



GLOBAL TRANSITIONS SERIES



Third Parties in Peace Agreements: First Look at New Data and Key Trends

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THE UNIVERSITY
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The Global Transitions Series looks at fragmentations in the global order and how these impact peace and transition settlements. It explores why and how different third-party actors – state, intergovernmental, and non-governmental – intervene in conflicts, and how they see themselves contributing to reduction of conflict and risks of conflict relapse. The series critically assesses the growth and diversification of global and regional responses to contemporary conflicts. It also asks how local actors are navigating this multiplicity of mediators and peacebuilders and how this is shaping conflict outcomes and post-conflict governance.

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Key Findings

- ▶ Two thirds of formal, written, and signed peace agreements have at least one third party signatory. International third-party signatories are found in fifty percent of peace agreements.
- ▶ The top five international third-party signatories are the UN (383 agreements), Russia (132 agreements), United States (126 agreements), African Union (123 agreements), and European Union (106 agreements).
- ▶ Formal agreements that aim to resolve or otherwise address the entirety of a conflict are declining in numbers. Engagement of Western countries as signatories is similarly decreasing, which is likely linked to the apparent decline of the large-scale international peace conferences.
- ▶ There seems to be little change, however, in the number of signatories and third parties per agreement, driven by the entrance of new countries and organisations to the peace-making field.
- ▶ Qatar and Kenya are examples of countries taking on the role of third parties in peace agreements in their neighbourhoods and areas of interest. Not only are they supporting the talks, but they are also frequent mediators, hosts, and organisers of talks.
- ▶ Regional organisations are also taking up some of the openings in the peace-making space, with the African Union, IGAD, and the European Union appearing as peace agreement signatories more often, even as the number of agreements is falling.
- ▶ Russian involvement as a third party signatory can be categorised under three strands: 1) participation in UNSC resolutions that function as peace agreements and participation in international conferences, both of which are on the wane as modes of involvement; 2) acting as a third party in a series of frozen conflicts driven by the dissolution of the USSR; 3) recent involvement in Syria and, to a far lesser degree, in other conflicts (such as that in the Central African Republic), characterised by direct engagement with the warring sides and eschewing most multilateral mechanisms of peace-making.
- ▶ As a third party in peace agreements, China is very much a multilateral actor, and has been over the past thirty years, appearing as a third party in a variety of settings, and supporting large-scale international involvement in peace processes. However, this involvement does not include leadership in supporting peace processes, nor is it reflective of other ways in which a country may be acting to influence armed conflict.

Abbreviations

AU	African Union
CAR	Central African Republic
EU	European Union
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development (Eastern Africa)
IGO	International governmental organisation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
P5	Permanent members of the UNSCR
PA-X	Peace Agreement Database and Dataset
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Introduction

Most formal and signed agreements in peace processes are supported by parties external to the armed conflict, in the form of third-party signature to the agreement. The importance of third parties to agreements is demonstrated by the data on peace agreements: in the PA-X collection of peace agreements (Bell et al; 2022, [Bell and Badanjak; 2019](#)) two thirds of agreements feature a signatory which is not one of the main conflict parties, and half of all agreements feature an international third-party signatory. Among these third parties are other countries, international organisations, regional organisations, domestic non-governmental organisations, religious organisations, as well as trade unions and political parties. However, it is the third countries, international organisations, and regional organisations that make up a large majority of third-party signatories to peace agreements. This report provides a first look into the new Third Parties in Peace Agreements Dataset (Badanjak and Henry; 2023), considers the key trends from the peace agreements and signatories data by examining changes to the composition of the dataset and the engagement of selected countries (Russia, China, Qatar, and Kenya), and African and European regional organisations.

This new dataset is the only existing data resource on third party signatories in peace agreements, and allows for an in-depth examination of the patterns of engagement in peace agreements and peace processes. Third parties in agreements play multiple roles and bring a multitude of interwoven values and preferences to the negotiating table. The ideal-type of a third party is an impartial guarantor of safety for the warring sides as they engage in talks. The security dilemma they help to address here is straightforward: each of the parties understands that taking a pause from fighting to talk may mean that the other side reorganises and regroups, only to return stronger on the battlefield. This dilemma (Walter; 2002) is intensified in internal conflicts, where one side is likely to be a rebel group that may be facing complete defeat and dissolution. In armed conflict between states, such a prospect is less likely, as the modern norms surrounding statehood preclude such an outcome. In both these cases, a third party in the form of an impartial guarantor may alleviate the core security dilemma that the sides are facing. Thus, the solution for bringing warring sides to the negotiating table is to have the support of an impartial third party that can credibly commit to protecting both sides from incurring extra costs while negotiations are taking place.

Outside of the ideal type, third parties always come with a mix of interests, values, and preferences, and it is rarely the case that all warring sides agree on a third party's impartiality. Nevertheless, conflict sides agree more often than not to have mediators and third parties support their talks. Third parties can guarantee some level of security to the negotiating sides, they can offer incentives for talks in the form of aid/investment, provide material support for negotiations and serve as witnesses as to what has been agreed. Oftentimes, the third parties in peace agreements commit to some form of involvement in implementation of the agreement – they provide peacekeeping troops, ceasefire monitoring missions, commit to funding reconstruction or political transition, or offer to pay for international election monitoring. Many of these are perceived as benefits for all sides in the conflict, even if no external party is ever seen as fully impartial or altruistic.

In recent years, there has been greater discussion of new actors entering the peace-making field. These discussions are parallel to the perceived decline of the liberal model of peacebuilding and a retreat of Western countries from direct involvement in conflict management and stabilisation (Bargués; 2020, Bath and Gamaghelyan; 2023, Karlsrud; 2019, Pospisil; 2020), inclusive of peace processes (Peter and Rice; 2022). This change in how peace-making is conducted should present parallel changes in the composition and number of third parties in peace agreements and peace processes, and possibly even a proliferation of peace processes addressing the same conflict. Even if Western countries are not retreating from their roles in negotiating peace deals, we should still see more countries, and international and regional organisations enter this field. Additionally, with more potential guarantors, the choice for warring sides may be greater than it had been in the past – and they may be selecting more diverse countries and organisations to support the talks. A complete insight into the matter of changing external support for peace agreements requires that this support is seen in the context of trends relating to peace process characteristics. The data and the analysis below provide this combined insight into the changing nature of peace processes and the role played by individual countries and regional organisations.

Data on Third Parties in Peace Agreements and Peace Processes

Information on signatories has been part of the PA-X Peace Agreement Database and Dataset from its initial release in 2018. However, this data has not been easy to explore and analyse, as the PA-X recorded both parties and third parties to the agreements exactly as they appeared in agreement text, and without any classification of signing parties. This means that any organisation would be listed under both its full name and acronym in a variety of languages, as used in the agreement text, with no easy method of discerning countries, armed groups, international organisations, and other actor signing the agreement. Furthermore, all parties and third parties were listed together as they appeared in each agreement, which meant that one could see which signatories were associated with a particular agreement, but there was no way to explore the agreements associated with a single actor.

In 2022, relying on a natural language processing technique called named entity recognition, the PA-X researchers identified all agreement signatories in all international and internal conflicts, for the 1990-2022 period. First, we used the existing datasets and actor dictionaries to identify all the names of countries, organisations, armed groups, and others. Then, we expanded these dictionaries by adding instances of organisation names and acronyms in multiple languages, where these were not already available. Finally, we linked instances of misspelling to the correct names of signatory actors and matched personal names to the organisations they represented at the time of their signature of the agreement. This resulted in the Peace Agreement Actor Dataset (Badanjak and Henry; 2023) which recorded 6689 signatories for 1610 agreements, and formed a table noting signatory-agreement combinations, which allowed for analysing the sets of commitments made by the same actor across agreements and peace processes, and the ways in which actors appear as co-signatories over time and space. This full dataset was further reduced to the Third Parties in Peace Agreements Dataset, used for the analysis presented in this report.

This final dataset of Third Parties in Peace Agreements recoded the original data to focus on those agreement signatories who are not immediate conflict actors. The core conceptual issue that needed to be addressed is that of distinguishing conflict parties and agreement parties. It is entirely possible for a third party to the conflict to be a first party signatory of an agreement - and to fully understand the role of external actors in peace agreements, the two roles required separation.

As the original PA-X data recorded parties and third parties as they were described in the original documents, the identity of third parties was in many cases unclear. The key problem to resolve in the data was to discern third parties in a conflict from among first parties in an agreement. For instance, if the warring sides were in negotiations with a UN peacekeeping mission, often all of them would be recorded as parties in the original agreement document (and thus in the PA-X data), even though the UN peacekeeping mission would be understood as the third party to the conflict and thus a “de facto third party”.

