

Restoring Peace: Success Stories in Southern Africa?

Civil wars:

- 1990ies: 94% of all armed conflicts are civil wars
- 90% of the killed are civilians
- mass refugee movements
- threat to regional and global stability
- terrorist and criminal networks

U.S. President Woodrow Wilsons' peacebuilding approach (end of World War I):

Assumption of peacebuilding: rapid liberalization fosters a stable and lasting peace in countries that are just emerging from civil wars.

“Liberalization”:

democratization, free and fair elections, governmental power limited, civil liberties, marketization.
Wilson's approach is used by peacebuilders until today.

Problem: The peace is in most of civil war cases not sustainable. Pushing the liberalization process too quickly can have damaging and destabilizing effects,

Roland Paris' critique:

“(The peacebuilders’) desire to turn war-torn states into stable market democracies was not the problem; rather, the methods they used to effect this change, including their failure to anticipate and forestall the destabilizing effects of liberalization, proved to be the Achille’s heel of peacebuilding.” (p. 6)

Paris' proposal of a new strategy: *Institutionalization before Liberalization*

More sensible approach

- establishing first a network of domestic institutions (against destabilizing effects)
- democratization and marketization in slow, incremental and deliberate steps.

Institutionalization before Liberalization is more costly and time-consuming. But: higher expense and longer durability.

Case Study: Namibia

- 1884 colonized by Germany
- 1914 administered as a league mandate and controlled by South Africa
- 1918 -incorporation of Namibia into the union of South Africa
 - U.N. insists in placing the territory under the U.N. Trusteeship Council
 - South Africa rejects the U.N. authority
 - U.N. declares the occupation illegal and presses for Namibia's independence.
- 1960 -SWAPO (South West African People's Organization): campaign for independence
 - guerilla attacks on South African military inside Namibia
 - counterinsurgency troops of South Africa
 - smallscale but persistent war
- 1988 peace agreement
- 1989 free and fair election of a Constituent Assembly*
- 1990 approved constitution. Sam Nujoma: first president of independent Namibia (SWAPO party)
- 2004 Hifikepunye Pohamba is elected as the new president (SWAPO party)

**“(...)the most difficult and important work of Namibia's founding constitutional congress – that of defining the fundamental organizational principles of the country's governing institutions – was effectively completed by international actors long before the congress ever met.”(p.138) → “proposal for a settlement*

of the Namibian situation”, U.N. security council, in 1978 by the “contact group” (Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, U.S.A).
1982 detailed set of guidelines by the contact group.

However: No unmitigated endorsement of the Wilsonian notion that liberalization will generally foster stable and lasting peace in war-shattered states.

Reasons:

- Namibia’s war was not “civil” but a liberation struggle against South Africa’s quasi-colonial rule.
- Since there is virtually no opposition to SWAPO, the distinction between the ruling party and the government has blurred → No real multiparty democracy

Case Study: Mozambique

- 1975 -Independence from Portugal
-“Frente de Libertação de Moçambique” (Frelimo)
- 1977 End of peace (entails 1’000’000 deaths):
-Frelimo provides support to black nationalist groups fighting the white regime in Rhodesia
-Rhodesia recruits Mozambican expatriots to destruct Mozambique → “Resistência Nacional Moçambicana” (Renamo)
- 1990 -first direct talks mediated by Italia, France, Portugal, Great Britain, U.S.A. and U.N.
-new constitution
- 1992 formal peace (plans for multiparty elections, liberalization of popular media, freedom of association and movement, creation of nonpartisan commissions to monitor respect for civil rights, demobilization of armed forces, creation of new national army, reintegration of ex-combatants).
U.N. operation of Mozambique: 7’000 international military personnel.
- 1994 first national free and fair elections: president Joaquim Chissano (Frelimo)
- 2005 president Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)

However: No unmitigated endorsement of the Wilsonian notion that liberalization will generally foster stable and lasting peace in war-shattered states.

Reasons:

- The war in Mozambique was not “homegrown”. It was a foreign imposition on the country.
- The tensions between the wealthier urban industrial class and the poorer rural peasantry were not resolved by the end of Mozambique’s war.
→ longstanding socioeconomic divisions
→ economic hardship
→ criminality (sudden shocks to the rural economy brings about increased levels of violence)
→ threat to peace

Conclusion: reasons for peace in Namibia nad Mozambique

- Big accomplishments of the international peacebuilding missions
- Conflicts were instigated by outsiders

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