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## Political Party Transitions in Post-Conflict States: How Political Parties Reacted and Adapted During Democratic Transitions in Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique

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**POLITICAL PARTY TRANSITIONS IN POST-CONFLICT STATES: HOW POLITICAL PARTIES REACTED AND ADAPTED DURING DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS IN CAMBODIA, EL SALVADOR AND MOZAMBIQUE**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

By

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**2012**  
Wright State University

WRIGHT STATE UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

**December 12, 2012**

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY Rachel L. Miller ENTITLED **Political Party Transitions in Post-Conflict States: How Political Parties Reacted and Adapted During Democratic Transitions in Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique** BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF **Master of Arts.**

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## ABSTRACT

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“Political Party Transitions in Post-Conflict States: How Political Parties Reacted and Adapted During Democratic Transitions in Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique.”

This study argues that political parties in the post-conflict period are adaptable to and capable of changing roles as states transition to peacetime settings. In the aftermath of war in El Salvador, Cambodia and Mozambique and during a democratic transition, changes in political party structures and attitudes, and the influence of external actors emerged as significant factors in the way political parties adapted. National and international political contexts, ideological differences and war time political party origins played a part in incumbent and insurgent political parties’ behaviors and electoral successes in the aftermath of war, which has ultimately affected the democratic transition, in some cases undermining. This study demonstrates the nuance of democratic transition, how each individual case is unique and the importance of internal actors during the transition period and after.

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## ACRONYMS

**ARENA**—National Republican Alliance

**CPK**—Cambodia’s Communist Party

**CPP**—Cambodian Peoples’ Party

**DK**—Democratic Kampuchea

**FMLN**—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front

**FRELIMO**—The Liberation Front of Mozambique

**FUNCINPEC**—National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia

**GPA**—General Peace Agreement

**ONUMOZ**—United Nations Operation in Mozambique

**ONUSAL**—United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador

**PPA**—Paris Peace Agreement

**PRK**—People’s Republic of Kampuchea

**RENAMO**—Mozambican National Resistance

**SRP**—Sam Rainsy Party

**UNTAC**—United Nations Transnational Authority on Cambodia

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## Chapter I: Introduction

The end of civil conflict ushers in a period that is often unstable and always uncertain. During the time following the conflict, the function of previously warring parties and their changing role in a peacetime government is crucial to developing the new political landscape. The parties must restructure themselves, adapt to a new political landscape, and promote themselves to earn mass appeal without the aid of arms. The difficulty in the task of establishing a functioning and legitimate peacetime party is evident in the lack of success most parties emerging from conflict have in accomplishing this undertaking. Political parties in the countries of El Salvador, Mozambique, and Cambodia are familiar with this process. All three of these countries have emerged from long periods of civil conflict in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the warring parties in each have had to adapt to the peacetime political landscape. The National Republican Alliance (ARENA) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador, the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) and the Liberation Front of Mozambique (Frelimo) in Mozambique, and the Cambodian Peoples' Party (CPP) and National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) of Cambodia are all parties that have emerged from their respective civil conflicts; and, perhaps surprisingly, have remained important members of the political landscape afterwards.

This thesis is a case study of the above mentioned political parties in El Salvador, Mozambique, and Cambodia during the timeframe of their transitions from countries dealing with civil conflicts through the resolution. This study's timeframe also includes the aftermath of the respective conflicts. The purpose of the study is to determine which factors are most important in enabling parties functioning in conflict settings to function and transition in peacetime settings in a post-conflict period. It seeks to do this by studying countries that are very different regionally and culturally. However, aside from these differences, it can be argued that these cases best fit into a "most similar systems" design. The similarities in political backgrounds of these countries including factors such as international political

climate, internal political climate, internal political actors, and intervention tactics, are factors that influenced political party transitions. Similarities among the countries include: the transition from a period of civil conflict to a period of peace and democratic transition, the timeframe of the transition, the existence of opposition/insurgent parties and status quo/incumbent parties, and similar ideological backgrounds among some of the parties.

Questions, doubts, and differences of opinion often surface regarding particular cases when characterizing what does and does not constitute a success story in conflict to peacetime transitions in the political arena. While it is unlikely that all scholars would agree on the degree of success in each of these situations, there is notable agreement among scholars on categorizing these countries as success stories in their respective transitions (to relative peace, if not democracy) (Montgomery 1995; Wantchekon 1999, 2004). Although some speak of these cases as success stories, only El Salvador scored high enough on the Freedom House ranking to be considered “free” (Freedom House 2009). Mozambique was characterized as “partly free” and Cambodia as “not free” according to this particular scoring system. It is important to note in the case of Freedom House, however, governments are not rated as such, but instead Freedom House assesses the freedoms and real-world rights of citizens of each country. Essentially, Freedom House considers rights in practice to be of greater importance in their rating system versus the presence of legal rights. This is an important distinction to make in these cases because the transitions are happening in a way in which the government itself is changing, but not always in a manner which translates to increased access to civil rights for citizens. Additionally, Freedom House takes into account how freedoms are affected by “government officials, as well as non state actors, including insurgents and other armed groups” (Freedom House 2009). While Freedom House states that it does not survey the governments and the actors within these governments (political parties and other institutions) for the purpose of its survey, the organization still provides important insight as to the overall ability of citizens of a particular country to enjoy political and civil rights.

Though perhaps not ranking as “free” according to Freedom House, as of 2011 the U.S. State Department considered each country in this study a multiparty democracy (US State Department 2011). Classifying these countries as democracies coupled with the Freedom House rankings raises a set of sub-questions: What exactly is democracy and are these parties and countries truly functioning in a “democratic” fashion? Does the appeal of democracy influence the way the parties behave? How much has pressure from the outside, especially the UN, the United States and other donors, influenced the path of the peacetime parties and their redefined functions within these countries?

In addition to these sub-questions, one must examine the individual parties in the present governments and ask how have they developed and what exactly is important for party development in general. One must also examine pitfalls to which political parties often become subject, such as internal fragmentation or personalism (Ansell and Fish 1999). Additionally, one must examine how parties work together in terms of accomplishing a common goal, or solving a specific problem. In these cases, the resolution of civil conflicts is instrumental to this study. Other important factors are the common strategies among the parties. For example, Carrie Manning points to collective incentive strategies in the case of Mozambique’s political parties as a means for appealing to their bases; she discusses how the incentives may change over time as the political context within the country changes (Manning 2004). All of the sub-questions and additional topics mentioned above are essential to fully exploring the central thesis question.

### **Political Party Definitions**

Parties born out of conflict are different from traditional political parties created in a peacetime context. Traditionally, functional peacetime political parties are defined as institutions that “a) establish the link between state and society; b) determine to a greater or lesser degree the formation of governments; and c) guarantee some degree of universalism in the representation of social interests concerning the exercise of state power” (Cansino 1995, 170). Political parties, no matter how

they are created, are forced to adjust the way they function in order to survive depending on the given situation of the country. In times of war, parties use military tactics, and in these cases, as more peaceful societies emerged, the parties had to adapt to function in the peacetime context. According to Manning, “parties, as both survival-oriented and goal-oriented organizations, are adaptive organizations and will adjust over time to their electoral environment” (Manning 200, 255). Manning’s observation is especially appropriate for this study: how are parties born out of a revolutionary or civil war type conflict different from political parties formed in a peaceful setting? Additionally, does a formerly militant party background hinder the parties’ ability to successfully adjust to a peacetime transition? How can wartime parties demilitarize so as to lead a newly peaceful nation? Are there particular ways in which wartime parties demilitarize that are more associated with successful democratic transitions? Scholars such as Jeroen de Zeeuw point to certain changes in structure and agency as being crucial to a successful “rebel-to-party transformation” (de Zeeuw 2008, 12). These important adjustments on the part of the political parties are discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

For the purpose of this paper it is important to define political parties in two different ways. The conventional definition states that political parties, “a) establish the link between state and society; b) determine to a greater or lesser degree the formation of governments; and c) guarantee some degree of universalism in the representation of social interests concerning the exercise of state power” (Cansino 1995, 170). This definition is used to refer to legitimate peacetime political parties (Cansino 1995). Additionally, the term conflict party must be defined in order to address the parties competing during the respective conflicts. Conflict party will refer to a party that is created during a civil war type conflict, a party that is created in opposition to a party created in a civil war type conflict, or to a party that is formed in a peacetime context, yet has evolved from a traditionally defined political party to a party preoccupied with dominating its opposition through means of violence in a conflict setting (Manning 2007, 253). According to several scholars on the topic, including Caroline Hughes, Steven J. Hood, and

de Zeeuw, one of the main differences between legitimate peacetime political parties and conflict parties is that the roots (or the parties' origins) of conflict parties are militarized and difficult to change (Hughes 2002; Hood 2004; de Zeeuw 2008). Ideologically, there are similarities and differences between and among both conflict parties and legitimate peacetime political parties that need to be analyzed in more detail.

## **Chapter II: Literature Review**

In the literature on political party transition that focuses on the transition of conflict parties to legitimate peacetime political parties three main themes emerge as relevant: a desire to democratize, a change in party structure and attitude, and external influence, particularly from the United Nations and the United States. This chapter's focus is on how transitioning parties need to legitimize themselves in the eyes of citizens and remain successful and relevant in the new political landscape. Later chapters help to determine whether or not the above named factors provide the basis for a more stable party transition and party longevity in the new political landscape.

### **The Desire to Democratize**

In his investigation of countries emerging from civil war and beginning democratic transitions, Leonard Wantchekon states that most political theorists point to the post-conflict period as an opportune time for dictatorship to take hold (Wantchekon 2004). Wantchekon disagrees and goes on to explain his theory on post-civil war democratization. He argues that the need for political order and the possibility of alternation in power inherent in democracy makes it an alluring option for post civil conflict countries (Wantchekon 2004). Elections provide a welcome compromise for countries with parties caught in power struggles rife with violent conflict. With democracy on the table, technically neither side has to permanently concede, because with democratic rule, the possibility of regaining power is always present in elections. Wantchekon's post-civil war democratization theory corresponds with the minimalist argument presented by Adam Przeworski "that the very prospect that governments may change can result in a peaceful regulation of conflicts" (Przeworski 1999, 13).

One could also argue, however, that democracy is not the key to stability, that it is at times associated with violence and instability. As Steven J. Hood explains in his work detailing political development and democratic theory, timing is important, and leaping from an authoritarian regime to a democratic form of government is not always ideal. Hood states:

It is not uncommon for the failed policies of infant democratic regimes to lead to a rejection of democracy by the critics of democracy. Many infant democracies have reverted to authoritarianism after the new democratic government proved no more or less able to improve conditions than did its predecessor (Hood 2004, 58).

While Hood concedes that democracy may not be the best governmental solution in a post-authoritarian period, he does note that the most important aspect in the transition is an attempted reform and even a “limited degree of liberalization” (Hood 2004, 59). Hood characterizes the transition period as a trial and error period. He essentially poses the idea that eventually small amounts of liberalization and perhaps reversion occur, but such setbacks are temporary and over time the liberalized parts of the system may become institutionalized (Hood 2004).

Carrie Manning’s assessment of democracy as a sustainable stalemate supports Wantchekon’s post-civil war democratization theory. Manning addresses the allure of democracy as a way for parties to avoid losing the conflict at hand because democracy presents an acceptable chance for alternation of power. She also details the general shift from armed opposition group to political party, citing a number of important factors such as international involvement, institutional changes, and the nature of the conflict itself as significant aspects in a shift (Manning 2004). These factors will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. Building on Manning’s characterization of democracy as a suitable chance for variation in power, William I. Zartman makes the case for democracy serving as a sustainable stalemate. Zartman states, “In internal conflict, stalemate is stable and supportable, an acceptable alternative to losing for both sides” (Zartman 1993, 26). It could be argued that the allure of democracy in a post-conflict situation is the willingness for political actors to live with this stalemate. A stalemate allows them to end the violence without actually conceding, and because the country is transitioning to a democracy the possibility for a change in power is an option.

While democracy may seem like an alluring option to previously warring sides vying for power, Caroline Hughes and Carlos M. Vilas contend that the adoption of new political systems, in this case

democracy, sometimes by outside institutions, takes more than just changing institutions and structures of government. Vilas states:

Political institutions—such as parliaments, elections, ombudsmen, or any other—can be ‘exported’ and subsequently ‘imported’, but this does not imply that they will operate in the new setting as they do in the original one: people adapt institutions to their own necessities, abilities and expectations (Vilas 1996, 498).

Essentially, Vilas’ statement means that although political changes may occur, the culture of the transitioning countries may face difficulties in implementing a new system due to years of engrained governmental and societal culture. National culture and political culture in the countries of conflict may not have caught up to the changes in system brought about the conclusions of the conflicts. Stephen Chilton’s study on defining political culture notes that it is a seemingly simple concept wrought with complexities. He outlines nine different criteria important in defining political culture and acknowledges that in its inception, defining political culture was “the classic problem of specifying how people affect their political system, and vice versa” (Chilton 1988, 419). National culture, as defined by Gregory Jusdanis, is often synonymous with national identity and comprises, “the communal memories, symbols, and feelings that are believed to differentiate one nation from another” (Jusdanis 1995, 24).

According to Larry Diamond, democracy cannot exist without the people’s belief in its legitimacy, meaning that the citizenry of the transitioning countries need to see the benefits of democracy in their own lives. It is therefore important for democratic principles not to be infused just into institutions and procedures, but also into the national and political culture of the transitioning countries (Diamond 1999). One of the main obstacles to establishing the legitimacy of democracy in the national culture, especially in these cases, is poverty. Cultural roadblocks along with continued economic inequalities, even in the post-conflict period can make legitimization of democracy extremely difficult. In addition to Vilas’ comments on how national and political culture can affect importation of systems, he comments on the consequences of economic inequalities as well, stating:



Extreme poverty jeopardizes the very concept of citizenship, inasmuch as such poverty excludes people from access to services and basic resources—jobs, health and education—which are considered to be basic preconditions for personal autonomy and meaningful political participation (Vilas 1996, 468).

Vilas' important commentary, on both culture and economy, highlights the numerous obstacles in a democratic transition.

Poverty can be easily recognized as an important factor in impeding the adoption of democracy into the national and political culture in El Salvador, Cambodia, and Mozambique where the Human Development Index rankings were 105, 139, and 184 out of 187, respectively, for 2011 (UNDP 2011). The desire for democracy could certainly be seen as tied to expectations of economic development, as most consolidated democracies are economically developed. Given the extreme economic inequalities in many countries transitioning to democracies, it is conceivable that citizens could have expectations of poverty alleviation as well.

If defining democracy itself is complex, evaluating whether or not a democracy is consolidated poses some additional complications in the defining process. Diamond says, "the essence of democratic consolidation is a behavioral and attitudinal embrace of democratic principles and methods by both elites and mass" (Diamond 1999, 20). While this definition or description of the "essence" of democratic consolidation may not be all encompassing, it serves as a good basis to define democratic consolidation for this review. To elaborate on this basic definition, Diamond cites a number of scholars who concur that for a democracy to be considered consolidated it must be viewed as "the only game in town," (Diamond 1999, 65). It is important for democracy as a system of government to be so internalized on a mass level that citizens of a given country would not consider any other option. Diamond points out a "democratic consolidation can thus only be fully understood as encompassing a shift in political culture" (Diamond 199, 65).

## **Changes in Party Structure and Attitude**

Changes in party structure and attitude are additional themes found in party transition literature. The ways in which the individual parties' attitude and structure must change is also dependent on their respective roles as either an incumbent party or a revolutionary movement during the conflict. According to Jeroen de Zeeuw, structural and attitudinal changes of formerly militant parties are of the utmost importance in a post-conflict party transition period. He states that demilitarization and the development of the party organization are the two main structural changes. De Zeeuw notes that democratization of decision-making and adaptation of strategies and goals serve as the two main attitudinal changes (de Zeeuw 2008).

De Zeeuw mentions several important changes that must take place for structural change to occur. Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, or DDR, are some of the most significant and difficult changes that need to occur (de Zeeuw 2008). Some scholars, such as Alpaslan Özerdem recognize an additional "R," reinsertion, altering the acronym to read DDDR. Özerdem provides important definitions for the DDDR acronym. He notes that disarmament refers to the physical collection and disposal of weapons, while demobilization is the process by which the armed parties downsize or disband. Additionally, he notes that reinsertion is when the demobilized establish themselves in a civilian environment, which allows them to reintegrate (Özerdem 2004). Tommie Sue Montgomery notes that a lack of demobilization stalls militant parties from re-entering society (Montgomery 1995). Disarming and demobilizing combatants within the warring parties can take many months. Additionally, the reintegration of former combatants into society is often given little attention by those who assume power. Requiring active militants to disarm is difficult, but integrating transitioning militants back into society and helping them find a means for supporting themselves, is often overlooked.

The use of violence as the principle means of political strategy is frequently difficult to change in post war settings. When the parties are forced to disarm and demobilize, through ceasefires or new rules to help a society transition to peace, they give up the comfort and control of being able to defend themselves and their causes militarily. Particularly, in the conflicts discussed in this study, warfare was waged for years, and to many, it was a way of life. The reality of DDR strips the warring factions of the defenses they have employed for years, sometimes decades. This structural change is especially important in curbing future violence. Even after peace agreements are signed, in some cases, violence and intimidation have been used as a means for electoral disruption and exclusion of other political parties (Hughes 2004).

Restructuring and adjustments within the party organizations are other important structural changes. As de Zeeuw outlines, “parties that are capable of representing popular interests, fielding electoral candidates, organizing electoral campaigns, and taking on governance responsibilities must be developed” (de Zeeuw 2008). Additionally, opposition parties must secure a voter base and organize the leadership of the party for functional participation in the peacetime context. Adding to the discussion of party organization, Manning addresses the need for securing voters and dealing with intra-elite relations as the two most daunting obstacles in the transition (Manning 2007). Intra-elite relations can be defined as the relationship between leaders within the dominant blocs. Manning’s work notes that intra-elite challenges in dealing with changes in attitude and structure “can be usefully thought of in terms of the costs and benefits....of investing fully in electoral politics” (Manning 2004, 60). These obstacles are part structural and part attitudinal.

