Peacebuilding in a Neo-Liberal World Order

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Norway has acquired a new role in international relations as facilitator for peace processes (e.g. Middle East, Sri Lanka, The Philippines, Guatemala, Colombia, Sudan …)

This new role is increasingly linked to old roles as donor (and peacekeeper). Instrumental use of development assistance in support of peace

Norway’s justification and strategic interests: solidarity and humanism, but also recognition and influence in international arenas. The construction of Norway as a ‘peace nation’ serves strategic interests within the contemporary world order
Key Questions and Arguments

- What makes this strategy relevant and possible now?
  - Security threats of the liberal world order yields new focus on peacebuilding and emergence of new security complexes where multiple actors can find a role to play.

- What does the peace facilitator/donor role entail?
  - Facilitation of transitions to liberal peace through negotiations.
  - Transformation of conflict through various initiatives for peacebuilding.

- What are the limitations on this role as facilitator/donor?
  - The role as facilitator is circumscribed by power relations between protagonists and in 'international community'.
  - The donor function often has weak strategic connectivity to conflict transformation.
Conflict in the ‘New World Order’

- National/territorial economies and polities within a structure of geopolitical rivalry between Western capitalism and East Bloc socialism

- Hegemonic liberal world order. Transnational networks yield new forms of inclusion and exclusion of places, sectors and groups

- New conflicts: Interstate wars (inscribed in Cold War rivalry) replaced by intrastate wars at the periphery of the liberal world order
Merging of Development and Security

- Development and conflict/security traditionally seen and institutionally organised as separate issues, but increasingly linked after the end of the Cold War.

- Underdevelopment as a global security problem
  - Threat of an excluded South formenting international instability through conflict, criminal activity and terrorism. "Underdevelopment has become dangerous" (Mark Duffield) – "War on Terror".

- Insecurity as a national development problem
  - "New wars" (intrastate wars) pose obstacles to successful development processes. It is this latter mode of reasoning that predominates in Norway (and several other major aid donors).
The Development/Peace Relationship

- New understanding of links between intrastate war and development:

- “War retards development, but conversely, development retards war. This double causation gives rise to virtuous and vicious circles. Where development succeeds, countries become progressively safer from violent conflict, making subsequent development easier. Where development fails, countries are at high risk of becoming caught in a conflict trap in which war wrecks the economy and increases the risk of further war”

  World Bank 2003, *Breaking the Conflict Trap* p. 1
Crafting Liberal Peace

- The liberal peace thesis: democratic governments are more peaceful – both in internal politics and in international relations – than other forms of government. Kofi Annan (2000): "Democracy is a highly effective means of preventing conflict, both within and between states”

- Make the world safe for and through liberal democracy

- This ’Wilsonian’ (US President Woodrow Wilson) remedy was first applied in international relations after World War I but has been rearticulated in the post-Cold War period

- Counterpoint (Roland Paris): While the peace may hold true for established liberal democracies, transformations into liberal market democracies may have a much more complex relationship with conflict. Therefore; ”Any careful analysis of peace-through-liberalization policies must consider both the end result of a successful transition to market democracy and the effects of the transition itself.”
Democratisation/Marketisation

Despite lack of central coordination, a remarkable convergence around strategies of marketisation and democratisation

- **Constructing liberal democracy**
  - Promoting civil and political rights
  - Preparing and administering democratic elections
  - Drafting national constitutions that codify civil and political rights
  - Training of police and justice officials
  - Promoting independent 'civil society'

- **Promoting economic liberalisation**
  - Encouraging the development of free-market economies
  - Stimulate the growth of private enterprise
  - Reducing the role of the state in the economy

- **Key features of both transitions**
  - Elite-negotiated transitions supported by international actors
  - Rapid deployment of reforms
Peacebuilding

- UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali’s 1992 report to the Security Council (Agenda for Peace) presented peacebuilding as an important addition to UN efforts at peacekeeping and peacemaking.

- While peacekeeping implies containment of armed conflict (conflict management), peacemaking means diplomatic actions to bring hostile parties to a peace agreement (conflict resolution).

- Peacebuilding refers to a much broader process of supporting peace, especially through social and economic development (conflict transformation).

- Peacebuilding was initially conceptualised as post-conflict development interventions to prevent the recurrence of violence after a peace agreement, but the term has later been broadened to include peace-supporting initiatives before and during a violent conflict.

- Smith (2004) states that peacebuilding is aimed at preventing the outbreak, the recurrence or the continuation of armed conflicts.

- This means that peacebuilding includes but is also broader than peacekeeping and peacemaking, in much the same way as conflict transformation may include conflict resolution but also goes beyond such formal negotiations.
Radicalisation of development: Working around, in and on conflict

- Multilateral agencies and major donor nations are increasingly concerned with crafting transitions from war to peace in order to mainstream ‘post-conflict’ development.

