Building Peace:

Challenges and Strategies After Civil War

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Abstract

Peacebuilding can improve the prospects that a civil war will be resolved. Although peacebuilding strategies must be designed to address particular conflicts, broad parameters that fit most conflicts can be identified. Strategies should address the local roots of hostility; the local capacities for change; and the (net) specific degree of international commitment available to assist change. One can conceive of these as the three dimensions of a triangle, whose area is the "political space" or effective capacity—for building peace. In this article, we outline some of the challenges of expanding the space for peace and the strategies to achieve such a goal. The article poses as many new questions as it answers, though it points to a fruitful way to conceptualize peace and to analyze the role of the international community in resolving civil wars.

What is Peace?

Peace is best thought of not as a single or simple good, such as an absence of war or violent conflict, but instead as a complex and variable process. Especially once one looks for a long term peace, real peace requires more than an absence of violence. On the one hand, a temporary peace can be achieved through efficient coercion by a police force, but it is unlikely to last. Longer lasting peace's involve aspects of legitimacy, political participation, social integration and economic development.[1] On the other hand, one cannot define peace as the achievement of economic justice or social harmony without losing an understanding of peace as something different from and, possibly, less demanding than those other worthwhile goals.

The key connection among the levels of peace is the principle that conflict should be resolved, or managed, as close to its source as is feasible, whether on the factory floor or in the local community. When achieved, this kind of conflict resolution prevents escalation of violence and avoids over-burdening the more remote institutions (including the national state), allowing those latter institutions to play a crucial back-up role.

No peace is perfect. Public violence – not to speak of private violence – never gets completely eliminated. Isaiah prophesied that we shall know peace when we see the lamb lie down with the lion. The American comedian Woody Allen has added a valuable warning for our world: one of the two might not get much sleep.[2] We should thus consider peace to be a spectrum ranging from insecure to secure, or from cool to warm (see figure 1):

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[1] Boulding, Kenneth, "Toward a Theory of Peace," in Roger Fisher,ed., International Conflict and Behavioral Science (New York: basic Books, 1964) pp. 70-87 and Arie Kacowicz, Peaceful Territorial Change (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994) chapter 1. For a valuable collection of papers on peacebuilding see UN Department for Development Support and Management Services and UN Industrial Development Organization, Post-Conflict Reconstruction Strategies, an International Colloquium at Stadtschlaining, 23-24 June, 1995 (Vienna: UN Office in Vienna, 1995).

[2] Isaiah 11:6 and Woody Allen, Without Feathers (New York: Warner Books, 1976) p. 28.

Figure 1 – The Spectrum of Peace

WARM

6. **Harmony**
5. **Participatory society and economy**.
   Includes mobility and social rights, participatory industrial rights for labor in corporate organizations, and societal conflict resolution.
4. **Dynamic conflict resolution through participatory government**
   Requires the capability to resolve societal conflicts through deliberation and legislation. Requires productive economy to reduce demands on state.
3. **Conflict resolution through the rule of law.**
   Includes equality before the law (no impunity); a viable civil society, free from the threat of arbitrary violence; basic freedoms of the person and society (assembly, free speech) and primary conflict resolution through adjudication. Requires viable economy; effective subsistence rights.
2. **Legitimate monopoly of violence.**
   The state is effectively sovereign; no large-scale private violence.
1. **Fewer than 1,000 war-related deaths**[3]
   No war is ongoing and residual public violence is very limited.

COOL

The spectrum is not a strict ladder of development.[4] One observes elements of higher rungs, including political participation, before the lower are complete. But it does appear to be difficult, if not impossible, to secure the higher, more dynamic aspects of peace before the lower aspects of law and order are met. The question important for policymakers interested in peacebuilding after civil war is how can we move toward the top of the spectrum?

[3] This is the measure used in the Correlates of War Project, see Melvin Small and J. David Singer, Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980 (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982).

[4] Like any significant generalization about society this "ladder," too, would be politically controversial. If, let us say, the US would rate a 4 for its extensive political democracy and limited economic democracy and thus Sweden and other social democracies received a 5, many US conservatives would not want to give up the loss of economic freedom involved in moving to society-based conciliation. They would prefer that conflicts be resolved only in the public sector and would be ready to put up with the industrial strife that might follow.

UN Peacebuilding: An Evolving Concept

In recent years, drawing on its varied experience from Namibia, El Salvador and Cambodia, the United Nations community has developed four different concepts that express the evolving idea of what is involved in building peace. The first concept comes directly from the 1992 *Agenda for Peace* – it is *post-conflict peacebuilding*. Peacebuilding is the fourth phase in the United Nations strategy for conflict resolution. It becomes necessary when *preventive diplomacy* fails to resolve conflict and after *peacemaking* and *peacekeeping* have established the framework for a negotiated settlement and monitored an agreed cease-fire.[5] Peacebuilding activities then "identify and support structures which intend to strengthen and solidify peace." They range from demobilization of soldiers and the reintegration of soldiers and refugees, de-mining, emergency relief, food aid, economic rehabilitation, to the repair of roads and infrastructure. In Cambodia, 370,000 refugees were brought in from the Thai border. In El Salvador, thousands of soldiers were demobilized. These are crucial parts of an attempt to address the effects of a war, to restore the semblance of normal life that long-term peace requires and that is, indeed, one of the rewards in ending strife.

The second concept underlying UN peacebuilding strategy involves "long-term political, economic and social provisions to address the root causes of a conflict." This concept identifies

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[5] Some useful definitions are the following: *peacekeeping* is an interim strategy aimed at generating the necessary conditions to prevent the recurrence of violence. It has the consent of the parties (normally authorized under Chapter VI of the UN Charter). It includes the deployment of troops and civilians and a mix of strategies to prevent violence ranging from the establishment and policing of a buffer zone; demobilization and disarmament of military forces, to establishing communication between the parties and facilitating negotiation. More multidimensional strategies for capacities-expansion can also be part of peacekeeping operations, but they are usually defined as parts of a strategy for *peacebuilding*, that usually includes economic reconstruction and may even lead to institutional transformation (e.g. reform of the police, army, and judicial system, elections, civil society re-building). *Peacemaking* is a strategy usually preceding peacekeeping, but also pursued in tandem with peacekeeping; it aims at reconciliation and encourages the negotiation and settlement of the political conflict underlying the violence. Peace enforcement is the forcible restoration of peace and order, without the consent of the parties in conflict, authorized by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. All were discussed in Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's important document, *An Agenda for Peace* (United Nations, 1992).

the revolutionary quality of long-term peacebuilding, which is a strategy to transform a society from a war economy, war polity, and war society – that is, an economy, institutions and society all geared to the effective prosecution of war – to institutions, a society and an economy based upon and furthering the premises of peace. In Cambodia, this process was begun by the UN's organizing democratic elections from the ground up. In El Salvador, the international community attempted to end criminal impunity, reform the justice system, and assure an effective, impartial civilian police.