The way intra-elite relations change and function during the transition period is an important part of the change in party structure and attitude. Manning outlines a number of challenges faced by the dominant coalition groups in a transition period. Factors such as pressure from external actors to change or reform party leadership, adjusting skills to market the party in a peace time settings,

acclimating to necessary organizational changes within the party, and pinpointing, enlisting and retaining suitable candidates to run for office are all established as important components (Manning 2004). These structural changes must be addressed throughout the transition period for the parties to adjust to a new setting and electoral process.

Securing a voter base becomes difficult as war-time funding is diminished both internally and externally (Manning 2007). During the conflict, parties may receive funding from supporters, or those with vested interests in the conflict's outcome. Once the conflict comes to an end, certain investors no longer have the incentive to contribute funds. As Manning notes, leaders often "must seek out new patrons or funding sources" (Manning 2007, 254). Additionally, post-conflict settings are often tumultuous for the country, turning off potential new backers who do not want to pump money into a shaky investment. Once money starts to dry up, parties face new challenges in getting their message out to potential voters. It is common for parties to either shift towards a more centrist position or a more extreme position on the political spectrum in order to draw in new party participants. Parties must decide if they are going to draw more voters by shoring up radical, polarized positions or by adopting centrist politics (Manning 2007). Each move has the potential for lost votes, but parties must individually assess what factors they must change in order to appeal to the people in the new peacetime setting.

The structural changes serve as a predecessor to de Zeeuw's attitudinal changes: democratization of decision-making and adaptation of strategies and goals (de Zeeuw, 2008). Democratization, as discussed in the previous section, is an attitudinal change that is difficult to accomplish and measure. Adapting new strategies and goals is outlined by Manning in her discussion about collective incentive strategies, which she defines as "changes in the way parties seek to attract a mass following" (Manning 2004, 55). As noted above, parties may change their positions in an attempt to attract a mass following. Ultimately, Manning states that parties must have a persuasive motive to

change their collective incentive strategies (Manning 2004). Motives to alter collective incentive strategies vary, but can be influenced by external actors, the nature of the conflict itself, the number of people willing to continue to support the party ideas popular during the conflict period, and the willingness of the party to fully adapt to a changing political environment. These motives often surface in the new political climates that accompany the party transitions; however, Manning points out that politics in some countries remain so polarized that parties do not always have to change their collective incentive strategies to appeal to their bases. Although attitudinal changes may be a focal point for a party that truly is engaged in a transition process, political systems with sustained, extreme polarity continue to boost parties that represent their bases as they did during the conflict.

### **Influence of External Actors**

Scholars present valid arguments, theories, and ideas for explaining the allure of democracy for internal actors in each of these countries. The political parties addressed in this study also came under the influence of external actors and international political climate at the time of their transitions. The wars in El Salvador, Mozambique, and Cambodia were, to varying degrees, proxies for the Cold War and their end coincided with the fall of the Soviet Union. This post Cold War climate is associated with the “third wave” of democracy (Huntington 1991, 12). External support and incentives such as aid helped the “third wave” to act as a catalyst for the parties in El Salvador, Mozambique and Cambodia to transition to democratic forms of government in their respective post conflict periods.

External actors played and play a significant part in influencing parties that participated in the conflict. In the post- war period, influence has come largely in the form of monetary assistance, but external actors have served as peacemakers in conflicts, most notably on the part of the UN acting as the liaison for peace talks. Aid for the purpose of rebuilding the countries, boosting their economies, supporting a democratic transition, and persuading parties to cooperate are examples of such attempts

at influence. However, analysts disagree over how much influence external actors have in addressing the underlying causes of the conflict so as to prevent its reoccurrence.

As mentioned earlier, external actors were involved in all three cases both during and after the period of conflict. During the conflict resolution, external actors such as the U.S., provided economic or military aid based on vested interests in influencing conflict outcomes. In the post-conflict period, external actors have proposed strategies for conflict, overseen the implementation of peace processes, and continued their influence with economic aid and investment. In El Salvador, Mozambique and Cambodia, the UN played a pivotal role and as Tommie Sue Montgomery points out, “first, a willingness on the part of both warring factions to use the United Nations as a mediator, both before and after the peace accords [are] signed,” is crucial to beginning the resolution process (Montgomery 1995, 161). Though regional and Western influences are important in these cases, the significance of the UN as a peacemaking body cannot be overstated. The UN’s role in being able to bring both (or all) sides of the conflict to the table is one that potentially could not have been achieved solely through the efforts of an external actor such as the U.S. (given that these external actors often had taken sides in these wars). Beginning in the early 1990s, the UN began to increase the size and scope of its peace operations in countries like Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique. Though concerned about expanding responsibilities that ranged from election observation to maintaining truces, the ability to pool resources from member states in order to intervene gave the UN a unique ability to become a conduit for conflict resolution following the Cold War (Lebovic 2004).

Internal actors transitioned from “bullets to ballots” through assistance from external actors as part of international democracy promotion (Hughes 2001, 295). El Salvador, Mozambique and Cambodia received significant outside assistance in their peace processes, especially from the UN. Although each mission is different regarding specifics, in all three cases, the UN assisted with securing and prolonging the negotiated ceasefires and cessation of hostilities. After years of tormenting war,

international involvement cannot only help put an end to the violence, which is the first priority in establishing what Felix Kulipossa calls a “turnaround,” but it also helps to shape incentive structures for the peace process (Kulipossa 2006, 40). Ending the violence and determining incentive structures for peace going forward are essential components as a country transitions to democracy.

As countries transition, there are many new challenges to navigate. Simply the idea that a country’s citizens must themselves ultimately decide on the country’s system of government and political structure is something new in these countries. As discussed in an earlier section, political culture is significant in this determination. In Caroline Hughes’ work, “habituation,” is when international democracy promoters influence the internal actions and agreements of the elite. Promoters replace some strategies of the political elite (strategies of the past that do not adhere to democratic principles) with external democracy promotion strategies in order to further promotion of a new form of government. The habituation approach is noted as being deficient in addressing underlying concerns of the conflict. Hughes explains that the concentration on habituation by outside promoters puts too much focus on infusing democracy into institutions and procedures. The focus on institutions and procedures often leads to neglect in promoting democratic ideas within the population and drumming up popular support, which is crucial to the development and longevity of democracy (Hughes 2001).

Therefore, external actors can provide assistance by organizing peace talks and providing monetary as well as non-monetary support to newly transitioned governments and political parties, but their ability to impose new institutions in the new political landscape is questionable. The political climate during the transition period is tumultuous and uncertain. External actors can only orchestrate events to a certain extent. Political systems can be influenced, foreign aid increased, a tentative stability achieved, but after all of this is accomplished, it is truly up to the internal political actors, including the citizenry of the country, to commit to, create, and abide by the new rules.

Scholarly work on political party transitions details the roles and behaviors of political parties in post-conflict situations. The nuances they provide in regard to how a democratic political system is adopted or how external actors can affect a transitioning country, fit together to create a panorama of party transition. The work on political party transitions demonstrates the complexity of defining and researching political changes in post-conflict transitions. No transition is the same, so defining and theorizing about what makes some parties successful or unsuccessful after a transition is a challenge. Comparing systems with pronounced similarities can help to streamline the research and generate broad conclusions as to how parties make the transition from wartime to peacetime successful and how others might do so in the future.



### **Chapter III: The Democratic Transition**

El Salvador, Mozambique and Cambodia all experienced transitions in the form of government following their respective conflicts. Democratic transitions emerged as one of the main themes in the post-conflict literature focusing on these countries. Democratic transitions and the way parties alter their behavior as the transition develops go hand in hand. This is part of democratic institutionalization. As a new form of government emerges, parties will often adjust to function within the developing direction of rule. Adjustments may include things such as leadership changes, changes in message, demilitarization and adherence to new rules adopted as democracy takes hold (Manning 2004). The way in which parties adjust to democratization is particularly important because the move to democratization is a common thread in each of these cases. The transition to democracy also influences change in institutions, procedures, political culture, as well as the role of external actors (Diamond 1999).

A background on the conflicts and involved parties in each country is essential to understanding how the parties changed their behavior as the democratic transitions unfolded. Additionally, understanding the role external actors played in ending the conflicts in these cases is an essential component of assessing their transitions. According to Robert B. Lloyd, “a political settlement must satisfy the combatants’ expectations regarding the resolution of the causes of the conflict” (Lloyd 2001, 303). The settlement of the conflict must address not only immediate causes, but also underlying causes of the conflict. Addressing the underlying causes of the conflict is often where external actors fall short (Lloyd 2001).

It is important to consider the interests of external actors as well in studying democracy promotion. Democracy promotion was not a new concept when these cases were transitioning; however, the end of the Cold War had changed the role of external actors in these countries. The end of the Cold War motivated the external actors to pull out of the wars and contribute to the peace process. The UN

played an instrumental part of ending these wars and facilitating peace negotiations in each of these cases. According to Eva Bertram, UN missions often had four common traits: 1) the UN dealt with conflicts within instead of between states, 2) like the U.S., the UN intervened in conflicts where the host government was one of the parties in the conflict, 3) the UN aimed to implement a political transition following an end of military violence, and 4) the UN sought to change or establish basic state institutions (Bertram 1995). Through the UN (and in addition to it) the U.S. has also been a major player in intervening in conflicts with Cold War roots. Regional actors (such as Mexico, South Africa, and China) have played a role as well.

### **Overview of the Conflicts, Peace Processes, and Political Liberalization**

#### *El Salvador*

El Salvador is steeped in a long history of inequitable resource distribution dating as least as far back as Spanish colonial rule. This inequality has influenced the formation and ideologies of modern political parties and the current governmental system in the country (Wantchekon 1999). El Salvador's National Republican Alliance (ARENA), which had an alliance with the Salvadoran government in the 1980s, and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) were at war for over a decade from 1980 to 1992 in a conflict that caused the death and disappearance of an estimated 70,000 civilians (Holiday 2010). The war in El Salvador was the result of a long history of inequitable distribution of resources (especially land) and concentration of power in the hands of a small group of elites interested in maintaining the status quo. In a 1988 survey, poverty and disparity in land distribution were named as key reasons for the conflict in El Salvador (Wantchekon 1999). The country has a long and violent history of aggressive acts perpetuated against the poor and indigenous populations of the country (DiNovella 2004). Some significant examples include the government killing of 30,000 people over a month long period in 1932 after a rebellion against the military junta in control at that time known as *La Matanza*.<sup>1</sup> During the

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<sup>1</sup> "The Slaughter" or "The Massacre"

decades of conflict many who ministered to and stood with the poor were murdered, including priests such as Rutilio Grande and Oscar Romero, American lay woman Jean Donovan, Sister Dorothy Kazel, Sister Maura Clarke and Sister Ita Ford (DiNovella 2004; Carrigan 2005).

The war began in 1980 when the FMLN was formed as a coalition of leftist groups and began an insurgency against the Salvadoran government. FMLN member Joaquin Villalobos says that the coalition developed due to the concrete reality of the needs of the majority of the Salvadoran people, one of the most important needs being land. He characterizes the party as one that suffered the ideological pitfalls often characterizing revolutionary parties, stating, "Revolutionary movements face the challenge of maintaining an objective analysis of reality in their countries, rather than falling back on ideologically motivated 'wishful dreams'" (Villalobos 1989, 104). While revolutions can influence change, there are practices and ideas so ingrained into the government and the culture of a given country that revolutionary success cannot always ensure complete change.

One major player that was aligned with, but eventually withdrew support from ARENA in part, was the Salvadoran Catholic Church. The branch of the church that prescribed to liberation theology was not supportive of ARENA's causes. This school of thought advocated for the liberation of people who faced unjust economic, political or social circumstances. Liberation theology developed in Latin America throughout the 1950s and 1960s, but was often controversial and criticized by the Vatican and the Church establishment in many Latin American countries. In supporting the masses during the conflict, the Catholic Church, seen as a power player and elite ally in years prior to the conflict, disrupted the power structure by throwing its weight behind the poor, a move influenced by the liberation theology movement in Latin America. This movement caused a disruption in the power structure as it aligned itself with the very people the government was trying to prevent from disrupting the status quo (Skidmore and Smith 2001).

As the conflict developed ARENA was created as a counter-insurgency party and fought to maintain El Salvador's status quo. The right wing ARENA party used its government strength and resources to wage a counter-insurgency against the guerilla fighters of the FMLN. A party of military men and landowners with connections to death squads in the country, ARENA was founded in 1980 by army Major Roberto D'Aubuisson. ARENA and the Salvadoran government mirrored many other Latin American countries that since the end of colonial rule had failed to share resources among the larger population. At the time the war began, El Salvador boasted a large rural population with one of the highest rates of land concentration and landless population in Latin America (Seligson 1995). Aligned with ARENA and the Salvadoran government was an oligarchy known as "the 14 families" (the small group of elites that held the majority of the country's wealth), the military, and the international sector (Skidmore and Smith 2001).

Throughout the conflict, the U.S. had provided funding to the Salvadoran government. In 1983, "the United States was supplying \$205 million in economic aid and \$26 million in military assistance, with higher requests pending Congress" (Skidmore and Smith 2001, 346). The central reason for funding the Salvadoran government and military throughout the course of the conflict was tied to the Reagan administration's concern that the FMLN was aided by Cuba and the USSR, and the administration's Cold War desire to curb the spread of communism in Latin America. Although government forces were larger and better equipped, they were unable to put down the insurgency largely due to popular support (Skidmore and Smith 2001).

The long conflict between the FMLN and the government/ARENA coalition came to a head in 1989, when the FMLN began to gain ground in their largest offensive of the war in the capital city of San Salvador. The Right reacted to the offensive with the military-backed murder of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter at the University of Central America (UCA) which shook worldwide opinion of the Salvadoran military (Studemeister 2001). Though atrocities occurred throughout the war,

including the killing and disappearance of thousands of civilians, after the murders at UCA, U.S. funding to the Central American country became contingent upon finding and prosecuting those responsible for the tragedy (Strong 1990). After the murders at UCA, the U.S. withheld fifty percent of its planned military aid to the country, though the amount withheld was later released to El Salvador by the State Department (Doggett 1991). Though it could be said that this event influenced the end of the war, it was at this time that conveniently the Cold War was also coming to an end.

As both sides realized that they had reached a stalemate in the conflict, discussions for settling the long civil war began. Though the stalemate was reached in 1989, it was not until January 16, 1992, after long efforts at negotiation and settlement with the help of the United Nations, that both sides signed the Chapultepec Peace Accords in Mexico City (Studemeister 2001). The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) provided an extended presence for the implementation of the Peace Accords. Other important functions of the accords included: elections in 1994, continued UN mediation, guidelines for institution-building, the development of civil society and rule of law, and a program to promote reconciliation (Whitfield 2001). In addition to the goals of the accords, the Truth Commission for El Salvador was developed as a body of international participants charged with creating a report on the war, offering recommendations to address the findings, fortifying state institutions, eliminating structural causes of violence while preventing repetition of past violence, and promoting reconciliation. The report issued by the Truth Commission on March 15, 1993, found the Salvadoran state to be responsible for the majority of human rights violations, but found that the FMLN had also committed serious abuses. Though many parties were indicted by the report, including members of the judiciary system, there have never been any prosecutions of mentioned offenders because of the passing of the Salvadoran Amnesty Law, which allowed perpetrators of war crimes to avoid answering for them (Popkin 2001). The rationale for this amnesty was that it would help to end the war and move the country forward. The UN assisted with transition to democracy and disarmament following the conflict

by declaring the FMLN a legitimate opposition political party that could participate in elections (Montgomery 1995).

### *Mozambique*

The southeast African country of Mozambique has followed a pattern close to that of many other African countries in terms of colonization and independence. Colonized by the Portuguese, Mozambique fought for its independence and in June of 1975 the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, or Frelimo, came into power as the group that led the liberation movement against Portuguese colonizers backed by apartheid South Africa and the West. During the conflict Frelimo was backed by the Soviet Union and China which influenced the post-colonial period in which Frelimo began to reshape Mozambique. The socialist ideals and revolutionary fervor of the conflict were prominent in the party's governing principles and policies (Venâncio and Chan 1998).

After years of colonization, Frelimo not only had to overcome the legacies of colonialism, such as poverty and economic dependence, but it also had to unite Mozambicans in a country where citizens fought on both sides of the war for independence, though it was a minority that stood against independence. There also existed a division between people who had experienced liberated zones during the war for independence and those who had not. Many Mozambicans were not exposed to Frelimo during the liberation struggle and Frelimo sought to familiarize unacquainted groups with the party's ideology and encourage participation in government and decision making (Isaacman and Issacman 1983). Frelimo's attempts at national unity included travel by high-level government officials to isolated regions, daily broadcasts declaring all citizens Mozambicans, and a declaration by President Samora Machel who stated, "We do not recognize tribes, regions, race or religious beliefs. We only recognize Mozambicans who are equally exploited and equally desirous of freedom and revolution" (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983, 112). However, with Frelimo's assertion that everyone was first and foremost Mozambican also came curtailed political freedoms, the insistence that citizens support the

new agenda and re-education camps for those who did not offer support (Weinstein 2002). Frelimo's rationale in this was to try and unite a population that was trying to find a national identity.

As Frelimo attempted to build a country, Rhodesia and South Africa were busy organizing the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) and in June 1976 Renamo began essentially as a foreign-created insurgency (Manning 2004). Renamo was used by Rhodesia and South Africa to destabilize Mozambique, as the white minority governments of those countries felt a successful black government to be a threat to apartheid and their continued rule (Venâncio and Chan 1998). Finnegan identifies three specific reasons for Rhodesia and South Africa's desire to destabilize Mozambique through Renamo: 1) they wanted to stop Frelimo's support of the liberation movements in their countries, especially African National Congress (ANC) which was a leading force in the South African liberation movement, 2) they wanted to increase the region's economic dependence on South Africa in the region by sabotaging ports in Mozambique, therefore forcing landlocked countries to ship through South Africa, and 3) they wanted to show that majority rule in Africa could never work, and they used this as a justification for apartheid (Finnegan 1992).

