Obstructing the Spoilers of Peace

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Peace processes invariably generate spoilers – dissatisfied constituencies that attempt to foil the negotiating process or prevent the successful implementation of a peace agreement preferred by the central government and a majority of the public. Dissenters against government-led negotiations may use violent or nonviolent means to derail peace processes. In democratic settings where opponents of peace agreements lack the capacity to use force, they may instead try to manipulate existing institutions, legal mechanisms, or media outlets to undermine the prospects for reconciliation. Preventing spoilers from derailing negotiations requires different strategies, depending on whether spoilers employ violent or nonviolent tactics and whether they operate in democratic or non-democratic settings. Democratic states face greater difficulties in peacemaking than do their non-democratic counterparts, since leaders have a limited ability to repress discourses that reject peace efforts. The use of force and other coercive measures to marginalize spoilers are not trouble-free options, nor is it possible for democratic governments to fully control the media or educational outlets. In other words, spoilers can be especially difficult to manage in democratic settings because a culture of peaceful conflict resolution limits the ability of governments to impose their preferences on citizens. At the same time, those societal groups that seek to derail an active peace process preferred by the societal majority and the government also cannot easily use violence to promote their interests.

In negotiations between adversaries engaged in protracted conflicts, governments and third party mediators must manage spoilers better when they first emerge.[1] Policymakers operating in democratic settings can overcome

the challenges to successful peacemaking that are presented by spoilers by seeking their inclusion in the peace process early on, and initiating a dialogue with potential spoilers so that their interests can be more accurately gauged and addressed during the negotiation process. Negotiators on the opposing side should bear in mind that specific concessions can be especially useful if they make it easier for their counterpart's government to convince potential spoilers that they have a stake in the peace. Third party mediators can also help to transform spoilers into stakeholders by working with both sides to conceptualize innovative and creative options for integrating dissident domestic parties into a concrete plan for conflict resolution. However, if minority actors resort to violence, governments involved in negotiations must stop spoiler violence in its tracks. A swift and decisive response to spoiling sends a powerful message to the opposing side regarding the government's commitment to conflict resolution. Because spoilers can point to ongoing violence as a way to undermine public consensus for peace, negotiators committed to resolving protracted conflicts must handle these situations with great care.

The Dynamics of Spoiling

It goes without saying that in most cases of armed conflict, whether civil or international, the preferred outcome of the conflicting sides is not to negotiate reconciliation but to impose their own terms on a final settlement. Approximately 85 percent of civil wars end in the military victory of one side over the other. In the remaining 15 percent, warring factions come to the negotiation table because they recognize that they could not achieve a decisive military victory.[2] Yet as Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A. Hartzell note, "The recurrence of civil wars points to the fact that there are often powerful opponents of peace seeking to derail the settlement process if given the opportunity."[3] Thus, in many cases peace settlements are default outcomes, though former warring parties may spoil a negotiated peace once their military capacity for fighting has been restored. And if the expected payoffs from peacemaking do not materialize, they may calculate that the payoffs from renewed violent engagement are higher than maintaining the peace.

The case of Angola's civil wars in the 1990s is instructive here. After Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975, several independence movements, including the Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), fought a long war of attrition for most of the 1980s with generous support from South Africa and Cuba, respectively. With the end of the Cold War, this patronage plummeted and the impetus for peace grew. The result was the UN-sponsored 1991 Bicesse Peace Accords. Yet Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA rebel group, reneged on two separate peace agreements once he realized that his political power would be diminished in a post-conflict, democratized Angola. As long as Savimbi thought UNITA would do well in the elections, he was willing to adhere to the peace process. After being defeated at the polls, all bets were off. As Savimbi failed to get the majority of the votes in the 1992 presidential election, he reignited the war.