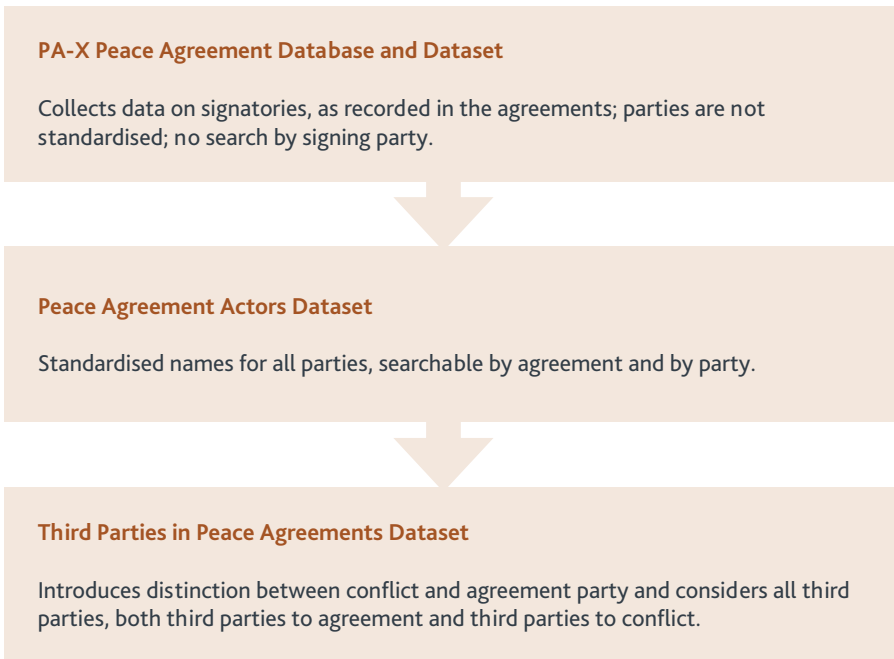


Figure 1. PA-X and its associated datasets

To create the Third Parties in Peace Agreements Dataset, this matter was resolved through a series of decisions on classification of actors into the third party in conflict or “de facto third party”. First, any actor that the agreement itself classified as a third party was immediately classified as a de facto third party. This captured many of the mediators and witnesses, but also some unexpected actors such as trade unions, and NGOs. Second, any domestic organisations such as trade unions and NGOs were removed from the list. Third, any international or regional organisation that appeared as a first party to the agreement was also added to the list of de facto third parties. Finally, any country that was recorded as first-party signatory, but which was not the primary or secondary location of the conflict itself, was also recorded as a de facto third party. This resulted in a dataset of 3241 third party signatories in 879 peace agreements, which is used for the analyses of the role played by the selected countries and regional organisations in this report. The relationships between the core datasets used is shown in Figure 1, with the main PA-X database serving to develop the full Peace Agreement Actors Dataset, and the latter was then adapted to the requirement of noting external sides, regardless of how they were recorded in the formal peace agreement documents.

Trends in Peace Agreements and Signing Practices

Global trends in peace processes

The PA-X Peace Agreement Database and Dataset collects all formal, written, and signed agreements in armed conflicts and violent crises, starting with 1990, and data collection continuing to present day. Collecting over thirty years of peace-making practice as recorded in the agreed documents, this data resource can provide a good overview of the context in which third-party actors support the fragile processes of transition from armed conflict. This data resource is also the basis of the new dataset used in this report, the Third Parties in Peace Agreements Dataset.

When considering the ways in which both old and new actors in peace-making approach this activity, considering the landscape in which they participate is vital. From Figure 2 below, we can see that the attempts to reach agreements that in some way address the entirety of the conflict are reducing in number (while local agreements, aiming to deal with geographically limited consequences of wider conflict, appear to be rising in number). In particular, agreements that define the process and agenda for talks, which used to be part of large, often multilateral negotiations, appear to be vanishing (indicated in Figure 2 with the abbreviation "Pre"). This is indicative of the reducing importance of such modes of negotiation, and of the decreasing ability to find a wide international consensus on matters related to conflict resolution. In the 1990s and the early 2000s, convening large conferences and negotiation processes was viable, and now remains present in only a handful of cases, as in that of the 2021 Paris International Conference for Libya.

In support of the thesis of reduced potential for wide international consensus on conflict resolution, the PA-X data also show that the instrument of UN Security Council Resolution which functions as peace agreement is also becoming rarer. These would be resolutions which confirm peace agreements, or which in other ways commit resources to the peace process or peace agreement implementation. While the PA-X data collection effort still considers UN Security Council Resolutions and Statements as potentially having similar function and status as peace agreements, very few such documents have been found to satisfy the criterion of being agreement-like in recent years, possibly indicative of the inability of the P5 to come to a consensus on intervention and peace process support in some of the more recent deadly conflicts, such as Syria.

Of the twenty-six UNSCRs with status of peace agreement for PA-X data collection purposes, only nine have been passed since 2000, and there have been none since 2019, when [UNSCR 2452](#) provided for a six month United Nations Mission to support the Hodeidah Agreement in Yemen. This gap in broad, international modes of negotiation does potentially open the door for smaller initiatives, and for involvement of new actors.

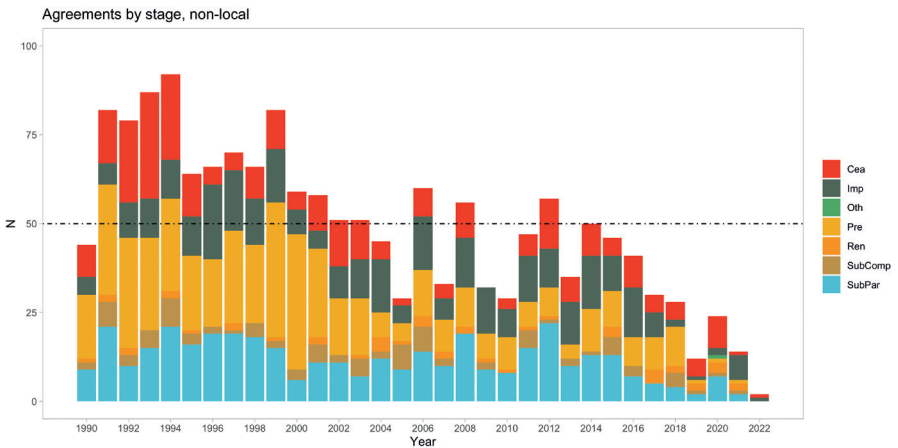


Figure 2. Number of agreements signed since 1990 (excluding local agreements)

Identifying any new entrants and a retreat of Western actors cannot be inferred from the aggregate numbers of signatories of peace agreements. Even as the overall number of agreements, and particularly the number of process-related agreements, is falling, the signatory data show some stability. Figure 3 shows the average number of actors signing agreements, for each year, since 1990. The orange line shows a trend – though not a particularly strong one – of a small increase in the number of signatories. While the number of agreements signed is becoming smaller, those agreements that are signed are seeing a stable or mildly increasing number of agreement parties. Figure 4 reduces the signatories just to third parties to the conflict and shows that the number of third parties has tended to rise until the early 2000s and has since remained stable.

