions for immediate resolution. Added to this, developing imperatives like militarism, religious extremism, fundamentalism and terrorism turned the conflicts more complex and violent. These developments have made the CR a mandatory tool of operation in bringing peace to the world. The use of CR made it so prominent and needy process as well as a tool.

Conflict Resolution as a Separate Discipline

Conflict Studies and Conflict Resolution disciplines have mutually supported each other's development. World literature shows the analysis of conflicts, making conflict resolution very relevant to conflict settlement. The seminal work of Johan Galtung (1996) titled *Peace by Peaceful Means* explained the detailed nature of a conflict. Galtung has explained that 'parties are struggling for incompatible goals', making the conflict more violent, and therefore, resulting in finding the means for resolving the conflict extremely challenging. Galtung (1967/1969), explained the 'violence triangle' by defining three aspects of violence i.e., physical violence, structural violence and cultural violence. The theory of violence proposed by Galtung could show the importance of social expectations in the peaceful resolution of a conflict. Furthermore, Galtung declares many aspects of humans' social life that are becoming direct causes for conflicts. Therefore, it is extremely important to consider numerous causes in the conflict resolution and peacebuilding process. Galtung examines these causes as the following:

All of the human and social sciences are products of the post-Westphalian state system and so reify the state and its internal and international system and focus on this as the main source of political conflict. Conflicts,

however, can arise from other distinctions involving gender, generation, race, class and so on. To contribute to peace building and conflict resolution, the social sciences must be globalized, developing theories that address conflicts at the levels of interpersonal interaction (micro), within countries (meso), between nations (macro), and between whole regions or civilizations (mega). Psychiatry and the "psy" disciplines can contribute to peace building and conflict resolution through understanding the interactions between processes (Galtung, 2010, p.20).

Later studies of CR—especially by Louis Kriesberg (1982) in his book titled *Social Conflicts*, explained the dynamics of social conflict, by making a socio-psychological analysis of a conflict. He introduced Constructive Conflict Resolution (CCR) to examine various dynamics related to conflict escalation and de-escalation. Also, such developments in the basic inter-play of the conflict are considered in CCR.

The field of CR has evolved throughout different phases.

During the 1954-55 period, several scholars, namely Herbert Kelman, Kenneth E. Boulding, Anatol Rapoport, Harold Laswell, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, and Stephan Richardson started working in the field of CR. There were

numerous international research projects undertaken to examine the use of various methods of CR. Some of these projects can be named as the Correlates of War project (1963), held under the leadership of J. David Singer at the University of Michigan. He and his research team developed experimental research on conflict resolution. Singer's research gave birth to Game Theory; the well-known application used in the theory of negotiation. Scholars like Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk and I. William Zartman have contributed to the development of Game Theory. The first center for study and research on conflict resolution, the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO), was established in Oslo, Norway in 1959, with Johan Galtung as Director. Galtung founded the Journal of Peace Research at PRIO in 1964, and in 1969 he was appointed Professor of Conflict and Peace Research at the University of Oslo. In Sweden, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) began operations in 1966. SIPRI made some vital contributions to the field of disarmament and in producing conflict databases, useful for international research. The well-known SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament was a remarkable outcome of the SIPRI research. In 1968, *Swisspeace* was founded in Bern, Switzerland. In 1968, the Centre for Intergroup Studies was established in Capetown, South Africa. There are many conflict resolution and peace research organisations, centers affiliated to universities,

international organisations and think-tanks, which were formed across the world during the Cold War.

Evolution of Peace Negotiation: 1945-1989

The Cold War began in 1945 paved the way to multiple peace negotiations in the aftermath. One of the significant changes was the shift of conflict types from inter-state conflicts to intra-state. This shift in conflict types during post-world war period, made peace negotiations to be equipped with multiple approaches. This approach emphasised, not only through diplomatic engagements but also the involvement of international and regional organizations and even personals as 'mediators' to peace processes.

Peace negotiations made a kick start during the Cold War. The use of peace negotiation was frequent due to the changing international relations i.e., balance of power in the world system, and as a result, there were intimidating behaviors between superpowers during the superpower rivalry. The emergence of new states and communities added to the unrest within the state systems. Also, the emergence of multinational organizations and their competitive interactions have caused multiple challenges to international peace. According to Wallenstein and Axell (1993), there are new types of wars and conflicts that emerged in the aftermath of the Cold War, and as a

result, professional practice in CR has become extremely important.

Between the 1946 and 1969 period, war scenarios and their development provided materials for CR. This was evident from the establishment of the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank (WB). Regionally, such efforts were notable in Europe with the establishment of European Coal and Steel Cooperation (ECSC) in 1952. A series of conferences began in the late 1940s in Switzerland, bringing together people from countries and communities that had been in intense conflict, to facilitate a dialogue among disputants to improve mutual understanding and cooperation.