Renamo was a foreign created entity, but over time the dynamics of Mozambique's politics led to more local support. Unpopular and failed Frelimo policies, such as nationalization campaigns and collectivist agricultural policies, generated anti-Frelimo sentiment among parts of the country's peasant population (Weinstein 2002). Lack of food led many young rural men to join Renamo, as access to a gun not only provided a way to combat starvation, but joining the movement became more acceptable as anti-Frelimo sentiment grew (Venâncio and Chan 1998). Undoubtedly, however, the majority of Renamo party participants were forcibly recruited and often coerced (Schafer 2001). Regional divisions influenced political partisanship in Mozambique, with Frelimo support concentrated in the southern part of the country and some northern provinces. Renamo drew support from the central portion of the

country and remaining northern provinces. While many African countries experience ethnic divides, in Mozambique “the most relevant political distinctions are regional rather than ethnic” (Lemon 2007).

The war between Frelimo and Renamo, which started in 1976 and ended in a peace agreement in 1992, took the lives of an estimated 900,000 people (Finnegan 1992). Both sides in this conflict committed atrocities and human rights violations, but Renamo’s reputation for particularly brutal practices during the conflict including mass, indiscriminate violence against civilians led it to be dubbed a “movement from Hell” (Finnegan 1992; Hultman 2009). Renamo received funding from a number of right-wing groups such as the Heritage Foundation in the United States and Europe, and anti-Frelimo groups in Portugal and South Africa, all of whom were against the Marxist Frelimo government during a time in which Cold War politics heavily influenced the international political culture (Young 1990; Venâncio and Chan 1998). Despite the United States’ desire to curb the spread of communism as Renamo emerged in opposition to the socialist Frelimo, the U.S. State Department openly struggled with supporting the brutal practices of the movement and Renamo failed to establish itself as a legitimate political organization in the eyes of the U.S. Regardless of the lack of open support from the State Department, Renamo had supporters in the United States in the form of conservative think-tanks and foundations, and representatives of Renamo were known to meet on occasion with people close to President Ronald Reagan (Young 1990).

The end of the war came in 1992 at the end of the Cold War, and after sixteen years of fighting both sides were struggling to maintain their armies. The absence of incoming money from South Africa for Renamo and Cuba and the USSR’s inability to continue support of the Frelimo government caused money to dry up. Simultaneously, ideological differences were fading between the two parties. The groundwork for the end of the war was laid by the Catholic Church, which advocated for peace beginning in the early 1980s. The UN used the foundation laid by the Catholic Church by helping with a peace accord and boosting international financial incentives for disarmament (Weinstein 2002).



After several attempts at a negotiated settlement, the General Peace Agreement, or GPA, was signed in Rome on October 4, 1992. The GPA was brokered by the government of Italy over more than a year long period during eleven rounds, and observed by major donors including the U.S., Germany, Portugal, and Great Britain. The GPA called for a heavy UN presence in the country's transition process (Manning and Malbrough 2010). The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) was established in December 1992, a few months after the signing of the peace agreement. ONUMOZ and other important players, such as the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and the UK who were major donors that comprised the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission (CSC), served as important bodies for implementing the peace process. ONUMOZ served as a UN military contingent tasked with bringing stability during a volatile transition period and observing activities such as elections. The CSC was made up of five commissions with specific responsibilities, such as the Cease-Fire Commission and the Re-Integration Commission, aimed at supervising these significant aspects of the transition (Venâncio and Chan 1998).

While the political settlement between Frelimo and Renamo ended armed hostilities and opened the door for elections, the settlement lacked resolve in holding those responsible for atrocities accountable. There has been no truth commission or body to oversee and investigate human rights violations both during and after the conflict, due to Frelimo's quick implementation of Amnesty Law No. 15/92 which excused crimes committed between 1979 and 1992 (Igreja 2010). Renamo and Frelimo both "decided to shun legal mechanisms to hold accountable individuals who were allegedly responsible for committing wartime abuses and crimes" though it could also be argued that there weren't many legal mechanisms present in Mozambique to address these issues despite the parties' decision to avoid efforts to hold war criminals accountable (Igreja 2010, 51). The country of Mozambique came out of the conflict with assistance from the UN to establish a new government structure and hold elections in order to move forward after over a decade of civil conflict.

## *Cambodia*

The southeast Asian country of Cambodia also has a tumultuous past of regime change and violence. The country was under French protection and became part of French Indochina in the late 1800s. Throughout World War II until 1945, Cambodia was occupied by the Japanese. It was at this time that the country gained independence after 90 years of colonial rule. The Sihanouk royal family ruled independent Cambodia in the 1960s, but opposition to the monarchy arose with the Khmer's People's Revolutionary Party. The party was an assorted group led by Ieng Sary and Saloth Sar, who would later be known as Pol Pot, and they called for an armed struggle against the Sihanouk regime (Form 2009). The United States and its involvement in Vietnam influenced the direction of the conflict. The Sihanouk government was neutral in the Vietnam War and the U.S. became concerned that North Vietnam was maintaining military bases in Cambodia. In 1969, the U.S. conducted bombing campaigns destabilizing the country and supported a coup d'état in 1970 by General Lon Nol that drove Sihanouk into exile. Allied with the U.S., the Lon Nol government allowed U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese bases in Cambodia. The Lon Nol government was divided, corrupt and too weak to face off against the communist insurgency aided by Northern Vietnam. By 1975, the U.S. failed to give it the support it needed and the government collapsed, surrendering to the Khmer Rouge. On April 17, 1975, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh and the government of the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) began.

The years 1975 to 1979 were a particularly violent and oppressive time in Cambodia's history, as the Khmer Rouge went to extreme lengths to revolutionize the country in terms of shutting off the country from the rest of the world, collectivizing agriculture and compelling forced labor, as well as silencing dissidents (Menzel 2007). It is estimated that approximately two million people were murdered or died from the harsh conditions of life under the Khmer Rouge (Chandler 2008). Starvation, untreated disease, overwork in the fields and execution are examples of the extreme conditions during the auto-genocide, meaning that the government systematically exterminated its own citizens. The bodies of the

deceased were often dumped in mass graves or “killing fields” which were found all over Cambodia after the conflict ended (Menzel 2007).

The Democratic Kampuchea (DK) revolution came to an end in 1979 as the Vietnamese, with whom Cambodians had historically experienced political conflict, invaded and took control of Phnom Penh. Despite the horrific atrocities of the Khmer Rouge period, the United States aligned itself with the DK (its leadership remaining unchanged in exile) in order to stand firmly against Vietnam and their invasion of Cambodia (Chandler 2008). The Vietnamese quickly established a new government called the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) which was led by defectors from Cambodia’s Communist Party who fled from Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. Many Cambodians welcomed being saved from the Khmer Rouge and the expanded personal freedoms under the PRK, but there were many who opposed the new foreign government and did not want to tolerate another period of socialist policies. As the PRK became more self-sufficient and Soviet aid decreased as the Cold War came to an end, the Vietnamese withdrew from Cambodia in September 1989 (Chandler 2008).

A peace settlement was reached between the Coalition Government of the Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) and the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) on August 28, 1991 after a month of talks in Paris among the four major parties in Cambodia. The CGDK had been supported by China, ASEAN, the U.S. and other Western nations throughout the 1980s to wage war on the government in Phnom Penh, while the PRK was supported by Vietnamese allies and served as a puppet regime for the Vietnamese in Cambodia (Curtis 1998). Both sides of the conflict were largely supported, controlled and funded by foreign entities. The Paris Peace Agreement (PPA) was signed in October of 1991 and the royalist National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia party (FUNCINPEC), with CGDK alliance, and the Cambodian People’s Party (CPP), with PRK alliance, ended up with a power sharing agreement as a new Cambodian government emerged (Roberts 2002). Hun Sen, who had become prime minister of the PRK in 1985 with Vietnamese support, consolidated power and

became the leader of the Cambodian People's Party (CPP), also supported by Vietnam. Though the Paris Peace Agreement created a quadripartite of power with the CPP and FUNCINPEC as the principle leaders, the other parties included in the power-sharing coalition, Molinaka and the Buddhist Liberal Democracy Party (BLDP), proved to be insignificant. A power struggle emerged between the CPP and the FUNCINPEC as the two dominant parties in a quadripartite coalition. Ultimately, the PPA led to a settlement which "reflected a U.S. requisite based on a view of conflict resolution that is in line with the Kissinger dictum: 'the standard method of solving civil war...is to make [contestants] govern jointly'" (Roberts 2002, 522).

Before proceeding, it should be noted that the atrocities committed by the Khmer Rouge would not be addressed for over thirty years. The delay was due to many factors, including internal power struggles between Cambodian political parties, differences in opinion on how the trials of former Khmer Rouge members should be handled, and continued Khmer Rouge representation of Cambodia in the UN as the Western world continued to condemn the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia (Menzel 2007). Though some former Khmer Rouge officials were indicted in 2007 for war crimes and crimes against humanity, establishing the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (E.C.C.C.) and trying them has been a slow process. The E.C.C.C. was initiated when Cambodia approached the UN in the late 1990s for assistance conducting a trial of responsible officials of the Khmer Rouge. The tribunal is a hybrid court consisting of Cambodian and international judges (Dicklitch and Malik, 2010). Though the trials began in 2007, the process has suffered from a multitude of delays including the age of the accused being in the 80s, the dysfunctional Cambodian judicial system under which the E.C.C.C. is required to operate, concerns about political interference with tribunal judges, and concerns about the general lack of experience and training in international criminal law of Cambodian judges and prosecutors (Menzel 2007).

After the Paris Peace Agreement was signed, the United Nations attempted to organize and administer peace in Cambodia with the United Nations Transitional Authority on Cambodia (UNTAC). UNTAC's authority included, "civil administration, military operations, administration of elections and human rights monitoring," to supervise the execution of various components of the PPA (Ratner 1993, 12). In 1993, with the help of UNTAC's 20,000 police, soldiers, and aid workers, Cambodia had its first successful post-conflict election (Gottesman 2003). The intervention of the UN and other external actors (such as the U.S., ASEAN, China and Vietnam) who supported one side or the other during the peace agreement negotiations, has allowed the country to remain relatively peaceful since 1993.

### **Free and Fair Elections**

Free and fair elections are an integral component for evaluating a democratic transition. Before examining each party's performance in elections, it is important to assess the fairness of elections in Cambodia, El Salvador, and Mozambique following the end of the wars. Outside groups have put forth differing opinions on how free and fair Cambodian elections have been since the transition. After the 1998 elections observers from Japan, France, the European Union and ASEAN all publicly declared the elections to be free and fair. However, nonprofit organizations such as the National Democratic Institute and International Republican Institute were among the groups that did not find the elections to be free and fair. The National Democratic Institute in particular criticized Cambodia's National Election Committee (NEC) for lack of transparency and CPP control over the NEC (Peou 1998). In evaluations of more recent elections, the UN has been critical of the NEC's bias towards CPP and the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) said of the 2008 elections that "although some aspects of the election process had improved compared to previous polls—including a reduction in violence—the process as a whole could not be regarded as fair" (McCargo 2010, 83).

In El Salvador the observing body called the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE), created by the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), supervised the elections from start to finish and

determined that they “had been carried out under adequate conditions of liberty, competitiveness, and security” (Montgomery 1995, 155). Despite this assessment, some point to procedural problems like defects in voter registration, unfair distribution of campaign funds, and rejection of voter registration cards as possible reasons for the ARENA victory, as well as voter fear and intimidation sparked by ARENA campaign imagery that “focused on images of destruction from the war” (Wantchekon 1999, 829). Yet, the continuation of peace after the election was a welcome result that indicated that democratic practices could be successful in El Salvador.

In Mozambique, observers of the elections, such as the EU Observer Mission and the Carter Center and Commonwealth observers have disputed results and closed door meetings of the National Electoral Commission (CNE) to examine polling station results sheets containing errors (Lemon 2007).<sup>2</sup> Complaints were voiced after the 2004 elections, with Renamo alleging harassment at the hands of state election officials and the police. Though the observers were eventually granted the right to view the tabulation of the faulted polling sheets through a computer link, CNE meetings continue to be held behind closed doors (Lemon 2007). The body has received ample criticism for lack of transparency and manipulating election rules to favor Frelimo (Manning 2010).

Though the fairness of the elections in Mozambique has been questioned, Frelimo has been winning elections because people are voting to return them to power. However, given the circumstances, that is hard to confirm. As a result, in 2009 Freedom House dropped Mozambique from its list of electoral democracies and it was found “on voting day itself, a significant share of election officials across several provinces engaged in systematic, large-scale, and direct manipulation of the results” (Manning 2010,

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<sup>2</sup> The National Elections Commission, or CNE, developed in 1994 to run elections has been accused of a lack of transparency and bias towards Frelimo since its creation.

152).<sup>3</sup> According to Anthony Lemon complaints, were somewhat justified;, however the misconduct is not enough to change the outcome of the election (Lemon 2007).

Overall, observers have come to different conclusions in each of these countries. Freedom House's most recent assessments of elections in Cambodia characterize them as not free and fair. There have been major issues preventing free and fair elections including vote-buying, lack of neutrality in election authorities, continued harassment of opposition parties through violence and intimidation, and the prevention of one-fifth of registered voters from casting ballots in 2008<sup>4</sup> (Hughes 2012). Freedom House's assessment of El Salvador's elections in 2010 stated that, "Since the end of the armed conflict in 1992, elections have been carried out with relatively strong guarantees against fraud and intimidation, and verified by domestic and international observers" which shows an overall characterization of free and fair elections in the country (Holiday 2010, 174). The Carter Center's observers of Mozambique's 2004 elections found that though elections were peaceful, there were serious irregularities that prevented transparent free and fair elections, including not allowing eligible voters with legitimate registration to vote if their names weren't on the list (leading to low voter turnout), and partiality of the CNE to Frelimo (Carter Center 2004). Freedom House included Mozambique in its 2007 *Countries at the Crossroads Report* and the report stated, "the elections were peaceful, but election observers noted serious electoral deficiencies, including ballot-box stuffing, the politicization of the National Election Commission (CNE), and a lack of transparency" confirming the assessment by the Carter Center that although the elections were peaceful, they were not free or fair (Lloyd 2007).

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<sup>3</sup> Additionally, many rural residents in Mozambique have been excluded from participation in elections due to isolation because of poor infrastructure (Weinstein 2002; Lemon 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Local authorities in Cambodia have been known to recruit voters to the polls whom they know will vote for the CPP and turn away voters whom they expect to vote for the opposition. In the 2008 elections, those who were turned away were done so due to lack of appropriate documentation and/or their names not being found on the list. Though in the best-run elections voters who lack documentation and whose names aren't on voter lists are turned away, it should be noted that election authorities in Cambodia are not neutral and authorities have the reputation for recruiting voters that support the CPP. Instead of giving these voters provisional ballots, poll workers simply turned people away in the instances described in Hughes' work.

## Party Performance in Elections

Democratization has played an important part in the conflict to peacetime transition period. New democracies in the transition period are particularly fragile, and an effort by both sides to sustain the peace and become active, participating members is essential as party members go from soldiers to politicians (de Zeeuw 2008). There are many ways to measure democracy. Scholars look at factors such as elections, public support, respect for civil and political rights, participation, the rule of law, and emergence of democratic institutions and civil society to assess the success of the transition and parties in the post-conflict period (Diamond 1999).

The political parties addressed in this paper all have adapted to fit a new democratic landscape in their own ways. The political parties of Mozambique have faced several electoral contests since the end of the civil war in 1992. Founding elections are an important time for political actors functioning within a newly democratic system, though it is important to note that this is not the only measure of party transition to democratization. According to Manning:

The first electoral process in 1994 created a degree of uncertainty to which neither Frelimo nor Renamo was accustomed. But the first successful completions of elections constituted an important first step in building trust both in the system and in the willingness of one's political opponents to abide by that system (Manning 2001, 151).

This quote demonstrates the importance of the political actors' adherence to the new system to maintain order in the post-conflict period. Also essential is that when Renamo objected to electoral outcomes, it used established channels to voice its opposition, further demonstrating this particular party's commitment to the new system (Manning 2001).

Elections in Mozambique are marked by regional divisions rather than the ethnic divisions experienced in many other African countries. Mozambique's divide exists between the northern, central and southern provinces and the division has been reinforced by economic disparity, with the majority of direct foreign investment, aid and aid agencies flooding into the southern part of Mozambique (Lemon 2007). As mentioned earlier, Frelimo primarily draws its support from the far northern and southern



regions, while Renamo's support tends to reside in the central provinces and parts of the north (Weinstein 2002). In recent years, however, Renamo's support has greatly decreased even in their former strongholds. In 2004, in Mozambique's third general election after the end of the conflict in 1994, Renamo remained a strong opposition party led by Alfonso Dhlakama, earning 33.7 percent of the vote. But the party has failed to build on that percentage and has remained stagnant, earning around 30 percent of the vote in presidential elections since 1994 (Manning 2008). The presidency has eluded Renamo throughout the post-conflict electoral processes and additional troubles have arisen in the loss of parliamentary seats. Since 1999 Renamo has seen a decline in its parliamentary power, losing its majority in the 2003 local elections in four of the six provinces where it led in 1999 (Lemon 2007). Frelimo's Armando Guebuza was victorious in the 2004 election and was re-elected president in 2009. Additionally, Frelimo controlled 192 out of 248 parliamentary seats as of 2009 and possessed pluralities in all eleven provinces (Africa Confidential 2009). Renamo's organizational weaknesses and Frelimo's access to better funding and financial assets, a benefit of incumbency, have allowed it to consolidate control and maintain a monopoly on political power in recent years (Manning 2010). This idea of political monopoly despite having elections, sometimes called electoral authoritarianism, will be discussed in the Chapter 5 analysis of these cases. Renamo's decline in power over the years and Frelimo's consolidation of power are highlighted in Table 3.1 below.

**Table 3.1 Mozambican Presidential and Parliamentary Election Results, 1994-2009**

Year	Party			
	Frelimo		Renamo	
	Pres. (% of vote)	Parl. (Number of Seats)	Pres. (% of votes)	Parl. (Number of Seats)
1994	53.3	129	33.7	112
1999	52.3	133	47.7	117
2004	63.7	160	31.7	90
2009	75	191	16.4	51

Manning, C. (2010). Mozambique's Slide into One-Party Rule. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(2), 153.