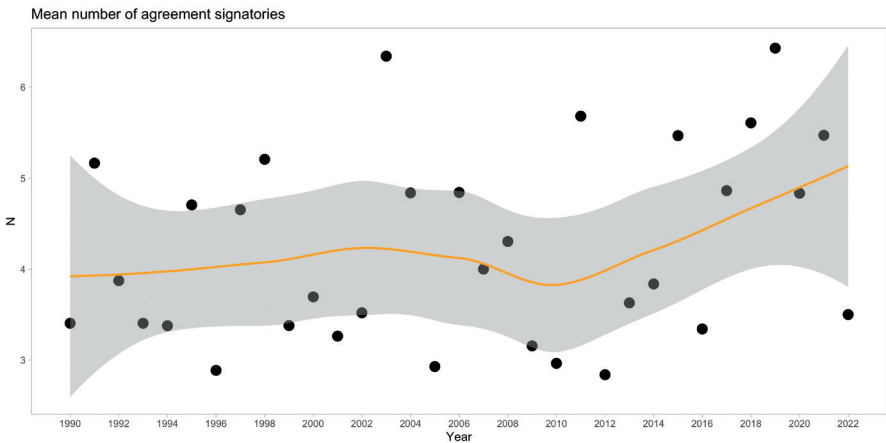


Figure 3. Mean number of signatories per agreement, yearly, since 1990

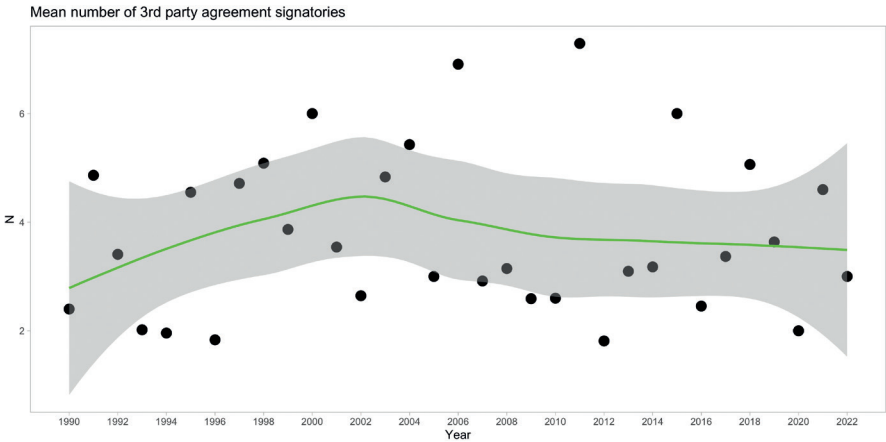


Figure 4. Mean number of third-party signatories per agreement, yearly, since 1990

Figure 5 shows the numbers of agreements signed by a selection of countries - China, France, Kenya, Norway, Qatar, Russia, Turkey, United Kingdom, and United States - between 1990 and 2022. Of these, France, Norway, United Kingdom, and United States can be considered traditional Western actors in peace agreements, while the latter are often seen as either newcomers or challengers in conflict resolution and peace-making. This graph should be understood in the context of the falling number of signed agreements relating to the entirety of the conflict: a drop in the number of agreements signed by a particular country may not indicate their “retreat” but rather the same level of engagement accompanied by fewer opportunities to engage. The stable or increasing number of agreements signed by a country, on the other hand, is indicative of activity that counters the trend, and should be seen as significant increase in engagement in peace talks.

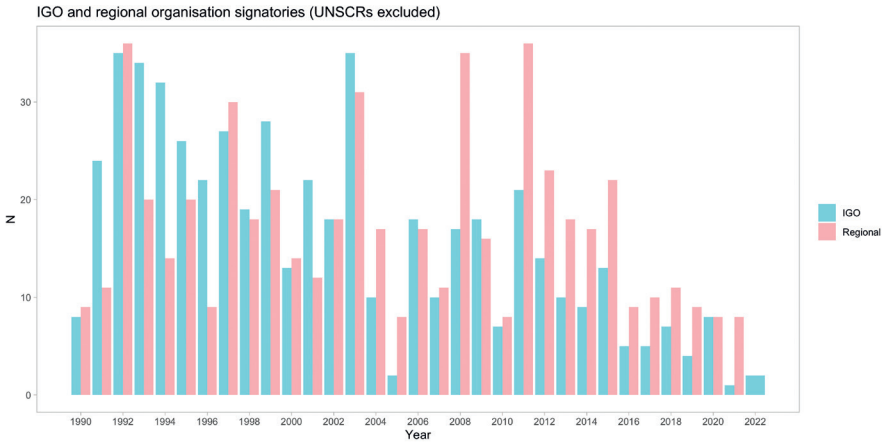


Figure 6. Number of agreements signed by international organisations and regional organisations, yearly, since 1990

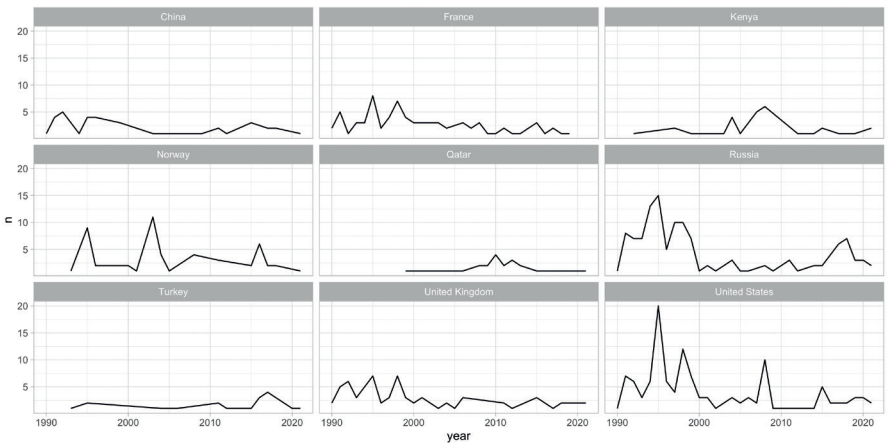


Figure 5. Number of agreements signed by selected countries, per year, since 1990. Data for China, France, Kenya, Norway, Qatar, Russia, Turkey, United Kingdom, and United States.

For each of the countries in the group of Western actors, the trend is that of reduced activity as third parties to peace agreements. The change is perhaps the most stark for the United States, whose frequency of signing agreements as third party in recent years does not differ much from that of Turkey or Kenya – countries which are quite influential but cannot match the global reach and power of the United States. United States, United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent, Norway, all see their engagement closely follow the trend in the number of agreements, suggesting at best no change in the extent to which they participate in peace talks as third party.

In the case of China, rising global influence and economic power have not seen a clear parallel in the country's engagement in peace talks as a third party, as China's engagement is relatively low, but shows stability, and even a relative rise, when considered in the context of lower number of agreements signed. China thus signs a similar number of agreements over time, but this number accounts for an increasing proportion of all signed agreements.

The numbers for Qatar, Kenya, and Turkey are perhaps the most interesting ones in Figure 5: all three countries show increased numbers of agreements signed as third parties, particularly from the early 2000s onward. Based on this figure alone, there have been significant changes to the composition of third parties in peace agreements – with Western countries signing fewer agreements, and countries like Kenya, Qatar and Turkey becoming more engaged.

The composition of peace agreement signatories has also changed with regard to the international and regional organisations that act as third parties. Figure 6 shows how often international organisations, such as UN and its agencies, and regional organisations, such as African Union or European Union, signed peace agreements as third parties. Until 2004, it was rare for regional organisations to sign more agreements than international organisations – from 2004 onwards, the relationship is reversed, and regional organisations take the lead.

Figure 7 shows how this trend is reflected in the number of agreements signed by particular regional organisations. AU, EU, and IGAD are clearly increasing their engagement – and as above – this rise should be seen in the light of a smaller number of agreements signed overall. This means that these organisations are not just signing more agreements, but they are present in a greater proportion of all signed agreements.

The picture painted by the data on Third Parties in Peace Agreements show that the past fifteen to twenty years have seen a shift in the composition and number of actors engaged in peace-making as third parties. Some new entrants, such as Qatar and Kenya, are more present as third parties, while some Western actors are seeing a decline in frequency with which they take on the role. Additionally, regional organisations are becoming more prominent, and particularly in Africa, where both African and European regional organisations act as third parties in peace agreements.

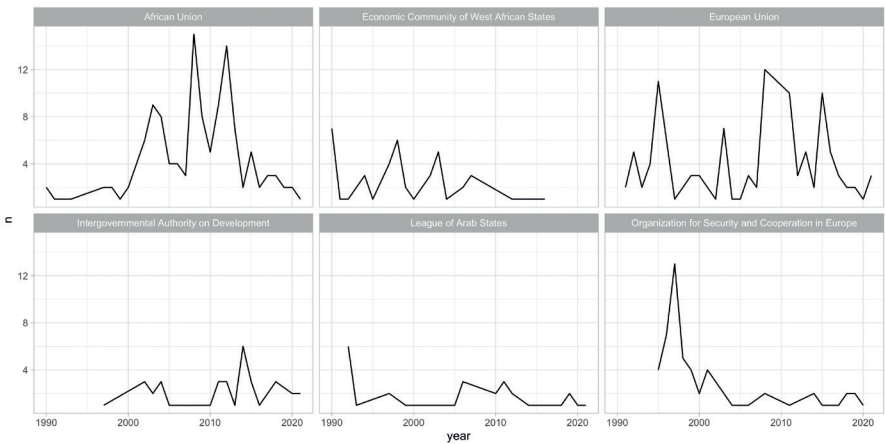


Figure 7. Number of agreements signed by regional organisations as third parties, yearly, since 1990. Data shown for AU, ECOWAS, EU, IGAD, League of Arab States, OSCE

Country case: Qatar

Qatar is certainly among the relatively new entrants to the peace-making field, with the first appearance of the Gulf state as a third party in the Agreement reached between the State of Eritrea and the Republic of the Sudan in 1999. Since then, Qatar has served as third party signatory in twenty-one more peace agreements, with engagement intensifying since 2010.