The third concept defining the character of peacebuilding is its interdependent quality and the consequent importance of coordination. Peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding are not separate activities. They are either mutually supportive or they are mutually corrosive. On the one hand, peacemaking negotiations create the mandate for post-conflict peacebuilding. They define the actions and provide strategy that restores a country to peace. On the other hand, peacebuilding can contribute to the peacemaking and peacekeeping process. The prospect of rehabilitation assistance was a key factor that brought the Cambodian parties to the negotiating table. In El Salvador, human rights monitors were deployed before peacemaking and contributed to the confidence-building that advanced the negotiations.[6] Peacebuilding, moreover, often needs the organizational expertise of "blue helmet" battalions with their extensive logistics and security, both of which were vital in conducting the Cambodian election. At the same time, peacebuilding contributes to the morale and effectiveness of peacekeeping troops in the field.[7]

The fourth concept is the "circle of preventive peacebuilding." The culminating purpose of peacebuilding activities is "that they are to insure against and to prevent a relapse into a violent

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[6] Ian Johnstone, Rights and Reconciliation in El Salvador (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995) pp. 20-21.

[7] Lt. General John Sanderson, former Force Commander of UNTAC, noted in the Vienna Seminar Report 1995, Ameen Jan, Robert Orr, and Timothy Wilkins, rapporteurs, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the Next Century (NY: International Peace Academy, 1995).

conflict." All societies have conflicts. Peacebuilding is not designed to eliminate conflict from society but to build capacities for labor negotiation, civil society reconciliation, fair courts, and an electoral process that enable a society to resolve its conflicts before violence breaks out. The UN and the international community are the midwife of a long term process of conflict resolution. Perhaps the most significant measure of the success of post-conflict peacebuilding is thus creating the capacities that ensure that successful conflict resolution will take place again. In effect, peacebuilding is the front line of conflict prevention.

The Links Between Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, and Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding aims high on the spectrum of peace and depends on the prior achievement of a minimum standard of peace. In other words, peacekeeping is critical for better peacebuilding. Peacekeeping outcomes define the military-political context within which peace-making and building takes place. Good peacekeeping supports the norms and standards of acceptable behavior that will lead to a convergence of the parties' expectations about a feasible political settlement. By contrast, failed peacekeeping can have the opposite effect, calcifying a conflict over time and making peacebuilding impossible.

Peacekeeping is consent-based, hence it should be regarded as primarily the product of the parties' self-interested action. The need to preserve the parties' consent, however, cannot be taken to imply that all instruments used by the peacekeepers to achieve their mandate should be sanctioned by the parties. A rigid interpretation of consent would make peacekeeping epiphenomenal to the parties' preferences. Peacekeeping has value-added when it increases the parties' costs from non-cooperation and enhances their consent.[8] Peacekeepers should maintain

8. On the need to "enhance" the parties' consent so as to increase the likelihood of peacekeeping and peacebuilding success, see Michael Doyle, *UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: UNTAC's Civil Mandate*

some discretion over their right to use force to implement their mandate and should be given the capacities to monitor and enforce rules and impose costs on violators of agreements.[9] Peacekeeping can even shape the parties' preferences over outcomes because peacekeeping outcomes can re-define the political space within which the parties define their interests and options. By eliminating options that were previously thought possible and by making other options possible, peacekeepers can affect the parties' perceptions, actions, transaction costs, and expected utility calculations.

Using Peacekeeping for Better Peacemaking and Peacebuilding

Peacekeeping's ability to shape the parties actions depends on choosing the right strategy. Peacekeeping strategies can be distinguished between weak and strong. In low-intensity conflicts, *passive peacekeeping* –e.g. monitoring, technical assistance and information about the parties' compliance— might be sufficient to help the parties structure a mutually beneficial agreement if they both prefer peace to victory and peace to war. Passive peacekeeping may also be enough if the parties have equal strength, if the conflict is concentrated between identifiable groups or, generally, if a self-enforceable agreement can be reached. However, many conflicts, especially internal conflicts, create strong incentives for continued war. In such conflicts, monitoring and assistance will not be sufficient since it need not have an impact on the tradeoff between negotiated peace and war.

We represent this problem in Figure 2, where we depict war and negotiation as alternative strategies and assume that there is a tradeoff between them. The tradeoff is reflected in a loosely conceived "budget constraint" (line KK') and is explained as follows: the parties derive a fixed

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(Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995) and Steven R. Ratner, The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict After the Cold War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

[9] This should be easier when the parties to a conflict do not have a strong impact on the balance of UN member-states' interests, which decides the type and intensity of the peacekeeping operation.

amount of utility from using war, negotiation, or a combination of the two to achieve their ultimate aims, which we assume is peace on their terms. Line KK' expresses utility levels before peacebuilding operations are initiated and reflects an *ex ante* level of local capacities for peace and war. The war-negotiation tradeoff is determined by three factors: First, war and negotiation have different costs and benefits for the economy and society. They have different impact on the rate of economic growth, unemployment, inflation, human capital, infrastructure, foreign investment, and other determinants of development. These costs are larger during war though they are non-zero during negotiations, if normality has not been restored. Therefore, the parties to a conflict must consider the material tradeoff between war and negotiation when they choose which strategy to follow in pursuit of their goals.

Second, war and negotiation have different domestic political costs. Negotiation has political costs, especially if it marginalizes extremists. War has costs, imposed by domestic political coalitions for peace. In democracies, we would expect domestic political costs to be greater for war than for negotiation.[10] In any political system, the different nature of the domestic political costs for war vs. negotiation creates a tradeoff between the two strategies.
Third, there are well-defined international constraints (norms, laws, precedents of international intervention) against war and in favor of negotiation as a strategy to resolve disputes. These are major determinants of the position of the budget constraint on the plane (they militate against the exclusive use of war and favor some negotiation).

Given this tradeoff between war and negotiation, we can now introduce a consideration of *peacebuilding* as a capacity-expanding activity that increases the potential for both negotiation and war. Both peace- and war- constituencies can benefit from economic and humanitarian assistance

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[10] However, other intervening variables, such as national pride, the nature of the war (e.g. economic vs. ideological vs. ethnic/communal), could also influence the slope of the budget constraint in all types of regimes.

or from the partial re-building of infrastructure. This is especially true for *shallow peacebuilding*, i.e. for the mostly economic assistance that can take place when the violence has not yet ended (for the most part, assistance for political and institutional transformation requires an end to the violence first). In Figure 2, shallow peacebuilding shifts line KK' out to a position such as NN', but it does not affect the tradeoff between war and negotiation.[11] Greater capacities imply that the parties can now reach a higher utility level at point (b) on indifference curve I_2, but their preferences for war relative to negotiation have not changed.[12]

However, the war-negotiation tradeoff could be changed by an appropriately designed peacekeeping and peacebuilding strategies. *Strategic peacekeeping* does not shift the KK' line, but it can change its slope. If peacekeeping is used to increase the costs of war relative to negotiation by (for example) forcibly sanctioning cease-fire violations, the slope of the constraint line will become flatter (corresponding to a line like FG). *Strategic peacebuilding* correspondingly focuses on building the capacity of peace constituencies by (for example) assisting in the civilianization of police forces or the reformation of armed forces or the independence of judiciaries. The strategic peacebuilding-peacekeeping combination allows the parties to define a new optimal strategy: use more negotiation and less war, as they move from point (b) downwards on indifference curve I_2 to a point like (c), the point of tangency of the indifference curve to the new constraint line.