The 'Uniting for Peace' resolution in 1950 enforced the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) peaceful resolution to world conflicts. United Nations worked largely on Preventive Diplomacy, enabling the policy and a strategy on preventive diplomacy for UN operations. UN has first used international armed forces in 1948 in Kashmir to buffer India and Pakistan and in Palestine. Peacekeeping was formalised in 1956 when international peacekeepers were deployed to Suez Canal during the Suez crisis (1956-1957). There were many United Nations peace negotiations, which emerged after 1945. One of the

common and frequent forms of peace negotiation is third-party involvement. The world recognizes such peace negotiations in the Middle East, Asia, Europe and Africa. Some prominent few examples of such third-party interventions to held peace processes are as the following:

- In the Middle East: Egyptian-Israel General Armistice Agreement, Israel-Lebanon Armistice agreement, Jordan-Israel Armistice Agreement and Syrian-Israel Armistice Agreement in 1949.
- In Asia: The Nine-point Agreement for India in 1947, Panglong Agreement for Burma in 1947.
- In Europe: Treaty of Alliance between Cyprus, Greece, Turkey in 1960.

Since the 1960s, the UN has engaged in various peacekeeping and peacemaking attempts, such as UN peacekeeping in Africa, Currently, it is considered that half of the UN peacekeeping and peacemaking attempts are located in the African region. The UN declares the need for domestic coalitions for the success of peacemaking attempts in the region. Some of those very important missions in Africa assisted by the UN are Mission in Darfur, Sudan (UNAMID) 2007, MONUSCO in Congo 2010 Angola Verification Mission I, II in the year 1989 and 1991 and in Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1994.

Some conflicts during the Cold War period contributed to advancing techniques of negotiation. The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) was a stark warning about the risks of a nuclear war, and the importance of peaceful settlement to inter-state conflicts. The Cuban Missile Crisis is an example of an effective 'principled negotiation'. Also, high-level, non-official, regular meetings of the Pugwash and the Dartmouth conferences (1957-1960), Soviet-American negotiations about arms control during the 1970s, have brought about significant use of technical negotiation.

During the Cold War, some regional wars brought significant attention to CR. These were the Chinese Civil War (1946–1949), the Korean War (1950–1953), Vietnam War (1955-1975) and the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988). Another main development was the use of third-party mediation and international negotiation, which was boosted during the 1970s with Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). The US involvement in the Middle East with the participation of Henry Kissinger's and Jimmy Carter's dialogue in 1970 has brought world attention to ADR.

Along with the existing complex conflict dynamics, such as root causes, the role of the parties, their interests, international pressure and the third-party involvement in peace negotiations also became complex. In the

Principles of Negotiations (explained by Roger Fisher and William Ury), the main emphasis was to meet interest-based bargaining and the use of multi-party negotiations to succeed in negotiations. Peace agreements, such as the Framework of Peace in the Middle East in 1978 and many other Middle East peace processes, have linked the techniques of multi-party negotiations to tackle the issue of complexities.

Peace Negotiation: Since 1989

According to the Trends in Armed Conflict (1947-2017) report produced by the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO), there is a significant increase in intra-state conflicts and internationalised conflicts since 1947. According to PRIO their latest statistical projections, violence is caused due to three aspects of emergencies. These emergencies are Islamic Extremism, Islamic State Allegiance and Non-State Violence (PRIO.Org).

The intra-state conflicts emerged within boundaries of a single state; governments vs. insurgent, conflicts between ethnic groups, between religious groups, internal sectarian violence and civil wars, required more advanced peace negotiations. In the face of such violence, societies become highly prone to human rights violations, displacement, livelihood collapse, increase of poverty and illegal exercises of human activities that can impact the

complete breakdown of societies. In general, intra-state conflicts are less likely to be resolved over a quick political settlement due to the in-depth root causes and protracted nature of violence. Therefore, it is evident that most violent intrastate conflicts are experiencing some sort of serious conflict resolution, where peace negotiations with the third-party involvement have become the popular mechanism.

Peace Negotiation in the 21st Century

Due to the complex and multi-faceted nature of conflicts and wars, peace negotiations also require to be strong, flexible yet effective in the application. Rocha (2019) says that the war has transformed from inter-state to intra-state. He further states, the real actors of war is invisible or fluid in shape. There are various actors like business groups, trade partners, social movements and civilians who become stakeholders of the war. With the complex dynamics in the war and the conflict, peace negotiation also becomes a mix of formal and informal, state and non-state (see figure 2). Change in maneuvers of the peace negotiation is applied under multi-track diplomacy. In these applications, the conditions of negotiation are changed. One good example of the change is introducing new mediatory characteristics. Such as a mediator is becoming not only completely neutral but also multi-partial (Kriesberg, 2001). Also, the mediator becomes

both a soft and hard bargainer. The multi-track approach (Lederach, 1999) for peace is currently widely applied in peace negotiations (Dudouet, Eshaq et al., 2018).

