Abdullah, Abdullah, 102, 177, 183 Accords on a Comprehensive Political	election of warlords to government positions in,
Settlement of the Cambodia	179–180
Conflict. See Paris Peace	parliamentary fragmentation in,
Accords	174–175
administrative structures, 31	Pashtuns in, 176
Afghan Assistance Coordination	political consolidation challenges
Authority (AACA), 140	in, 180
Afghan Independent Human Rights	state-capacity building in, 176
Commission, 185	Taliban problem in, 180–181
Afghanistan, 4	Provincial Councils, 181
democracy-building in, 205	regional centers of power, 98-99
drug trade in, 185	rentier regime, 95
elections in 2004 and 2005, 142–146	revenues, 182
electoral results in 2005–2014, 178	single non-transferable vote (SNTV)
elite power struggles in, 183–184	system in, 143–146, 175
elites, 52	state- and democracy-building in,
emergence from 25 years of conflict, 38	6 Tulibus marina in 00, 100
	Taliban regime in, 99–100
founding and consolidation of modern nation, 94	Transitional Administration (ATA), 134, 139–140, 142, 145, 195
Interim Administration, 100, 102,	transitional governance in, 133–142,
134, 140, 195	210
invasion by Soviet Union, 95	UNAMA in, 133–135
Loya Jirga, 135–137, 142, 145	warlords, 96, 138–139, 179–180
micro-societies of, 97, 176, 181	Afghanistan Compact, 142, 174, 182
Najibullah puppet regime, 96	African National Congress (South
National Development Framework,	Africa), 131
140–141	aid coordination, 214
National Solidarity Program, 139,	Akashi, Yasushi, 114, 116
215	Alkatiri, Mari, 121, 166
neopatrimonial political order in, 49,	Allawi, Ayad, 194, 208
63, 174–186	All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese
Northern warlords' control of	Dialogue, 88
Kabul, 97–99	Al-Maliki, Nouri, 195
Pashtun monarchy, 94–95, 97	Al-Qaeda, 100
patrimonialism in, 184–185	An Agenda for Peace (Boutros-Ghali),
peacebuilding operations in, 26	13
political parties in, 211	Angkar, 74
post-intervention, 174–186	Angola, 34, 219

Annan, Kofi, 90, 101	"killing fields," 74
Apodeti (Timorese Popular Democratic	neopatrimonial political order in, 49,
Association), 82	63, 154–164
Araujo, Rui de, 173	Paris Peace Accords on, 77
Armed Forces for the National	peacebuilding operations in, 26
Liberation of East Timor	political parties in, 211
(FALINTIL), 85–88, 90, 92	post-intervention, 154–164
Ashley, David, 156	Seila community program, 215
Association of Southeast Asian	transitional governance in, 111–114,
Nations (ASEAN), 78, 216	210
Autesserre, Séverine, 210, 214–215	Cambodia National Rescue Party
Autesserie, 3evernie, 210, 21 4- 213	(CNRP), 163
Barder, Owen, 217	Cambodian People's Party (CPP), 5, 75,
Barnett, Michael, 205	117–120, 155–157, 159–164
Baskin, Mark, 213	Campbell, Susanna, 198, 203
Bates, Robert, 46	capacity-building, 201–204
Bellamy, Alex, 204	Caplan, Richard, 127
Belo, Carlos, 88, 89	Capoccia, Giovanni, 29
bin Laden, Osama, 100	Carnation Revolution, 81
Boix, Carles, 46	Carrascalão, Mario, 121
Bonn Agreement, 101–103, 135,	Catholic Church, 88, 126, 166
180	Central African Republic, 34
Bosnia, 34	CEP. See Community Empowerment
Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 13	and Local Governance Project
Brahimi, Lakhdar, 101, 134, 199	(GEP)
Brahimi Report, 13	Chayes, Sarah, 97
Bremer, Paul, 194	Chesterman, Simon, 127
Bringing the State Back In (Evans	Chopra, Jarat, 128, 213
et al.), 221	civil war
Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party,	in Afghanistan, 93–103
159	in Cambodia, 38, 72–80
Burundi, 34	clientelism
peacebuilding intervention in, 149,	cause of, 58
197–198, 203	definition of, 63–64
power-sharing governance by elites	gaining political support with, 64–65
in, 197–198	CNRM (National Council of Maubere