Most prominently, Qatar supported the peace negotiations in Darfur in the 2010s and took part in several multilateral negotiation efforts for Afghanistan, Syria, and Libya.

Qatar appears to be engaging, in parallel, in multilateral efforts farther afield, and in leading mediation and negotiation in countries that are in their broad neighbourhood. In particular, the country's engagement in Libya and Afghanistan has been part of broad multilateral conferences, such as the 2018 Palermo Conference for and with Libya, and the Bonn Conference on Afghanistan in 2011. However, Qatar's engagement in peace processes in nearer and wider neighbourhood has been characterised by frequently acting as both host and third party to peace negotiations, with five agreements named after Qatar's capital, Doha. Qatar has also hosted and acted as third party for the Intra Afghan Peace Conference and its Resolution in 2019.

As can be seen in Figure 8, where a darker colour indicates a greater number of agreements signed as third party, Sudan has been at the focus of Qatar's role as third party in peace talks, with nine of twenty-two signed agreements relating to Sudan, primarily Darfur. One additional agreement signed by Qatar related to the management of border issues between Sudan and Chad. Most recently, Qatar was among the third parties of the long and complex 2020 Juba agreement for Sudan.

Qatar as third party in peace agreements

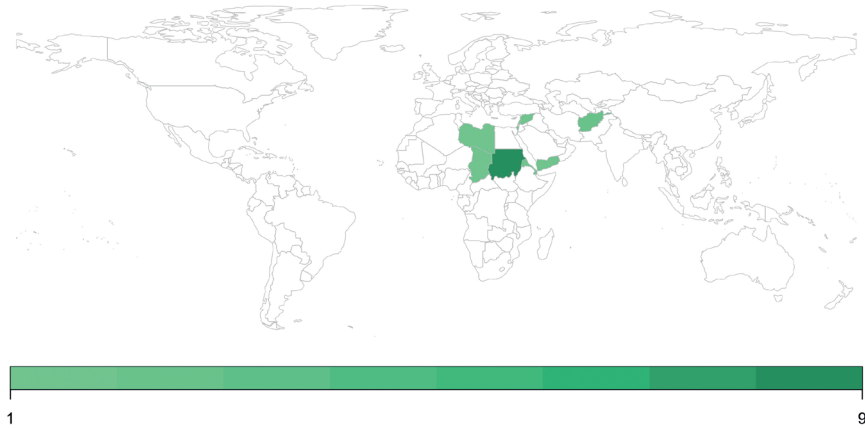


Figure 8. Map of countries/conflicts in which Qatar acted as third party in peace agreements, since 1990.

In terms of composition of the agreements supported by Qatar, the country's activity has been varied, and very similar to the overall composition of agreements in the PA-X Database. Qatar's actions perhaps counteract the overall trend in peace agreements; as mentioned above, the pre-negotiation and process agreements, which tend to set out the rules and agenda for talks, have been in decline since the early 2000s, the same period as Qatar's intensified engagement in peace talks. However, Qatar appears to be interested in agreements that establish the potential for further talks, and particularly in cases of long and difficult conflicts, such as Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, and Sudan.

Table 1. Composition of Qatari-supported agreements, compared to the full dataset of peace agreements.

	Ceasefire	Pre-negotiation	Partial	Comprehensive	Renewal	Implementation
All PA-X	21%	27%	26%	6%	2%	18%
Qatar	18%	36%	14%	5%	0%	27%

Country case: Russia

The Russian Federation is among the most active actors in peace negotiations, appearing as a party or third party in 174 agreements recorded in PA-X, coming in third, after United Nations and its agencies, and the Government of Philippines. Russia occasionally appears as a conflict party, as in the case of the 1990 Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany (four plus two agreement), which formally resolved outstanding issues from World War II related to the reunification of Germany, and in the case of the agreements settling border disputes with China and Mongolia. Most of the time (in 132 agreements), Russia appears as a third party, though this engagement has changed over time, and can be split into three strands.

First, as a member of UN Security Council's P5, Russia has tended to be involved in the large multilateral efforts, such as those in Cambodia in 1991, the wars surrounding the dissolution of Yugoslavia from 1992 to 1995, Afghanistan in the 2000s and 2010s. As the PA-X data also include UN Security Council Resolutions that significantly contribute to and reaffirm peace negotiation outcomes, Russia is very much present as a third party in its role as one of the P5. However, this form of multilateral third-party support for peace processes appears to be on the wane, as noted above.

Other than the UN Security Council resolutions, another form of agreement with wide international participation comes from the international conferences that aim to support a particular peace process or transition from armed conflict. Most recently, Russia was a signatory of the Declaration of the Paris International Conference for Libya, showing that this type of broad agreement with a multitude of international signatory does still occur. However, these agreements are now rare, certainly from the point of view of Russia's participation. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Russia took part in international conferences on Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Israel/Palestine, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Sudan/South Sudan, and Iraq. In the past ten years, Russia only took part in one such conference that yielded an agreement – the one on Libya mentioned above. This may indicate both a wane in this type of support for peace and transition processes, but also Russia's reluctance to take part in large-scale multilateral talks.

Second, Russia has been continuously involved in all armed conflicts on its periphery, stemming from the border disputes that arose from the dissolution of the USSR. Arranged around Russia's own borders, these conflicts all feature significant Russian involvement, often with armed intervention, or at least what have been termed as Russian peacekeeping forces. Russia has thus been involved in negotiations relating to Georgia (in both Abkhazia and South Ossetia), the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, violent crisis in Tajikistan in the mid-1990s, and normalization of relations between Moldova and Transnistria. Finally, with the armed conflict in Ukraine's breakaway eastern regions since 2014, Russia was also part of the talks that focussed on achieving successive ceasefires in the area. Of the sixty agreements reached in these conflicts, in which Russia was signatory, not even one endeavoured to resolve the entirety of the conflict by means of a comprehensive peace deal. In effect, Russia is surrounded by multiple instances of frozen conflict, with little movement towards any form of settlement. As frozen conflicts reignite, and then return to the freeze, the agreements and Russia's participation recur in time, making this the core component of Russia's role of third party in peace talks, as nearly half of Russia's third-party agreements (sixty of 132) were negotiated in this post-Soviet space.

The third group of agreements in which Russia participates as a third party are the relatively recent agreements in Syria, where Russia's involvement as a third party becomes more similar to that of an external military side – thus more a party to the conflict and the agreements than a third party or mediator. The first of the formal agreements in Syria came from the talks in Geneva and Vienna, in 2012 and 2015, respectively, and neither of these documents contained much in terms of a path to settlement, nor did they contribute to a change on the ground. Russia became actively involved in the conflict just before the Vienna talks, and has remained an active party since, including in thirteen written and formally signed agreements, mostly ceasefires, and numerous others at the local level and/or concluded without a formal document. This involvement in Syria coincides with a decreased role of international conferences, greater discord in the UNSC, and Russia's forays as third party beyond the expected post-Soviet circle. We thus see Russia as a third party in an agreement concerning the internal conflicts in Central African Republic (Declaration of Understanding of Khartoum, of the Central African Armed Groups (Anti-Balaka and Ex-Seleka)). While this is so far an isolated instance, seen in combination with the involvement in Syria, deployment of Russia-sponsored Wagner Group, and intense diplomatic efforts by Russia in Africa, it may indicate a greater interest in influencing peace and transition processes in Africa beyond the traditional formula of UN-driven talks and large international conferences.

The wide geographic spread in the full period is in line with Russia's involvement in multiple multilateral negotiations – such as those for Cambodia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan, and it also reflects some of the Cold War-era relationships, such as those with non-aligned countries in Africa and Asia.

However, the post-2015 picture shows a very different sort of engagement as third party in peace agreements, simultaneously more narrow and more intense, with unilateral involvement in the Syrian conflict taking precedence over any multilateral efforts.