It is important to note that switching to point (c) along indifference curve I_2 is *as if* the parties have moved to a different indifference curve, such as curve I* (mapped with a dotted line on

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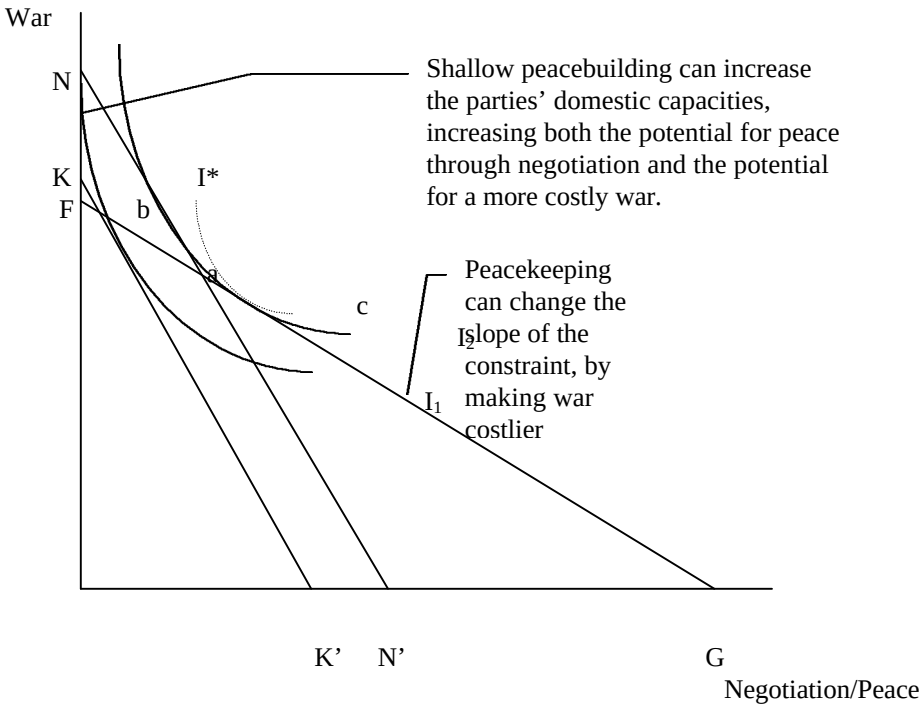
[11] In other words, peacebuilding is a function of the international and other constraints that determines the location of the curve on the plane and changes to international assistance available to the war-torn state shift the location of the constraint.

[12] Later on, we also discuss peacebuilding that can lead to institutional transformation, which would influence the slope of the constraint by reducing the strength of the war-making constituencies. However, only shallow economic and humanitarian assistance is possible when war still remains a viable strategy for the parties and it is this type of peacebuilding that we analyze as exogenous to the war-negotiation tradeoff above.

Figure 3), representing a different utility function (i.e. different preferences over outcomes) than curves I_1 and I_2. Thus, the peacebuilding-peacekeeping combination, shifting the parties from point (a) to (c) has the effect of a preference shock. In microeconomics jargon, we have just witnessed a combined "income and substitution" effect. Peacebuilding has expanded the parties' capacity for both peace and war (income effect), while peacekeeping has caused the parties to use more negotiation relative to war (substitution effect). Thus, the parties' use of war falls from K to F, while their use of negotiation rises from K' to G.

This analysis suggests that optimal peacekeeping must take into account the parties' preferences as well as the availability of resources for international military and economic assistance. When the initial constraint is very flat (high cost to war), the parties will prefer negotiation and peacekeeping need not be strong (even a small leftward slope change in the constraint would result in a large increase in the use of negotiation). By contrast, when the constraint is steep, war will be less costly relative to negotiation, so peacekeeping must be strong to make war costly. Thus, optimal peacekeeping critically depends on the nature of the conflict – on its root causes, hostility levels, and the parties' capacities for establishing peace after war.

Figure 2 – Combined PK-PB Effects on War and Negotiation



Exogenous & Endogenous Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding

Peacekeeping success depends on a host of variables: a clear and implementable mandate;[13] the parties' continued consent;[14] the peacekeepers' impartiality; the role of powerful

[13] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Supplement to *An Agenda for Peace*" (United Nations, 1995, 59).

[14] See Ratner (1995) and Michael Doyle, Ian Johnstone, and Robert Orr, eds., Keeping the Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 378 and ff).

third parties;[15] the role of national, sub-national, and non-state actors;[16] a clear schedule of activities (some also say a deadline for troop withdrawal);[17] adequate financial and logistic support;[18] a neutral composition of the Force,[19] effective command structure[20] and a manageable geographic deployment.[21] Most –but not all—of these variables are exogenous and define the peacekeepers' initial constraints in implementing their mandate.

However, not all determinants of peacekeeping success are exogenous. We illustrate this point with the help of figure 3, which maps the dynamic relationship between peace-keeping, -making, and -building. The intuition is the following: exogenous constraints determine the peacekeepers' initial mandate and operational guidelines. Once the troops are deployed and interact with the parties, they acquire information on if and how their mandate and operational guidelines must be amended. They can then interpret their mandate operationally so as to select strategies that preserve their impartiality while enhancing their leverage over the parties. This actually occurs only as a result of endogenous determinants of peacekeeping – i.e. a set of "soft" and not readily measurable variables such as the peacekeepers' leadership, their initiative and

[15] Third parties can shape both the political and military context of a conflict, they can expand negotiation "pie" by creating and supporting tradeoffs and they can leverage the UN Secretariat peacebuilding efforts.

[16] See Doyle, Johnstone, and Orr (1997).

[17] See Gareth Evans, Cooperating for Peace: The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond (Allen & Unwin, 1993).

[18] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 2nd edition (New York: United Nations, 1995).