	Resistance), 87
Call, Charles, 36, 208	CNRT. See National Council for
Cambodia, 4–5	Timorese Resistance (CNRT) or
ASEAN and, 216	National Congress for the
civil war, 38, 72-77	Reconciliation of East Timor
democratization in, 203	(CNRT)
elections of 1993, 115-120	Coalition Government of Democratic
electoral results in 1998-2013,	Kampuchea (CGDK), 75, 78,
160	113
elites in, 52	Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA),
genocide in, 74	194–197
history, 72, 77	Cold War, 12
Khmer Rouge regime, 73–75	Community Empowerment and Local
PKR regime, 75–77	Governance Project (GEP),
Sihanouk's rule as king, 72–73	129–130
small out of this do king, /2 / 5	12/ 100

comparative-historical analysis, 27 competitive authoritarianism, 62 Congo, 34 Congress Party (India), 131 constitutional arrangements, 31 Costy, Alexander, 141 Côte d'Ivoire, 34 CPP. See Cambodian People's Party (CPP) critical peacebuilding phases, 23, 68 Croatia, 34 Curtis, Devon, 149, 197, 213	Nahe Biti Bo'ot system of conflict resolution in, 209 neopatrimonial political order in, 49, 63, 164–174 Operation Komodo, 83 peace settlement in, 38, 80–90 peacebuilding operations in, 26 Petroleum Fund Law, 170 petroleum revenues, 167–170 political participation in, 203, 210 political participation in, 203, 211 post-intervention, 164–174 civil administration in, 164–165
democracy-building approach, 24–25, 204–205 elite consensus in, 55 institutionalization before liberalization, 58 in transitional governance, 57	constitutional crisis in, 169 electoral results in 2007–2012, 168 FRETILIN's domination in, 165–166 internal strife and political
Democratic Republic of Congo, 149, 214 developing countries, poor governance and economic outcomes in, 62–63	instability in, 166–167 rentier regime in, 172 violence in, 166 public spending, 170–171 resistance to occupation, 80–90
Di Palma, Giuseppe, 206 Diehl, Paul, 19 Dostum, Rashid, 97–99, 138, 145, 177, 183, 184	role of Catholic Church in, 88 student movement in, 88 transfer payments to veterans, 171–172
Doyle, Michael, 54, 71 drug trade, 185 Dunn, James, 82 Durrani, Ahmad Shah, 94 Dutch East Indies, 84	transitional governance in, 120–130 East Timor Defense Force, 167 East Timor Public Administration, 164 East Timor Transitional Administration (ETTA), 126, 127
East Timor, 4–6 cash transfers, 170, 171 colonial history, 80–81 declaration of independence, 84 elections of 2001, 130–133 elections of 2007, 168–169 electoral results in 2007–2012, 168 elites in, 52, 81 collusion among, 173 mestiço Timorese, 81 rent distribution to, 172–173 end of India's occupation of, 92 Estimated Sustainable Income, 170 human rights violations in, 88–89 independence referendum, 90–93 Indonesian occupation of, 83–86 militia violence in, 90–92	Eastern Europe, post-socialist transitions in, 59 Eastern Slavonia, 34 El Salvador, 208 elections in Afghanistan (2004 and 2005), 142–146 in Cambodia (1993), 115–120 in East Timor (2001 and 2007), 130–133, 168–169 in Iraq, 195–196 non-electoral ingredients of democratization and, 208–211 proportional representation (PR), 144 single nontransferable vote (SNTV) system in, 144–146

elites	East Timor), 85–88, 90, 92,
Afghanistan, 52	131
in Burundi, 197–198	Fariss, Christopher, 213
in Cambodia, 52	France, 72
coalition among, 47	FRETILIN. See Revolutionary Front
control of resources by, 60	for an Independent East Timor
cooperation with UN's rules, 68	(FRETILIN)
in East Timor, 52	Fukuyama, Francis, 57, 209
empowerment of, 24–25	FUNCINPEC (National United Front
international interventions and,	for an Independent, Neutral,
107–151	Peaceful, and Cooperative
Afghan elections in 2004 and	Cambodia), 75, 113, 117–120,
2005, 142–146	155–156, 159–160
