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Edited by Anna K. Jarstad and Timothy D. Sisk
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# *From War to Democracy*

Attempts to introduce democracy in the wake of civil war face a critical problem: how can war-torn societies move toward peace and democracy when competitive politics and hard-fought elections exacerbate social and political conflict? Through a study of six themes (peacekeeping, management of violence, power sharing, political party transformation, elections, civil society, and international reactions to democratization crises) this volume considers the dilemmas that arise in pursuing peace after civil war through processes of democratization. The contributors' research highlights the complex relationship between democratization, which is competitive, and peacebuilding or efforts to achieve reconciliation. The book offers insights into more effective action in peacebuilding in light of the short-term negative effects that democratization can introduce. It is a thought-provoking work that seeks both to advance theory and to provide policy-relevant findings to facilitate more effective and durable transitions from war to democracy.

ANNA K. JARSTAD is Assistant Professor and Coordinator for the Conflict and Democracy Program in the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, Sweden.

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# From War to Democracy

## Dilemmas of Peacebuilding

Edited by
ANNA K. JARSTAD
and
TIMOTHY D. SISK

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# *Acronyms*

| | |
|---|---|
| ACS | Assembly for Civil Society (Guatemala) |
| ANC | African National Congress (South Africa) |
| ASEAN | Association of Southeast Asian Nations |
| AU | African Union |
| CNDD-FDD | National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy (*Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie-Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie*, Burundi) |
| CODES | Convention for a Democratic South Africa |
| CPP | Cambodian People's Party |
| DDR | disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration |
| DPA | Dayton Peace Agreement |
| DPI | Department of Public Information (United Nations) |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of the Congo |
| ECOMOG | Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group |
| ECOWAS | Economic Community of West African States |
| EPL | Popular Liberation Army (*Ejército Popular de Liberación*, Colombia) |
| EPLF | Eritrean People's Liberation Front |
| EPRDF | Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front |
| EU | European Union |
| FARC | Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*) |
| FMLN | Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (*Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional*, El Salvador) |
| FRELIMO | Liberation Front of Mozambique (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*) |
| FRETILIN | Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (*Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente*) |



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| | |
|---|---|
| FUNCINPEC | National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (*Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif*) |
| GAM | Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*, Indonesia) |
| GDP | gross domestic product |
| HDZ | Croatian Democratic Union (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*) |
| ICG | International Crisis Group |
| ICTY | International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia |
| IDEA | International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance |
| IFOR | Implementation Force (Bosnia and Herzegovina) |
| IRA | Irish Republican Army (Northern Ireland) |
| KFOR | Kosovo Force |
| KPU | National Elections Commission (Indonesia) |
| LRA | Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda) |
| LTTE | Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka) |
| LURD | Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy |
| MINURSO | United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara |
| MINUGUA | United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala |
| MINUSTAH | United Nations Stabilization in Haiti |
| MODEL | Movement for Democracy in Liberia |
| MPLA | Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*) |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NGOs | non-governmental organizations |
| NPFL | National Patriotic Front of Liberia |
| NPP | National Patriotic Party (Liberia) |
| OAS | Organization of American States |
| OECD/DAC | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development / Development Assistance Committee |
| OHR | Office of the High Representative |
| OLF | Oromo Liberation Front (Ethiopia) |
| ONUMOZ | United Nations Operations in Mozambique |
| ONUSAL | United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador |

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| | |
|---|---|
| OSCE | Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe |
| Palipehutu–FNL | Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People–Forces for the National Liberation (*Parti pour la libération du peuple Hutu – Forces nationales de libération*) |
| PDK | Democratic Party of Kosovo (Partia Demokratike e Kosovës) |
| PR | proportional representation |
| PSA | power-sharing accord |
| RENAMO | Mozambic National Resistance (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*) |
| RUC | Royal Ulster Constabulary (Northern Ireland) |
| RUF | Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone) |
| SDA | Party of Democratic Action (*Stranka Demokratske Akcije*, Bosnia and Herzegovina) |
| SDS | Serb Democratic Party (*Srpska Demokratska Stranka*, Bosnia and Herzegovina) |
| Sida | Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency |
| SFOR | Stabilization Force (Bosnia and Herzogovina) |
| SLMM | Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission |
| SNTV | single non-transferable vote |
| SPLM | Sudan People's Liberation Movement |
| SRSG | Special Representative of the Secretary-General (United Nations) |
| SSR | security sector reform |
| SWAPO | South West Africa People's Organization (Namibia) |
| UCK | Kosovo Liberation Army (Ushtria Çlivimtarc e Kosovës) |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNAMSIL | United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone |
| UNAVEM | United Nations Angola Verification Mission (I, II, III) |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| UNITA | National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*) |
| UNMIK | United Nations Mission in Kosovo |
| UNTAES | United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia |
| UNTAET | United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor |
| UNTAG | United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Namibia) |
| URNG | Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (*Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca*) |

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Peace; Elizabeth Cousens, Vice President International Peace Academy; Tom Farer, Dean, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver; Karen Feste, Professor, Graduate School of International Studies and Director, Master of Arts Program in Conflict Resolution, University of Denver; Matthew Hodes, Director, Conflict Resolution Program, the Carter Center; Carlos Juarez Dean, College of International Studies, Hawai'i Pacific University; Sakuntala Kardirgamar-Rajasingham, Head, South Asia Program, International IDEA; Brett Lacy, Former Officer in Charge, Liberia, the Carter Center; Johanna Mendelson Forman, Senior Program Officer, Peace, Security and Human Rights, United Nations Foundation; Hiroko Miyamura, Senior Political Officer, Electoral Assistance Division, United Nations; Lawrence Robertson, Conflict Specialist, Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, US Agency for International Development; Ambassador Gordon Smith, Director, Centre for Global Studies, University of Victoria; Massimo Tommasoli, Director of Operations, International IDEA. Participants of the research seminar at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, especially Cecilia Albin, Thomas Ohlson and Mats Hammarström, have contributed with valuable comments on the theory chapter, and Ralph Sundberg has compiled data on peace agreements. Additionally, several graduate students at GSIS have made especially helpful comments on the book: they are Kris Bauman, Andrew Barwig, Sumani Dash, and Arturo Lopez-Levy.

The editors and authors would also like to pay tribute to the late Donald Rothchild, who passed away in February 2007 following a brief but aggressive illness. Don read and commented on several of the chapters in this book, in his usual collegial style, and his prolific work on peacebuilding in divided societies was formative in our collective learning. His life as a scholar will continue to be one that we aspire to emulate.

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