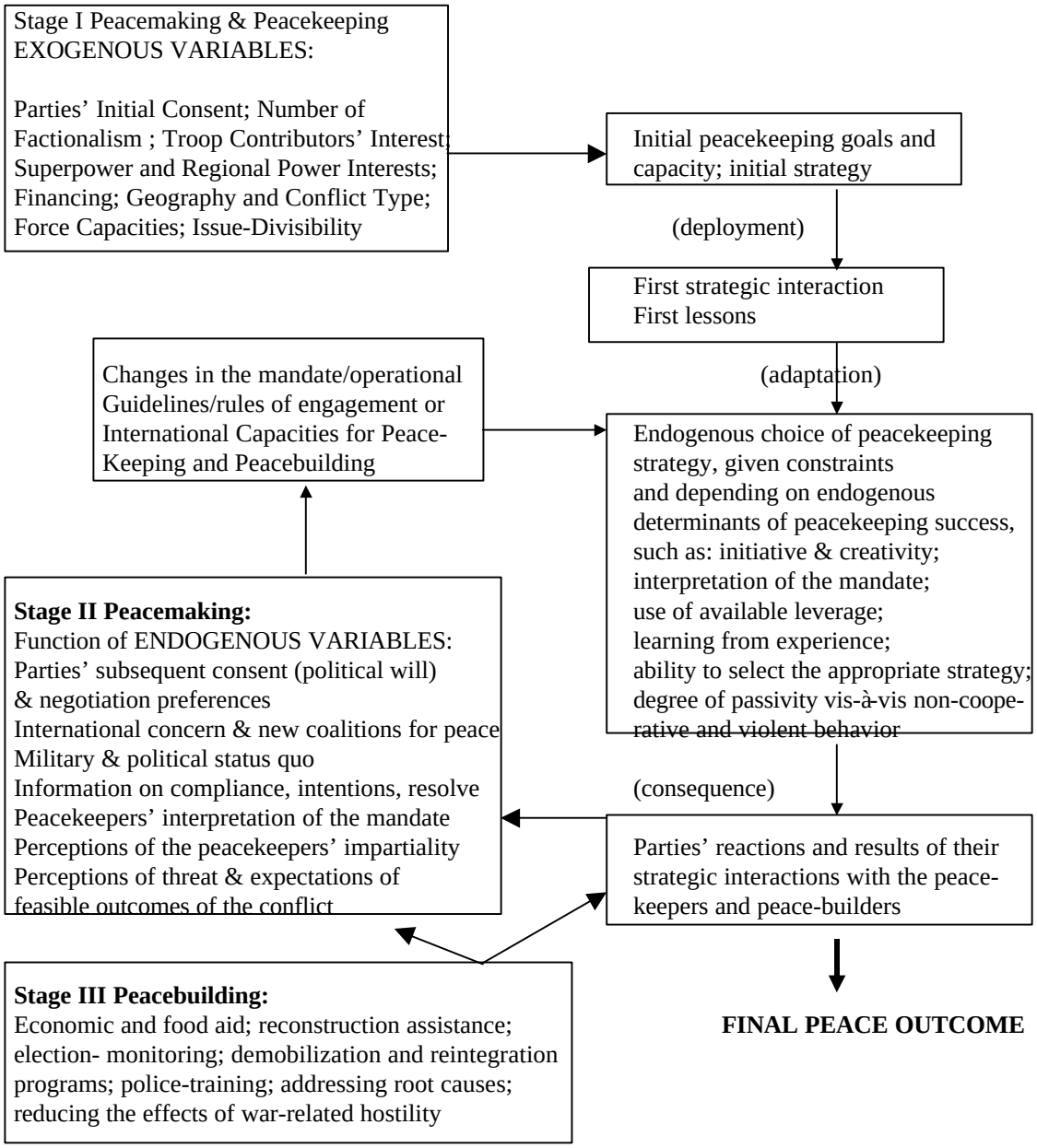
[19] Neutrality, which has been abandoned as a principle of peacekeeping in recent years, implied that peacekeeping troops should come from neutral countries to guarantee impartiality.

[20] Paul F. Diehl, International Peacekeeping. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press 1993), p. 67.

[21] Ibid., p. 62. Moreover, the peacekeepers' job is easier when the conflict is over a small number of identifiable issues. In internal disputes especially, issues are often interrelated and the aggressor is not easily identifiable. Peacekeeping, with its tendency to favor the status quo at the time of deployment, complicates things further, as the return to the status quo *ante* is often not an option while the *de facto* status quo might be considered unsupportable by one or more of the parties to the conflict. See Ibid., pp. 77-9.

stage 2 peacemaking aims at achieving a political settlement (it is “conflict resolution”). In our model, the two stages represent the endogenous and exogenous dimensions of peacemaking.

Figure 3 – Dynamics of the Peacemaking-Peacekeeping-Peacebuilding Relationship



For example, failed peacekeeping may inspire international concern if violence escalates, ultimately improving the likelihood that peace of some variety might be established. (The UN's failure in Rwanda, leading to the French *Operation Turquoise*, is a case in point.)[23] At the same time, the same failure may undermine the parties' political will for a settlement, if it changes the political status quo so drastically as to make a settlement less appealing to one or more of the parties. Thus, the same peacekeeping outcome might have *ex ante* ambiguous effects on stage II peacemaking variables. Peacebuilding (stage III) may be very helpful here in filling those gaps and transforming institutions so as to restore a political and economic balance that makes peace possible.

But this is not the end of the peacekeeping-peacebuilding relationship. Peacekeeping can create two serious traps for peacebuilding. The first is a trap of peacekeeping success – where a successful reduction of violence makes the status quo bearable, discouraging negotiation.[24] The second and more dangerous trap is a negative peacekeeping trap: persistently poor peacekeeping can allow a gradual deterioration of the underlying political and military conditions, institutionalizing a conflict and possible zone of agreement in negotiations. To overcome the corrosive effect of failed prior peacekeeping, more capacities, time, and technical expertise must be devoted to the problem.

The model of figure 3 allows some generalizable propositions. First, the endogenous peacemaking (stage II) variables are the channels through which peacekeeping is linked to conflict resolution. Second, peacekeeping success should be evaluated in terms of its impact on those

[23] Among other sources, see Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press) and the monumental report by Human Rights Watch, written by Alison des Forges, *"Leave None to Tell the Story:" Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999).

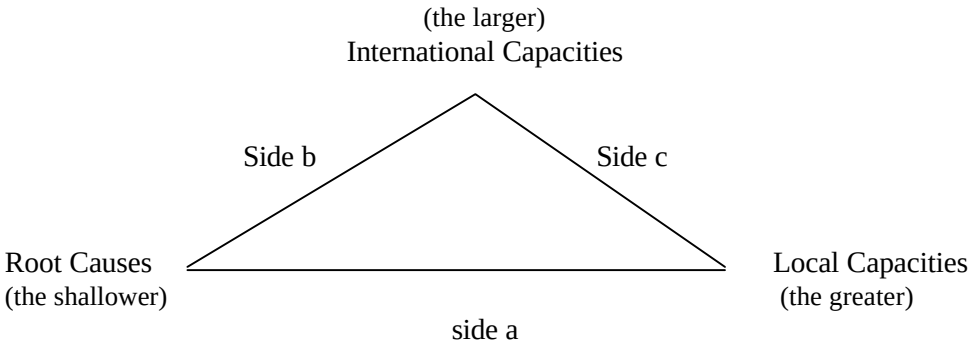
[24] Successful peacekeeping may reduce the potential for a mutually hurting stalemate. Peacekeeping favors the status quo, so it is possible for good peacekeeping to freeze the conflict at a point that leaves one party better off than it was previously, thereby reducing that party's incentives to negotiate.

endogenous variables and ultimately, with respect to its impact on peacebuilding. At the same time, this evaluation should take into account the severity of the initial exogenous constraints. Third, the partial endogeneity of peacemaking implies that peacekeepers can shape the parties' peacemaking preferences. Thus, the UN's frequent invocations of the parties' lack of will to make peace in justification of peacekeeping failures must be carefully scrutinized on the basis of our new insight into the endogeneity of peacemaking preferences. Further, the fact that peacekeeping can be shown to have an impact on peacemaking and peacebuilding is important in strategic thinking about what type of peacebuilding operation to use in different contexts. Peacebuilding strategy must recognizing the importance of context-specific variables, including the history of past attempts at peacekeeping. In the next section, we begin to think more strategically about how to implement peace under differing conditions.