This table highlights the staggering lead in the polls that Frelimo has maintained over Renamo since elections began in the post-conflict period. Frelimo has consistently garnered more than 50 percent of the presidential vote and saw that number increase to 75 percent in 2009. Renamo's percentage of the presidential vote has declined from a high 47.7 percent in 1999 to only 16.4 percent in 2009 showing that Renamo has done much worse. Similarly, their parliamentary numbers have been on the decline, dropping from 112 seats in 1994 to only 51 seats in 2009. The increasingly dismal election results show that Renamo is on the downside in Mozambique and in reality hardly exists as a contender. As a result, Mozambique is becoming a dominant-party democracy with no significant opposition party. Though the elections were marked by some irregularities, Frelimo's victory still boasted numbers identifying it as the clear winner since the 1994 elections and it has maintained control since. Identifying Frelimo as a clear winner, however, is not proof of elections that are free and fair. Consolidation of power over time has put Frelimo in a place where it does not need to cheat to win elections.

El Salvador's Chapultepec Peace Accords were signed in 1992, but it was not until 1994 that the first post-conflict election took place in El Salvador. Dubbed by many to be the "election of the century" this singular event would prove to be telling of whether or not El Salvador's dueling parties could maintain

the newfound peace. The 1994 election featured candidates Ruben Zamora for the Democratic Convergence, a left wing party with roots predominately tied to the FMLN, facing Armando Calderón Sol of ARENA. After a run-off election between Calderón Sol and Zamora, ARENA ultimately emerged victorious. However, according to Wantchekon, this result and later elections “led to pessimism about the prospects for democratic consolidation in El Salvador,” due to ARENA’s continued domination and the inability for the FMLN to break into the executive branch (Wantchekon 1999, 812). With little chance of an alternation in power, the legitimacy of the democracy was imperiled.

In election years after the 1994 ARENA victory, the party continued to win the presidency, but the FMLN earned successes in the legislative branch, increasing the percentage of seats every year since the 1994 elections. Not until March 2009, with the victory of Mauricio Funes, did the FMLN win the plurality of seats in parliament and El Salvador’s executive branch (National Democratic Institute 2009). The results of subsequent elections are highlighted in the Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below.

**Table 3.2 Salvadoran Parliamentary Election Results, 1994-2009**

Party Seats Earned						
Year	ARENA	FLMN	Christian Democratic Party (PDC)	Party of National Conciliation (PCN)	Democratic Convergence (CD)	Movement of Unity (MU)
1994	39	21	18	4	1	1
1997	28	27	9	11	2	1
2000	29	31	5	14	0	0
2003	27	31	5	16	0	0
2006	34	32	6	11	0	0
2009	32	35	5	11	0	0

Álvarez-Rivera, M. (2012). Legislative Elections in El Salvador, Parts I and II. In *Election Resources on the Internet*. Retrieved from [http://electionresources.org/sv/index\\_en.html](http://electionresources.org/sv/index_en.html)

**Table 3.3 Salvadoran Presidential Election Results, 1994-2009**

Year	Presidential Election (% of vote)	
	ARENA	FMLN
1994	68 (in runoff)	32 (in runoff)
1999	51.96	29.05
2004	57.7	35.7
2009	48.7	51.3

Binghamton University. (2005). *Election Results Archive: El Salvador*. Retrieved from the Center on Democratic Performance at Binghamton University Web site: <http://cdp.binghamton.edu/era/countries/els.html>

National Democratic Institute, The. (2009). *El Salvador Election Bulletin March 20, 2009*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from: <http://www.ndi.org/files/NDI%20El%20Salvador%20Election%20Bulletin-2009Mar20.pdf>

United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador. (2003). El Salvador—ONUSAL Background. In *Completed Peacekeeping Operations*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/onusal.htm>.

Wantchekon, L. (1999). Strategic Voting in Conditions of Political Instability: The 1994 Elections in El Salvador. *Comparative Political Studies*, 32(7), 812.

The peaceful change of power at the executive level highlights one of the most basic measures of democratic success. Compared to Mozambique and El Salvador, Cambodia's elections have experienced more complications. In Mozambique and El Salvador, there have consistently been two dominant political parties, which grew out of the war and have vied for control through elections. In Cambodia, several parties, some created both by the war and some after it, have stepped up and made headway in elections. Though some scholars focus on two main parties, there have been other contenders besides FUNCINPEC and the CPP. The Sam Rainsy Party (SRP), led by Sam Rainsy (the former finance minister for FUNCINPEC), emerged to become competitive during the course of the transition (Vittal 2000). Ultimately, however, the majority of executive power in Cambodia has been in the hands of the CPP's Hun Sen for two decades.

The complexities of Cambodian political parties, from their origination to the relationship in a power-sharing structure, are immense. CPP leader Hun Sen defected from the DK during the Khmer

Rouge period and fled to Vietnam. His ascent to power as Cambodia's leader came with the Vietnam-backed overthrow of the Khmer Rouge and he is one of Asia's longest serving prime ministers. Over the past 25 years he has essentially ruled Cambodia, concentrating his power by becoming the personality of the CPP, increasing militarization of the party and his rule, and perpetuating his persona as a regal and mystical leader (Heder 2011). Political parties in El Salvador and Mozambique also have party leaders they can point to as formative and influential members of certain parties, but only Renamo's Alfonso Dhlakama rivals the personalism of Hun Sen and the CPP. In both cases, the parties are inseparable from their respective leaders. Hun Sen's immense and ever-increasing power as Cambodia's long-time leader (through undermining and silencing of opponents, as well as militarizing his rule and propagating his mysticism as a Cambodia's true royal leader) has overshadowed the other political parties that were part of the power sharing agreement, such as FUNCINPEC, whose influence has been in steady decline since the 1998 elections (Vittal 2000; Un and Legerwood 2003; Heder 2010). Hun Sen's rule has been characterized by some as an extension of the socialist regimes of the past in that as he has succeeded in consolidating power, dissidents have been silenced and removed, voters have faced intimidation, human rights remain a concern, and military ties to the CPP have increased (Heder 2011; Un and Ledgerwood 2003).

FUNCINPEC, originally the senior partner in the power sharing agreement is a party with a royalist history that was led by Prince Ranariddh, son of King Norodom Sihanouk, who had ruled over Cambodia as a constitutional monarchy from 1941 to 1955, then again symbolically from 1993 to 2004. Ranariddh was ousted by the CPP in a 1997 coup that greatly disrupted the settlement established by the Paris Peace Agreement of the early 1990s (Vittal 2000). The struggle to balance power in the power-sharing coalition broke down in July 1997, when the CPP and FUNCINPEC became engaged in conflict that forced Ranariddh into exile as the CPP's forces defeated FUNCINPEC. The power-sharing coalition itself was said to be a deceitful play for greater power on the part of the CPP, as it afforded them more power

than they were shown to have in popular polls at the time (Roberts 2002). The 1997 violence was a result of four years of gradual buildup of tensions between the CPP and FUNCINPEC. The CPP's stonewalling of FUNCINPEC officials into grass-roots level positions, meaning in the smaller villages and provinces instead of Phnom Penh, and Ranariddh's continuing loss of "power and face" led to the increased tension (Roberts 2002). The complexities in reconciling power-sharing between the two parties proved too much for the system to handle. Absolutism among CPP elites and the desire of Ranariddh to undermine the CPP's position are reasons for the lack of success in extended power-sharing (Chandler 2002).

After Ranariddh's exile, Ung Hout replaced him as the second prime minister for FUNCINPEC and made an effort to work with Hun Sen, which immediately reduced tensions. Chandler notes that some regard Ung Hout as more of Hun Sen's puppet than fellow coalition leader. Depending on one's perspective, he served a more pliable coalition leader than Ranariddh (Chandler 2002). FUNCINPEC has been seen as subordinate to the CPP, adopting a cooperative stance after the 1998 election that helped with political stability, but did not bring them equal partnership in ruling. Ultimately, the party has declined and has not been considered an alternative to Hun Sen's party. Additionally, the party's reliance on its royal roots for mobilization, rather than managing Cambodia's political reality and conducting more grassroots efforts, alienated FUNCINPEC from some former supporters and prevented it from gaining new support (Un and Legerwood 2003).

After twenty years, the coalition of parties still exists in Cambodia. The 2008 elections resulted in five different parties elected into the National Assembly, with the CPP holding the majority. Hun Sen still serves as Cambodia's prime minister, and the previously exiled Ranariddh broke with FUNCINPEC and formed his own party, the Norodom Ranariddh Party (NRP). Sam Rainsy heads Cambodia's strongest opposition party the SRP, and is known in particular for protesting inflation and CPP's control over electoral machinery (Hughes 2002). SRP protest has drawn government harassment in the form of

legal action against Sam Rainsy for his alleged defamatory remarks against Hun Sen, and his condemnation of government influence with the opening of rural SRP offices, the intimidation of party activists and vandalism of party signboards (Hughes 2002). Analysts agree that since the end of the war in 1997 and the consolidation of CPP power, the government in Cambodia has become more intolerant of freedom of expression. The Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia, or COMFREL, reports that:

Government officials have filed recent lawsuits against political activists including members of the Sam Rainsy Party, Mu Sochua and Ho Vann, and other prominent journalists and individuals. These activists had raised their voices and concerns against the mismanagement of public services, with the constructive aim of remedying the situation. Sam Rainsy, the leader of the opposition Sam Rainsy Party (SRP), and member of National Assembly Ho Vann went into self-imposed exile citing fear of arrest after the National Assembly voted to remove their parliamentary immunity (Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia 2010).

COMFREL's report on these legal actions against opposition parties underscores the CPP's efforts to suppress resistance.

In addition to dominating the executive branch, the CPP has continued to gain parliamentary seats. In 2008, they increased their number of parliamentary seats from 73 to 90, with the Sam Rainsy Party gaining two seats at 26, the Human Rights Party with 3 seats, FUNCINPEC with only 2 seats, and the League for Democracy Party with 1 seat (Freedom House 2011). The distribution of parliamentary seats may be the most telling evidence of FUNCINPEC's decline over the years; in 2008 it had only two members of parliament, down from 43 in 1998 (Peou 1998). Table 3.4 below summarizes election results for Cambodia's National Assembly from 1993 to 2008.

**Table 3.4 National Assembly Seats (Lower House) in Cambodia, 1993-2008.**

Year	National Assembly Seats (out of 123)							
	CPP	FUNCIN.	SRP	Human Rights Party	Norodom Ranariddh Party	League for Democracy Party	Buddhist Liberal Dem Par.	Molinaka
1993	51	58	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10	1
1998	64	43	15	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2003	73	26	24	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2008	90	2	26	3	N/A	1	N/A	N/A

Hughes, C. (2002). Parties, Protest and Pluralism in Cambodia. *Democratization* 9(3), 165-186.

McCargo, D. (2010). Cambodia. In J. Dizard, C. Walker, & S. Cook (Eds.), *Countries at the Crossroads 2010: An Analysis of Democratic Governance, by Freedom House* (pp 81-102). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Nohlen, D., Grotz, F. & Hartmann, C. (2001). *Elections in Asia: A Data Handbook, Volume II*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Weggel, O. (2007). Cambodia in 2006: Self-Promotion and Self-Deception. *Asian Survey*, 47(1), 141-147.

### **Elections and Democratic Theory**

The elections that have taken place in these countries since the end of the conflicts have been a means for transition of power, public participation in a democratic system and have served as a basic measure for democracy. Democratic theorists such as Joseph Schumpeter, Samuel Huntington and Adam Przeworski are minimalists in their views of democracy, essentially defining democracy as “a system in which rules are selected by competitive elections” (Przeworski 1999, 12). Additionally, Przeworski points to some factors that contribute to an increased likelihood of a democracy surviving over an extended period of time. The nation’s wealth, a lack of a dominant political force, and the ability for voters to choose leaders through elections are important factors in extending the life of a democratic government (Przeworski 1999). While theorists like Przeworski do outline factors that may contribute to the longevity of a democracy, in an electoral democracy, free and fair elections and the peaceful transition of power are the most important defining factors.



Some democratic theorists disagree with Przeworski's electoral democratic view. Liberal democratic thought cites factors like the protection of human rights, reserved domains of power for the military, vertical accountability, and far-reaching provisions for political and civic pluralism and rule of law as important democratic measures (Diamond 1999). Diamond's definition of liberal democracy which identifies "a political system in which individual and group liberties are well protected and in which there exist autonomous spheres of civil society and private life, insulated from state control" pinpoints factors that extend beyond the formal and intermediate conceptions of electoral democracy (Diamond 1999, 3). While Diamond clearly differentiates between electoral and liberal democracy, he does recognize that democracy is far too complex to fit into this simple dichotomy. Basic definitions from both the electoral and liberal schools of thought show the broad spectrum of definitions possible when attempting to characterize democracy.

If measuring democracy simply based on the regular holding of elections, El Salvador, Mozambique, and Cambodia have all had some level of success. The transition in all three has been peaceful compared to their conflict periods; however, not all of these elections would be considered free and fair. The CPP is tightening its grip on power and resources, and according to COMFREL, has been steadily decreasing tolerance against freedom of expression while meeting dissidents with force (COMFREL 2010; McCargo 2010). In Mozambique, intimidation of voters has been reported and the government can be accused of not doing enough to overcome isolation of the rural populace and allow them to become full participants in the emerging political system (Lemon 2007; Weinstein 2002). In El Salvador, difficulties in traveling to the polls to vote led to high numbers of absentions, or lack of eligible voters actually casting their ballots, in the 1994 elections directly following the conflict. Additionally, requirements such as expensive documentation in a country still wrought with poverty and non-receipt of voting cards added to lack of participation in the voting process for many Salvadorans in the 1994 elections (Vilas 1996).

Elections and their outcomes, along with aspects of liberal democratic theory, are important parts of assessing democratic transitions and their success. Free and fair elections provide the most basic function of a democracy in that they provide the possibility of transition of power, but the other aspects of a liberal democracy, including human rights protections, are important factors to measure as well, especially in countries where human rights have been completely disregarded during the wars. Though occurrence of free and fair elections provide the initial measure to identify whether or not a transition is taking place; this success does not signify that a real democratic transition is occurring.

### **Public Support for Democracy**

Public support for democracy is crucial to democratic longevity and consolidation. It is important that democracy be accepted into the national and political culture to truly take hold. One of the most comprehensive resources measuring support for democracy in El Salvador and throughout Latin America is the Latinóbarometer. When surveyed in 2010, 59 percent of Salvadorans asked agreed that “Democracy was preferable to any other kind of government.” Though 68 percent answered this way in a 2009 report only a year earlier, it is promising that over half of those surveyed still felt that democracy is the preferable form of government (Latinóbarometer 2010, 25).

Afrobarometer asks and measures answers for similar questions in African countries. The results of the 2008 survey yielded the following results for Mozambique presented in Table 3.5:

**Table 3.5 Mozambican Public Opinion on Civil Liberties**

<b>Survey Question: In this country how free are you to</b>	<b>Respondents that answered “completely free”</b>
Say what you think?	47%
Join any political organization you want?	50%
To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	64%

Pereira, A. and Shenga, C. (2008). Summary of Results: Round 4 Afrobarometer Survey in Mozambique. In *Afrobarometer*. Retrieved from [http://www.afrobarometer.org/files/documents/summary\\_results/moz\\_r4\\_sor.pdf](http://www.afrobarometer.org/files/documents/summary_results/moz_r4_sor.pdf)

These numbers are interesting as they support the Freedom House assessment declaring Mozambique's elections not free or fair. Another telling statistic from this survey shows fewer than 50 percent of the citizens surveyed believed that citizens should be more active in questioning the actions of their leaders, demonstrating the country is more divided than the elections show, which could leave room for another party, besides Renamo, to win influence in Mozambique (Afrobarometer 2008).

What do these responses mean when assessing how democracy is functioning in El Salvador and Mozambique? In some ways, the numbers provide good indicators for how the general public feels about democracy. This is of utmost importance in a successful transition; however, one must be careful in putting too much stock into the numbers provided in these surveys. "Satisfaction with democracy" or SWD is difficult to measure and there is a lack of consensus on what SWD does in fact measure. For example, SWD may have diverse meanings to different respondents of a survey, or survey respondents may think their replies should measure their support for authorities and not system support, or support of democracy as a form of government in general. If satisfaction with democracy essentially means different things to different people this can compromise the data collected from surveys (Canache, Mondak and Seligson 2001). Satisfaction with democracy could ultimately be said to be dependent on how well represented a country's citizens feel by those in power. Items such as political engagement, participation, and embodiment of the people's views both by parties and in election results are important factors in influencing satisfaction with democracy (McAllister 2005).

Yet surveys are extremely important in measuring the way citizens feel about the developing democracy in a transition period. In 2003 the National Democratic Institute (NDI) conducted a study prior to that year's elections featuring twelve focus groups, with two groups in each of Cambodia's six provinces. When asking the focus groups about democracy and freedom, the 2003 NDI study reports:

The participants take satisfaction with what they see as the increasing freedom in the country over the past 10 years. The three elections that have taken place since 1993 are the most evident manifestation of the country's democratic advances and have produced what one opinion leader in Phnom Penh called a "free multiparty democracy" (Greenberg, Quinlan and Rosner 2003, 4).

Though general, this statement paints a picture of Cambodian public opinion of democracy in the years following the end of the war. Unfortunately there has been no follow up report by NDI to measure the public's satisfaction with improvements over the last ten years since this poll was conducted.

The peacetime political parties in Mozambique, El Salvador, and Cambodia have all faced, and undoubtedly to some degree, created for themselves, obstacles on the path towards functioning in a democratic society. Cambodian political parties have perhaps had the most visible difficulty in this endeavor. There the democratic transition was interrupted by a coup in 1997. There have also been accusations of assassination attempts and complaints of political parties that "operate through exclusionary and hierarchal clientelism, inclining towards a politics of charismatic leadership and mobilization around politicized identities, rather than a politics of representation" (Hughes 2002, 167). Cambodia's journey to democracy has been far from easy. It could be argued that the journey to democracy is seldom easy, and Mozambique and El Salvador have also faced setbacks as well.

There are also a number of secondary institutions that support democracy and rule of law which are seen as important measures of consolidation. Civil society is essentially the assortment of groups that represent collective interests or means for citizens to engage in the community (Tusalem 2007). A lively and vibrant civil society can be an important component for consolidation, but it should not be considered a universal measure of transition. Other components including, free and fair elections and rule of law, serve as important measure of transition as well.