Thus, Savimbi signed a peace agreement in 1991, but he never gave up on the military option. He made sure that he had the capacity to continue funding a war option if he needed to, by seizing diamond mines before the agreement was signed and dragging his feet on demobilizing UNITA's armed forces and integrating the remainder into a new national Angolan army. Savimbi only returned to the negotiation table when UNITA's military gains against government MPLA forces began to evaporate. When the military option became less tenable for Savimbi, he agreed to sit down with the MPLA, and a state of non-war was restored with the Lusaka Protocol in 1994. By then, however, 300,000 Angolans had died in the worst fighting since Angola's independence.[4]

The Angolan case is an empirical example of a general finding: peacemaking is always a process of managing potential spoilers. If one side believes that it has the capacity to achieve a better deal than the one on the table, it is more likely to resort to spoiling behavior. Similarly, if former enemies think that under the terms of a peace deal they are being undermined, they are also likely to renege on the deal. Challenges to peace processes emerge when one or both sides of the conflict doubt that their rivals will fulfill the commitments specified in the agreement. While observers often claim that peace agreements fall apart because of lack of trust and mutual suspicion, what this in fact means is that at least one side is wary of fulfilling its own

obligations while the other side is not. Preventing spoiling, therefore, requires that the custodians of peace build into an agreement both "fear reducing provisions" (reassurance) and "cost increasing provisions" (deterrence).[5] To better handle spoiling, signatories and third party mediators need to put disincentives in place that discourage reneging on the agreement. They also need to change the payoffs associated with continued cooperation. In general, peace agreements should increase the costs of returning to violence and increase the benefits of peace for the majority of both societies.

Spoilers of Peace: Defining a Concept

In recent years, a growing body of work has considered the impact of spoilers on negotiation outcomes.[6] According to a seminal study by Stephen John Stedman, "Peacemaking is a risky business… the greatest source of risk comes from spoilers – leaders and parties who believe that peace emerging from negotiations threatens their power, worldview, and interests, and use violence to undermine attempts to achieve it."[7] For Stedman, spoilers can only exist when there is an actual or existing peace to spoil: when an agreement has been signed, or at the very least, when former warring parties have publicly committed themselves to a peaceful settlement. He also suggests that spoilers can be either insiders or outsiders. That is, they can be signatories to the agreements themselves, or they can be excluded from the forum of peace negotiations. A key component of Stedman's conceptualization of spoilers is that not all parties, or even factions within parties, will benefit equally from a peace deal. Spoilers are often driven by a principled rejection of the terms of the agreement. Even when actors use violence, it is important not to lose sight of the (often legitimate) criticism of the peace process. Because peace agreements tend to produce winners and losers, unless handled correctly, these dissenters can become actors that derail the peace.

A problematic aspect of Stedman's definition is that it focuses on spoilers (as a noun), and not on spoiling actions (spoiling as a verb). Labeling groups or individuals as spoilers inserts bias because it can be a means for excluding specific groups from the negotiation process. Also questionable is Stedman's assertion that violence is a necessary feature of spoiling, as this ignores the fact that spoilers may use nonviolent methods. In democratizing and quasi democratic political space, it will be more common to see spoilers

using violence. In these contexts, the state is weak and lacks a monopoly on the use of force; different parties may retain armed forces and militias because a nationalized military has yet to be established. The rule of law and formal governance institutions will also be less entrenched than in mature democracies, and a culture of resolving state-societal conflicts via peaceful methods will not yet be ingrained. These features make it likely that potential spoilers will put far less faith in the democratic process, and will be more likely to fall back on armed force as a spoiling option. By contrast, in mature democracies, spoiling generally occurs when dissenters against a peace process foil the majority's interest in sustaining the peace by working within the system. Accordingly, spoilers are best defined as either individual political actors or political groups that use violence or nonviolent means to undermine a peace process preferred by both the central government and the majority of society and, in so doing, jeopardize peace efforts. Important to note is that spoilers are typically marginalized from the peace process itself. While there are internal spoilers – those signatories who wind up reneging – peace processes are typically spoiled by actors that have never been given the opportunity to become stakeholders of the peace.