Russia as third party in peace agreements since 2015

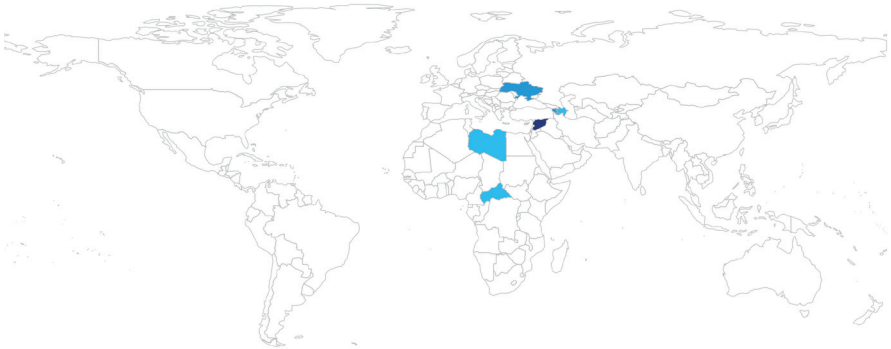


Figure 10. Map of countries/conflicts in which Russia acted as third party in peace agreements, since 2015

In terms of composition of agreements, in Table 2, the picture for the full 1990-2022 period is unsurprising, and very similar to the overall distribution of agreement types in the PA-X Database. For the post-2015 period, however, Russia is only involved in agreements that deal with immediate effects of the conflicts (ceasefires), and those that reiterate previous deals. Surprisingly, none of the agreements Russia signed since 2015 could be classified as partially or comprehensively dealing with the root causes of armed conflict, nor do they attempt to establish some form of settlement. These are agreements primarily relating to Syria, but also to CAR, pre-2022 conflict in Ukraine, and Armenia and Azerbaijan's conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

Table 2. Composition of Russia-supported agreements, compared to the full dataset of peace agreements.

	Ceasefire	Pre-negotiation	Partial	Comprehensive	Renewal	Implementation
All PA-X	21%	27%	26%	6%	2%	18%
Russia	19%	37%	21%	4%	4%	15%
All PA-X (after 2015)	29%	15%	31%	6%	4%	15%
Russia (after 2015)	32%	24%	0%	0%	16%	28%

Country case: Kenya

The case of Kenya as a third party in peace agreements differs from the other cases presented in this report. Unlike Qatar, Kenya is not considered a relative newcomer to the peace-making field, with cases of Kenya acting as third party in agreements dating back to the early 1990s. Unlike Russia and China, Kenya is very much a regional actor, not taking part in geographically diverse international initiatives and conferences. As Figure 11 shows, Kenya's role as third party in peace agreements focused on its relative neighbourhood: Sudan and South Sudan, Uganda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Somalia.

Among the wider-scale regional endeavours, and not shown in Figure 11, Kenya was party to the agreements relating to multiple conflicts in the Great Lakes region in the early 2000s: Dar-Es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region from 2004, and Protocol of Non-aggression and Mutual Defence in the Great Lakes Region and Pact on Security, Stability, and Development in the Great Lakes Region from 2006, which are not represented on the map, as there was no single country or pair of countries that the agreements referred to.

Kenya as third party in peace agreements



Figure 11. Map of countries/conflicts in which Kenya acted as third party in peace agreements, since 1990

Most recently, Kenya has been involved as third party in a series of agreements relating to South Sudan, and this comprised the entirety of the country's participation in peace agreements between 2014 and 2021. Additionally, and to be added in the next iteration of this dataset, Kenya has been supporting the talks between DRC and Rwanda in 2022, relating to multiple conflict areas in Eastern DRC and the cross-border activities of the M23 armed group.

This profile of regional engagement stands out the most in the data on Kenya, and is characterised by consistency over time, and returns to support the peace processes in the most difficult conflicts in the region, such as those in Sudan and South Sudan.

Table 3. Composition of Kenya-supported agreements, compared to the full dataset of peace agreements.

	Ceasefire	Pre-negotiation	Partial	Comprehensive	Renewal	Implementation
All PA-X	21%	27%	26%	6%	2%	18%
Kenya	21%	9%	26%	18%	6%	20%

The composition of the agreements for which Kenya served as third party is quite different from the overall PA-X data – with comprehensive deals over-represented and pre-negotiation agreements under-represented. Over the years, Kenya supported broad settlement deals in Burundi, Uganda, Mozambique, but it does appear that the composition of agreements it supports has been more diverse in the past fifteen to twenty years.

Country case: China

The trajectory of China's presence as third party in peace agreements is very similar to that first strand of Russia's engagement, discussed above. Just like Russia, China is one of the UNSC P5, and has been taking part in peace processes that heavily involved the bulk of the international community. This engagement has been consistent over the past thirty-two years, as China participated in all major international conferences (e.g., for Cambodia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan, Libya), with the key exception of negotiations relating to Israel and Palestine. Nearly all (twenty-nine of thirty-three) agreements signed by China as a third party have been the result of large international conferences or UNSC resolutions. Even the exceptions (2005 Text of Joint Statement regarding North Korea, 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS), 2017 Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities, Protection of Civilians and Humanitarian Access, Republic of South Sudan, and 2015 The Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) between The Government of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar and the Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAO)) featured the presence of multiple international actors, including EU, US, UN, and neighbouring countries (Adhikari; 2021).

China as third party in peace agreements

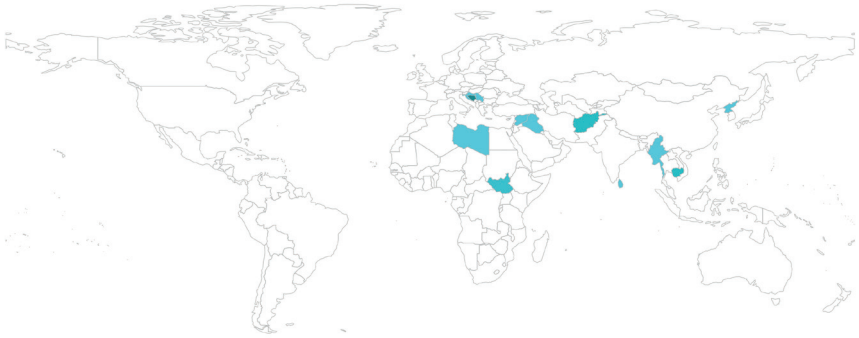


Figure 12. Map of countries/conflicts in which China acted as third party in peace agreements, since 1990

As demonstrated by Figure 12, this type of engagement on China's part quickly identifies the key countries that the international efforts tried to address over the past thirty years. This representation of China's engagement as third party in peace agreements could just as easily be a depiction of areas in which there have been large-scale multilateral negotiations.

In terms of agreement composition, Table 4 below reflects the above pattern. Chinese involvement does seem to come at the point when there is a broad international consensus regarding a peace process. Third parties that are attempting to become more intensely involved in conflict resolution end up supporting more ceasefires, as these tend to be prerequisites for any kind of talks. In the case of China, ceasefires are very much underrepresented, while comprehensive deals and implementation agreements make up a large proportion of China's portfolio. Again, this mirrors the types of agreements signed in international fora; these are typically comprehensive deals, followed by implementation agreements that often contain provision for international funding of agreement implementation.

Table 4. Composition of China-supported agreements, compared to the full dataset of peace agreements.

	Ceasefire	Pre-negotiation	Partial	Comprehensive	Renewal	Implementation
All PA-X	21%	27%	26%	6%	2%	18%
Kenya	12%	29%	15%	12%	0%	32%

Appendix I: List of Agreements with Qatar as Third-Party Signatory

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
627	Eritrea/Sudan	Agreement reached between the State of Eritrea and the Republic of the Sudan	Pre-negotiation, May 1999
1061	Afghanistan	Afghanistan Compact Building on Success (London Conference)	Framework- substantive, partial, February 2006
729	Lebanon	Doha Agreement on the Results of the Lebanese National Dialogue Conference	Implementation, May 2008
1433	Yemen	Doha Agreement	Ceasefire, February 2008
715	Chad/Sudan	Doha Agreement	Implementation, May 2009
748	Sudan/Darfur	Agreement of Goodwill and Confidence Building for the Settlement of the Problem in Darfur	Pre-negotiation, February 2009
721	Djibouti/Eritrea	Agreement between the State of Eritrea and the Republic of Djibouti (concerning peaceful settlement of the border dispute)	Pre-negotiation, June 2010