There is some evidence of growth of civil society in Cambodia. Despite some setbacks, the Cambodian people have taken the initiative to be heard in the post-war environment (Hughes 2002). In particular, the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) has created a guide for the idea of 'sit-in' in Cambodia by conducting peaceful protests in opposition to the CPP (Hughes 2002). The establishment of peaceful urban protest, and the state's willingness to allow such protest has amounted to a some openness for political parties other than the CPP, and for the Cambodian people. As Hughes states, "the 'sit-in' offers

a space of political significance that can be appropriated by those who would previously have had only violence or vagrancy available to them” (Hughes 2002, 177). In a society that has known such oppression, this is an important benchmark in the advancement of the Cambodian democratic system. The coming about of the sit-in in Cambodian politics is a bright spot which shows that there are significant numbers of people in the country who believe that they can bring about change. The development of this kind of direct action in Cambodia can be seen as evidence of growth of civil society. Though civic activism is a positive development and civil society has expanded in Cambodia, as the CPP has consolidated power, opposition to the party has been met with increasing force (Heder 2011). The bulk of Cambodian civil society is composed of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that seek to support economic development, human rights, and democratic development. However, Hun Sen’s government “restricts the public space and refuses to accept the legitimacy of human rights and democracy NGOs,” considering only the NGOs that focus on economic development to be significant (Un 2006, 238).

There is also evidence of growth of civil society in Mozambique and El Salvador. In Mozambique there has been an increase in the number of NGOs which have focused on promoting reconciliation between Frelimo and Renamo, and combating health issues such as the AIDS crisis. There has additionally been growth in the organizing and presence of women’s groups. Approximately 50 women’s organizations have emerged in the post-conflict period, compared to one state-controlled women’s organization during the conflict. The emerging organizations are autonomous and focus predominately on the law, economic development and violence against women (Disney 2003). Previously only mobilized to support Frelimo during the conflict, women’s groups in Mozambique, such as the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) have begun “organizing themselves for feminist political change, to varying degrees, within an autonomous ‘civil society’ today” (Disney 2003, 534).

El Salvador has also developed a stronger civil society and has seen a growing presence of NGOs since the end of the civil conflict. For example, there was civic engagement of groups opposed to the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), primarily the *Iniciativa Mesoamericano Comercio, Integración y Desarrollo (Iniciativa CID)* and *Foro Mesoamericano* (Spalding 2007). While the NGO presence in El Salvador has been good at engaging grassroots in the development of participation in public life, in other cases organization has been top-down in orientation and “grassroots constituencies were merely recipients of services and not active, engaged members” (Jamal 2012, 4). This is a common pitfall when the development of civil society is spurred by Western donors with an interest in democracy promotion, and it is something that is of concern in Mozambican and Cambodian civil society as well.

Another important measure of democracy is the development of the rule of law, which has had varied success in each of these cases. Determining the presence of rule of law is based on a number of factors, the most important of which may be respect for fundamental rights and liberties of citizens and the limitation of governmental powers (Kajcsa 2011). In countries where human rights and justice have been fundamentally ignored during the conflicts, rule of law is important in promoting accountability and in curbing crime, which is a principal threat to democracy (Call 2003). As the rule of law is established we see shifts in how authority is viewed, as the government or military have functioned as the only authority during the conflict years. Some changes in the rule of law stem from the peace agreements that alter military involvement in civilian policing, by either reducing this function of the military or suspending it all together. This was a key change in El Salvador where the military had strong ties to ARENA and was responsible for thousands of civilian deaths during the civil war. International influence and the peace agreements created by bringing warring sides to the table are important factors in the development of rule of law as well (Popkin 2001).

Though important for the development of rule of law, international pressure can sometimes lead to a top-down approach where citizens do not gain legal empowerment in the form of “legal services, legal capacity-building, and legal reform by and for disadvantaged populations” (Golub 2007, 48). One chief concern in developing the rule of law in these post-conflict countries is judicial reform. In Cambodia, the judicial system is extremely corrupt and has been made weak by Cambodian elites who use the system for political manipulation through a patron-clientelism relationship (Un 2010; Freedom House 2012). Similarly, Mozambique’s judicial system has been characterized as a collapsed system where rulings are up for auction (Hanlon 2004). Also in 2010, one-third of those surveyed by Afrobarometer said that they didn’t believe criminals were likely to face punishment for crimes committed, showing a lack of faith in the system by Mozambican citizens (Afrobarometer 2010). Freedom House called the country’s judicial system corrupt and backlogged, with scarce resources and poor training of personnel (Freedom House 2012). The judicial system in El Salvador has historically been politicized and though improvements have been made as the country has transitioned, the system continues to struggle with being caught up in politics, is sluggish in processing cases, and in general is not held in high esteem by the people. However, the system has improved in recent years by demonstrating greater independence on a number of important cases (Call 2003; Freedom House 2012). Yet perhaps the biggest threat to the rule of law and democracy in El Salvador is crime. According to Latinobarometer, 44 percent of citizens in 2010 cited crime as the biggest problem in El Salvador (Latinobarometer 2010). El Salvador has a serious crime issue, with criminal activities by gangs that have even put it at risk of becoming a failed state. Chapter 4 will provide greater detail on this problem in El Salvador.

Therefore, establishing the rule of law is difficult undertaking, especially in countries emerging from war without reputable judicial systems or policing. In El Salvador, the UN mission established an Ad Hoc Commission and Truth Commission to seek out and bring to justice war criminals and promote

reconciliation. However, the Commission's recommendations were largely ignored, and in 1993 an amnesty law was passed allowing those who committed war crimes to avoid being brought to justice (Popkin 2001). Similarly in Mozambique, an amnesty law was passed soon after the peace agreement, also permitting war crimes in Mozambique to go unanswered (Igreja 2010). Cambodia waited 30 years to address the crimes under the Khmer Rouge and the process has faced multiple delays even after the establishment of the tribunal to prosecute war criminals.

### **Democratic Transition and Party Changes**

Democratic transition and the factors that accompany this change are important to measure as a country shifts from a conflict period to a peacetime setting. Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique all agreed to undergo a governmental change and transition to democracy in the aftermath of war. However, as this chapter indicates, the transition process is a long, filled with pitfalls, and varies depending on a country's past, political culture, the political actors' willingness to commit to the change. We turn next to a closer consideration of how parties adjust structurally and attitudinally to the post-conflict period and attempt to remain relevant in an altered political situation.



#### **Chapter IV: Party Structural and Attitudinal Change**

This chapter examines the structure and attitude changes the political parties of Cambodia, El Salvador, and Mozambique made during the post-conflict period. Post-conflict transition periods, like the ones Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique went through after each of their civil conflicts, introduce changes in how transitioning parties function. The new and established parties must adjust to the emerging political climate and re-tool their structures and alter attitudes in light of the political transition (de Zeeuw 2008). Just as there are difficulties in adopting political systems, there is also difficulty in implementing changes in the parties themselves. Undoubtedly, because they are the main internal actors carrying out change during a country's transition period, assessing political parties' roles and adaptation strategies in the new system is important. According to Przeworski, "they play the central role in presenting alternatives and molding attitudes with regard to particular governments as well as with regard to the very project of structural transformation" (Przeworski 1991, 88). This chapter will examine how political parties change in the transition period. It will review demobilization efforts and the reintegration of combatants into society, include an assessment of the parties' efforts in gaining supporters, and provide an analysis of how intra-party relations affect the transition period.

Changes in party structure and party attitude following the end of a conflict are important aspects of the transition period. The post-conflict period introduces new challenges for both incumbent parties, the parties with control of the government as the conflict ends, and insurgent parties, the parties which played a revolutionary or insurgency role during the conflict. In the new political climate, guerilla movements must re-organize and follow outlined peace agreements and lay down their arms and sometimes integrate into the national military. Additionally, adopting a strategy to gain followers in a new context is important as parties vie for elected positions. In some cases, party leaders seem to naturally emerge. In others, party leaders or electoral candidates are not always clearly defined as the country's political situation changes. Incumbent political parties also face many challenges as they work

to adapt to political change; however, “parties, as both survival-oriented and goal-oriented organizations, are adaptive organizations and will adjust over time to their electoral environment (even as they also, of course, play a role in shaping it)” (Manning 2007, 255). Parties make adjustments based on their standings at the end of the conflict, based on their role in the conflict as either the incumbent or insurgent party in order to be competitive as a new political climate emerges. Those parties that are institutionalized are those that have spent time in power or have had a hold on the government’s bureaucratic and military institutions. Incumbent parties (ARENA in El Salvador, the CPP in Cambodia and Frelimo in Mozambique) typically have an easier time adjusting as they already possess the necessary political structure and widespread influence to be competitive (de Zeeuw 2008). In some cases, being an incumbent party can be a disadvantage as well. In cases where incumbent parties were responsible for human rights abuses or seen as exclusionary to certain segments of the population, voters may want a change and support movements or parties that cater more specifically to them, or whom they do not have grievances against due to past state-sponsored violence. It should be noted, however, that guerilla parties were also responsible for violence and some human rights abuses during these conflicts as well and that may alienate voters.

There are four main components of change that political parties typically address to alter party structure and party attitude after a conflict, including two main structural changes and two main attitudinal changes. The two main structural changes are the demobilization of the organizational structure and development of party organization. In addition, attitudinal changes are required, which include democratization of decision-making and adaptation of party strategies and goals (de Zeeuw 2008). The extent to which parties must make these changes is dependent on the parties’ origins. For example, guerilla movements that were just becoming recognized as political parties, such as the FMLN and Renamo, had to do more to build their political structures than parties that were already established and recognized as political parties by the civilian population, such as Frelimo in

Mozambique. Party structure and attitude changes can be difficult to achieve, even if some specific changes are outlined in negotiated peace agreements. Roadblocks to such change exist for political parties just as they do for the entire system as it shifts to democracy. Concerns about a return to violence, ingrained political processes, and lack of governing experience in a democratic system can impede the parties' willingness to alter their operations. The adherence of incumbent parties and guerilla parties to the rules outlined by newly established democratic governments is a key aspect in success of the transition process.

### **Demobilization**

Demobilization efforts constitute one of the most important structural changes in the post conflict period. The demobilization period is often referred to as DDR or demobilization, disarmament and reintegration. The DDR process is usually integrated into the cease fire and peace agreement process. Demobilization is "the process of significantly reducing the number of personnel under arms and in military command structures" (Kingma 2002, 182). The reintegration portion of the DDR process refers to efforts to re-settle ex-combatants into life after conflict (Kingma 2002). External actors, in these cases especially the United Nations, often are the catalyst for delivering cease-fire agreements to end the violence and help to implement DDR agreements; however, DDR agreements should not be seen as a magic bullet (Muggah 2005). One of the main concerns as countries implement DDR efforts is that there are often few opportunities for ex-combatants to establish new livelihoods (Kingma 2002). While demobilization efforts are undoubtedly important in the transition period, concerns (including large amounts of arms in civilian hands, their familiarity with the use of arms, the willingness of party members to use arms and a lack of effort on the part of political parties to re-integrate combatants into society) all serve as factors that discourage DDR (Garibay 2007; Kingma 2002; Muggah 2005).

Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique each had their own struggles with DDR in the transition period. These conflicts were extremely violent, so DDR was an essential structural change in altering the

political landscape and providing the basis for a democratic transition. When conflict is present for so long, as in Cambodia, El Salvador, and Mozambique, not only ex-combatants, but the countries themselves are transformed by the experience (Kingma 2002). The history of violence in these countries and years of war is a major factor as the former adversaries transition from combatants to participants in a democracy. In countries with little to no democratic experience, parties that have recently emerged from conflict are in a delicate state that can easily revert back to violence (de Zeeuw and Kumar 2006). Both government and rebel groups in these conflicts used violence and coercion against civilians, and the long term, widespread bloodshed can create a legacy of violence that can be difficult to overcome (Allison 2010). This history of violence makes DDR an essential component of the adjustment in the transition period.

Guided by the UN-led peace agreement, the main parties to El Salvador's war, ARENA and the FMLN, both struggled to disarm. ARENA, the government party supported by the military and the United States, demobilized over 30,000 soldiers and essentially, "had to cut the number of soldiers in the army by half, disband the anti-insurrectional battalions" and place police forces under civilian authority to abide by the peace agreement and create a newly structured military (Garibay 2007, 468). ARENA spoke out against the restructuring of the police force, desiring to preserve the forces' privileges and prerogative. The police force was essentially part of the military during the conflict and carried out human rights abuses against Salvadoran citizens (Costa 2001). However, ARENA relented on its desire to preserve the police force as it was as the FMLN insisted upon public security reform in order to agree to demobilization (Costa 2001; Montgomery 1995). In addition to reform of the police force, the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador, or ONUSAL, also sought to bring reform to the armed forces. One of the first parts of the peace process was to disarm the government's Civil Defense Units and reduce forces. Additionally, ONUSAL's Ad Hoc Commission recommended that more than 100 officers be

dismissed following a review of their performance and those in the highest ranks of the military were purged (Montgomery 1995; Stanley 2006).

The FMLN, the guerilla party, had its own different goals to meet under the demobilization agreement, which included turning over their weapons and demobilizing according to a calendar schedule outlined in the peace agreement. The FMLN did not meet disarmament requirements on time and in May 1993, officials discovered an illegal arms cache in Nicaragua maintained by the FMLN. The party also continued to maintain weapons in El Salvador. This discovery put the FMLN in violation of the Peace Accords. Following the discovery, a date was set for the FMLN to report its arms caches and destroy them by August 4, 1993. The party completed the process of disarmament to the satisfaction of the UN mission by August 18, 1993 and incurred some grumblings about being able to maintain political party status despite violating the Peace Accords (United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador 2003).

In addition to disarming, reintegration of combatants after the conflict remained an important task in El Salvador. ARENA's reintegration plan for former soldiers was practically non-existent. Some of the soldiers from the ARENA side were reintegrated into the army or newly developed civilian police force. Others who were not integrated into new forces held demonstrations in 1994 and 1995 to demand better programs. The demonstrations were repressed and those participating were compared to the guerilla forces that had risen up against the government during the war (Garibay 2007).

The UN's reintegration programs for FMLN combatants included a land transfer program, which resulted in the transfer of about 10 percent of the country's rural land to former combatants and was essentially a program that offered "land for arms" (Whitfield 2001, 37). The land distribution program in El Salvador was originally devised in 1980 in a plan where 20 percent of arable lands were to be transferred to a similar portion of the population. The 1992 accords reiterated to the government the importance of land distribution, but it wasn't until 1994 that there was a focus on distributing the

*excedentes*<sup>5</sup> (Kowalchuk 2003). The FMLN provided more assistance with reintegration than ARENA, and nearly all of the combatants from this side of the conflict were eligible for some type of reintegration program (Garibay 2007). Both parties, however, broke promises in the re-integration process and many ex-combatants have become worse off following the conflict. One former guerilla stated, “Right now we’re worse off than we were during the war, we have nothing, no houses, no land, no work” (Carr 1994, 13). The ONUSAL mission in El Salvador cost a total of \$107.7 million dollars (U.S.) (United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador 2003).

Mozambique’s DDR process was headed by the United Nations Observation Mission in Mozambique (UNMOZ) after the civil war ended in with the signing of the General Peace Accord (GPA) in 1992. UNMOZ spent a total of \$486.7 million dollars (U.S.) in Mozambique, with a \$95 million of those funds going to finance demobilization on both sides (United Nations Operation in Mozambique 2001; Alden 2002). Mozambique’s peace process and DDR component did put a stop to the civil war, but the agreement failed to fully define how demobilization and its disarmament component were to be carried out. The large number of weapons distributed during the course of the war, which Interpol estimated at 1.5 million AK-47s in 1995, the failure to significantly reduce the number of arms, and the accusation that both Frelimo and Renamo hid weapons and were guilty of other types of non-compliance led to difficulties in the process. To deal with this problem, UNMOZ set up a Cease-Fire Commission (CFC) whose main objective was to find undeclared weapons depots and caches throughout the country. Time constraints in the UNMOZ mandate and the failure of the UN to properly destroy scores of the weapons left many unaccounted for weapons in Mozambique which boosted the arms trade in southern Africa (Vines 1998).

In addition to reducing the number of weapons circulating in the country, demobilizing combatants was also of great importance. In total, there were over 90,000 soldiers and guerillas involved in

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<sup>5</sup> Surplus land from the 1980s land reform

Mozambique's civil war. Under UNMOZ, both sides were to begin demobilizing troops in January 1994 and a new army was developed called the Armed Forces for the Defense of Mozambique, or FADM, consisting of 30,000 members from both Frelimo and Renamo. Special police units such as the Lightning Battalion were also formed to curb banditry (Vines 1998; Weinstein 2002). In 1994, immediately after the conflict ended, approximately 16,000 troops had been demobilized (with 76,000 soldiers demobilized by the eve of the first election later that year) and were taking advantage of reintegration programs such as the Information and Referral Service (IRS) which helped to provide counseling and guidance to demobilized soldiers (Alden 2002; United Nations Operation in Mozambique 2001). Reintegration is a difficult process for combatants from both sides of a conflict, but Renamo's background as primarily military men led to many difficulties for members to reintegrate in the DDR period. Renamo lacked qualified members, meaning those with formal education, past governing and electoral experience, to lead in the transition to a political party (Manning 2007). DDR efforts changed the geographical location of party members through the Reintegration Support Scheme (RSS) in which combatants were sent back to their homes and provided with training and short-term pay. This effort, which was meant to ease ex-combatant movement back into society, accounted for more than fifty percent of the disarmament and reintegration funds spent in Mozambique. The RSS action did lead to a disruption of Renamo's tightly-organized and hierarchical military operation (Levine 2007). The interference in Renamo's structure hurt it as a political party and the party faced reduced opportunities to appeal to citizens outside of its traditional strongholds. Meanwhile, Frelimo has easily continued to maintain its influence over Mozambique's capital, Maputo, and less geographical disruption in Frelimo's membership, coupled with its already existing influence and resources as the incumbent, has helped Frelimo to win in elections and sustain control of the government (deTollenaere 2006).