In sum, "spoiling a peace process involves adopting policies that scuttle conflict resolution efforts when the latter are preferred by a majority of the public. In this sense, spoilers defy not only the authority of the government, but also the national consensus."[8] As Oded Haklai notes, "Spoilers are dissenters from a government-led peace process who sometimes contest the right of the central government to represent the polity and its population in the conflict. Accordingly, when the central government is not formally involved in a peace process, opponents of compromises do not constitute spoilers."[9]

Preventing and Managing Peace Spoiling: Risks and Opportunities

Spoilers and "oversold" agreements. Spoiling is typically a small-group phenomenon. While spoilers can generate a mass following, all spoilers need the support and complicity of a much larger part of society. It follows that peace agreements must be "sold" appropriately so that critics cannot present the agreement as a sham. This, in turn, requires that the agreement

not be presented to the public as more than it really is. Too often, peace agreements are pitched to the public as "end of conflict" deals, yet this only raises the public's expectation that their interests will be fully realized. When presumed outcomes fail to materialize, expectations are dashed. Spoilers can then more easily muscle into the discourse to highlight the discrepancy between the agreement and the reality of the situation. Even if there have been mutual concessions and positive developments, spoilers will always be able to point to the cup half empty.

A good example of this dynamic is the rise in attacks by Chechen insurgents into regions of Russia between 1996 and 1999, and the Russian military invasion of Chechnya as a counter-terror response in October 1999. Ironically, the ratcheting up of the Russo-Chechen conflict in this time period occurred after the Russians and Chechens had signed the August 1996 Khasavyurt Agreement, negotiated by General Lebed on behalf of then-Russian President Yeltsin and Aslan Mashkadov, leader of the insurgent movement who would later become the President of Chechnya. The agreement was followed by a treaty between Yeltsin and Mashkadov in May 1997. Yet as one commentator noted, "In some ways, the peace process culminated in a more horrifying situation in Chechnya than had existed before the process started."[10]

The 1996 peace agreement had only three provisions: that both sides renounce the use of force; agree to construct their relations in accordance with international law; and continue further negotiations. The issue of the status of Chechnya was left out, yet most Chechens believed that the agreement and subsequent treaty were in fact offering de facto recognition of Chechen independence. Yeltsin, however, had no such view of the peace agreements. Recognition of Chechen independence would have required revisions of the Russian constitution and would have inevitably limited the extensive powers of the presidency and weakened Yeltsin's political power. In fact, Yeltsin had only pushed for a peace accord in 1996 because public opinion polls showed dissatisfaction among the Russian public for the war in Chechnya and elections were looming. In effect, the 1996 and 1997 agreements, despite all their fanfare, represented a premature peace; it was politically expedient to get a ceasefire, but the quickly drafted and adopted agreements did not go far enough in addressing the core issues between the two groups.

In the interest of stopping the immediate violence, neither side insisted on solving the permanent issue of Chechnya's status. This rush to agreement allowed the parties to declare the war over, based on very little negotiation. The vagueness meant that the public could interpret the agreement in different ways. The Chechens expected an improvement in the political and economic situation, but Yeltsin and the Russian government never proceeded with the necessary follow-up negotiations, thus weakening the position of Mashkadov. When the promised results of the peace process did not materialize, Mashkadov found it harder and harder to control the Chechen warlords. Basayev, a veteran of the first Chechen war, emerged to lead a new insurgency that actively used violence to sabotage the peace process. As more and more Chechens lost patience with, and faith in, the peace, Basayev continued to gain strength. Meanwhile, the peace agreements signed by the Russians and Chechens had promised the Russian people protection from terrorist attacks. The Russian public was willing to back a new military strategy advanced by Putin, who campaigned in 1999 on the promise to deal with Chechen violence. The societal majority backed Putin because their expectations had been dashed, that is, the promises of safety had not been met.[11]

The demise of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process in the 1990s offers another example of how spoilers can be empowered when negotiators "oversell" peace agreements as offering far more than they can deliver. Palestinians assumed that the 1993 Oslo agreement would lead to the end of Israeli occupation and a sovereign Palestinian state. Given dashed Palestinian expectations, the expansion of existing Israeli settlements in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza during the Oslo years had a volatile impact. While settlement growth was not a violation of the Oslo Accords, the perceived deepening of Israeli occupation undermined support for the peace process by creating a gap between what Palestinians believed that the Oslo agreements were supposed to give them, and what they actually got. Critics of Oslo regularly pointed to Israeli land expropriation as "proof that the Palestinians were being shortchanged by the Oslo process."[12] To be sure, Israel redeployed under the terms of the Oslo I and II agreements, and the newly created Palestinian Authority offered self-governance to hundreds of thousands of Palestinians living in West Bank cities and towns. Yet despite these positive changes, spoilers could always point to Israel's continued

control over Palestinian life. As Jeremy Pressman notes, "Popular Palestinian discontent grew during the Oslo peace process because the reality on the ground did not match expectations created by the peace agreements."[13]