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
753	Sudan/Darfur	Framework Agreement to Resolve the Conflict in Darfur between the Government of Sudan and the LJM	Framework-substantive, partial, March 2010
754	Sudan/Darfur	Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the LJM	Ceasefire, March 2010
755	Sudan/Darfur	Framework Agreement to Resolve the Conflict in Darfur between the Government of Sudan and the JEM	Framework-substantive, partial, February 2010
749	Sudan/Darfur	Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the LJM for the Adoption of the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur	Implementation, July 2011
848	Afghanistan	Conclusions of the Conference on Afghanistan and the International Community: From Transition to the Transformation Decade (Bonn Conference)	Pre-negotiation, December 2011
784	Syria	Final Communique of the Action Group for Syria (Geneva Communique)	Pre-negotiation, June 2012

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
855	Sudan/Darfur	Declaration of Cessation of Hostilities and Commitment to the Peace Process between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement Sudan (JEM)	Ceasefire, October 2012
1410	Palestine	The Doha Declaration	Implementation, February 2012
875	Sudan/Darfur	Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan on the Basis of the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur	Implementation, April 2013
880	Sudan/Darfur	Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan (JEM)	Ceasefire, February 2013
1652	Syria	Final declaration on the results of the Syria Talks in Vienna as agreed by participants	Pre-negotiation, October 2015
2230	Libya	Palermo Conference for and with Libya, Conclusions	Pre-negotiation, November 2018

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
2232	Afghanistan	Resolution of Intra Afghan Peace Conference in Doha, Qatar (Doha Roadmap for Peace)	Pre-negotiation, July 2019
2325	Sudan	Sudan peace agreement (Juba Agreement)	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, October 2020
2433	Libya	Declaration of the Paris International Conference for Libya	Implementation, November 2021

Appendix II: List of Agreements with the Russian Federation as Third-Party Signatory

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
33	Israel/(Palestine)	Letter of Invitation to Madrid Peace Conference	Pre-negotiation, October 1991
207	Angola	Peace Accords for Angola, Lisbon ('Bicesse Accords')	Framework- substantive, partial, May 1991
243	Cambodia	Agreement Concerning the Sovereignty, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality and National Unity of Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework- substantive, partial, October 1991
252	Cambodia	Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, October 1991

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
364	Cambodia	Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework-substantive, partial, October 1991
378	Cambodia	Final Act of the Paris Conference on Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework-substantive, comprehensive, October 1991
611	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Russia/ (Nagorno-Karabakh)	Final Act of the Paris Conference on Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework-substantive, comprehensive, October 1991
1319	Angola	The Protocol of Estoril (Bicesse Accords)	Framework-substantive, partial, May 1991
10	Georgia/Russia/ Abkhazia	Final Document of the Moscow Meeting (Moscow Ceasefire)	Ceasefire, September 1992

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1025	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of Consultations on the Regulation of the Conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia	Ceasefire, August 1992
1164	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Statement of Principles, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	Pre-negotiation, August 1992
1165	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Confidence, Security- building and Verification (The London Conference)	Ceasefire, August 1992
1166	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Conclusions on Implementation of Existing Sanctions, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	Implementation, August 1992
1167	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Specific Decisions by the London Conference, International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	Pre-negotiation, August 1992
1169	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Statement of Principles on Bosnia, International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	Pre-negotiation, August 1992

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
12	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Memorandum of understanding between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides at the negotiations held in Geneva	Framework- substantive, partial, December 1993
249	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Agreement on a Ceasefire in Abkhazia and Arrangements to Monitor its Observance (Sochi Agreement)	Ceasefire, July 1993
1172	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Text of US/Russia/UK/ France/Spain Joint Action Programme (JAP) on Bosnia	Implementation, May 1993
1693	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Agreement on Ceasefire and the mechanisms of its implementation in Abkhazia	Ceasefire, September 1993
1729	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Nagorno- Karabakh	Agreement on the Resumption of the Ceasefire for a Period of 11 Days and a Meeting between the leaders of Azerbaijan and Nagorno- Karabakh	Ceasefire, August 1993
1729	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Nagorno- Karabakh	Agreement to Extend the Ceasefire for a Period of 3 Days	Ceasefire, September 1993

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1731	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Nagorno- Karabakh	Joint Communiqué Regarding the Results of the Negotiations between the Representatives of the Azerbaijan and Nagorno- Karabakh Leaderships	Pre-negotiation, September 1993
13	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Communiqué on the second round of negotiations between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	Pre-negotiation, January 1994
36	Israel/Palestine	Protocol on Economic Relations	Pre-negotiation, April 1994
250	Yemen	Agreement on a Ceasefire in the Republic of Yemen	Ceasefire, June 1994
310	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Nagorno- Karabakh	Bishkek Protocol	Ceasefire, May 1994
361	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Declaration on Measures of a Political Settlement of the Georgia-Abkhaz Conflict	Ceasefire, April 1994
439	Angola	Lusaka Protocol	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, November 1994

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
492	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Proposal for the Establishment of a Coordinating Commission	Pre-negotiation, May 1994
524	Georgia/Russia/ Abkhazia	Quadripartite Agreement on Voluntary Return of Refugees and Displaced Persons	Framework- substantive, partial, April 1994
990	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Nagorno- Karabakh	Ceasefire Agreement Signed in Bishkek	Ceasefire, May 1994
1200	Croatia/ Yugoslavia (former)	Agreement (Economic Agreement)	Framework- substantive, partial, December 1994
1732	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Nagorno- Karabakh	Agreement on the Implementation of the 18 February 1994 Protocol	Ceasefire, April 1994
1733	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Nagorno- Karabakh	Agreement on Confirmation of Commitment to Ceasefire	Ceasefire, July 1994

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1809	China/ Mongolia/Russia	Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation, the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the Government of Mongolia on the determination of the points of junction of the national borders of the three states	Framework- substantive, partial, January 1994
77	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Agreed Basic Principles signed on 8 September 1995 at Geneva	Pre-negotiation, September 1995
78	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Further Agreed Basic Principles (additional to those issued 8 September 1995, in Geneva)	Pre-negotiation, September 1995
389	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Peace Agreement)	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, November 1995
410	Israel/Palestine	Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (‘Oslo II’)	Framework- substantive, partial, September 1995

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
983	Israel/Palestine	Annex I, Protocol Concerning Redeployment and Security Arrangements, Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on The West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Oslo II)	Framework-substantive, partial, September 1995
984	Israel/Palestine	Annex II, Protocol Concerning Elections, Israeli Palestinian Interim Agreement on The West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Oslo II)	Framework-substantive, partial, September 1995
985	Israel/Palestine	Annex III, Concerning Civil Affairs, Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on The West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Oslo II)	Framework-substantive, partial, September 1995
986	Israel/Palestine	Annex IV, Protocol Concerning Legal Affairs, Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on The West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Oslo II)	Framework-substantive, partial, September 1995

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
987	Israel/Palestine	Annex V, Protocol on Economic Relations, Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on The West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Oslo II)	Framework-substantive, partial, September 1995
988	Israel/Palestine	Annex VI, Protocol Concerning Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation Programs, Israel-Palestinian Interim Agreement on The West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Oslo II)	Framework-substantive, partial, September 1995
989	Israel/Palestine	Annex VII, Release of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees, Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on The West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Oslo II)	Framework-substantive, partial, September 1995
1030	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Conclusions of the Peace Implementation Conference held at Lancaster House (London Conference)	Pre-negotiation, December 1995

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1203	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1031	Implementation, December 1995
1204	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1035	Implementation, December 1995
1217	Croatia/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1023	Implementation, November 1995
239	Tajikistan	Agreement between the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, E.S. Rakhmonov, and the leader of the United Tajik- Opposition, S.A.Huri, on the Results of the Meeting held in Moscow on 23 December 1996	Pre-negotiation, December 1996
1209	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1088	Implementation, December 1996
1218	Croatia/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1037	Implementation, January 1996

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1807	China/Mongolia /Russia	Protocol between the Government of the Russian Federation, the Government of Mongolia, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, describing the eastern junction point of the borders of the three states	Framework- substantive, partial, June 1996
1808	China/Mongolia /Russia	Protocol between the Government of the Russian Federation, the Government of Mongolia, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, describing the western junction point of the borders of the three states	Framework- substantive, partial, June 1996
342	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Concluding Statement on the Outcome of the Resumed Meeting between the Georgian and Abkhaz parties	Framework- substantive, partial, November 1997
428	Tajikistan	Joint Statement by the Delegation of the Government of Tajikistan and the Delegation of the United Tajik Opposition	Pre-negotiation, January 1997