Cambodian elections of 1993,	
115–120	genocide, in Cambodia, 74
East Timorese elections of 2001,	Ghani, Ashraf, 139, 183
130–133	Giustozzi, Antonio, 184
transitional governance in	Goldstone, Anthony, 93
Afghanistan, 133-142	Goodhand, Jonathan, 185
transitional governance in	governance
Cambodia, 111–114	effective and legitimate, 200–201
transitional governance in East	patrimonial, 62
Timor, 120–130	post-intervention outcomes, 31–33
in limited access order, 47, 65	power-sharing, 197–198
maneuvering in peacebuilding	transitional. See transitional
pathway, 66–67	governance
neopatrimonial political orders and,	"Great Game," 94
25–26	Grindle, Merilee, 215
patron-client networks, 64–65	Gusmão, José Alexandre "Xanana,"
peace settlements, 53–56, 103–106	86–90, 121, 124, 126, 127, 130, 167, 170, 173
political order and, 44	167–170, 173
post-conflict, 41, 66–67 post-conflict settlements, 24	Habibie, B.J., 90, 91
transformative events and, 50–53	Haiti, 34
transitional governance and,	Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin, 96, 99, 101
149–150	Heng Samrin, 75
in transitional governance phase of	Hezb-i-Islami faction, 101
peacebuilding, 192–193	historical institutionalism, 220–222
violence and, 65	Hobbes, Thomas, 43
embedded autonomy, 31	Hughes, Caroline, 76, 86–87, 123, 157,
Eritrea, 219	161–163
Estimated Sustainable Income (ESI),	Hun Sen, 5, 75, 78, 111, 113, 116, 119,
170	158–161, 163
Evans, Peter, 221	Huntington, Samuel, 46, 57–58, 202
extensive power, 31	
	Indonesia, 219
Fahim, Marshal, 175	invasion and occupation of East
Fahim, Mohammed, 102, 137,	Timor, 83–86
138	Operation Komodo, 83
FALINTIL (Armed Forces for the	talks with Portugal on East Timor,
National Liberation of	83, 89, 91

institutions	Cambodian elections of 1993 and,
administrative structures, 31	115–116, 118–119
constitutional arrangements, 31	genocide, 74
focus on functions of, 215	legitimate source of political power,
institution-building, 57–58	113
peacebuilding and, 30-31	in post-intervention Cambodia,
political order and, 44	158
insurrectionaries, 110	"killing fields," 74
intensive power, 31	Kosovo, 34
INTERFET, 92	105010,51
internal imperialism, 94	Lake, David, 213
international interventions, 107–151	Laos, 72, 219
	Lebanon, 219
Afghan elections in 2004 and 2005, 142–146	Levation, 219
	Leviathan (Hobbes), 43
Cambodian elections of 1993,	liberal peacebuilding model, 21
115–120	Liberia, 34
East Timorese elections of 2001,	limited access order, 47, 65
130–133	Linz, Juan, 32
transitional governance in	liurai, 80
Afghanistan, 133–142	Lobato, Nicolau, 86
transitional governance in	Lobato, Rogério, 167
Cambodia, 111–114	Locke, John, 43
transitional governance in East	Loya Jirga, 135–137, 142, 145, 203,
Timor, 120–130	209
Iraq, 194–197	
elections, 195–196	Macedonia, 34
elites in, 195	madrasa, 99
failure of reconstruction strategy in,	Mahoney, James, 27, 110
195	Maley, William, 185
Interim Governing Council, 194	Mali, 34, 35
Interim Government, 194, 208	Mann, Michael, 31
Transitional Government, 195	Martin, Ian, 121
	Massoud, Ahmad Shah, 97-100,
Joint Assessment Mission, 122,	137
129	Matanock, Aila, 213
Joint Election Management Body	Maubere mountain people, 81
(JEMB), 145	mestiço Timorese, 81
(JENID), 113	modern state
Karzai Hamid 6 100 102 134	
Karzai, Hamid, 6, 100, 102, 134, 136–139, 143, 145–146,	political order in, 45 transition from traditional state to,
174–175, 177, 195	43
Khalilzad, Zalmay, 134, 145	modernization theory, 46, 55, 58
Khan, Abdul Rahman, 94	Mohaqeq, Haji Mohammed, 137, 145,
Khan, Ismail, 97, 137, 138	184
Khan, Mohammed Daoud, 95	Mozambique, 34, 86
Khmer empire, 72	mujahideen, 94, 95, 97, 137, 146
Khmer People's National Liberation	N. I. D.: D. I.