Strategic Peacebuilding

Strategies must be designed to fit the case. Peacebuilding strategies should be plans to resolve a particular conflict by addressing the local root causes of conflict and local capacities for change; the war-related hostility; and the (net) specific degree of international commitment available to assist change. One can conceive of the three as the three dimensions of a triangle, whose area is the "political space" or effective capacity – for building peace. This metaphor suggests that some quantum of positive support is needed along each dimension but that the dimensions also substitute for each other – more of one substitutes for less of another, less deeply rooted causes of war substitute for weak local capacity or minor international commitment. In a world where each dimension is finite we can expect, first, that compromises will be necessary in order to achieve peacebuilding; second, that the international role must be designed to fit each case; and, third, that resolving core grievances is the necessary aim of building peace.

Peacebuilding Triangle



Triangulating Peace

In a small community enjoying a deep and broad sense of affinity, considerable social and full political equality, substantial sources of social capital and wealth, and access to even greater resources from its national capital, peacebuilding is easy. The space for effective action is nearly boundless. Imagine a small European, Japanese or American town, struck by a tornado, typhoon or flood. Habits of cooperation, emergency public assistance, and inflows of national relief pour in. The disaster is addressed. The community might even be strengthened as it successfully meets a natural challenge. Imagine now a Cambodian town escaping from the devastation inflicted by the Khmer Rouge, up until recently governed by a force composed largely of Cambodia's historic enemy, Vietnam; and lacking technical skills, medicine, education, infrastructure. Its national capital rather than being a source of assistance is also devastated. National GDP per capita is between $200-$300 per year. Here the space for peacebuilding is thin and tenuous.

The triangulation of peace argument posits that (a) the larger the international capacities (IC), the higher the probability of PB success, given hostility (H)/root causes (RC) and local

capacities (LC); (b) the deeper the hostility/root causes, the lower the probability of PB success, given LC and IC; and (c) the larger the local capacities, the higher the probability of PB success, given H and IC.

Hostility and root causes interact competitively with local capacities (side a). In fact, few local capacities implies greater root causes for future conflict. Many scholars, for example, have agreed that the root causes of the Salvadoran civil war were the militarization of the state and the persistent inequality of the distribution of landed wealth. Historically the two supported each other. When the landed oligarchy (the "14 families") needed to suppress a peasant uprising, the military was available. The military correspondingly enjoyed a first claim on public revenue.[25] When the FMLN guerrillas, representing the rural poor, and the ARENA government, speaking as the traditional state, came to a military stalemate in the course of the Salvadoran civil war, they began to explore some of the parameters of a future of peace. Each had to compromise in order to arrive at a viable, mutually acceptable, long-term peace. The FMLN was losing Soviet Bloc support (with the collapse of the Soviet Union) and it grew to realize that it could not achieve through the peace process, the social and economic revolution for which it had fought. The ARENA government refused to negotiate a more egalitarian distribution of wealth. But the government also realized that the traditional autocratic status-quo was not something that it could maintain, following the end of the Cold War and the consequent reduction in US support. Both, therefore, compromised on reforming the militarization of the state, one of the two root causes of civil war. The FMLN took the larger gamble, reflecting its weaker position. It gambled that if military and police impunity could be ended, the judiciary made fair and law-abiding, and a free and fair election organized, then they could win their long-term goals through electoral, democratic

[25] Edelberto Torres Rivas, "Civil War and Insurrection in El Salvador," in Michael Doyle, Ian Johnstone, and Robert Orr, eds., Keeping the Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Tommie Sue Montgomery, Revolution in El Salvador (Boulder: Westview, 1994).

means. The government, on the other hand, realized that it no longer needed the military. This was partly because the old system of military protection for landed wealth simply was no longer politically viable given the FMLN's resistance, but it was also because ARENA had come to realize that it was no longer necessary. The Salvadoran economy had shifted to an economy based on commerce and small industry. Commerce and small industry could survive very well through legal means in a democratic El Salvador. In short, the more powerful ARENA precluded an effort to address the root causes that were more important to the weaker FMLN. But addressing militarization through democratization and reform of the justice system was a compromise both could accept.

In Cambodia, the root causes of civil strife were so deep and the local actors so weak that, by 1990, each entered the peace as a near equal, each having its own form of monopoly power; and so each had to accommodate each other. For much of its recent postwar history Cambodia found itself in a dangerous neighborhood. Bombed by the US during the Vietnam War, which radicalized the intellectuals and peasantry, it fell prey to the Khmer Rouge in 1975, the worst fanatics in the second half of the twentieth century. Cambodia was rescued in 1978, but only by its historic enemy, Vietnam; and then it was occupied by Vietnam for a decade. As a result, Cambodia lacked the space in which to address the key challenges of modern development. It has faced crisis after crisis, and each before it had time to adjust to or resolve the previous one. Cambodia is now – at last – simultaneously trying to recover from a combination of trials.

International capacities interact competitively with root causes and hostility (e.g. with poverty, factional conflict, and war-related destruction) to shape side b of the peacebuilding triangle. Few peacebuilding plans work unless regional neighbors and other significant international actors desist from supporting war and begin supporting peace. The end of Cold War – globalized civil war – competition thus was an important precondition for the bloom of peacebuilding operations of the early 1990's.

A key element of hostility that international peacebuilding efforts must take into account is factional conflict. Peacebuilding operates not upon stable states, but instead, on unstable factions. These factions (to simplify) come in three dimensions. Examining a conceptual map of the post-cold war world, we see that factions are either *coherent or incoherent*: that is, they do or do not follow the orders of their leaders. They reflect varying degrees of *reconciliation or hostility*. They either come to accept the process of peace, or they do not. And there are *few or many* factions involved in the civil war and its resolution. When one examines the mix of these factors, one can think about differing "ecologies" of UN peacebuilding that represent differing combinations of those three sets of conditions.

