Contents—Summary

Acknowledgements vii
Table of Cases xix
Table of Treaties, Conventions, and Other International Instruments xxiii
Prologue 1

INTRODUCTION

1. An Overture 5

I. UNDERSTANDING PEACE AGREEMENTS

2. The Rise in Peace Agreements and International Law 27
3. Peace Agreement Patterns 46
4. The Peace Agreement in Historical Context 77
5. The Contemporary Peace Agreement 105

II. PEACE AGREEMENTS AS LEGAL DOCUMENTS: TOWARDS A *LEX PACIFICATORIA*

6. The Difficulties of Legal Classification 127
7. Peace Agreement Legal Form 144
8. Peace Agreement Obligations 162
9. Peace Agreement Third Party Enforcement 175

III. PEACE AGREEMENTS AND THE REVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: THE FORCE OF THE *LEX*

10. Constitutionalizing Conflict 199
11. The New Law of Hybrid Self-determination 218
12. The New Law of Transitional Justice 239
13. The New Law of Third Party Enforcement 259

CONCLUSION

14. *Lex Pacificatoria*: Marriage of Heaven and Hell 285

APPENDICES (with Catherine O'Rourke)

Appendix 1 Peace Agreement Collection: Description of Content, Sources and Format 305
Appendix 2 Intrastate Peace Agreements 310
Appendix 3 Interstate Agreements addressing Intrastate Conflict 338
Appendix 4 Interstate Peace Agreements 341

Bibliography 345
Index 371

Detailed Table of Contents

Acknowledgements vii
Contents—Summary ix
Table of Cases xix
Table of Treaties, Conventions, and Other International Instruments xxiii
Prologue 1

INTRODUCTION

1. An Overture 5
Background 5
The book I wanted to write 7
The book I found I could not write 9
War and peace: my personal story 11
War and peace: the ubiquitous story 13
Marrying the two stories 15
The particular or the general? 15
International or domestic law? 17
Process or substance? 19
How I wrote the same book anyway 21
The book's story 22
Conclusion 23

I. UNDERSTANDING PEACE AGREEMENTS

2. The Rise in Peace Agreements and International Law 27
The rise in peace agreements 28
The role of international law 31
Human rights law 31
Self-determination law 35
Peacekeeping and the use of force 39
International law and transnational exchange 42
Conclusion 44

3. Peace Agreement Patterns 46
Definitions of peace agreements 47
Is there a requirement of a link to 'peace'? 48
Is there a requirement of time? 51

Is there a requirement of 'agreement'? 52
A working definition 53
Sources of peace agreements 54
Classification of peace agreements 55
Stage-function classification 56
Pre-negotiation agreements 56
Substantive/ framework agreements 60
Implementation agreements 62
Difficulties with classification 64
Mediation of peace agreements 66
UN Secretary-General Representatives 67
Other United Nations roles 68
Regional organizations 69
Groupings of 'neighbours' or 'friends' 72
'Neutral' countries acting in the 'common good' 73
Individuals 74
Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) 74
Civil society 75
Conclusion 76

4. The Peace Agreement in Historical Context 77
The story of international law 78
The story of peace agreements 79
Pre-classical period 80
Archaic peace treaties 80
Peace treaties and early Roman law 82
Peace treaties in the early Middle Ages 84
Peace treaties in the latter Middle Ages 86
Classical period 87
Interwar years 90
Modern period: 1945–1989 93
UN Security Council Resolution 95
Domestic peace processes 96
Decolonization agreements 97
Peculiar peace treaties 99
Pre-contemporary peace agreements 101
Contemporary peace agreements: convergence and divergence 102
Convergence 102
Divergence 103
Conclusion 104

5. The Contemporary Peace Agreement **105**
Conceptualizing peace agreement solutions 105

State redefinition 106
Disaggregation of power 106
Dislocation of power 106
Hybrid self-determination 108
Settling secessionist conflicts 108
State redefinition 109
Disaggregation of power 110
Dislocation of power 111
Beyond irredentism: settling other ethnic conflicts 115
State redefinition 115
Disaggregation of power 115
Dislocation of power 116
Beyond identity: settling authoritarian conflicts 118
State redefinition 119
Disaggregation of power 120
Dislocation of power 121
Conclusion 122

II. PEACE AGREEMENTS AS LEGAL DOCUMENTS: TOWARDS A *LEX PACIFICATORIA*

6 The Difficulties of Legal Classification 127
Peace agreements as international agreements 128
Armed opposition groups 130
Indigenous peoples 132
Sub-state regions and minorities 134
Legal status and international law 135
How and why do we classify? 136
From legal form to legal effects 136
The inescapable importance of positive law 138
Conclusion 142