Front (KPNLF), 75, 113	Nahe Biti Bo'ot system of conflict
Khmer Rouge, 73–75	resolution, 209
attacks against Vietnam, 74	Namibia, 34

National Congress for Reconstruction implicit theory of peacebuilding, of East Timor (CNRT), 168 198-200 international norms and, 194-198 National Consultative Council (East Timor), 126 modification of peacebuilding National Congress for the practice, 205-217 Reconciliation of East Timor neopatrimonial political order and, (CNRT), 168 217-218 National Council for Timorese political order in post-conflict states, Resistance (CNRT), 87, 191-194 121 - 122statebuilding and, 201-204 criticism from civil society, 130 parasitic actors, 111, 212 dissolution of, 130 Paris, Roland, 20, 58, 199, 201, 203, as local counterpart of UNTAET, 124–126 Paris Conference on Cambodia, 78 National Council of Maubere Paris Peace Accords, 77, 111–112, 119, Resistance (CNRM), 87 party-building, 211-212 National Development Framework Pashtuns, 94, 97, 176 (Afghanistan), 140-141 National Front (Afghanistan), 183 patrimonial governance, 62 National Solidarity Program (NSP), patrimonialism, 152 kinship-based, 209-210 139, 215 neopatrimonial political order, 25–26, neopatrimonial equilibrium, 47–50 47–50, 61–66, 152–189 patronage, 58, 63-64, 152-153 in Afghanistan, 174–186 peace process, 6 in Cambodia, 154-164 peace settlements, 70-106 comparative perspective, 186-189 in Afghanistan, 93–103 core elements of, 153–154 as beginning of peacebuilding in East Timor, 164-174 pathway, 54–55 patronage in, 152–153 Bonn Agreement, 101–103 peacebuilding and, 217-218 in Cambodia, 72–80 Nol, Lon, 73 comparative perspectives, 103-106 normal development phase, 23 as conditional elite pacts, 53-54 North, Douglass, 47 in East Timor, 80–90 North Atlantic Treaty Organization elites' negotiations and pacts in, 53-56 (NATO), 14, 16 Northern Alliance, 93, 100, 101, 138, Paris Peace Accords, 77 143 peacebuilding argument and significance of, 3-8 O'Dwyer, Conor, 60 budget in fiscal year 2014-15, 12 Olson, Mancur, 47 comparative-historical analysis of, 2.7 Omar, Mullah Mohammed, 99 Operation Enduring Freedom, 101 definition of, 12-13 Operation Komodo, 83 future research and theoretical opportunistic actors, 111, 212 implications of, 218 historical institutionalism, paradoxes of peacebuilding, 190–223 220-222 capacity-building and, 201-204 indigenous statebuilding, 219-220 democracy and, 204-205 political science, 220–222 effective and legitimate governance, implicit theory of, 198-200 200-201 liberal peacebuilding model, 21

peacebuilding (cont.) outcomes, 29 governance, 31–33	political contenders, 52 political decay, 45 political disorder, 45
institutions, 30–31	political gap, 46
paradoxes of, 190–223	political order
pathway, 66–69	definition of, 44–45
phases in, 23	elites' roles in, 44
politics of, 2–3	hybrid or intermediate states of,
post-intervention phase of, 193	45
principles for modification of,	institutions and, 44
205–217	neopatrimonial, 47-50, 61-66
focus on institutional function,	opposite of, 45
215–217	in post-conflict states, 41–69
international post-conflict	pursuit of, 43–47
engagement, 212-214	study of, 43–44
keeping the power balance fluid,	political parties, 211–212
206–208	in Afghanistan, 211
multidimensional state-society	in Cambodia, 211
compact, 214-215	in East Timor, 81-88, 211
non-electoral ingredients of	political science, 220–222
democratization, 208-211	Ponzio, Richard, 137
political parties, 211–212	poppy cultivation, 185