- Development aid has undergone a partial shift
  - from ‘working around conflict’ (i.e. providing development aid without taking conflicts into account),
  - through ‘working in conflict’ (i.e. offering humanitarian relief and development aid in a conflict-sensitive manner),
  - to ‘working on conflict’ (i.e. providing development assistance towards reducing and managing conflicts).
Policy Tools for Peacebuilding

- Security
  - humanitarian mine action
  - disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of combatants
  - disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of child combatants
  - Security Sector Reform
  - small arms and light weapons

- Socio-economic Foundations
  - physical reconstruction
  - economic infrastructure
  - infrastructure of health and education
  - repatriation and return of refugees and IDPs
  - food security

- Political Framework
  - democratisation (parties, media, NGO, democratic culture)
  - good governance (accountability, rule of law, justice system)
  - institution building
  - human rights (monitoring law, justice system)

- Reconciliation and Justice
  - dialogue between leaders of antagonistic groups
  - grass roots dialogue
  - other bridge-building activities
  - Truth and Reconciliation Commissions
  - trauma therapy and healing
Strategic Complexes

- Wile states and governments remain important, and will continue to do so, they exercise their authority through complex international, national and subnational governance networks linking state and non-state actors.
  - State actors
  - Non-governmental organisations
  - Military establishments
  - Commercial sector
  - Multilateral and regional organisations

- Role of Norway as facilitator, donor and monitor
The Sri Lankan ‘Ethnic’ Conflict

Sinhalese Nationalism

The Nation
• Sinhala Buddhist people

National Homeland
• Dhamma Dipa

The Nation-State
• Pre-colonial Kingdoms

National Oppression
• Domination by foreigners

Post-colonial Nationalism
• To reconstruct the nation-state and rectify injustices
• Unitary state

Tamil Nationalism

The Nation
• Tamil-speaking people

National Homeland
• Tamil Eelam

The Nation-State
• Pre-colonial Jaffna Kingdom

National Oppression
• Post-colonial oppression

Post-colonial Nationalism
• Self-determination for security and justice
• Federal/separate state
Eelam War III created a military deadlock and a certain balance of power ("a mutually hurting stalemate")

Dual state power between GOSL- and LTTE-controlled areas

Previous negotiations: devolution within unitary state (GOSL) vs. separate Tamil Eelam state (LTTE)

Need to recognise dual state: convergence around federal model for state power
Internationalisation of Peace through Development

- Internationalisation of conflict resolution
  - Facilitators (Norway), monitors (Nordic countries), donors (co-chairs to donor conferences: EU, USA, Japan, Norway)

- Development as a forerunner for peace
  - Unusual sequencing: Immediate humanitarian needs before rehabilitation/development and conflict resolution
  - Instrumental use of development GOSL/Co-chairs: normalisation of neoliberal development/liberal peace LTTE: institutionalisation of power-sharing
  - Collaboration and contestation over institutional arrangements and power-sharing in development administration
  - LTTE saw government administration as a strategy of rebuilding the unitary state. GOSL and opposition saw LTTE’s plan for interim development administration as a first step towards secession

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Democracy with severe deficits

- A well-established electoral democracy, but also severe democracy deficits. The contemporary Sri Lankan political system is a majoritarian formal democracy within a unitary and centralised state, with extensive concentration of power and relatively weak de facto constitutional and institutional checks on the powers of the executive government.

State resources and factional politics

- The stakes in the field of politics – in terms of political power, economic resources and social status – have become exceedingly high. This has given rise to political fragmentation and intense intra-elite rivalry, with instrumental constitutional reforms, populist politicisation of ethnicity, strategic coalitions and crossovers as well as political corruption.

Conflict transformation

- As the dynamics of this political field have been decisive in the making and continuation of conflicts, political transformations are crucial for lasting peace.
Sri Lanka is characterised by a dual state structure, with democracy deficits within two political entities

- On the one hand is the Sri Lankan state formation, which may be described as a consolidated electoral democracy that is characterised by majoritarianism within a unitary and centralised state

- On the other hand is the emerging state formation within LTTE-controlled areas, where LTTE has demonstrated an ability to govern but doing so by way of authoritarian centralisation with few formal mechanisms for democratic representation

Dual challenge of transforming political institutions and practices in the direction of:

- substantive devolution of power (not merely administrative decentralisation)

- substantive democracy (not merely electoral democracy)

These challenges are inseparable: electoral democracy without devolution (rebuilding the unitary state) or devolution without democracy (constructing an authoritarian local state) will not yield a just and lasting peace
The peace process (including Norway’s role in it) being set within and shaped by the framework of a liberal world order

- Peace process constructed as narrow negotiations
  - Formal ‘high-table- negotiations between LTTE and GOSL, excluding other political forces and civil society
- Negotiations focusing on humanitarian issues, postponing core issues
  - Need for political transformations towards devolution and democratisation in both LTTE- and GOSL-controlled areas.
- Political conditionalities from donors, but no interventionist approach on political transformations
  - Limits of conditionalities have been experienced in the 5th peace process. Need to enable promising political dynamics.
  - Limited promotion of initiatives towards local political participation, protection of rights and local democratic governance in both LTTE- and GOSL-controlled areas.

- Demands for political transformations unevenly applied
  - Politicisation of human rights, terrorlisting of LTTE
  - International actors tilting the balance of power in favor of GOSL
Implications for peacebuilding

- Broadening peacebuilding
  - Promoting political transformations towards devolution and democratisation in both LTTE- and GOSL-controlled areas.

- Enabling rather than demanding change
  - Limits of conditionalities have been experienced in the 5th peace process. Need to enable promising political dynamics.

- Local political transformations
  - Identification and promotion of initiatives towards local political participation, protection of rights and local democratic governance in both LTTE- and GOSL-controlled areas