Unmet expectations on the Israeli side likewise contributed to Oslo's failure by empowering peace critics who insisted that Oslo was a sham. The Israeli public expected that the Oslo peace agreements would mean an end to Palestinian violence. The immense gap between these expectations and the dire reality (terrorist attacks intensified during the 1990s) had a devastating impact on Israeli public opinion and galvanized spoilers who had long held the peace process in contempt. Here too, the situation could have been framed in a more positive light. By the mid-1990s, coordinated Israeli and Palestinian counter-terrorism operations resulted in a significant suppression of Hamas and Islamic Jihad – hundreds of operatives from these rejectionist groups were jailed and nearly two dozen of their leaders were killed.[14] Yet continued terrorist attacks made it easy for Oslo's critics to delegitimize the Palestinian Authority precisely because Israelis had presumed that the peace agreements of 1993 and 1995 would mean an end to terrorism. As Eisenberg and Caplan note, "Ongoing terrorism and Arafat's ambivalence played into the hands of Oslo's detractors."[15]

These examples of spoiling in the Russo-Chechen and Israeli-Palestinian cases suggest that one way to prevent and manage spoilers is to avoid overselling a peace agreement. Peace agreements forged via the big fanfare of public, high profile peace summits often raise unrealistic expectations that can be exploited by spoilers. By contrast, incremental change that builds mutual trust through tit-for-tat concessions is a harder process for spoilers to derail because such incrementalism does not bill itself to be anything more than it is – tentative, cautious, yet deliberate steps away from violent conflict toward a more constructive phase of the conflict. To be effective, however, negotiators must utilize media and educational outlets to launch a public relations campaign that presents these incremental moves as positive steps forward.

Including potential spoilers in the peace process. Central to the prevention of spoiling is to ascertain which actors should be suppressed and which should be integrated into the peace process. To be sure, some domestic political actors will never support peacemaking with the adversary and will

always be unwaveringly opposed to a peace settlement, no matter what its conditions or circumstances. It is important to identify these actors early on in the process, and impede their ability to renew violence or dominate the discourse regarding the value of a peace deal. Here, a central government committed to peacemaking must avoid appearing weak, neutral, or inconsistent; early in the post-peace process it needs to confront such spoilers, raising the costs for those actors who refuse to engage in peacemaking. However, it is also critical that these actors not be conflated with the larger majority. In fact, these actors need to be removed from other potential spoilers that may still be convinced of the merits of a peace agreement. Unfortunately, what often happens is that in dealing with would-be spoilers, states pursue policies that target the majority as well. These sorts of dragnets are the scourge of peace processes and make it that much more likely that spoilers will prevail. In nondemocratic settings, but especially in democratic states, there are drawbacks in using force to deter and compel spoilers, as this can run the risk of radicalizing moderates and the larger society.

One important means of handling spoiling is to bring would-be spoilers into the peace process early on. Spoilers are created *before* a peace agreement is signed. It is therefore imperative to engage with would-be spoilers throughout the negotiation process and not only during the post-agreement phase. Peacemakers need to identify and include the broadest possible range of societal actors so that excluded parties do not emerge as spoilers later down the road. Inclusion makes it more likely that spoilers will become stakeholders of the peace. Including figures of authority and opinion leaders from various societal groups in the peace process ensures that key provisions of the agreement meets their interests. This involves recognizing that criticism of an agreement is legitimate, and finding creative ways in which potential spoilers can see at least some of their grievances addressed.

The Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement signed in April 1998 following two years of multiparty talks between Northern Ireland's Unionists, Nationalists, and Republicans and the Irish and British governments illustrates the importance of inclusion in managing spoilers. Establishing a power sharing government between Northern Ireland's Unionists and Nationalists, the negotiations that led to the Good Friday Agreement were based on the principle that all of the conflicting parties should be part of the peace process

and that the major paramilitary groups should become signatories. Thus, once the IRA agreed to a cessation of military operations (albeit without the requirement that it decommission its weapons), Sinn Fein was invited to join the multiparty talks. The inclusion of Sinn Fein increased Republican support for the peace process while reducing the likelihood of Republican spoiler violence.[16] Significantly, the Good Friday Agreement prevented spoiling by ensuring that all actors that had been signatory to the peace accord could present it to their respective communities as legitimate. Via the use of "constructive ambiguity," the terms of the agreement could be read positively by each constituency, thus decreasing the likelihood that spoilers could label the signatories as stooges or sell-outs. As Stacie E. Goddard notes, "The agreement's success did not lie in deception; it was not that each of the coalitions came away from the agreement believing they [sic] were getting something they were not. Rather, the ambiguity of the agreement's language allowed each of the parties to claim the settlement as legitimate, and perhaps more importantly, portray it as legitimate to their relevant constituencies."[17]

In contrast to the Good Friday Agreement, consider the Rwandan Arusha Peace Agreement, which empowered spoilers by marginalizing groups from the political process. Indeed, the Rwandan case highlights how ostracizing key political actors, by creating new institutions that instead of sharing power centralize power in the hands of particular groups, can end up derailing the peace. In August 1993, the Hutu dominated government of Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana and the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) signed an agreement in an internationally sponsored effort to end Rwanda's civil war that began three years earlier. Even before the accord was signed, in 1990 and 1991, Habyarimana had initiated a series of political reforms, and the legislature approved a multiparty constitution with executive power shared between president and prime minister. These changes opened up the political system but had a negative impact on the course of the conflict. Democratization challenged the Hutu grip on power as moderate Hutu parties became the RPF's allies. The ruling elite tried to strengthen its power by appealing to ethnic Hutu solidarity. Thus, a previously bilateral conflict between the government and the RPF was transformed into a multilateral competition, and solidified a conservative political alliance

that saw a negotiated outcome as inimical to its political power in the new democratizing context. As Benjamin A. Valentino notes, "The accords all but locked the Hutu extremist parties out of power…The moderate Hutu political parties were prepared to acquiesce to this deal, but the extremists could never have accepted it. Its biased terms simultaneously steeled their resolve to deal with the 'Tutsi problem' by any means necessary and played into the extremists' strategy of polarizing Rwandan politics and society."[18]

By February 1993, as escalating violence threatened to sink the peace process, the RPF broke the ceasefire and launched a large scale offensive against government troops. The failure of the ceasefire was a turning point; it tested the military capabilities of both sides, but also the unity of the multiparty political consensus that had sustained the Arusha negotiations. The military stalemate had propelled the peace process, but so too had the moderate coalition's desire for peace. After the RPF's offensive, the alliance between moderate Hutu opposition parties and the RPF began to fray. Radical factions emerged in the mainstream moderate opposition parties. Extremists could more easily use this fragmentation to raise doubt about the wisdom of ethnic reconciliation. Later, after the military coup in Burundi in October 1993 in which the democratically elected Hutu President, Melchior Ndadaye, was assassinated by the Tutsi military, opponents of Rwanda's Arusha agreement could again discredit it. The events in Burundi were an important trigger to the unraveling of the peace agreement because they undercut the position of the Hutu political party alliance that had been the core of the consensus on pursuing negotiations.[19]

Responding decisively to violent spoiling. Because societies engaged in protracted conflicts do not trust each other, it is vital that central governments engaged in peace negotiations adopt a zero tolerance policy to actors who use violence to derail them. Here too, the collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process in the 1990s is instructive. While many different explanations for the failure of Oslo have been raised and revisited, key among them is that violent spoiling, on both sides, was not nipped in the bud. On the Palestinian side, as has been noted in several studies, terrorism became a means for various political parties to secure public support in a democratizing political space. Indeed, as political rivals (Hamas and Islamic Jihad) began to garner increased public support in the aftermath of successful suicide

bombing campaigns, Yasir Arafat's Fatah party also eventually became an internal spoiler by jumping on the terrorism bandwagon. Terrorism was not only meant to scuttle the peace process by generating a harsh Israeli counter-terrorism response and bringing right wing, anti-Oslo Israeli leaders to power. It was also a way to outbid political contenders who had to vie for the vote in a newly democratizing Palestinian territory.[20]