There is a "first ecology" of peacebuilding where the factions are *few, reconciled, and coherent*. And in the usual more or less ways, the case of El Salvador and, more debatably, Namibia fall into that pattern. The UN still has a vital role to play in peacebuilding in those circumstances. First, it can create and needs to create transparency. The factions may be reconciled but they don't fully trust each other. The international peacebuilding role consists of monitoring and investigating in order to increase trust so that the parties can believe that the piece of paper they signed has operational significance. In El Salvador, ONUSAL helped to increase trust and transparency through the Ad Hoc Commission, which supervised demobilization, and through the Truth Commission, which investigated human rights violations and recommended reforms. Second, in these circumstances, the international peacebuilders can also offer capacity building. They can bring in the technical assistance that the parties either lack or don't quite trust one another to provide, such as electoral assistance or police training. And thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the peacebuilders provide insurance of continuing coordination. No matter how well designed the peace treaty happens to have been, and despite whatever reconciliation of the parties may have occurred, the parties know that circumstances will arise that were not anticipated in the treaty. Those circumstances will need to be dealt with if the peacebuilding process is to be

kept on track.[26] When it was discovered that one of the factions of the FMLN had a weapons cache, ONUSAL impartially investigated and then dismantled the cache. When it was discovered, in November of 1993, that the death squads seemed to be re-emerging, many asked: Was the government behind them? The UN was able to investigate, enjoying the trust of the FMLN that it would do as thorough a job as could be done.

Figure 4 – Five Ecologies of Peacebuilding

	Hostile Factions		Reconciled Factions	
	Few	Many	Few	Many
Coherent Factions	**Second** Cambodia, Angola Bosnia, Kosovo		**First** El Salvador, Namibia, East Timor, Sierra Leone	
Incoherent Factions	**Fourth**	**Fifth** Somalia DRC	**Third** Mozambique Haiti	

There is also a "second ecology" of peacebuilding where the *factions are few, hostile, and coherent*. Both Cambodia and Angola fit this world, where the factions were and still are hostile; and Bosnia where they remain very hostile. (In Bosnia, Muslim-Croat relations resemble Cambodia's SOC-FUNCINPEC relations; Federation-Serb relations resemble SOC/FUNCINPEC relations with the Khmer Rouge.) In this second ecology the peacebuilding role includes all the functions that were exercised in that first happier world of UN peacebuilding – the Salvadoran world where transparency, coordinating insurance, capacity building— are the keys. But over and above that, because the factions are less than reconciled, the peace process needs to embody carrots and sticks, as did the Paris Peace Agreement for Cambodia. Economic rehabilitation assistance was designed for, and only for, those factions that would cooperate within the peace process.

[26] Ian Johnstone, Rights and Reconciliation in El Salvador (Lynne Rienner, 1995).

Given that their former patrons had cut the factions off from financing, it was thought that this would be a very powerful constraint on defection and an incentive to cooperate in the peace process. Unfortunately, one and then another of the factions discovered alternate sources of financing through illegal sales of gems and logs and other means that removed this particularly important carrot and stick from the peace process.

In addition, in this less happy second world of peacebuilding, the international community has a very important role in direct implementation. The residual hostility of the factions means that they will not trust each other to implement any crucial element of the peace process. In Cambodia, it was absolutely vital that the UN itself to organize from the ground up the electoral process.[27] An election run by one of the factions and only monitored by the UN (as in El Salvador) would have been prone to severe exploitation or manipulation. Instead it was the UN, the international community, that organized and ran that election giving more parties authentic access and guaranteeing a much fairer count of the vote.

In the "third ecology" of peacebuilding, factions are *few and reconciled, but they're incoherent*. Here factions may be incapable of fulfilling their commitments, even if willing. In Mozambique, ONUMOZ actually helped to organize a political party as well as to employ demobilized soldiers in building roads, a true capacity, infra-structure building effort. It was important in both respects, employing the ex-soldiers and building a transportation grid. The UN may also play a key role in the UN peacebuilding process in Haiti -- whose outcome we have yet to see. In Haiti, the factions aren't "few" anymore. The Cedras faction disappeared; it got on a plane. Others also flew away or went underground. We have one predominant faction left -- the Aristide forces – that is reconciled but incoherent. The opposition is temporarily demoralized, but

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[27] Michael Doyle, The UN in Cambodia: UNTAC's Civil Mandate (Lynne Rienner, 1995).

not without the capacity to reconstruct itself. There is a crucial pro-active, capacity building role for the international community.[28]

In the "fourth" and "fifth ecologies" of peacebuilding it's even worse. When the factions are *few, incoherent and hostile* the prospects of peacebuilding are extraordinarily difficult, should there ever be a peace. When there are *many, incoherent and hostile factions*, as they were in Somalia, the prospects there were also very grim. In Somalia, the peacebuilding triangle was paper-thin, with massive hostility, deep root causes of conflict and no local capacities for change. What was needed was a massive civilian and developmental effort, appropriately timed (i.e. before all local capacities were destroyed, with a long time horizon. Instead the international community offered a military mission with a constant eye for a fast exit.[29]

International capacities therefore need to match root causes and hostility –side c of the peacebuilding triangle. Peacebuilding strategy must look to the future with a clear knowledge of the past and must satisfy the parties' basic needs. Both basic considerations of equal human rights and the realities of world politics today require an eye for self-sustaining capacity building. A joke circulated in Cambodia in the spring of 1996 went, "What is capacity building? Capacity building is six Cambodians watching two Europeans dig a ditch," But peacebuilding is too costly an enterprise to be available for long. There are no takers for the role of colonialist in the modern world. Each peace building activity should do double or treble duty. Where food or other humanitarian relief is needed, it should be provided so as to rehabilitate roads, dig irrigation ditches, or assist health care. That, too, should lead naturally and by plan into sustainable development. Employment should be the focus of relief strategies in order to promote training and

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[28] Richard Synge, *Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action 1992-94* (Washington, DC: USIP, 1997) and Chetan Kumar and Elizabeth Cousens, Peacebuilding in Haiti (IPA Policy Briefing Series, April 1996).

[29] Ameen Jan, Peacebuilding in Somalia (IPA Policy Briefing Series, July 1996).

leave behind capacities that could be nurtured by the local inhabitants. International coordination also responds to these trade-offs. Coordination is the way to cost-effective peacebuilding that actually reaches some of the deeper root causes of strife. Duplication is just too costly where the resources are in tight supply. International governmental organizations, national governments, bilateral donors, international and local NGOs need to coordinate to ensure that every dollar invested in peace building is well-spent because there are not now enough dollars to go around.

And lastly, advanced planning is needed to bridge the gap between needs and available resources. Advanced planning is often a key to design a particular regime suited to a particular country. Here the challenges are how to combine peacemaking negotiations with peacebuilding planning. Peacemaking negotiations are often themselves very difficult. The parties are often recalcitrant. It takes extensive persuasion, endless meetings, sometimes even a great deal of ambiguity to plaster over the lack for consensus. Introducing peacebuilding planning brings in the UNDP, World Bank, the IMF, bilateral and multilateral donors and may complicate the negotiating process to the breaking point. But if that is not done, peacebuilding then becomes ad hoc, a paste on to a peacekeeping operation. Crucial social or economic issues haven't been addressed that need to be resolved before future long-term peace for the country can be assured. Bringing the peacebuilders into the peacemaking room can benefit both. The peace builders will know what sort of peace is planned for; the peacemakers will have some assurance that treaty will contain the targeted incentives needed to make it something more than a piece of paper.