This chapter discusses peace negotiation evolution through several historical phases. Peace negotiation posits as a fundamental strategy of conflict resolution and by now it is developed with various tools and approaches. The next chapter discusses more specifically peace negotiation in the conflict resolution discipline.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPERIENCING THE THIRD-PARTY ROLE

Chapter four contains two articles examining the role of Norway in Sri Lanka's peace process (2002-2006). The essays are focused on the characteristics of the third-party role: how facilitation is used as a technique during peace negotiation. The essays consider to what extent facilitation and the third-party involvement have been successful and some drawbacks. The author has published these two articles respectively in the year 2005 and the year 2008. The present articles are edited for the current publication.

The year 2005 was significant to Sri Lanka for several reasons. Former Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar was assassinated by the LTTE in August 2005. Minister Kadirgamar has played a leading role in the peace process since the inception of it. This unfortunate assassination was experienced after three years of the Norwegian led peace talks commenced in 2002. By year 2008, the GoSL and the LTTE have unilaterally withdrawn from the truce and returned to armed fights. In July 2006, LTTE entered into ruthless violent acts by intimidating civilians' lives—the major incident of blocking the waterway 'MavilAru' has caused a 'humanitarian catastrophe' in the Eastern province. The government forces have entered to both a

recuse mission and a military strike against the LTTE. The government has then declared the 'humanitarian mission' to rescue civilians in the LTTE controlling areas. The period aftermath 2006 until May 2009 was crucial in terms of armed fighting, humanitarian rescues, and terror extended by the LTTE.

Sri Lanka is a unique example of the third-party failures due to internal and external conflict dynamics. It is worthwhile to examine the international third-party involvement during the six rounds of peace talks (see figure 05) to know how crucial the third-party role can be when dealing with issues of a violent conflict. Also, the role of the third-party in confidence-building and reducing tension has become very challenging tasks. The third-party role and various other internal political dynamics have directly affected on either to success or failures of the peace process. Sri Lanka's internal conflict is a protracted social conflict also a violent one that made the peace process a tough one. The conflict has resulted with immense economic, humanitarian and infrastructural losses during 26 years long civil war (1983-2009).

*See the figure of the six-rounds of peace talks, p.52

SIX-ROUNDS OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN SRI LANKA (2002-2006)

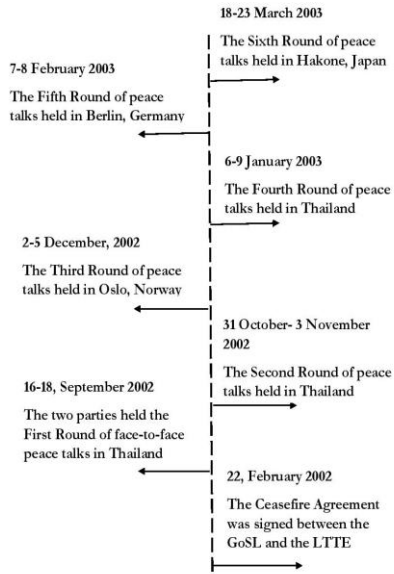


Figure 05: Six Rounds of Peace Talks in Sri Lanka (2002-2006)

Source: Wakkumbura, M. R. (2008). *Peacemaking: Touch-and-Go? A Critical Analysis of Norway's Facilitation in the Sri Lankan Peace Process (2002-2006)* (Master's thesis). Accessed on 14 October 2020.

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About the Author

Menik Wakkumbura has completed her doctoral research on *Dilemmas of Justice in Reconciliation; An Analysis of Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka since 2009* – the study affiliated to University of Colombo. She holds M.Phil from University of Oslo and B.A Hons in International Relations (First Class) from University of Colombo. She served as a Consultant at Sri Lanka Institute of Development Administration, Ministry of Public Administration, Sri Lanka (2009-2018), and currently serving as a Lecturer at Department of International Relations at University of Colombo (from 2018 up to date). She has edited two book *Arriving Better Policy Recommendation; Applied Research with Agency Partnership* (2018) and *Administrative Case Studies* (2015). She was the Associate Editor of *Sri Lanka Journal of Development Administration* (2014-2016). Mrs. Wakkumbura has published in international peer-reviewed journals such as *Peacebuilding and Development* and *Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research*. The author can be contacted through menik@inr.cmb.ac.lk. Her research interests are Peacebuilding, Security Studies, International Negotiation, and Diplomacy.