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
429	Tajikistan	Joint Statement by the Delegation of the Govt of the Rep of Tajikistan and the Delegation of the United Tajik Opposition on the outcome of the Inter-Tajik Talks held in Moscow from 26 February to 8 March 1997	Pre-negotiation, March 1997
454	Moldova/ Transnistria	Memorandum on the Bases for Normalization of Relations between the Republic of Moldova and Transnistria	Framework- substantive, partial, May 1997
514	Tajikistan	Protocol on Military Issues	Framework- substantive, partial, March 1997
519	Tajikistan	Protocol on the Guarantees of Implementation of the General Agreement on Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan	Implementation, May 1997
525	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Record of the first meeting of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz Parties and Statute of the Coordinating Council	Pre-negotiation, December 1997

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
546	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Statement on the meeting between the Georgian and Abkhaz parties	Pre-negotiation, August 1997
555	Tajikistan	Tehran Declaration	Pre-negotiation, May 1997
1035	Comoros/ Anjouan	Addis Ababa Agreement	Pre-negotiation, December 1997
17	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Record of the first extraordinary session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz parties	Pre-negotiation, January 1998
18	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Decision of 28 April 1998 on additional measures for the settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia, Georgia, The Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent State	Framework- substantive, partial, April 1998
19	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the fourth (second special) session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	Pre-negotiation, May 1998

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
21	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Concluding statement on the results of the second meeting of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides, Geneva, 23-25 July 1998	Pre-negotiation, July 1998
22	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the fifth session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	Ceasefire, September 1998
24	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the sixth session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	Pre-negotiation, December 1998
25	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the Meeting of Georgian and Abkhaz Sides	Ceasefire, December 1998
307	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Athens Meeting of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides on confidence-building measures	Pre-negotiation, October 1998
1221	Kosovo/Serbia/ Yugoslavia (former)	Statement of the Contact Group	Pre-negotiation, April 1998
1782	Georgia/Russia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the Third Session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz Sides	Pre-negotiation, March 1998

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
5	Kosovo/Serbia/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1244	Framework- substantive, partial, June 1999
6	Kosovo/Serbia/ Yugoslavia (former)	Kosovo Peace Plan	Pre-negotiation, June 1999
412	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Istanbul Statement of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides on confidence-building measures	Pre-negotiation, June 1999
553	Afghanistan	Tashkent Declaration on Fundamental Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in Afghanistan	Pre-negotiation, July 1999
1783	Georgia/Russia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the Seventh Session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz Sides	Pre-negotiation, February 1999
1784	Georgia/Russia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the Eighth Session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz Sides	Pre-negotiation, April 1999

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1811	China/ Kazakhstan/ Russia	The agreement between the Russian Federation, Republic of Kazakhstan, and the People's Republic of China on determining the junction point of the international borders of the three states	Framework- substantive, partial, May 1999
1795	Georgia/Russia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the Tenth Session of the Coordinating Council of Georgian and Abkhaz Sides	Pre-negotiation, July 2000
609	Georgia/ Abkhazia	Yalta Declaration of the Georgian and Abkhaz Sides and Programme of Action on Confidence-Building	Pre-negotiation, March 2001
1785	Georgia/Russia/ Abkhazia	Protocol of the Twelfth Session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz Sides	Pre-negotiation, January 2001
978	Angola	Luena Memorandum of Understanding (Addendum to the Lusaka Protocol for the Cessation of Hostilities and the Resolution of the Outstanding Military Issues under the Lusaka Protocol)	Framework- substantive, partial, April 2002

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
192	Israel/Palestine	A Performance Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	Pre-negotiation, April 2003
1154	Sri Lanka	Tokyo Declaration on Reconstruction and Development of Sri Lanka	Implementation, June 2003
362	South Sudan/ Sudan	Declaration on the Conclusion of IGAD Negotiations on Peace in the Sudan	Renewal, November 2004
1243	Iraq	Final Communique of International Ministerial Meeting of the Neighboring Countries of Iraq, The G8 and China	Implementation, November 2004
1804	Georgia/Ossetia	Minutes of the Cease-fire	Ceasefire, August 2004
2074	China/Japan/ North Korea/ Russia/South Korea/United States of America	Text of Joint Statement	Framework- substantive, partial, September 2005
1061	Afghanistan	Afghanistan Compact Building on Success (London Conference)	Framework- substantive, partial, February 2006

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
823	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Russia/(Nagorno- Karabakh)	Joint Declaration between the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation	Pre-negotiation, November 2008
847	Afghanistan	Declaration of the Special Conference on Afghanistan Convened under the Auspices of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (Moscow Declaration)	Implementation, March 2009
1685	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Russia/(Nagorno- Karabakh)	Joint Statement of the Presidents of Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Russian Federation on the settlement of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict	Pre-negotiation, October 2010
1686	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Russia/(Nagorno- Karabakh)	Joint Statement by the Heads of Delegation of the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chair Countries and the Presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia	Renewal, December 2010
848	Afghanistan	Conclusions of the Conference on Afghanistan and the International Community: From Transition to the Transformation Decade (Bonn Conference)	Pre-negotiation, December 2011

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
849	Afghanistan	Istanbul Process on Regional Security and Cooperation for a Secure and Stable Afghanistan	Implementation, November 2011
1687	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ (Nagorno- Karabakh)	Joint Statement by the Presidents of the Republic of Azerbaijan, The Republic of Armenia and the Russian Federation on the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement	Pre-negotiation, March 2011
784	Syria	Final Communiqué of the Action Group for Syria (Geneva Communiqué)	Pre-negotiation, June 2012
1362	Ukraine	Memorandum of 19 September 2014 (Memorandum on Implementation)	Ceasefire, September 2014
1363	Ukraine	Protocol on the results of consultations of the Trilateral Contact Group with respect to the joint steps aimed at the implementation of the Peace Plan of the President of Ukraine, P. Poroshenko, and the initiatives of the President of Russia, V. Putin (Minsk Protocol, or Minsk I Agreement)	Framework- substantive, partial, September 2014

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1364	Ukraine	Package of Measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements (Minsk II)	Implementation, February 2015
1652	Syria	Final declaration on the results of the Syria Talks in Vienna as agreed by participants	Pre-negotiation, October 2015
1925	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ Russia/(Nagorno-Karabakh)	Joint Statement of the Presidents of the Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia on Karabakh Conflict Settlement	Implementation, June 2016
1993	Syria	Agreement Concerning the Establishment of a Delegation (Ceasefire between 13 rebel factions)	Pre-negotiation, December 2016
2090	Syria	Agreement on the Mechanism to Record Violations of the Ceasefire regime declared in Syria that will take effect on 30 December 2016, and on the Regime for Applying Sanctions to Violators	Ceasefire, December 2016

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
2091	Syria	Syrian Ceasefire Agreement: Standard Conditions and Procedures Necessary to Ensure the Cessation of Hostilities	Ceasefire, September 2016
1926	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ (Nagorno- Karabakh)	Joint Statement by the Foreign Ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan and the Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group	Renewal, October 2017
2002	Syria	Announcement of Factions on joining the suspension of Hostilities	Ceasefire, October 2017
2092	Syria	Joint Statement by Iran, Russia, Turkey on the International Meeting on Syria in Astana, January 23-24, 2017	Pre-negotiation, January 2017
2093	Syria	Memorandum on the Creation of De-escalation areas in the Syrian Arab Republic	Ceasefire, May 2017
2094	Syria	Joint Statement by Iran, Russia, and Turkey on the International Meeting on Syria in Astana	Implementation, September 2017

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
2095	Syria	Joint Statement by Iran, Russia, and Turkey on the International Meeting on Syria in Astana, 30-31 October 2017	Pre-negotiation, October 2017
2114	Syria	Final statement of the Congress of the Syrian national dialogue, Sochi, January 30, 2018	Pre-negotiation, January 2018
2115	Syria	Joint Statement by Iran, Russia and Turkey on the International Meeting on Syria in Astana, 14-15 May 2018	Implementation, May 2018
2117	Ukraine	Statement by the Trilateral Contact Group and the representatives of certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions calling for ceasefire	Renewal, March 2018
2118	Ukraine	Statement by the Trilateral Contact Group on re-commitment to the ceasefire	Renewal, March 2018
2169	Russia/Syria/ Turkey	Memorandum on Stabilisation of the Situation in the Idlib De-escalation Area	Implementation, September 2018