Addressing root causes implies the need to answer thorny questions. In many internal wars, the thorniest issue is self-determination. International capacities should always aim to assist self-determination as a way to promote self-sustaining governance and long-term peace. However, self-determination for some must not come at the expense of others. In ethnic wars of secession, partitioning states along ethnic lines may be a suitable solution to end internal repression and violence. However, partitions do not necessarily prevent war recurrence between successor and

predecessor states. Further, the empirical record suggests that partitions will significantly reduce internal violence only if large-scale population movements have occurred during the war, effectively separating rival ethnic groups.[30] Thus, partition is neither a sure strategy to end violence, nor is it costless. If partition can come at low cost –i.e. with only economic, not human casualties—then it can be a reasonable option to end the violence and facilitate better governance. However, violence is oftentimes the only way to convince people to move away from their homes, so partition may end up being as costly as its alternative. Finally, the economic and political viability of successor states and their likely impact on inter-ethnic relations in the region should be factors informing the international community's position toward the question of ethnic partition and self-determination.

Maximizing the Space for Peace

The discussion up to this point has identified several lessons from the experience of peacebuilding after civil wars. What are some of those lessons that can be widely applied to future operations?[31] We have found that there are a number of critical determinants of peacebuilding success across cases. Specifically, higher-order peacebuilding (which involves a minimum standard of democratization) is harder than simply ending the violence. Ethnic and religious wars are harder to resolve by negotiation and war recurrence is more likely after such wars) as opposed to ideological wars). Wars that have generated extraordinary levels of hostility (deaths and displacements) are also much harder to resolve and peacebuilding processes after such wars will be

[30] The discussion on ethnic partitions has been informed by findings from Nicholas Sambanis, "Ethnic Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 2208 (The World Bank: Washington DC, October 1999). Additional sources outlining the debate on ethnic partition are listed in that paper.

[31] This section draws on the empirical results of Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, 1999, "Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," working paper.

difficult. At the same time, if the war has lasted a longer time, peacebuilding will tend to be easier, since war-weariness will tend to reinforce the parties' desire to keep the peace.

Countries with relatively higher standards of living than the average for war-affected countries are much more likely to achieve higher-order peace. Nevertheless, local capacities are not crucial for lower-order peace (i.e. for ending the violence). Further, peace tends to be easier if the parties signal their intentions with a formal peace treaty, if well-designed UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations are deployed and if substantial international financial assistance is available. UN operations must have the right mandate: lower-order peace (ending the civil war) can be achieved by peace enforcement operations, but not necessarily with traditional or multidimensional peacekeeping operations. This is because lower-order peace is more heavily dependent on addressing present hostility than improving local capacities. By contract, higher-order peace (including participation) cannot be achieved by muscular third-party intervention alone and such intervention may in fact reduce the probability of higher-order peacebuilding success.

It is interesting to note that ethno-linguistic fractionalization, which many authors consider as a critical determinant of the probability of war recurrence, is not significant for peacebuilding. Scores of studies on the causes of political instability and the origins of civil war have argued that ethnicity is a core factor in conflict. The jury is still out on the importance of ethnicity in causing or sustaining violent conflict. However, the most systematic studies to date suggest that the impact of ethnicity is more complicated than previously thought. Specifically, ethnic diversity does not appear to be a significant determinant of the onset of war (Collier and Hoeffler 1999), but it is important for sustaining war after it starts (Collier, Hoeffler, and Soderbom 1999). It is also an important determinant of the overall incidence of war (Collier, Elbadawi, and Sambanis 1999), but its impact is non-monotonic. Both very low and very high levels of ethno-linguistic diversity can reduce the incidence and duration of civil war. For the case of peacebuilding after war ends,

ethnicity seems not to be important (Doyle and Sambanis 1999), which suggests that peace-sustaining processes and war-sustaining processes are qualitatively different with respect to the role of ethnicity.

What is the international community to make of all of this? A set of broad guidelines can be defined that should fit most cases. First, never use enforcement alone (i.e. operations under Chapter VII of the United Nations) to achieve higher-order peace. Enforcement operations must have limited and well-defined goals and clear exit clauses to allow for refined, civilian-led multidimensional peacekeeping missions to come in. *The higher up we move in the spectrum of peace, the less we need muscular third-party assistance and the more we need specialized peace operations with a developed civilian component. Furthermore, enhancing local capacities is more important for higher-order peacebuilding than for lower-order peacebuilding, while reducing the depth of hostility factors is more important for successful lower-order peacebuilding.*

Second, one must know not only how to intervene, but also when and in which cases to intervene. For given levels of local capacities, a peacekeeping and peacebuilding operation can make all the difference at intermediate levels of hostility, which means that in most cases it must intervene early (to prevent hostility levels from rising over time). If hostility is allowed to rise to extreme levels, not even a peace treaty and a multilateral peace operation can restore peace.

For given levels of hostility, as local capacities increase, the probability of higher-order peacebuilding success also increases and it does so at a much faster rate if the parties sign a treaty and the UN deploys a peacebuilding operation. However, if root causes are deep, hostility is high and international economic aid is not forthcoming, the probability of higher-order peacebuilding will be minimal unless a multilateral peacebuilding operation is used (assuming it is given the correct mandate and sufficient capacities). If some local capacities are available, then peacebuilding can help by overcoming the problems associated with hostility. Similarly, at

moderate levels of hostility, peacebuilding can help by enhancing local capacities for development and peace. Finally, if local capacities are relatively strong and hostility levels are relatively low (e.g. when the factions are few and reconciled, root causes are shallow, and economic assistance is available), then only a modest peace operation should be used. In such cases, even without a peace operation the parties should be able to coordinate among themselves to find self-sustaining solutions for peace.

In short, strategically designed peacebuilding operations do make a difference. Peacemaking aimed at convincing the parties to sign a peace treaty is also potentially life-saving, since peace treaties are highly correlated with an end to the violence and treaties allow the international community to become involved in a richer manner in the conflict resolution process. International capacities can foster peace by substituting for limited local capacities and alleviating deep hostility factors to improve the prospects that peace will be successfully restored, but only if the peace operations are appropriately designed. Enforcement operations can end the violence and multidimensional consent-based peacekeeping operations can help achieve higher-order peace. Peacekeeping can help by enhancing the parties' cooperation, expanding the scope for international involvement in peacebuilding. For truly intractable conflicts, such as the ones in Bosnia, Kosovo, and East Timor, our analysis suggests that the international community must use both enforcement and peacebuilding operations, coordinated and in the right order.