As in El Salvador and Mozambique, Cambodia's DDR period came after the peace agreement and was mainly led by the UN Transnational Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) which was created during the

Paris Peace Accords, signed in 1991. The UN spent more on UNTAC than on the programs in El Salvador and Mozambique, with total expenditures reaching \$1.6 billion dollars U.S. (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia 2003). The reason for this is that there were many items that went into satisfying Cambodia's demobilization effort outlined in the Accords. The agreement called for demobilizing of 70 percent of the armed forces of Cambodia's main political parties, which equaled roughly 200,000 troops and 250,000 militia members (Amer 1993). In addition to demobilizing troops, the agreement called for locating and confiscating arms caches, conducting a nation-wide mine clearing operation, supervising and regrouping Cambodian armed forces, supervising arms storage of the forces in cantonment sites, and stopping outside weapons, ammunition and military equipment contributions (Ratner 1993; Frost 1991). The Cambodian peace agreement also called for all Vietnamese troops to leave Cambodia with their equipment and lastly, POWs were to be released under the agreement laid out in the Paris Peace Accords (Ratner 1993).

During the back-and-forth and complex peace talks to end the Cambodian conflict, King Sihanouk and Hun Sen announced on June 5, 1991 that their respective parties would discontinue receipt of foreign military aid and encouraged other Cambodian parties to follow this step (Frost 1991). Though the two sides came to an agreement on the importation of arms, the Khmer Rouge boycotted the agreement and continued to import tanks into the country while simultaneously organizing in the jungle and rural areas (Than 1991). At the end of the conflict, the UNTAC began assisting with the reduction of weapons and other transitional tasks.

One of the first tasks of UNTAC was enforcing demobilization of troops on both sides. According to the CPP, it was held accountable by UNTAC, while the guerilla parties had the advantage of being in good with UNTAC due to widely held negative perceptions of the CPP in the West. The CPP claimed that UNTAC was biased against the party in its guidelines on troop cantonment and weapons impoundment during the DDR period, leading it to lose territory to well-armed resistance forces in 1993 and 1994



(Kevin 2000). Even so, the CPP-run Cambodian government, supported by Vietnam throughout the civil conflict, maintained its stronghold over the bureaucracy and the military, therefore continuing the ability to exercise control by violent force if necessary, even after the demilitarization period. There is also evidence that during the period many Vietnamese troops returned to Cambodia (Than 1991). FUNCINPEC also built up arms during the years before the 1997 violence in Cambodia broke out as Prince Ranariddh sought advice from anti-communist military advisers (Kevin 2000). Although the 1997 coup will be explained in further detail in a later section, the fact that it happened shows that there were still enough weapons in Cambodia after demobilization for warring factions to be able to take up arms against each another once again.

Each of the three cases has experienced violence following the wars, despite demobilization efforts. In El Salvador, since the end of the war there has been a rise in the number of young people joining gangs, or *maras* (Garibay 2007; Garland 2004). The increase in gang participation, coupled with a high murder rate, “contributes to maintaining a high level of violence and delinquency and therefore a very strong feeling of insecurity among the people” (Garibay 2007, 476). Additionally, human rights abuses by the reorganized National Civilian Police force are unchecked and suspicions have arisen of police involvement in social cleansing, especially of gang members. The lack of monitoring investigations of these allegations, and limited ability to prosecute military and security forces for past crimes due to the 1992 amnesty law, have caused these allegations to go unrestricted and unpunished (Holiday 2010).

In Mozambique the lack of effective disarmament has led to many civilians maintaining arms and an increase in arms being trafficked into South Africa (Vines 1998). Additionally, Mozambican police statistics have shown yearly increases in armed crimes and there has been a boost in crime in the capital city of Maputo with increases in banditry and robbery (Vines 1998; Kingma 2002). Mozambicans have held onto their weapons to maintain personal security. One man involved in crime activity was quoted as saying,

What is there for people like me to do? A gun gives me a job! My family struggle on the land and they can't feed me. I need to help them. The police use guns all the time to make money. So can I! Everything around here is about money. Eh, without it you have nothing. So I make money with a gun (Vines 1998, 199).

This quotation highlights a dilemma that many people are faced with after a conflict. Despite demobilization and reintegration efforts, many people, especially former military men, find that they can provide a better living for their families through criminal activities with easy access to arms and little economic opportunity. Another factor that may have influenced civilian reluctance to give up their weapons following the war was the historic brutality of the Portuguese and later the Mozambican police force. The 1992 peace agreement outlined steps for reforming the Police of the Republic of Mozambique (PRM), but with little UN civilian police oversight, poor training and lack of equipment the PRM were ill-prepared to handle public security. The PRM has been known for continued brutality in the post-war period, especially against journalists, undermining the democratic idea of an open public sphere to assess corrupt government institutions (Seleti 2000).

In Cambodia, some groups such as the Khmer Rouge and in turn the State of Cambodia (SOC), refused to disarm after the UN intervention (Chandler 2008). Violence continued to escalate in the country from 1992 through 1993. Over two hundred people were victims of political assassinations ordered by the CPP-run Cambodian government after the Khmer Rouge massacred Vietnamese civilians, (all while the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia was still in the country) (Chandler 2008). In 1997, a coup de force was perpetrated by the CCP. The coup occurred after mounting tensions between FUNCINPEC and the CPP developed in the power-sharing agreement that afforded Cambodia a unique, two-prime minister system. Hun Sen was concerned that Ranariddh was plotting to unseat the CPP from power. Several violent clashes broke out between FUNCINPEC and the CPP in Phnom Penh, Siem Reap and Battambang in the first half of 1997. Over the weekend of July 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> in 1997 a war was waged in Phnom Penh between the two parties that left Ranariddh in exile in Bangkok, Thailand, returning to Cambodia in 1998 as the international community pressed for an

election (Kevin 2000). During the coup, over a hundred members of the FUNCINPEC were reported as killed or tortured (Chandler 2008). Though there is speculation still as to which party struck first, the international community, and specifically the West, accepted Ranariddh's assertion that it was Hun Sen who started the violence with the coup (Kevin 2000).

As the CPP has consolidated power in Cambodia since the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991, Hun Sen has met critics and opposition with increasing force, often initiating retaliatory and preemptive strikes against political opponents (Heder 2011). Cambodia's security forces are highly politicized with little defense from abuse by either state or nonstate actors due to weaknesses in the court system and the established culture of impunity. It is also reported that detainees are routinely tortured by police and security forces are known to carry out extrajudicial killings against political opponents and activists (McCargo 2010). Demobilization didn't help Cambodia to drastically reduce arms as planned. The country now has a bustling weapons trade, even reaching into the tourism industry. Western legal experts and human rights workers say problems with applying the rule of law allows Cambodian citizens to easily arm. According to one human rights worker, "There are probably more guns now than there were when the UN left in 1993. Almost everybody has a gun" (Cohen 1997, 6). Additionally, drug trafficking and human trafficking have become the two biggest organized crime problems in the Cambodia. Local authorities in Cambodia are reluctant to come down on human trafficking for the sex trade because cheap sex boosts the country's tourism industry and several Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Cambodia report that many Cambodian authorities are directly involved in the sex trade or benefit from it (Finckenauer and Chin 2004).

Therefore, though the UN spent massive amounts of money on demobilization efforts in each of these countries, the arms trade, police violence and crime are still major concerns for El Salvador, Cambodia and Mozambique. While UN intervention was successful in each of these countries in that, except for a short relapse in Cambodia in 1997, they have not returned to war, there remains evidence

of continued and growing criminal activity in all three. In each country, the weak rule of law is associated with the failure of these countries to regulate illegal activity and hold criminals and state agents responsible for their actions. In addition, all parties have attempted to circumvent the demobilization process in one way or another.

### **Development of Party Organization and Democratization of Decision-Making**

Besides demobilization, the development of party organization is an important task in the post-conflict period, especially for guerilla parties. In Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique, guerilla parties tried to develop political organizations to replace previous military organizations, while incumbent parties, all of which had political organizations in place, adjusted to the new political climate. Making attitudinal and structural adjustments in the post-conflict provides added challenges in the transition period. While structural changes are often established and implemented or at least influenced by peace agreements and external actors, changes in citizen and party attitude must come internally (Diamond 1999). Democratization of decision-making is one of the most difficult aspects of transformation, as both incumbent and guerilla parties during conflict possess an entrenched hierarchical, military structure. According to de Zeeuw, adaptation of strategies and goals is essential to long-term survival as parties work on “designing political campaigns for support in popular elections, building relationships with civil society organizations, and perhaps most difficult, communicating with opposition parties in nonviolent ways” (de Zeeuw 2008, 15). These changes, as with structural changes, are often more difficult for former rebel groups as they work to adjust with new rules in place following peace agreements and in some cases, reduced resources. Though former rebel parties face many more challenges, some establishment parties may also go through attitudinal changes in the period following civil conflict (de Zeeuw 2008).

Democratization of decision-making inside parties is a complex and difficult part of the transition process that encompasses tapping party leaders and navigating intra-party or intra-elite

relations. Though this is seen as an attitude change, democratization of decision-making also requires structural change in reporting structures within the parties. A change in reporting structure means that power will become less centralized in one party figure or group if the party is actively democratizing its decision-making. Intra-elite relations, or relations between party leaders, may become problematic when the time comes to decide on party leadership and structure. Bringing in new blood to help with the party's transition often causes turmoil between the original party leaders and those viewed as new, less seasoned party participants or between those who stayed and fought versus those who were in exile during the war (Manning 2007).

Despite having to make some changes to adhere to the demilitarization criteria outlined in the 1992 peace agreement, ARENA maintained strong support in elections following the conflict and easily won the first presidential election in 1994 (de Zeeuw 2010). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the UN body overseeing the 1994 elections deemed them to be free and fair (Montgomery 1995). In addition to controlling the executive branch, ARENA was able to develop a congressional coalition with El Salvador's PCN party in parliament to obtain the majority in the legislative branch as well (de Zeeuw 2010). Despite ARENA's role as an establishment party, it still needed to make some adjustments to maintain political control as its members laid down arms. In the first election after the war, ARENA established a campaign that was wrought with images of the war, emphasizing the destruction caused by the FMLN, in a campaign that many thought inspired fear in voters (Wantchekon 1999). These political advertisements, coupled with ARENA's standing as the incumbent party, helped it to shore up voters in several election cycles following the conflict. ARENA won the presidency in four consecutive elections and their numbers in the legislature have remained fairly steady. While the 2009 election was a big loss for ARENA, the continuing election of ARENA candidates to legislative seats shows that the party persists in having a strong presence in the Salvadoran government.

ARENA is maintained by the country's economic elite (Garibay 2007). As discussed in Chapter 3, the party was created as a counterinsurgency to the FMLN by army commander Roberto D'Aubuisson in 1980. The party began as death squads funded by El Salvador's elite families who were concerned that they needed to combat the FMLN to prevent erosion of their privilege (Wolf 2009). As a military organization supported by the Salvadoran government, the bulk of ARENA's decision-making during the conflict was centralized with the country's elites and military leaders. Since the end of the conflict and the transition to a civilian police force, ARENA's power has been transitioned out of the hands of military officials, in accord with the 1992 peace agreement. In the years since the conflict, decision-making and power has been wielded mainly by a new elite of entrepreneurs, merchants and especially financiers. This has led some of the landowners (the old elite group) to feel marginalized by the party (Garibay 2007). The distinction between old and new elite is not rigid and elites old or new certainly continue to support ARENA against the FMLN. Many analysts attributed ARENA's 2009 defeat in the presidential election, to the increasing centralization of power in the party's structure (Holiday 2010). Much of the party's power has become concentrated in globalized economic power groups (EPGs), a new group of elites, with business interests in agricultural, commercial, and service enterprises, which control ARENA by contributing money to its candidates, lobbying for laws and rules that will benefit their interests, and using media alliances to preserve elite dominance (Wolf 2009).

In Mozambique, Frelimo, as the establishment party, has continued to maintain a stronghold, with power concentrated in the south, particularly in the capital of Maputo. With a party history that dates back to its overthrow of Mozambique's colonial ruler, Frelimo has been aided by its old foe, Portugal as well as a strong centralization of power win elections (Weinstein 2002). Such unity was not always characteristic of Frelimo. Following the conflict with Renamo, Frelimo experienced vicious in-fighting within the party and many were purged from Frelimo's ranks during this period (Sumich 2010). Those in Frelimo who emerged victorious from this period remained unified and according to Sumich

“the top ranks of the leadership have historically been dominated by small colonial elite of southern, urban/peri-urban *assimilados*, with prominent members from racial minorities” (Sumich 2010, 683).<sup>6</sup> With the unity of Frelimo’s ruling elite, little room has been left for democratizing the party’s decision-making.

Joaquim Chissano, the incumbent president who succeeded Samora Machel to become president in 1986, was re-elected twice in 1994 and 1999. Chissano came to power following the death in a plane crash in 1986 of Frelimo’s charismatic leader, Samora Machel, who was president of Mozambique from 1975-1986. As with Hun Sen, Chissano acted as a leader during the war and had staying power in the transition period. While there is a strong centralization of power within Frelimo, no single leader personifies the party in the same way that Dhlakama does for Renamo. Frelimo party leaders selected Armando Guebuza in 2002 as the presidential candidate in the 2004 race as Chissano chose not to continue. Chissano was involved in naming his successor, but did not simply appoint Guebuza alone (due to a long-standing feud between the two, Guebuza probably wouldn’t have been selected if it were only up to Chissano) (Carbone 2005; Africa Confidential 2006). This shows that despite Chissano’s undoubted power in Frelimo, the party did in fact take into account its institutional procedures in naming Guebuza, though the selection process was still exclusive (Carbone 2005).

In Cambodia, the CPP has increasingly shored up its power and control since the end of the war. According to Duncan McCargo, “the CPP is consolidating its authoritarianism, while average Cambodians remain stripped of a sense of citizenship and participation in the governing of their country” (McCargo 2010). Though in 1993 when the power-sharing agreement was reached it was mutually beneficial to both the CPP and FUNCINPEC for different reasons, the CPP maintained nearly complete control of the Cambodian bureaucracy, as well as a major portion of the country’s military and police, even though FUNCINPEC had won a majority of votes in the election at that time (Curtis 1998). Over the years,

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<sup>6</sup> *Assmiliados* refers to those Mozambican subjects of mixed race in the colonial period who met Portuguese standards of “civilization” (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983).

FUNCINPEC and other parties that were previously competitors, such as the Sam Rainsy party, lost their foothold while the CPP with Hun Sen as prime minister has continued to grow in power.

Since the coup of 1997, Hun Sen and the CPP's maintenance of power has been unwavering. Within the CPP itself, power is centralized with Hun Sen and his persona is almost inseparable from the party. As discussed in Chapter 3, some observer groups have deemed Cambodian elections to be free and fair, while others have expressed disagreement with this finding. Even if the elections were free and fair, the entrenchment of the CPP's power became so deep after the coup, that other parties have had difficulties in making electoral strides. The CPP takes credit as the party that kept Cambodia afloat when the rest of the world was hostile and indifferent and this has helped to solidify its popular support and legitimacy in Cambodia's transition period (Kevin 2000).

Compared to incumbent parties, revolutionary or insurgency parties in the conflicts in El Salvador, Cambodia and Mozambique have had to make more comprehensive adjustments as they transitioned to peace-time political parties. According to Michael Allison, following the conflict, "rebel groups confront obstacles similar to those confronting any new political party. For example, they need to devise a political platform, raise money in order to cover the costs of full-time staff, advertising and campaign materials, and select leaders and candidates" (Allison 2010, 105). After the end of a war, former rebel groups must often consolidate into one entity and this can be difficult if, as was the case for the FMLN, control was dispersed among various regions and leaders throughout the conflict. The FMLN encompassed multiple groups that were created in different parts of the country and possessed various ideological differences. The party had to try to adapt and evolve into one entity to work as a distinct political party following the conflict (Manning 2007). Similarly, in Cambodia, the opposition had to unite during the transition process, but it could be said that this was even more difficult in this circumstance as the opposition was split and at odds during the war. In El Salvador, unable to participate as a political party in elections prior to the peace agreement, the FMLN was comprised



primarily of military structures following the conflict, though they also had a political wing that was less developed. As a result of focusing primarily on military function, the FMLN faced a shortage of staff trained and experienced in governance and party administration (de Zeeuw 2010). This was a problem also shared by other revolutionary or insurgency parties, including Renamo, FUNCINPEC, and the Khmer Rouge.

An internal power fight, along with the FMLN's need to grow from primarily a military organization into a political party, caused the party to struggle as it aspired to build itself into a political party with clout (de Zeeuw 2010). Part of this success is due to the fact that following the war, in the 1994 and 1999 elections, the FMLN mostly only had geographic support from areas that had been hit with wartime violence. However, in the 2004 elections, the FMLN saw increased support in larger cities and metropolitan areas (Azpuru 2010). As the FMLN developed into a political organization, the party continued to wrestle with division over ideology and tactics and two factions emerged, the reformists and the orthodox divisions (Ward 2008). According to Manning, the need to consolidate into a single party "made it necessary for its leaders to devise formal rules for leadership selection, though these remained top down and were not always executed in a transparent manner" (Manning 2007, 265). Though internal problems persist (the reformists lean towards a democratic party structure and practical vision while the orthodox side desires to remain true to the revolutionary movement and prefers a more centralized party organization) the party has continued as one, increasing its control of legislative seats and winning the executive branch in 2009 (Ward 2008).

Many parties have steady, identifiable leaders and the FMLN is no different, but their history of running different candidates in presidential elections shows that power is not centralized in the hand of one person. Additionally, the FMLN has also worked successfully to spread the party's power by winning a number of legislative seats, mayoral positions and municipal elections (Wade 2008). The FMLN eventually achieved success by adapting. In 1994, 1999 and 2004 presidential elections, the

FMLN ran candidates that were guerillas during the war. Rubén Zamora served as the 1994 presidential candidate, with Facundo Guardado (a reformist candidate) running in 1999, and Schafik Handel (a former FMLN commander and general coordinator after the war) in 2004 (Holiday 2010; Wade 2008). All three candidates lost their elections. Picking a presidential candidate from outside of the existing party structure seemed to be the path to victory for the FMLN, with Mauricio Funes winning the 2009 presidential election. Funes was a popular newscaster, whose role as a non-guerilla candidate and promise of moderate governing made him a more appealing candidate to many voters (Holiday 2010). Therefore, ARENA's domination of the political arena was not disrupted for four elections until Funes' victory in the 2009 election. FMLN candidate Mauricio Funes became El Salvador's president at a time when a noticeable shift could be glimpsed in Latin American politics, with several countries electing leaders from the left. Thus, the region's political climate could also be pointed to as a reason for his victory.