For its part, the Israeli government's response to Jewish Israeli extremism should have been more determined and resolute. Consider the Rabin government's reaction to the Hebron massacre on February 25, 1994 when Baruch Goldstein, an American-born Israeli physician who lived in the Jewish community of Kiryat Arba on the outskirts of Hebron opened fire within the Cave of the Patriarchs' Ibrahmi Mosque, killing 29 worshippers and injuring over one hundred. The extremist political parties Kach and Kahana Chai were immediately outlawed in the aftermath of the Hebron atrocity, but the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin never evacuated Hebron's Jewish enclave. He did not have to; Hebron was not part of the Oslo agreement. Yet responding decisively to an extreme settler's violence would have gone far to mitigate the growing Palestinian mistrust of the peace process. Rabin's lackluster response to the Hebron terror event, which took place within a sacred site revered by Muslims and Jews alike, gave Hamas and other spoilers on the Palestinian side a convenient series of anniversaries on which to time their own acts of terror.[21]

Coping with Spoilers: A Framework for Analysis

The central ingredient of all durable peace agreements is creating an inclusive process that can be sustained by preventing potential would-be spoilers from becoming actual ones, and turning resisters of the peace into its stakeholders. Yet the types of strategies that will prove useful for managing spoilers when authoritarian states engage in peace efforts are not necessarily the same policies that will be effective in democratic settings. When nondemocratic states negotiate, potential spoilers often retain militias and violent dissent is typically the norm. Authoritarian leaders engaged in a peace process with neighboring states or rebel movements can crush dissent through violent suppression, but so too can would-be spoilers employ violence to undermine the agreement and the public's support for it. By contrast, because

democratic states have a legitimate monopoly on the use of force, and conflicts between the state and society are meant to occur through peaceful means, the government cannot easily use violence to suppress those societal groups that oppose its negotiation efforts. By their very nature, democracies provide room for debate over public policy, including peacemaking. Thus, leaders who commit to peace negotiations must deal with organized opposition groups and cannot simply stifle or ignore domestic backlashes to peace negotiations. Once committed to negotiations, a democratically-elected government must create a national consensus for peace among the societal majority, but it also cannot stymie the organized mobilization of spoilers (who may espouse a hard line, anti-peace agenda) by running roughshod over democratic principles. Democratic cultures provide opportunities for groups that oppose the peace to mobilize the larger society against these efforts, and to influence the government decision making process by exercising veto power within institutional frameworks. Figure 1 provides a visual depiction of these dynamics that emerge between negotiating central governments and their respective societies.

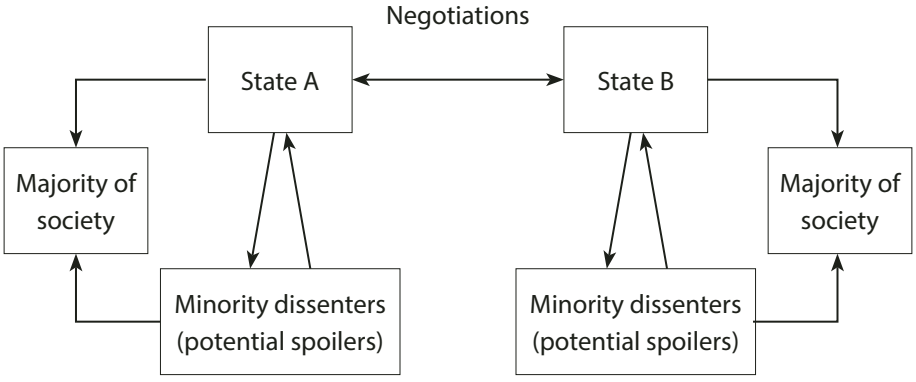

Figure 1. Spoilers of Peace in Democratic Settings: Interactions between States and Societies

