

## BOOK REVIEW

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### Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations

By Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis

Princeton University Press, 2006, 424 pages, ISBN: 9780691122755

In 2000, Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis wrote an article for the *American Political Science Review* in which they argued that United Nations (UN) peace operations could make a significant difference in countries facing civil war by bringing and sustaining peace. Later, the two authors expanded their ideas, particularly their theory of the “peacebuilding triangle”, and wrote *Making War and Building Peace*. It should be particularly noted that Doyle served as former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan’s special advisor as well as his assistant between 2001 and 2003.

The book is divided into eight chapters. In the first chapter, the authors briefly summarize their thesis and introduce the UN structure, which is key to understanding the subject matter. The second chapter seeks to define the meaning of civil war as well as the theories, dimensions and causes of civil wars and how they can be ended. The third chapter examines the three main pillars influential in peacebuilding: hostility, local capacity and international capacity. Bringing these into a single theory, the chapter introduces what the authors call the “peacebuilding triangle.” The remaining chapters offer insights as to why the UN peace operations failed in cases such as Somalia, Bosnia and Congo, and how they were successful in establishing peace in other cases like El Salvador, Cambodia, Croatia-Bosnia and East Timor.

Doyle and Sambanis pay special attention to the concept of hostility. They argue that ethnic division in a country decreases the prospects of success for sustainable peacebuilding. One reason why UN peacebuilding efforts in Cambodia and El Salvador were successful has to do with the absence of ethnic division. In other words, the authors claim that

peacebuilding fails mostly due to ethnic hostilities. The authors provide significant evidence to support their argument by including detailed tables throughout the book. In addition, they argue that deaths and displacement do not have a very significant place in peacebuilding—contrary to popular belief. Especially in the case of Rwanda, although peacebuilding was not successful, the deaths and displacement did not influence the post-civil war peacebuilding process. Another substantial issue mentioned by the authors while explaining the concept of hostility is the duration of the war. Doyle and Sambanis assert that war duration can influence the peacebuilding process positively. Examining the case of Cambodia, they indicate that the parties had to come to an agreement due to the fatigue caused by the protracted war, while they failed to do so after the long war in the Cyprus case. Finally, the authors argue that the most important factor that can end the hostilities is the signing of a peace treaty.

Doyle and Sambanis highlight level of development as an important factor in peacebuilding and underline that the economic capacity of a country has a direct effect on peacebuilding efforts. If the main factor that determines the development level of the country is the country's natural resources, this could lead to war or prevent peace. In Angola, Sierra Leone and Liberia for instance, rebel groups have made use of their countries' rich mineral resources to finance their activities.

The authors also underline the significance of international capacity in the success of peacebuilding efforts. The UN has two main tasks in the peacebuilding process in this regard. The first is to reduce tensions and mediate between the parties of the civil war, while helping them reach a peace agreement. This means that the UN's priority is to ensure "sovereign peace." At the same time, the UN seeks to encourage efforts for "participatory peace" with the goal of preserving peace in the country for at least two years. As part of this effort, the UN helps to re-establish the country's infrastructure, educational system, democratic processes, etc. Out of all the cases presented by Doyle and Sambanis to support their argument, the case of El Salvador is the most interesting, since it is one of the rare occasions when peace was achieved although the number of deaths was extreme and the level of hostility between the warring parties was very high. The parties decided to sign a peace agreement when they came to the conclusion that neither would prevail in the ongoing civil war.

In addition to its role as a mediator, the UN also serves as a vanguard of post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding activities. In Cambodia, for instance, the UN has been quite influential in the reinstatement of democracy; it played a very crucial role in the organization of the Cambodian elections after the war. In addition to facilitating the democratic processes in the country, the UN has played a significant role in post-war peacebuilding and the sustainability of peace in Cambodia.

Doyle and Sambanis present seven conditions for sustainable peace. They indicate that in order to ensure peace in the long term, the security environment in the country must be satisfactory. This is because, as noted by Thomas Hobbes, the absence of security creates war and violence; therefore, security becomes the most important condition for peace. In addition, coordination and harmony with regional and international actors is very important. In order to prove this latter point, the authors once again make reference to the case of Cambodia where the neighbors of the country and several international actors stopped the flow of funding to the rebel groups, which was a decisive factor in ending the civil war. They argue that in order for peace to be sustainable, military victory should be supported by political victory.

In the case of El Salvador, the fact that neither of the parties could gain military superiority over the other convinced them to make an agreement, which eventually led to a successful peacebuilding process in political terms. The authors emphasize that the greatest challenge posed by civil wars is the absence of a centralized authority, which leads to further violence and disorder. In this sense, the acceptance of a state authority and the rule of law by the parties is crucial for peace. The authors argue that specific steps should be taken after the end of a civil war to achieve long-lasting peace. For example, the functioning of democracy in the country, the improvement of the education system and the punishment of war criminals are all crucial elements in preventing the recurrence of violence between the parties.

*Making War and Building Peace* is an important contribution to the field of international relations for three reasons. First, the theory of the “peacebuilding triangle” helps readers easily understand the main dynamics of the process of peacebuilding. Second, the authors introduce remarkable answers as to how the UN could be utilized as an actor for achieving peace following a civil war. Third, it offers a number of essential steps that need to be taken in order to ensure the sustainability

of peace. The case studies presented in the book are quite useful and include well-presented and reliable data that support the theoretical framework. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations* is highly recommended for scholars of International Relations and all readers interested in understanding the complex dynamics that contribute to lasting peace.

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