Renamo has faced comparable struggles to the FMLN and FUNCINPEC in trying to restructure from a guerilla movement to a political party. One of the party's primary goals was to make itself into a legitimate political organization, rather than be seen as a puppet of South Africa and Rhodesia as it had often been characterized during the war (Manning 2004). After the end of the armed struggle and following the 1994 elections, Renamo experienced problems developing politically due to organizational weaknesses stemming from leader Afonso Dhlakama's resistance to institutionalization and minimal organization (Manning 2008; de Tollenaere 2006). Dhlakama preferred to keep Renamo's power centralized in him and focus on dissatisfaction with Frelimo to try and appeal to voters (Manning 2010). This has allowed Frelimo to consolidate power and as with FUNCINPEC, Renamo has struggled to achieve any type of popular support. A party comprised of mostly military men, in the new political context Renamo faced challenges in fronting appealing electoral candidates and changing from a centralized party structure to one with more widespread roots across the country. Since the late 1970s,

power has been centralized in the hands of Dhlakama, who is not personally popular or charismatic, and there is rarely a party decision made by any member other than Dhlakama (Manning 2008). According to Lemon, Dhlakama “runs Renamo in a personalized way, dismissing those capable of creating a party machine through fear that they might challenge him and so creating no effective mobilization structures” (Lemon 2007). This continued centralization, even after failing to make electoral gains and consolidate influence in Mozambique, shows how difficult it is to alter existing political party structure in a general sense (de Tollenaere 2006). It could be argued that Renamo has not made a concerted effort to reform internally and its real problem is that it has not adapted its strategy to appeal to and reach new voters, thus continuing to struggle in the polls. Mozambique’s political situation is ripe for a new opposition party to emerge, with Renamo faring poorly in elections.

Renamo and the CPP are examples of parties that have not democratized decision-making in the post-conflict period as Hun Sen of the CPP and Afonso Dhlakama of Renamo have remained the leaders of their parties since the end of each of their country’s conflicts (McCargo 2010; Manning 2008). The CPP and Renamo cases are exceptional in that as intra-party relations develop following conflict, a party’s dominant wartime coalition will usually strive to maintain authority of the party (Manning 2004). This tendency can create complex power-struggles within parties following conflict. According to Manning “because electoral politics require a different set of skills than those demanded in wartime, a transition from military confrontation may change the sources of organizational power and authority” (Manning 2004, 59). The CPP and Renamo are exceptional because they refused to make this change. As the insurgent party, the refusal to change has hindered Renamo’s viability. The CPP, on the other hand, is only able to hold on to power because of the advantages of incumbency and a willingness to bend the rules to stay in power.

FUNCINPEC in Cambodia similarly struggled to transition from structures that were primarily militaristic to an organization that was more politically based (de Zeeuw 2010). As the Cambodian

government and power-sharing agreement were established in 1993, FUNCINPEC promised peace and a return to Cambodia's Golden Age. FUNCINPEC as a party with a royalist heritage has an inherent leaning toward centralization of power, with Prince Norodom Ranariddh, son of Cambodia's King Norodom Sihanouk, serving as the party's central figure (Un and Ledgerwood 2003). FUNCINPEC relied heavily on the traditional image of Sihanouk the god-king and evoked the past in an attempt to appeal to the Cambodian citizenry. Though in 1993 when the power-sharing coalition was established, the Cambodian people were certainly more familiar with the CPP due to the party's previous years of governing Cambodia, it should be noted that neither party had much of a political background or claim to past good governance (Curtis 1998). Cambodian citizens were naturally also familiar with Sihanouk as a traditional ruler, but the FUNCINPEC party was a new development in the political spectrum. In addition to being less widely known than the CPP, FUNCINPEC struggled with shoring up support beyond Phnom Penh and faced internal strife with the party splitting into as many as eight factions, which did not come together as the FMLN did in El Salvador (Curtis 1998; de Zeeuw 2010). FUNCINPEC also made a mistake in ignoring large parts of the countryside. Prince Norodom Ranariddh stated in 1998 that lack of attention to FUNCINPEC's rural networks after the establishment of the power sharing coalition was the party's biggest mistake (Hughes 2002). All this, and the lack of a clear direction, caused FUNCINPEC to lose goodwill among Cambodians (Roberts 2002).

FUNCINPEC's power and that of the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP), an offshoot of FUNCINPEC, have seen continuous decline as the CPP has solidified its hold on control over politics in Cambodia (McCargo 2010). The SRP, and specifically the party leader Sam Rainsy, have faced legal action at the hands of the CPP meant to cripple the party's organization. Sam Rainsy was forced into exile from 2004-2006 in connection with his supposed involvement over Vietnamese infringement into Cambodian territory (Heder 2010). Additionally, according to Heder, other SRP party members "were either in detention, convicted of crimes that meant they could not stand for election, or under threat of politically motivated

prosecution” (Heder 2010, 212). As a result, the SRP remains a mainly urban party that has been unable to consolidate rural support (McCargo 2010). FUNCINPEC and the SRP have struggled to gain a foothold with voters in Cambodia. Though Ranariddh maintained a presence in FUNCINPEC through 2006, splintering within the party and lack of electoral success after 1993 led to a reduction in power for the party. Ranariddh was replaced by Keo Puth Rasmey, the son-in-law of former Cambodian King Norodom Sihanouk, and the Prince created the Norodom Ranariddh Party, which has been unsuccessful in gaining momentum and winning elections (Weggel 2007). The names alone of some of Cambodia’s political parties, including the Sam Rainsy Party and the Norodom Ranariddh Party, hint at the history of party personalization and centralization of power in the organizations. Ultimately, however, the personalization has not worked and the parties that recognize this have been more successful at the polls. Therefore, the post-conflict period constitutes an important phase for parties to adapt in an effort to gain or maintain control as the country transitions. The parties that have refused to change (particularly the insurgent parties) have fared poorly at the polls.

### **Adaptation of Strategies and Goals**

Adapting strategies and goals to gain followers is another important piece for political parties to address in the transition period. Some parties feel pressure to reshape their collective incentive strategies, which refers to the way parties seek to attract a mass following (Manning 2004). Not all have to change their strategies and goals to attract a following; all of the incumbent parties in the three cases already had a mass following at the end of the war. For new political parties, such as the rebel parties in each of these conflicts that emerged as political organizations, adaptation of strategies and goals is an important component for advancing political power through the winning of elections. Already existing parties may not have to perform a complete overhaul of their collective incentive strategies, but they may have to tweak specific aspects of how they seek to appeal to followers, especially after long, bloody conflicts where they perpetrated violent crimes against civilian populations.

In El Salvador, the extreme polarization of the political climate following the conflict had many Salvadorans firmly supporting either the FMLN or ARENA (Ryan 1997). As mentioned earlier, ARENA was the winner of the 1994 elections, the first following the conflict. ARENA's candidate, Armando Calderón Sol won the presidency in a run-off. That election, ARENA won a plurality in the General Assembly and the majority of the country's mayoral positions (Montgomery 1995). The success of ARENA in this race was puzzling to some as the party was seen as not on the popular side of the conflict. El Salvador's dominant party since 1985, ARENA received the majority of public campaign subsidies for the 1994 elections and it is likely that its victory was aided by the party's perceived ability to guarantee stability in a war-weary country. The ARENA name, coupled with this strategy, allowed it to maintain its following from the conflict and attract new voters in rural areas (Wantchekon 1999). As previously noted, the FMLN's collective incentive strategy for appealing to voters was to focus largely on the municipal level following the resolution of the conflict. The FMLN has succeeded in appealing to municipalities and success in these elections has helped the party to consolidate control in El Salvador's urban areas, including the capital city of San Salvador and gradually build success in the national arena (Manning 2007).

In Mozambique, according to Manning, "the pattern of support for the two major parties changed little across three postwar general elections" (Manning 2008, 54). Support for Renamo and Frelimo has consistently come from the regional areas from which they drew their base of support during the war: the central provinces and rural areas for Renamo and the south, extreme north, and urban areas for Frelimo (Manning 2008). Renamo has consistently billed itself as the "coalition of the marginalized" to try to appeal to voters who feel left out the political process by Frelimo. Renamo hasn't done much to alter its appeal to voters, also known as a collective incentive strategy (Manning 2004). Renamo has continued to use longstanding ethno-regional divisions in their appeal to voters, criticizing Frelimo for purposely excluding the party and its members from the political process through

actions such as altering election rules in ways that favor Frelimo (Manning 2004, 2008). Though Renamo has some support in the rural provinces, Frelimo has made inroads, appealing to voters through intensive campaigning, reorganization of party structures, and spending on infrastructure projects (Lemon 2007; Manning 2008). Currently the president of Mozambique, Frelimo's Armando Guebuza, has many Frelimo supporters concerned that his policies may leave them out with favor shifting to new social groups and regions, which has marginalized some Frelimo strongholds in the south and the capital city of Maputo (Sumich 2010). Frelimo is doing this to gain new voters in the rural areas of the country, thus focusing increased resources toward geographical regions that are typically supported by Renamo.

The Cambodian political parties FUNCINPEC and the CPP have also developed collective incentive strategies in order to draw in support. As mentioned earlier, FUNCINPEC won the first election in 1993, but still had to share power with CPP due to the power-sharing coalition created by the peace agreement calling for two prime ministers. The CPP has worked to reduce the power of opposition parties by exploiting internal divisions, filing lawsuits against electoral opponents that have spoken against Hun Sen, such as Sam Rainsy, and using ties to Cambodia's National Election Commission to the party's advantage. Additionally, the CPP possesses a large informal network of supporters who work to win support of with heads of households in communes throughout Cambodia, which has been an important part of adding to their voting bloc (McCargo 2010). Adapting strategies and goals in the post-conflict period is an important component of parties' efforts to gain voters. In Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique, parties adapted strategies and goals to different degrees based on their party status (incumbent or guerilla), leadership styles and political culture.

## **Conclusion**

As this chapter illustrates, political parties are the main players in a country's transition period. While democratic forms of government can be promoted in a country, it is up to the internal actors, especially traditional political parties, to adhere to and make the changes called for by peace

agreements. In some cases, political parties make efforts to adjust their structures and attitudes in ways that show they are striving to function legitimately in the democratic political arena. Some parties make various alterations structurally and attitudinally, but without fundamentally altering the way they functioned internally during the conflict, meaning the same party leaders are present and they are still striving to exert control, but within the confines of the peacetime setting. Certain changes take more effort and time to achieve. While demobilization is undoubtedly a long and complicated process, definitive steps outlined in negotiated peace settlements make this a more objective, tangible change than democratizing of party decision-making, for example. Some changes are easier to ascertain than others and it is important to recognize that, as with the adoption of a democratic form of government, changes do not occur overnight.

Examining party adjustments shows that ultimately, guerilla parties must do more to change their structures following the conflict. Renamo, the FMLN and FUNCINPEC all had to work themselves into the political arena having not been able to participate as political parties before the conflicts. While incumbent parties also must change structurally by demilitarizing, their sustained ties to bureaucracy and military structures following the conflict allow them an advantage in the post-conflict period. The FMLN has undoubtedly been the most successful guerilla party out of the three examined in this study, winning an impressive number of legislative seats and the executive branch in 2009. Renamo has continued to struggle in elections in Mozambique, but has still managed to win seats in the legislature to give the party some voice. FUNCINPEC has declined the most since the end of Cambodia's conflict and is no longer a competitive party, winning only two seats in the 2008 parliamentary elections. Renamo and the FMLN both focused on geographical regions following their transitions to political parties, but while the FMLN was able to parlay that into more national seats and electoral wins, Renamo has struggled to establish itself as electorally competitive due to a lack of a clear strategy in appealing to new voters. Renamo maintained its following in Mozambique's central provinces, while the FMLN worked to gain



local seats and a following in urban areas and war-exposed regions. FUNCINPEC's failure to appeal to rural voters, focusing mostly on a strategy that highlighted the party's royalist roots, while the CPP appealed to communes throughout Cambodia, has caused FUNCINPEC to become non-competitive over the years. Additionally, Cambodia has seen more conflict between political parties following the country's war than El Salvador and Mozambique have seen between their political parties. While in El Salvador and Mozambique there is undeniably animosity between the parties, Hun Sen's CPP has done more to undermine and oppress its political opponents than the other incumbent parties in this study.

The decline or reduced power of some parties has led to the sustained political dominance of other parties. As mentioned previously, the CPP's Hun Sen has maintained his role as Cambodia's main leader and has been in power since 1975. Similarly, Frelimo has yet to lose a presidential election in Mozambique, but unlike the CPP, they have not had a one man rule, with Samora Machel as president from 1975 to 1986, Joaquim Chissano acting as president from 1986 to 2004, and Armando Guebuza winning for Frelimo following Chissano's tenure. Are these countries sliding into electoral authoritarianism? Are they going through the motions and elections of a traditional democracy, while leadership remains solidly planted in the hands of one person or group? Some scholars, such as Sonja Wolf, state that electoral authoritarian governments are emerging in the post-conflict period and she believed this was happening in El Salvador in 2009 even with a change in power at the executive level. If El Salvador is at risk, Mozambique and Cambodia are already there. El Salvador's change in power at the presidential level sets it apart from Cambodia and Mozambique in that regard, but as noted in previous sections, all of these countries and the incumbent and guerilla parties have gone through changes in party structure and attitude that have mirrored one another in important ways. Though political parties are the main agents for promoting change in government in a transition period, it is important to recognize that the transition does not happen in a vacuum and that parties do not always behave in predictable ways.

## Chapter V: Analysis and Conclusions

The preceding chapters have provided a detailed overview of political party transitions amid a democratic shift following a conflict period using three specific cases: Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique. Identifying and examining specific cases and how they differ or mirror one another is an important way to recognize what works and what doesn't work in a successful transition. As more countries throughout the world begin transitions to democracy, it is important to look to historical cases to understand how these countries and their political parties can be successful in achieving democratic transitions and consolidating democracies. Looking to historical cases allows us to determine the pitfalls that arise during this crucial timeframe and how countries can move forward following what is often prolonged and devastating violence.

It is vital to recognize that changes in a country's political landscape do not happen in a vacuum. Significant factors such as global political events (for example, waves of democracy and the end of the Cold War) and regional political relationships (for example, Cambodia's relationship with Vietnam and the war in Vietnam) have an effect on the transition period and in some cases whether it comes about at all. Additionally, external actors such as the UN, the United States, and regional players can play an important role in determining the terms of peace agreements and their implementation. In each of the cases in this study, the UN spent millions, and in the case of Cambodia, over a billion dollars, in bringing missions to these countries with the purpose of seeing peace agreements put into operation (United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador 2003; United Nations Observation Mission in Mozambique 2001; United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia 2003). Aid and investment from external sources can also play a role in affecting the success of a transition and adherence to peace agreements (Manning 2010).

Overall, many factors go into a transition and determine whether or not it is successful. Predicting the success or failure of a democratic transition is a complex issue on which a whole range of

studies could be conducted. The purpose of this study is to determine which factors are important in enabling warring parties in conflict settings to transition successfully as political parties in peacetime settings. The study also provides definitions of democracy and determines whether the parties and countries are functioning in a democratic fashion and if the appeal of democracy influences party behavior. In addition, it assesses how external actors influence the internal actors and the transition itself. Essentially, this thesis is a comparative case study of the political parties in El Salvador, Mozambique, and Cambodia in the aftermath of war and during the countries' transitions to democracy. Its hypothesis is that democracy will be stronger where certain factors such as effective demilitarization and reintegration, the implementation of a peace process, guidance from external actors, political party cooperation and free and fair elections are present.

### **Successes and Failures in the Transition**

One important factor for measuring the success of a transition is time, which gives us the ability to assess electoral outcomes, political parties' reactions to these outcomes and their interaction among one another and with constituents. Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique have all been transitioning to democracy since the early 1990s and provide nearly two decades in which the transition and political party reactions can be observed. During the transition period, each of these cases has had some amount of success with different aspects of the transition process (but not all to the same degree). Some key factors have emerged as important in enabling parties to transition successfully in the post-conflict period. These factors include: parties' adaptation from military organizations to political organizations, outreach to new groups of supporters and voters, maintenance of current groups of supporters, development of a network within institutional structures and connections with a country's bureaucratic functions, and lastly, the political party's appeal to voters. Winning elections in the post-conflict period is of the utmost importance to parties, since winning electoral contests is the way to stay in power within an emerging democratic framework. This is an obvious observation, but an important

factor to be aware of in observing how political parties' actions in the transition period are affected by the desire to win elections. The successes and failures the political parties in these cases have experienced are varied. Some successes have come about due to their hard work to legitimately win elections in the new political atmosphere, while other party successes have been achieved through illegitimate means, such as voter intimidation or doctoring laws to favor one party over another (Un and Ledgerwood 2003; Lemon 2007; Heder 2011).

It is also important to factor in differences between insurgent and incumbent parties in measuring success in party transition. Chapter 4 provided a comprehensive overview of how these types of parties differ from one another in their actions and development in the post-conflict period. Essentially, incumbent parties benefit from the advantages of incumbency including closer ties to a country's bureaucracy, and access to more funding in some cases, along with a recognized base of voters and the political structure to build upon and expand outreach to new voters (de Zeeuw 2008). Insurgent parties, on the other hand, experience a disadvantage in the post-conflict period because they must restructure from military organizations to political organizations, often have less qualified political leaders and untested electoral candidates and must develop a plan for reaching out to voters, despite previous disqualifications from competing in elections (de Zeeuw 2008; Manning 2004; Manning 2007). One important advantage for insurgent parties in the post-conflict period is that often voters are disillusioned by the incumbent party, especially if they've experienced state-sponsored violence at its hands. This advantage doesn't necessarily lead to insurgent party success in elections though, as demonstrated in the analysis in Chapter 3.