Conclusion: Persistent Challenges of Implementation

Peacebuilding is not an activity whose strategies lead to recipes with always reliable conclusions. At best, strategies are considerations that should be taken into account in the design of better, more fulfill-able mandates. Although important lessons are being learned –we have outlined some in this article— the issue is far from mature and is better characterized by persistent,

repeated challenges. We are thus still in the midst of dilemmas that are not fully understood and practical decisions that are very hard to plan and implement. Three core questions are: Who should coordinate peacebuilding in the field? Who should coordinate the center (in New York?). And, what is the impact of peacebuilding for the question of sovereignty (and vice-versa)? We address each of these questions briefly below.

Who should coordinate peacebuilding in the field? One might say that, if in the long-run the purpose of peacebuilding is to prepare states for independence and normalcy, then the appropriate agencies for peacebuilding should be the United Nations Development Program and its resident representative. UNDP would become a long-term advisor in the national development process. Shouldn't UNDP, therefore, have an early lead into what will be its long-run advisory role? But, according to some observers, UNDP lacks the operational experience, the political experience and authority, and lacks the resources to coordinate often much more politically or financially influential actors such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the OSCE, the European Union, the World Food Program, not to speak of the World Bank or the IMF. The World Bank in particular, as well as regional banks or the IMF have a long-term interest in successful peacebuilding (the economic costs of a failed peace process and a new war make most economic assistance packages seem insignificant by comparison). Further, these organizations would in the long-run be providing many of the international resources that national development will require. But these two institutions, the World Bank and the IMF, neither have nor seem to desire the political role that peacebuilding entails. Both institutions –and the World Bank in particular, due to its more varied approach to development and technical expertise— must re-assess their role in war-to-peace transitions and must take a lead (ideally in cooperation with UNDP) in managing the economic component of war-to-peace transitions. This will entail a new mandate and willingness to lend to authorities not yet enjoying clear sovereign status, which is often a product rather than a precondition of successful peacebuilding. The Supreme National

Council (the interim holder of Cambodian sovereignty from 1991-1993) would have benefited from such lending; so too would the regional authorities in Eastern Slavonia (Croatia) under UN temporary UN "executive authority" from 1996-1998.

Another possibility, is to assign a special actor to coordinate peacebuilding in the field. UNOHAC, which answered to the Department of Humanitarian Affairs at UN Headquarters in New York, was assigned this role in Mozambique.[32] But with little experience it was said to have struggled to coordinate other international actors and bilateral donors who had more local knowledge and much greater financial backing. In Cambodia, a special Rehabilitation Component was created, but it was never adequately staffed, a casualty of insufficient planning and the persistent factional violence. The international community will need to design for each case, but the principles of confederation and continuity seem to argue for an evolving responsibility from peacekeeping to longer term peacebuilding activities, from a unit of a peacekeeping operation to a representative of the secretary general to UNDP and, hopefully, the World Bank. As coordination among donor agencies, international organizations, and NGOs is difficult (it is always difficult, if not impossible, to coordinate across many sets of divergent preferences), a single agency must take the lead for separate components of peacebuilding. The World Bank or UNDP must take the lead in post-conflict reconstruction, technical assistance, and lending during war-to-peace transitions.

A second operational challenge is coordination at the center. Where should the center be – in New York? The UN's Department of Humanitarian Affairs was formally given the mandate for the job in General Assembly Resolution 46/182 (in all of one sentence in that resolution) and then it was later transferred to the Department of Political Affairs. But DHA was widely regarded to have as much as it could do in trying to manage its emergency assistance role. DPA focuses on peacemaking negotiations and has very limited economic expertise. Others have suggested that the coordinating role should be entrusted to the Economic and Social Council. But this is a very

unwieldy body without extensive staff and with no operational experience. Some have the suggested that the Advisory Committee on Coordination should be revamped to play its assigned role to bring together the World Bank, the IMF, and other major UN related agencies, but it too is not designed to be an operational body. This has led some to conclude that there should be a Under Secretary-General for Peacebuilding just as they are USG's for peacemaking (The Department of Political Affairs) and peacekeeping (the Department of Peace-keeping Operations). The Department of Peacebuilding would then be assigned to coordinate the activities of the World Bank and the IMF, bilateral or multilateral donors, regional organizations and specialized agencies in order to promote the specifically political character of peacebuilding as a transition between peacekeeping and national development. Changes such as these will, however, wait on an overall reform of the Secretariat.

Lastly, consider the most basic challenge –sovereignty. The ultimate aim of peacebuilding has to be self determination, the restoration of sovereignty. But who is it to determine what it is that self determines? What should the peaceful revolution of peacebuilding resolve into? These are contentious issues. Peacebuilding intrudes into the essence of sovereignty. It affects the deepest issues of social structure, politics, and culture. Who should decide what the future politics, social structure and culture for the country (or countries) in question should be?

This is a particularly pointed and contentious question in Chapter VII enforcement actions –the "nation-building" operations—such as was part of the original design for Somalia. Was the United Nations Security Council the best venue to decide what the future social structure, institutions, and culture of Somalia would be? If not, then where and by whom would such decisions come from? It can be both illegitimate and imprudent to pick a future sovereign. In Somalia, should it have been the warlords, the traditional elders, or the newly emerging sectors of civil society, including the newly important role of women? What sort of trade-offs should one be

[32] Synge (1997).

making between legitimacy – having all the sectors of society with a right to be there, there – effectiveness -- making sure that the vast bulk of the guns are inside, pointing out – and efficiency – constructing a state that is not so inclusive that it is incapable of reaching decisions. Or one can say, instead, that this is a matter for local decision. If one does, then which of those groups should be present in the decision room and who rightly decides whom to invite?

If the current parties are unable to decide and thus no one decides, the clear danger is that peace enforcement turns into permanent occupation. Peacebuilding is the process of developing the indigenous capacities for self governance. Without it, there is no way to leave without abandoning the society to a resumption of war. There is thus no way to avoid shaping some difficult choices about the country's future. Alternatively, the international community could avoid intervention altogether, tolerating all the humanitarian emergencies that will follow from failing to act. Non-intervention, in such a case, may have more dire consequences than intervention.

Peacebuilding seems easier in Chapter VI, negotiated peacebuilding operations, because the factions have come to some determination of future peace embodied in a treaty. They are the ones who designed it. But the peacemaking process that led to the treaty still leaves unresolved questions. If one or more of the parties turns sour and tries to spoil the process, what should the peacekeepers do? Just who is that should have been at the negotiation table in the first place to determine the future revolution of peace? Who speaks for the people? Is the question decided by who shot best in the preceding war, as it has been for almost all peace's? Who is the legitimate trustee for the population of the country as a whole? Do the UN and other international actors have responsibilities based upon fundamental principles of international law and human rights to speak for the people? This is a question that was asked in Cambodia as faction turned against faction when the election campaign became more and more a violent contest. UNTAC officials in the end decided that they were there to conduct the election for the Cambodian people, to give the people a chance to make peace where everyone else had failed.

In the end pacebuilding involves an inescapable degree of intrusiveness and political "reduction." Societies at war with themselves have at least one too many sovereigns and they may have lost their right to govern themselves. The art of peacebuilding consists in intervening well, in a manner that makes intervention self-liquidating and self-sustaining. No easy chore.