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
2230	Libya	Palermo Conference for and with Libya, Conclusions	Pre-negotiation, November 2018
2253	Central African Republic	Declaration of Understanding of Khartoum, of the Central African Armed Groups (Anti-Balaka and Ex-Seleka)	Pre-negotiation, August 2018
2124	Yemen	UN Security Council Resolution 2452	Ceasefire/related, January 2019
2236	Ukraine	Statement of the Trilateral Contact Group as of 17 July 2019	Renewal, July 2019
2260	Ukraine	Paris 'Normandie' Summit Common agreed conclusions	Implementation, December 2019
2274	Russia/Syria/ Turkey	Memorandum of Understanding Between Turkey and the Russian Federation	Ceasefire, October 2019
2273	Russia/Syria/ Turkey	Additional Protocol to the Memorandum on Stabilization of the Situation in the Idlib De-Escalation Area	Ceasefire, March 2020

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
2322	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ (Nagorno- Karabakh)	Statement by the foreign ministers of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Armenia	Ceasefire, October 2020
2324	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ (Nagorno- Karabakh)	Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and President of the Russian Federation	Ceasefire, November 2020
2396	Armenia/ Azerbaijan/ (Nagorno- Karabakh)	Statement	Implementation, November 2021
2433	Libya	Declaration of the Paris International Conference for Libya	Implementation, November 2021

Appendix III: List of Agreements with Kenya as Third-Party Signatory

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
392	Mozambique	General Peace Agreement for Mozambique	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, October 1992
317	Somalia	Cairo Declaration on Somalia	Framework- substantive, partial, December 1997
1035	Comoros/ Anjouan	Addis Ababa Agreement	Pre-negotiation, December 1997
235	Sudan/Uganda	Agreement between the Governments of Sudan and Uganda (The Nairobi Agreement)	Framework- substantive, partial, December 1999
306	Burundi	Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, August 2000
568	Burundi	The Global Ceasefire Agreement	Ceasefire, November 2003

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
270	South Sudan/ Sudan	Agreement on Permanent Ceasefire and Security Arrangements Implementation Modalities between the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/People's Liberation Army (SPLM/ SPLA) During the Pre- interim and Interim Periods	Ceasefire, December 2004
349	Angola/Burundi/ Central African Republic/ Democratic Republic of Congo/Kenya/ Republic of Congo/Rwanda/ Sudan/Tanzania/ Uganda/Zambia/ (African Great Lakes)	Dar-Es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region	Framework- substantive, partial, November 2004
581	South Sudan/ Sudan	The Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan	Implementation, June 2004

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
337	South Sudan/ Sudan	Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Sudan People's Liberation Movement (Naivasha Agreement)	Framework-substantive, comprehensive, January 2005
336	Burundi	Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Burundi and the Palipehutu - FNL	Ceasefire, September 2006
668	Angola/Burundi/ Central African Republic/ Democratic Republic of Congo/Kenya/ Republic of Congo/Rwanda/ Sudan/Tanzania/ Uganda/Zambia/ (African Great Lakes)	Pact on Security, Stability, and Development in the Great Lakes Region	Implementation, December 2006

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1062	Angola/ Central African Republic/ Democratic Republic of Congo/Kenya/ Republic of Congo/Rwanda/ Sudan/Tanzania/ Uganda/ Zambia/(African Great Lakes)	Protocol of Non-aggression and Mutual Defence in the Great Lakes Region	Framework- substantive, partial, November 2006
137	Uganda	Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army/Movement	Framework- substantive, partial, June 2007
888	Uganda	Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the LRA/M	Framework- substantive, partial, May 2007
891	Uganda	Cessation of Hostilities Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the LRA/M (Addendum 3)	Ceasefire, April 2007

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
892	Uganda	Cessation of Hostilities Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the LRA/M (Addendum 4)	Ceasefire, November 2007
667	Uganda	Annexure to the Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation	Framework- substantive, partial, February 2008
685	Uganda	Agreement on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, Juba, Sudan	Framework- substantive, partial, February 2008
692	Uganda	Agreement on Implementation and Monitoring Mechanisms	Implementation, February 2008
694	Uganda	Agreement on a Permanent Ceasefire	Ceasefire, February 2008
695	Uganda	Implementation Protocol to the Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions	Implementation, February 2008
712	Burundi	Declaration du Sommet des chefs d'Etats et de gouvernements de l'initiative regionale sur le processus de Paix au Burundi	Implementation, December 2008

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1082	Ethiopia/ Ogaden	Peace Talks Between the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF): Declaration of Principles	Pre-negotiation, September 2012
1186	South Sudan	Protocol on Agreed Principles on Transitional Arrangements Towards Resolution of the Crises in South Sudan	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, August 2014
1187	South Sudan	Areas of Agreement on the Establishment of the Transitional Government of National unity (TGoNU) in the Republic of South Sudan	Implementation, February 2015
1357	South Sudan	Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS)	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, August 2015
1966	South Sudan	Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities, Protection of Civilians and Humanitarian Access, Republic of South Sudan	Ceasefire, December 2017

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
2112	South Sudan	Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)	Framework-substantive, comprehensive, September 2018
2248	South Sudan	Communique on the occasion of the tripartite summit on the Revitalised Agreement on Resolution of the Conflict in Republic of South Sudan	Renewal, November 2019
2395	South Sudan	Roadmap for Inclusion into the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring and Verification Mechanism	Renewal, July 2021
2413	South Sudan	Rome Initiative for Political Dialogue in South Sudan, Declaration of Principles, 10 March 2021, Naivasha, Kenya	Pre-negotiation, March 2021

Appendix IV: List of Agreements with China as Third-Party Signatory

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1332	Cambodia	Statement of the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council of the United Nations on Cambodia Incorporating the Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict	Pre-negotiation, August 1990
243	Cambodia	Agreement Concerning the Sovereignty, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality and National Unity of Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework- substantive, partial, October 1991
252	Cambodia	Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, October 1991

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
364	Cambodia	Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework-substantive, partial, October 1991
378	Cambodia	Final Act of the Paris Conference on Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	Framework-substantive, comprehensive, October 1991
1164	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Statement of Principles, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	Pre-negotiation, August 1992
1165	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Confidence, Security-building and Verification (The London Conference)	Ceasefire, August 1992
1166	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Conclusions on Implementation of Existing Sanctions, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	Implementation, August 1992

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1167	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Specific Decisions by the London Conference, International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	Pre-negotiation, August 1992
1169	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Statement of Principles on Bosnia, International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	Pre-negotiation, August 1992
1030	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	Conclusions of the Peace Implementation Conference held at Lancaster House (London Conference)	Pre-negotiation, December 1995
1203	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1031	Implementation, December 1995
1204	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1035	Implementation, December 1995
1217	Croatia/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1023	Implementation, November 1995

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1209	Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1088	Implementation, December 1996
1218	Croatia/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1037	Implementation, January 1996
5	Kosovo/Serbia/ Yugoslavia (former)	UN Security Council Resolution 1244	Framework- substantive, partial, June 1999
553	Afghanistan	Tashkent Declaration on Fundamental Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in Afghanistan	Pre-negotiation, July 1999
1154	Sri Lanka	Tokyo Declaration on Reconstruction and Development of Sri Lanka	Implementation, June 2003
1243	Iraq	Final Communique of International Ministerial Meeting of the Neighboring Countries of Iraq, The G8 and China	Implementation, November 2004
2074	China/Japan/ North Korea/ Russia/ South Korea/ United States of America	Text of Joint Statement	Framework- substantive, partial, September 2005

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1061	Afghanistan	Afghanistan Compact Building on Success (London Conference)	Framework- substantive, partial, February 2006
847	Afghanistan	Declaration of the Special Conference on Afghanistan Convened under the Auspices of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (Moscow Declaration)	Implementation, March 2009
848	Afghanistan	Conclusions of the Conference on Afghanistan and the International Community: From Transition to the Transformation Decade (Bonn Conference)	Pre-negotiation, December 2011
849	Afghanistan	Istanbul Process on Regional Security and Cooperation for a Secure and Stable Afghanistan	Implementation, November 2011
784	Syria	Final Communique of the Action Group for Syria (Geneva Communique)	Pre-negotiation, June 2012
1357	South Sudan	Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS)	Framework- substantive, comprehensive, August 2015

PA-X Agt ID	Country/conflict	Agreement name	Agreement stage and year
1436	Myanmar	The Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) between The Government of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar and the Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAO)	Ceasefire, October 2015
1652	Syria	Final declaration on the results of the Syria Talks in Vienna as agreed by participants	Pre-negotiation, October 2015
1966	South Sudan	Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities, Protection of Civilians and Humanitarian Access, Republic of South Sudan	Ceasefire, December 2017
2112	South Sudan	Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)	Framework-substantive, comprehensive, September 2018
2230	Libya	Palermo Conference for and with Libya, Conclusions	Pre-negotiation, November 2018
2433	Libya	Declaration of the Paris International Conference for Libya	Implementation, November 2021

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