

At War's End

All fourteen major peacebuilding missions launched between 1989 and 1999 shared a common strategy for consolidating peace after internal conflicts: immediate democratization and marketization. This volume argues that transforming war-shattered states into market democracies is a basically sound idea, but that pushing the process too quickly can have damaging and destabilizing effects. A more sensible approach would first establish a system of domestic institutions capable of managing the disruptive effects of democratization and marketization, and only then phase in political and economic reforms as conditions warrant. Avoiding the problems that marred many peacebuilding missions in the 1990s will require longer-lasting, better-planned, and ultimately more intrusive forms of intervention in the domestic affairs of war-torn states.

Roland Paris is Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at the University of Colorado at Boulder. He is an award-winning scholar and teacher, and a regular commentator on international affairs in national and local media.

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Il est plus facile de faire la guerre que de faire la paix.
– Georges Clemenceau, 1918

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page viii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
Introduction	i
PART I FOUNDATIONS	
1 The Origins of Peacebuilding	13
2 The Liberal Peace Thesis	40
PART II THE PEACEBUILDING RECORD	
3 Introduction to the Case Studies	55
4 Angola and Rwanda: The Perils of Political Liberalization	63
5 Cambodia and Liberia: Democracy Diverted	79
6 Bosnia and Croatia: Reinforcing Ethnic Divisions	97
7 Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala: Reproducing the Sources of Conflict	112
8 Namibia and Mozambique: Success Stories in Southern Africa?	135
PART III PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS	
9 The Limits of Wilsonianism: Understanding the Dangers	151
10 Toward More Effective Peacebuilding: Institutionalization Before Liberalization	179
11 Lessons Learned and Not Learned: Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, and Beyond	212
Conclusion	235
<i>Bibliography</i>	237
<i>Index</i>	281
	vii

Figures

3.1 Case Study Questions	<i>page</i> 60
3.2 Major Peacebuilding Operations Deployed in 1989–1999	61
9.1 Five Pathologies of Liberalization	160
9.2 Three Common Problems in War-Torn States	169
10.1 Key Elements of the IBL Peacebuilding Strategy	188

Preface

This book examines every major peacebuilding mission launched between 1989 and 1999. There were fourteen in total; all were deployed to countries in which a civil war had just ended. Despite many differences, these missions shared a common strategy for consolidating peace after internal conflicts: immediate democratization and marketization. What can we learn from the peacebuilding record about the effectiveness of this strategy as a means of preventing the recurrence of fighting in postconflict situations? This volume argues that the idea of transforming war-shattered states into stable market democracies is basically sound, but that pushing this process too quickly can have damaging and destabilizing effects. Market democracy is not the miracle cure for internal conflict. On the contrary, the process of political and economic liberalization is inherently tumultuous: It can exacerbate social tensions and undermine the prospects for stable peace in the fragile conditions that typically exist in countries just emerging from civil war.

A more sensible approach to postconflict peacebuilding would seek, first, to establish a system of domestic institutions that are capable of managing the destabilizing effects of democratization and marketization within peaceful bounds and, second, to phase in political and economic reforms slowly over time, as conditions warrant. To do this effectively, international peacebuilders will have to abandon the notion that war-shattered states can be hurriedly rehabilitated. One set of elections, without creating stable political and economic institutions, does not produce durable peace in most cases. Avoiding the problems that marred many peacebuilding operations in the 1990s will require longer-lasting and ultimately more intrusive forms of intervention in the domestic affairs of these states, because more gradual and controlled approaches to postconflict liberalization are more likely to achieve the central goal of peacebuilding: the establishment of a peace that endures long after the departure of the peacebuilders themselves.

I developed this argument over several years. During this time, I was blessed with sharp-eyed and thoughtful colleagues and friends, many of

whom offered their reactions to this project in its various stages of completion, and whose critiques prompted me to rethink and refine my analysis. They include Pamela Aall, Steven Brooks, Christopher Cavoli, Chester Crocker, Robert Dahl, Charles Hill, William Hitchcock, Alan James, Paul Kennedy, Jeffrey Kopstein, Ingrid Lehmann, Dan Lindley, Kimberly Zisk Marten, Mark Peceny, Kenneth Rodman, Bruce Russett, Jack Snyder, Steven John Stedman, James Sutterlin, Thomas Weiss, Alexander Wendt, and H. Bradford Westerfield. In addition, seven colleagues read and commented on the entire manuscript: Michael Barnett, Ian Cooper, Fen Osler Hampsen, Ian Hurd, Michael Ignatieff, Peter Viggo Jakobsen, and Michael Pugh. I thank all these people for their helpful criticism and advice, although I remain solely responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation.

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In addition, I owe a debt of gratitude to the publishers and editors who allowed me to reproduce portions of previous works in which I tested out earlier renditions of my argument. Thanks in particular to Owen Coté, Sean Lynn-Jones, Michael Brown, and the MIT Press for permission to reproduce passages from Roland Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism," *International Security* 22:2 (Fall 1997), pp. 54–89; to Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, Pamela Aall, and the United States Institute of Peace for permission to reproduce passages from Roland Paris, "Wilson's Ghost: The Faulty Assumptions of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding," in *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001), pp. 765–784; and to Michael Pugh and Frank Cass Publishers for permission to reproduce passages from Roland Paris, "Peacebuilding in Central America: Reproducing the Sources of Conflict?" *International Peacekeeping* 9:4 (Winter 2002), pp. 39–68. Some of the ideas presented in these writings survived the criticism of colleagues and my own rethinking; many others did not.

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Preface

xi

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¹ The source of the quotation is Alexandre Ribot, *Journal d'Alexandre Ribot et Correspondances Inédites, 1914–1922* (Paris: Plon et Nourrit, 1936), p. 255.