7. Peace Agreement Legal Form 144
Contrived treaty form 145
Contrived constitutional form 149
No legal form? 153
Domestic legislation 154
Contrived 'agreement' and UN SC resolutions 155
The alternative challenge of legal form 157
Conclusion 160

8. Peace Agreement Obligations 162

Precision for short-term goals 163
Precision and ceasefires 163
Precision and transitional institutions 164
Precision and permanent institutions 164
Constructive ambiguity 166
The alternative compliance challenge: legalization in transition 169
The political bargain v constitutional framework dilemma 171
The normalization v rule of law dilemma 171
The alternative drafting challenge 172
Conclusion 173

9. Peace Agreement Third Party Enforcement 175
Third parties signing peace agreements 176
Third parties as external guarantors 177
Third parties as self-guarantors: second parties? 178
Third parties as norm promoters: fourth parties? 179
Delegation of authority to interpret and enforce peace agreements 181
An alternative conceptualization: hybrid legal pluralism 187
Legal pluralism 187
Hybridity 190
A distinctive rationale 191
Conclusion 193

III. PEACE AGREEMENTS AND THE REVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: THE FORCE OF THE *LEX*

10. Constitutionalizing Conflict 199
The constitutionalization of conflict: 'Clausewitz in reverse' 200
The role of hybridity 204
Internal and external self-determination 205
Process and substance 207
Representative and participatory democracy 209
Hybridity in action 213
Conclusion 216

11. The New Law of Hybrid Self-determination 218
The 'new law' of hybrid self-determination: a statement 219
Narrative, norm and *nomos* 220
Hybrid self-determination as developing law 221
Norm-creep and legal standards 221

Elections 221
Minority rights 222
Participation 223
Norm-creep and the narration of law 225
Badinter Commission, Former Yugoslavia 225
Places that do not exist 226
Kosovo 227
Israel-Palestine 229
Two readings of the new law 231
A transition to a post-sovereign order? 231
A creative and progressive transition? 232
A transition to liberal democracy? 233
A conservative and duplicitous transition? 234
Conclusion 236

12. The New Law of Transitional Justice 239
The 'new law' of transitional justice: a statement 240
Narrative, norm and *nomos* 240
Transitional law as developing law 241
Peace agreement practice 241
The narration of normative compliance 242
The process of norm-creep 243
Human rights law 243
Humanitarian law 244
The United Nations and norm-creep 246
International criminal justice 248
New law as 'regime merge' 249
Restorative justice approach 250
The bifurcated approach 251
The combined approach 252
Voiding amnesty in the event of a return to violence? 253
Two readings of the new law 255
Transitional justice as creative, progressive and justice-promoting? 255
Transitional justice as exceptional and manipulated? 256
Conclusion 257

13. The New Law of Third Party Enforcement 259
The 'new law' of third party enforcement: a statement 260
Narrative, norm and *nomos* 260
The legal framework 260
Not an academic matter 262
Authorization of third party roles 264
Fluctuating consent 264

Fluctuating statehood 265
Developing law 265
Third party accountability 268
Humanitarian law 269
Human rights law 271
Developing new law and regime merge 272
Domestic constitutional law 275
'Complex accountability' 277
Two readings of the new law 278
Third parties as enablers of positive social change? 278
Third party involvement as imperialist and neo-colonial? 279
Conclusion 280

CONCLUSION

14. *Lex Pacificatoria*: Marriage of Heaven and Hell 285
The story so far 285
The peace agreement as lex 286
A theory of peace agreement constitutionalism 287
Development of the lex through the dynamic of regulation 287
The nature of the *lex pacificatoria* 287
Persuasive authority 288
Common principles of law 288
Ius gentium 289
Transnational contract 289
The peacemakers 290
Marriage of heaven and hell 291
Metaconstitutional discourse 291
Implementing peace agreeements 293
Re-interpreting the last battle 294
'Doing good' 295
Commitment to legal pluralism 295
Commitment to constitutional pluralism 296
Commitment to recognizing law's performative dimension 297
Commitment to negotiated justice 298
Commitment to 'complex accountability' 299
Commitment to enabling moral and political imagination 299
Conclusion: 'Epilogues' 301

APPENDICES (with Catherine O'Rourke)

Appendix 1 Peace Agreement Collection: Description of Content, Sources and Format 305

Appendix 2 Intrastate Peace Agreements 310
Appendix 3 Interstate Peace Agreements addressing Intrastate Conflict 338
Appendix 4 Interstate Peace Agreements 341

Bibliography 345
Index 371