spoiler concept in, 51	Porcell, Gerald, 116
transformative, 3	Portugal
elites and, 50–53	Carnation Revolution, 81
international interventions in, 66	colonization of East Timor, 80–81
transitional governance approach to, 13–17	talks with Indonesia on East Timor, 83, 89, 91
transitional governance phase in, 192–193	post-conflict political order, 4–5 post-conflict settlements, 24
viewing in time, 28–30	post-conflict states
peacebuilding research, 17-22	Afghanistan, 174–186
causal arguments in, 18-19, 24	Cambodia, 154–164
international relations and, 18, 20–21	mirage of modern political order in, 191–194
interventions and empowerment of elites, 24–25	neopatrimonial political orders in, 25–26
political economy perspective on,	political order in, 41-69
23–24	post-socialist transitions, 59
on practice and theory, 19-20	power
People's Democratic Party of	extensive, 31
Afghanistan (PDPA), 95	intensive, 31
People's Republic of Kampuchea	Progressive Era, 204
(PRK), 75–78, 155	proportional representation (PR), 144
Petroleum Fund, 173	
Petroleum Fund Law (East Timor), 170	Qanooni, Yunus, 102, 145, 177
Pierson, Paul, 23, 28-30, 60, 106, 154,	Rainsy, Sam, 159, 163
188	Ramos-Horta, José, 89, 168
Pol Pot, 74	Ranarridh, Norodom, 117, 158–160

Reilly, Benjamin, 211 rentier regime, 95 Revolutionary Front for an	Soares de Oliveira, Ricardo, 220 Sokha, Kem, 163 Soltan, Karol, 125
Independent East Timor	Somaliland, 219
(FRETILIN), 82, 124	South Sudan, 34, 35
budget, 167–168	Southeast Asia
coalition with UDT, 82	Association of Southeast Asian
in East Timorese elections of 2001,	Nations (ASEAN), 78, 216
130–133	authoritarian regimes in, 46
Maputo clique, 86, 132	Soviet Union, invasion of Afghanistan,
political and military structure	95
during occupation, 86	specialists in violence, 46
in post-intervention East Timor,	spoilers, 51
165–166	Sri Lanka, 219
resistance to Indonesia's occupation	State of Cambodia (SOC)
of East Timor, 85	formation of, 75
Richmond, Oliver, 210	participation in 1993 election,
Roeder, Philip, 205	115–117
Rothchild, Donald, 205	in post-intervention Cambodia, 155
Rubin, Barnett, 95–102, 135, 142–143,	transitional governance in
182, 185	Cambodia and, 111, 113–114
Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, 221 Rustow, Dankwart, 55	statebuilding, 24–25, 57 capacity-building and, 201–204
Rwanda, 34, 149, 219	indigenous, 219–220
Kwanda, 54, 147, 217	states
Saikal, Amin, 176–177	failure of, 45
Sam Rainsy party (Cambodia),	formation of, 57
159–160	transition from traditional to
Sanderson, John, 117	modern, 43
Sary, Ieng, 158	stationary bandit, 47
Schetter, Conrad, 203	Stedman, Stephen, 51
Scott, James C., 63	Stepan, Alfred, 32
settlement phase, 23	Stinchcombe, Arthur, 55–56
Shah, Zahir, 95, 101	student movement, 88
sharia law, 99	subversive actors, 110
Shefter, Martin, 58	sucos, 80
Shia elites, 195	Suharto, President, 83, 85
Shirzai, Gul Agha, 103, 137, 138, 175	Suhrke, Astri, 213
Sierra Leone, 34	Sunnis, 195
Sihanouk, Norodom, 72–73, 113	Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution
abdication of throne, 72–73	in Iraq (SCIRI), 196
designation as king of Cambodia,	Supreme National Council of
72–73	Cambodia (SNC), 112
exile in Beijing, 74	T. 111 1 2.4
as president of Supreme National	Tajikistan, 34
Council, 112	Taliban, 38, 93, 99–100, 180–181, 185
single nontransferable vote (SNTV), 143–146, 175	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI), 86
Skocpol, Theda, 31, 221	Thailand, 72 Thelen, Kathleen, 27, 110
Slater, Dan, 46	Thier, Alexander, 139
