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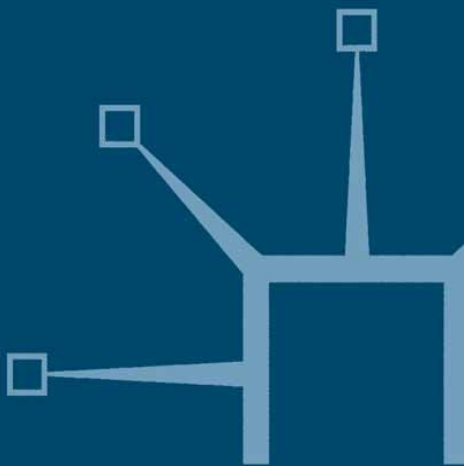
No War, No Peace

The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords

Roger Mac Ginty



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For my father
and the memory of my mother

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Abbreviations

CTA	Conflict Transformation Agency
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOL	Government of Liberia
IFI	International Financial Institution
IGAD	Inter-governmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPKF	Indian Peace Keeping Force
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JVP	Janata Vimukthi Peramuna/People's Liberation Front
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCP(M)	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCIA	Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments
PIOOM	Interdisciplinary Research Programme on Root Causes of Human Rights Violations
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TNG	Transitional National Government
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
USAID	United States Agency for International Aid
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party
WTO	World Trade Organisation

About the Author

Roger Mac Ginty is a lecturer at the Department of Politics and the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) at the University of York. His previous books include *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes* and *The Management of Peace Processes* (both edited with John Darby).

Acknowledgements

Two incidents contributed to the approach adopted in this work. The first occurred during a research interview I conducted with the Ambassador from a Middle Eastern state. He showed enormous patience as I repeatedly pressed him to expand upon his meaning of the word 'peace'. A bomb had exploded in the capital city of his home country that morning and he was more than generous with his time. Finally he snapped in the face of my tiresome interview technique. 'Peace!' he barked. 'Why do you Europeans always talk about peace? You don't want peace for us. You want peace for yourselves – so you can feel good about yourselves.' A similar thought-provoking moment occurred during a taxi journey to an airport following a conference. My conference paper, which questioned the western obsession with state-building during peacemaking processes, had gone down poorly among an audience of academics and policymakers who took state-building as their starting point and who were largely committed to econometric methodologies. A fellow conference participant who was sharing the taxi journey turned to me and asked with genuine puzzlement 'So what are you … some sort of theorist?' For her, and for many other academics and policymakers interested in peacemaking, critical perspectives were of absolutely no relevance to the task of making peace. These incidents, and many more in war-torn societies, have had an enormous influence on my approach to conceptualising peace and peacemaking.

I am indebted to many individuals for their support and help during the writing of this book: Kris Brown, Alan Bullion, Feargal Cochrane, Mick Cox, Cathy Gormley-Heenan, Tim Jacoby, Gráinne Kelly, Jim McAuley, Indika Perera, Tim Shaw, Mark Stuart, Gareth Wardell, Wanda Wigfall-Williams and Andy Williams all deserve my sincere thanks. At York, my colleagues Neil Carter, Sally Carter, Mark Evans, Anna O'Connell, Simon Parker, Jon Parkin and Alp Özerdem have provided support and distraction. Past and present PhD students (Veronique Barbelet, Christine Hamieh, Sarah Holt, Fernando Medina, David Russell and Chrissie Steenkamp) have been sources of inspiration, as have successive classes in the MA in Post-war Recovery Studies. Sultan Barakat, at the Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit at York, has provided inspiration as well as encyclopaedic knowledge of conflict and reconstruction. The School of Maori and Pacific Development at the

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Introduction

> Using the name of peace as a deception,
> [they] teach us this manner of feigned
> friendship and of destruction by peace.
>
> Hugh O Neill

No war, no peace

In March 2005, 12-year-old Tamil schoolgirl Nagendiram Dushika was knocked down and killed by a speeding military vehicle in Jaffna in the northeast of Sri Lanka. Despite the existence of a ceasefire between the Tamil Tigers and the Government of Sri Lanka, the Jaffna peninsula resembled an armed camp with government troops deployed in large numbers. Friction between local people and the mainly Sinhalese military was common. Frequent road accidents involving military vehicles and allegations of sexual assault against soldiers meant that Jaffna's 'peace' offered only a limited respite from the war. In October 1994, just over a year after the signing of the Declaration of Principles between the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the Israeli government, a Hamas suicide bomb killed 22 on a bus in Tel Aviv. During the next 18 months, over one hundred Israelis were killed in suicide attacks, prompting Israel to launch ferocious responses. Such was the 'peace' of Oslo. In July 2005, seven years after Northern Ireland's Belfast Agreement, a Protestant family's north Belfast home came under attack from a rioting Catholic mob. 'It's just because we're Protestants', the head of the household said. In 2004, 447 households living in publicly owned property were intimidated from their homes. In 2003, the figure was 685. Such attacks, many of them casual and opportune, provided a

backdrop to Northern Ireland's peace process and peace accord. In 2000, Paulo do Carmo returned to his East Timor home, following displacement amidst earlier fighting. 'We returned from exile to an empty place', he said. 'We did not even have water or food. There were no houses left. Everything had gone.' The prospects for post-war recovery were poor. In the year following Paulo's return, East Timor's Gross Domestic Product fell by 2 per cent, and two years on from independence 41 per cent of the population lived below the poverty line of 55 US cents per day.[1]

All of these examples occurred *after* a peace accord had been reached in a deeply divided society or in the context of a long-standing peace process with established ceasefires. In many cases, the peace accords were comprehensive documents that went far beyond the mere cessation of hostilities between armed groups. Many contemporary peace accords provide for minority protection, the recognition of cultural rights, the redistribution of resources, reconstruction programmes, healing and truth recovery as well as the more traditional issues of constitutional, territorial and security reform. An increasing array of international actors has become involved in supporting the implementation of peace accords, with the United Nations and regional organisations developing sophisticated peace intervention mechanisms. The development agencies of third party states (often highly capable industrialised states) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have also been heavily involved in peace-support operations, striving to ensure that disarmament timetables are met, refugees are repatriated, transparent electoral processes are instituted and shattered infrastructure is reconstructed. The enormous hope and moral energy invested by the international community into societies emerging from civil war suggests something close to a universal ideology in favour of peace. The international community's faith and hope has been reinforced by hard cash, in the form of massive development and reconstruction assistance, and by blood through the lives of UN personnel and NGO workers. In many ways, peace accords have never enjoyed such a propitious implementation environment.

Yet as the opening examples illustrate, many contemporary peace accords have failed to deliver durable, high-quality peace. Instead, the peace that prevails is often prefixed with terms attesting to its compromised quality: 'brittle', 'fragile', 'turbulent', 'armed', 'nervous' and so on. Many of the characteristics of the 'prefix peace' resemble those of the war that preceded it: inter-group tension and systematic discrimination against out-groups, widespread insecurity arising from the presence of armed groups, grinding poverty with few prospects for economic