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

In negotiations to resolve longstanding protracted conflicts, spoilers – actors who either reject efforts at peacemaking with the enemy in general, or who disagree with the central contours of the peace agreement in particular – can

derail the peace by using either violent or nonviolent measures. In non-democratic settings, spoilers are more likely to resort to violence to both stymie peace efforts and delegitimize the government; in countering them, authoritarian states involved in negotiations are also more likely to employ force to repress and marginalize dissenters. By contrast, in democracies, while they may adopt vigilante tactics that can verge into a violent civil disobedience, for the most part spoilers are far more likely to choose nonviolent strategies to derail the peace. Their tactics will involve working within the democratic rules of the game to thwart peace coalitions and undertaking a public relations campaign to delegitimize the government's peacemaking efforts and convince the larger society that the negotiations and peace settlement undermine the national interest. Democratic governments also cannot resort to violence in order to suppress societal dissent to peacemaking efforts. Managing spoilers requires that the government co-opt potential spoilers, and convince the larger public that negotiations are worth the risk and that peace is worth the cost. Thus, in democratic settings, for both the spoilers of peace and negotiating governments, persuasion is the key to success.

Given the importance of persuasion, stakeholders (central governments, societal actors, including NGOs, and third party mediators) engaged in negotiations whose goal is to resolve protracted conflicts should consider adopting the following policies in order to better cope with spoilers:

a. *Transform would-be spoilers into stakeholders of the peace by including a wide number of societal actors into the peace process early on*. Especially in democratic settings, where potential spoilers are in fact members of the voting public, it is vital to find creative and innovative ways to persuade these actors of the value of peace. Inclusion in the peace process ensures that the interests of potential spoilers will be incorporated into the agreement, thus minimizing the likelihood of post-agreement spoiling.
b. *Frame peace processes as incremental advances, rather than end of conflict agreements.* This is especially important for advancing peace efforts in times of conflict, where ongoing crises can enable spoilers to frame the negotiations as detrimental to the national interest, thus undermining public support for peace. Incremental steps, by creating tangible differences in the lives of peoples involved in protracted conflicts, will increase the likelihood of maintaining a national consensus for peace

within the competing societies, and will prevent the capacity for spoilers to dominate the discourse. Since such steps will advance the reality of peace without the fanfare of a high profile summit, named agreement, or an end of conflict peace plan, actors who reject peacemaking will be unable to frame such moves as mere shams. Moreover, by locking in concessions, these moves will signal a credible commitment to conflict resolution.

c. *Consider how the government of the opposing side can affect the public debate regarding the value of peacemaking through concessions that undermine and marginalize the rhetoric of spoiler groups.* Negotiators should realize that concessions that facilitate a national consensus for peace on the opposing side will be a means for ensuring that their counterparts can credibly commit to a just and final deal. Innovative and out of the box thinking is needed to fashion concessions that appeal to the societal majorities of both sides in the conflict, as well as to minority dissenters. Here, third party mediators can assist the interlocutors in appreciating how such concessions can become part of a comprehensive package of confidence building measures.

d. *Respond effectively to spoiler violence early on in the negotiation process.* A failure to respond decisively to spoilers that use violence will have negative repercussions on the peace process as it creates a climate of distrust and makes it more likely that spoilers will be able to discredit ongoing negotiations. Fear of altercations with violent spoilers should not dissuade governments from pursuing peacemaking efforts preferred by the societal majority. Stakeholders should recognize that creative and empathetic attempts to incorporate would-be spoilers into the peace process, however, will often minimize the need to confront violent spoilers down the road.

Notes

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11 For an extended discussion of spoiling in the Russo-Chechen case see Michael Makara, "Understanding Spoiler Behavior Following the First Russo-Chechen War," *E-PARCC Collaborative Governance Initiative* (Syracuse, NY: Program for the Advancement of Research on Conflict and Collaboration, Maxwell School of Syracuse University, 2010), www.maxwell.syr.edu/parcc.
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