5	ine, inchairder, 107

Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), peacebuilding operations, 33 81-83, 126 transitional governance strategy, 3 United Nations Assistance Mission in Timorese Popular Democratic Association (Apodeti), 82 Afghanistan (UNAMA), Timorese Social Democratic 133–135, 140–141, 145, 174 Association (ASDT), 81 United Nations Charter Timorization, 122, 127-128, 201 Chapter VI, 12 TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia), 86 Chapter VII, 12 transformative peacebuilding, 3 United Nations Department of elites and, 50-53 Peacekeeping Operations, 13 international interventions in, 66 United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 141 transitional governance approach to, 13 - 17United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), 91, 121 transitional governance, 56-61 in Afghanistan, 133-142 United Nations Mission of Support in in Burundi, 197-198 East Timor (UNMISET), 164 in Cambodia, 111-114 United Nations Security Council, 12 endorsement of Cambodia's comparative perspective, 147–151 democracy-building in, 57 Supreme National Council, 112 in East Timor, 120-130 Permanent Five members, 78 elites and, 149-150 self-determination of East Timor, 89 international interventions in, 66 transformative peacebuilding and, in peacebuilding, 192-193 14 - 15period, 23 United Nations Transition Assistance propositions in, 56–57 Group (UNTAG), 35 United Nations Transitional statebuilding in, 57 Administration in East Timor transitional governance interventions case selection, 33-34 (UNTAET) empowerment of political actors in, CNRT as local counterpart of, 124-126 transitional governance strategy, 3 collaboration with National definition of, 13 Consultative Council, 126 for transformative peacebuilding, consultation with CNRT leaders, 13 - 17121 - 122transitional period, 14-15 District Administrators, 128 Elite's frustration with, 212 UDT. See Timorese Democratic Union establishment of East Timor Public Administration, 164 (UDT) Uganda, 219 failure to broker political settlement, UN Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL), 164 mandate from UN Security Council, UNAMA. See United Nations 92 - 93Assistance Mission in mandate of, 123 Afghanistan (UNAMA) opposition to CEP, 129-130 UNAMET. See United Nations Mission reluctance to East Timorese in East Timor (UNAMET) participation, 123–124 United Nations, 16 Security Council mandate for, 121 Department of Peacekeeping Timorese leadership's frustration on, Operations, 124, 134 127 - 128Department of Political Affairs, 124 Timorization and, 122–123, Peacebuilding Commission, 149 127–128, 201

United Nations Transitional Authority Vietnam in Cambodia (UNTAC), ancient Khmer empire and, 111-114 invasion of Cambodia by, 74 Cambodian elections of 1993 and, 115-120, 154-156 violence, 65 formation of, 79-80 civil war in Cambodia, 38, 72-77 influence of, 147 in East Timor, 90-92, 166 limited mandate from P-5, 114 elites and, 65 relationship with Supreme National specialists in, 46 Council, 113-114 roles and responsibilities of, 112 Wallis, John, 47 statebuilding and, 157-158 warlords, 96, 138-139, 179-180 transitional administrative authority Weber, Max, 31, 43, 46 of, 113 Weingast, Barry, 47 UNTAC. See United Nations Weinstein, Jeremy, 207 Transitional Authority in Williams, Paul, 204 Cambodia (UNTAC) Wimmer, Andreas, 203 UNTAET. See United Nations World Bank, 16, 122, 129, Transitional Administration in 140 East Timor (UNTAET)

Zartman, William, 80