One important difference among these cases is organizational competence. For example, the organizational competence of the FMLN, an insurgent party, made it a competitive contender in elections, preventing ARENA from maintaining total control of the government. The FMLN started to gain some control first by winning legislative seats at the national level (its number of legislative seats

increased from 21 in 1994 to 35 in 2009). On the other hand, it has been noted throughout this study that Renamo and FUNCINPEC have struggled in the post-conflict period to become viable electoral contenders. Both parties have faced organizational issues such as too much centralization of leadership, the failure to field educated and experienced candidates, the inability to gain new supporters and infighting that the parties were not able to overcome (Manning 2008; de Tollenaere 2006; Curtis 1998; de Zeeuw 2010). In Cambodia, other parties have emerged to challenge the incumbent CPP, such as the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP), but that party too has struggled to make inroads in the country's rural areas, facing regulation from the CPP. It could be argued that the Cambodian people desire another option. New political parties continue to be created, but the strong control of the CPP over governmental processes and elections prevents any new party from breaking through. Perhaps this is also true in Mozambique, as many citizens feel left out of the political process by Frelimo due to the ruling party's concentration in certain geographical areas, yet no alternative political party has posed a serious challenge to Frelimo (Lemon 2007). In general, the FMLN has fared better than the other insurgent parties examined in this study due to the party's organizational competence following the war.

As many scholars note, democratic transition is not easy and there are many pitfalls that parties face on the road to democratization, and not all parties necessarily promote democracy or see it in their best interest. Scholars note that following the third wave of democracy, the transition to democracy that many countries experienced from 1974 to the early 1990s, some backslid into authoritarianism. Socioeconomic concerns such as high levels of poverty, weakness in democratic values, political polarization, some political parties' determination to maintain the status quo, and the inability to restore or maintain the rule of law threaten democratic transitions. All of these problems are present in these three cases, not to mention the threat of intervention by non-democratic foreign powers and the collapse of surrounding democratic systems. These perils are all challenges to newly democratic governments (Huntington 1991). How parties handle threats to democracy influences the success or

failure of the transition. Determining threats and identifying traditional pitfalls in the present is also crucial information for future democratic transitions.

In order to measure political parties' effectiveness in the post-conflict period, one must examine the successes and failures of each party and what these mean for the emerging democracy. Of the three cases El Salvador has experienced the most success in the post-conflict period, particularly in regards to the country's elections, which for the most part have been considered free and fair (Holiday 2010). Navigating the alternation of power with no disruption in the system after the FMLN's presidential win in 2009 is another important factor pointing to El Salvador's consolidating democracy and the political parties' commitment to maintaining the system. This is a remarkable achievement. Though the country and individual political parties have seen successes on the electoral front, two significant issues continue to plague El Salvador: poverty and violent crime. Since the end of the war in 1992 violent crime has been on the rise, especially with gang activity and narcotrafficking. The failure to address these problems could pose the biggest challenge to El Salvador's democratization in the post-conflict period. Between 2000 and 2004 El Salvador saw 10,000 homicides and the number increased to 16,000 between 2005 and 2009. The government's inability to curb the violence can be attributed to a number of shortfalls including weak rule of law, a weakened state in the post-conflict setting and a corrupt relationship between the state and criminal organizations. The reduction in the size of the police force after the signing of the peace accords and inadequate investment in capacity building of institutions and personnel allows many criminals to remain unprosecuted and on the streets. Additionally, the lack of legal repercussions for criminal activity actually incentivizes increased criminal behavior (Richani 2010). There is no doubt that the increase in violent crime is an obstruction to El Salvador's democracy (Call 2003).

Poverty is a major concern in El Salvador and it is an issue in Mozambique and Cambodia as well. As noted in Chapter 2, all of these countries have poor rankings on the Human Development Index,

which is based on life expectancy, educational attainment and income (HDI Trends 2011). The inability or failure to address the issue of poverty and foster economic development are obstacles to improving a democracy (Huntington 1991). Scholars have long noted a strong correlation between economic development and wealth with democratic longevity (Lipset 1981). With many citizens worse off after the war in these countries (especially former combatants without a way to make a living) the advantages of living in a democracy come into question. As quoted in the Chapter 2 literature review, Carlos M. Vilas makes the connection between poverty and citizens questioning the benefits of democracy. Vilas' observations note that poverty endangers the very concept of citizenship and excludes people from access to basic services, which are essential components for meaningful political participation (Vilas 1996). Despite the poverty that still plagues El Salvador (42.5 percent of people were living at or below the poverty line in 2010), the country has been able to move forward in improving its democracy, which is evident in the peaceful transition of power at the executive level after years of ARENA rule (World Bank 2012). Another promising sign of democracy in El Salvador includes better vertical accountability, with increased political rights and more pluralism in the media (Holiday 2010).

Poverty and human development, along with economic growth rates serve as important factors in predicting strength and longevity in democracy. As mentioned earlier, the HDI ranking is a combination of life expectancy, educational attainment and income resulting in a number falling between 0 and 1, with one being the highest score. To demonstrate where the cases fall on HDI scale, the highest score in 2011 was Norway with an HDI of 0.943 and the Democratic Republic of Congo had the lowest score in 2011 with 0.286. The scores are divided into a number of groups that characterize the development in relation to the score including: very high human development, high human development, medium human development and low human development. Of these cases, Cambodia and El Salvador fell into the medium human development group with Mozambique falling into the low human development group (United Nations Development Program, HDI Indices and Data 2011).

Additionally, GDP per capita or PPP also helps to provide perspective on economic conditions in these countries and on the standard of living for each country's population. Table 5.6 below compares the economic growth rate compared to human development measures and GDP per capita.

**Table 5.6 A Comparison of Gross Domestic Product, Gross Domestic Product Per Capita and the Human Development Index**

Year	Cambodia			El Salvador			Mozambique		
	GDP % real growth rate	PPP (in U.S. dollars)	HDI	GDP % real growth rate	PPP (in U.S. dollars)	HDI	GDP % real growth rate	PPP (in U.S. dollars)	HDI
2000	4.0%	1,300	.438	2.5%	4,000	.619	9.2%	900	.245
2005	13.4%	2,500	.491	2.8%	4,700	.652	7.5%	1,300	.285
2009	-1.5%	2,000	.513	-3.5%	7,100	.669	6.3%	900	.312
2010	6.0%	2,100	.518	0.7%	7,200	.672	7.0%	1,000	.317
2011	6.1%	2,200	.523	1.4%	7,600	.674	7.1%	1,000	.322

Index Mundi. (2011). *GDP Real Growth Rate Statistics for Cambodia*. Retrieved from: <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?c=cb&v=66>

Index Mundi. (2011). *GDP Real Growth Rate Statistics for El Salvador*. Retrieved from: <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?c=es&v=66>

Index Mundi. (2011). *GDP Real Growth Rate Statistics for Mozambique*. Retrieved from: <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?c=es&v=66>

Index Mundi. (2011). *GDP Per Capita (PPP) Statistics for Mozambique*. Retrieved from: <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?v=67&c=mz&l=en>

Index Mundi. (2011). *GDP Per Capita (PPP) Statistics for Cambodia*. Retrieved from: <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?v=67&c=cb&l=en>

Index Mundi. (2011). *GDP Per Capita (PPP) Statistics for El Salvador*. Retrieved from: <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?v=67&c=es&l=en>

United Nations Development Program. (2011). *HDI Indices and Data*. Retrieved from: [http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR\\_2011\\_EN\\_Table2.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2011_EN_Table2.pdf)

These numbers provide important indicators for how economic growth compares to human development. Gross Domestic Product as a percentage of real growth rate (GDP % real growth rate) measures a country's rate of change in gross domestic product from year to year. We see that not only have human development measures improved, but the economic growth rates in each of these countries have steadily improved with the exception of Cambodia and El Salvador in 2009, which was likely caused by the global economic downturn. Though Cambodia and El Salvador both experienced economic downturns in 2009, El Salvador's economy did not suffer as badly. The International Monetary Fund attributed Cambodia's downturn to a slowdown in the country's key economic sectors,



including the garment and tourism industries, and reduced direct foreign investment (International Monetary Fund 2008). El Salvador may have fared better due to income entering the country through remittances from Salvadorans working in the U.S., though remittances were also in decline during the economic downturn (Ribando Seelke 2010). In Cambodia, the PPP increased and has leveled off around \$2,000 per capita and in El Salvador, PPP has steadily increased. In Mozambique, PPP increased from 2000 to 2005, but dropped after 2005 and has not recovered. Of course, increased economic growth and development does not always indicate the presence of democratic governance. Mozambique and Cambodia improved the most in terms of HDI and enjoyed higher economic growth rates than El Salvador. While these numbers indicate progress in terms of economic growth and human development, Cambodia and Mozambique have struggled with the transition to democracy, and are both considered to be in danger of reverting to authoritarianism.

Because of this risk, it is important to revisit the Freedom House scores for El Salvador, Mozambique and Cambodia. These numbers show three countries whose rankings have remained stagnant since the early 2000s. Since 2002, Cambodia has been ranked “not free” and on a scale of 1 to 7 (with seven serving as the worst) Cambodia has consistently earned a 6 for political rights and a 5 for civil liberties. El Salvador has fared much better in the rankings and has maintained a rating of “free” since 2002 with a 2 for political rights and a 3 for civil liberties, which is a real accomplishment. Mozambique falls in the middle of Cambodia and El Salvador, earning a “partly free” rating. In recent years, Mozambique’s civil liberties ranking has improved from a 4 to a 3; however, the 2011 political rights ranking fell, from 3 to 4 (Freedom House, 2002-2011). The rankings over the last decade show some movement, but overall Cambodia and Mozambique’s numbers indicate a struggle to improve in several important areas, while El Salvador’s numbers indicate that although it is a country in which there is still work to be done, it is successfully transitioning democracy. Though El Salvador’s democracy would not yet be considered consolidated, Latin American democracies such as El Salvador have

continued to progress towards consolidation, especially in the last three years (Latinobarómetro 2010).

As noted, democracy building is not an overnight process; however, some could argue that these numbers show that Cambodia (and Mozambique, to a lesser degree) is only democratic in name and not in practice. Tables 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9 highlight more detailed Freedom House rankings for each of the countries over time.

**Table 5.7 Freedom House Rankings: Cambodia**

Year	2002	2005	2008	2011
Freedom Rating	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
Civil Liberties	5	5	5	5
Political Rights	6	6	6	6

**Table 5.8 Freedom House Rankings: El Salvador**

Year	2002	2005	2008	2011
Freedom Rating	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
Civil Liberties	3	3	3	3
Political Rights	2	2	2	2

**Table 5.9 Freedom House Rankings: Mozambique**

Year	2002	2005	2008	2011
Freedom Rating	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.5
Civil Liberties	4	4	3	3
Political Rights	3	3	3	4

Freedom House. (2002, 2005, 2008, 2011). *Freedom in the World*. Country Reports for Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique. Retrieved from: <http://www.freedomhouse.org>.

\*The survey rates political rights and civil liberties separately on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 representing the most free and 7 the least free.

One important concern for Mozambique in the post-conflict period has been a slide into dominant-party rule by Frelimo. Przeworski notes that one-party control of a large share of the legislature and lack of change in power at the executive level is bad for the longevity of democracy (Przeworski 1999). He states, “democracy is more likely to survive when no single force dominates politics completely and permanently” (Przeworski 1999, 16). The stability of democracy is endangered when one party holds too much power in the government, meaning one party dominates the legislative branch, the executive branch and a country’s bureaucratic functions. One party rule is also a concern in Cambodia whose government has been under the control of the CPP. Most scholars have concerns about the state of these democracies and the Freedom House numbers show the lack of progression on important measures of democracy above and beyond elections. It may even be a stretch to categorize Mozambique and Cambodia as electoral democracies as scholars argue that the holding of elections does not equal democracy (Friedman 2011). Though both countries lack progression towards democracy, Mozambique has made more strides than Cambodia.

Despite the challenges parties face in adopting a democratic system, some parties in these countries are contributing to positive democratic gains. According to Manning, Renamo has continued to win seats, despite the fact that it hasn’t been victorious in taking the legislative or executive branch (Manning 2008). Carbone agrees with this assessment, noting the difficulty that insurgent parties have restructuring from a military organization to a political organization following a conflict and then going up against a highly organized and institutional incumbent party (Carbone 2005). Renamo exemplifies this challenge; it has never won a presidential election and has faced declining numbers of representatives elected to the legislative branch. Manning, who noted Renamo’s electoral success in 2008 later wrote in 2010 that Mozambique was experiencing a slide into one-party rule (Manning 2010). But this is not so much Frelimo’s fault as Renamo’s, as it has failed to become a competitive political

party. Frelimo has not prevented other political parties from forming through formal structures, however, its formidable organization may serve to discourage political competition (Sumich 2010).

In addition to the aforementioned poverty and Renamo's inability to turn itself into a competitive political party, Mozambique has experienced elections of which most have not been considered free or fair and its electoral rules have benefited Frelimo (Manning 2008). This calls into question to whether or not democracy is working in Mozambique. However, Renamo's ability to challenge of elections using the appeal process through the National Electoral Commission for leveraging complaints demonstrates Renamo's desire to work within the confines of the new system rather than resorting to violence to make changes. Ultimately, the complaint Renamo filed over the 2004 elections was dismissed due to the party's inability to meet technical requirements; however, the ability to use newly established channels to voice complaints and concerns, and Frelimo's allowing the existence and functioning of such channels, is an important development and is an example of a successful aspect of the transition (Manning 2008).

It is more challenging to find positive developments in the Cambodian system based on the country's electoral outcomes coupled with the knowledge of CPP operations. Despite the signing of the peace agreement by the warring parties, in Cambodia and in each of these cases, it is difficult to assess whether any of the parties had a commitment to adopting a democratic form of government when the peace agreement was signed. In examining the actions of the CPP and FUNCINPEC in the post-conflict period, it would seem that any agreement to cooperate with one another in building a democratic government was superficial (Roberts 2002). Similarly, El Salvador and Mozambique also had and have deeply polarized populations and political cultures in which political parties were and are not accustomed to working in conjunction with one another. For example, the CPP and Hun Sen have taken legal action against dissidents, forced opposition party leaders into exile and further entrenched a governmental system that runs on patronage and corruption (McCargo 2010). These CPP actions

haven't necessarily caused instability in the country (aside from the 1997 violence), but they do not bode well for the development of democracy in Cambodia.

Stability in a post-conflict period can sometimes be achieved by a transition to democracy, but at times what looks like a democratic transition may be democratic only in name. According to Sonja Wolf, El Salvador's democracy is weak and the country has lapsed into electoral authoritarianism, meaning that democratic changes were adopted only to end the war and electoral politics have been used to maintain the status quo of the country's elites and ARENA political party. It could be argued that this strategy is present in other transitioning governments, possibly Cambodia and Mozambique, as well. While Wolf has maintained this characterization of El Salvador even after the FMLN (and Mauricio Funes') election to the presidency in 2009, she recognizes the democracy there is progressing. Wolf contends that there are some democratic elements in El Salvador's government, but that conceptual ambiguity muddies the definitions of democracy and authoritarianism. There is an absence of clear democratic characteristics in its government and El Salvador may actually be entering a new form of authoritarianism (Wolf 2009).

Assessing democracy using Wolf's perspective, and in reviewing the research and ideas on democratic transition, Mozambique and Cambodia could easily be classified as sliding into electoral authoritarianism as well, perhaps even to a greater degree than El Salvador. Other scholars, such as Kheang Un would agree and he has studied this specifically in Cambodia. Though the formal conflict ended with the peace agreements, Cambodia continues to struggle with aspects of authoritarianism such as lack of rule of law, unchecked corruption, pervasive patronage and executive usurpation of power. The persistence of former Khmer Rouge elites in positions of power, intolerance of opposition and absolutism, and lack of accountability for war crimes are some of the main concerns scholars note in Cambodia's democracy (Un 2006).

Additionally, some of the parties themselves are not democratic. Afonso Dhlakama's position as leader of Renamo has been maintained by electoral authoritarianism. The lack of victory for Renamo and Dhlakama's continued billing of the party as a coalition of the marginalized has allowed him to maintain his position as leader of this group. He portrays himself as the voice of this coalition (those who feel they're not served by Frelimo and the political system), but he does not allow any real changes in the structure of the party. Though Renamo's strategy has not been helped it to make gains in elections, Dhlakama continues to make the majority of decisions and disallow restructuring that could make the party more competitive electorally. Wolf states that the quality of the electoral process is the key item differentiating electoral authoritarianism from electoral democracy (Wolf 2009). If this is the case, then the lack of free and fair elections in Cambodia and Mozambique through the years could certainly cause them to be viewed as electoral authoritarianism governments. With free and fair elections and the peaceful transition of power at the executive level in 2009, El Salvador exists as the country with the least authoritarian characteristics out of the countries in this study based on this particular measure.

To guard against the risk of electoral authoritarianism, Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique all received foreign aid to assist with the implementation of their peace agreements. The U.S., UN and other donors have made contributions to economic development dependent on compliance with certain conditions, such as adopting policies that will encourage economic growth or support peace agreements (Manning and Malbrough 2010). Attaching conditions to aid can serve to promote democracy by influencing internal actors to abide by certain rules, but conditionality may come with its own set of drawbacks. For example, donors may not understand of the local context, there may be issues with coordination and cooperation among donors and potential misuse of aid by recipients, or donations may be used to promote external agendas. In other words, there is plenty of potential misuse by recipients of aid (Manning and Malbrough 2010; Ehrenfeld, Kogut and Hove 2003).

Manning and Malbrough state that foreign aid has worked to improve Mozambique's democracy because of bilateral donors' understanding of Mozambican history, political culture and past, coupled with donor coordination and cooperation (Manning and Malbrough 2010). Aid can influence recipients to work to strengthen democracy, and it can assist with promoting stability. Still, Mozambique is not very democratic; Sumich argues that it is a state with elected one-party rule (Sumich 2010). The U.S. and UN have both provided large amounts of foreign investment to Mozambique in the post-conflict period, but it is unlikely that either would call Mozambique a consolidated democracy. The U.S. and Mozambique have been improving bilateral relations and according to the U.S. government, power lies in the hands of the citizens of Mozambique and they elect leaders (CIA 2012). Mozambique's brief history as a democracy, even with millions in foreign investment and aid conditionality, has not produced a solid liberal democracy that is moving towards consolidation.

Cambodia has received billions in aid from external actors for development purposes, with half of its national budget funded by Official Development Assistance (ODA) from countries like Australia and China (Australian Government Website 2011; Brookings Institution 2008). While aid is important for rebuilding and investing following a war, there are concerns that too much aid can lead to dependence on the assistance. Additionally, the aid may not benefit the population at large. In Cambodia, little to no progress has been made in poverty reduction. According to Ear, "aid does not significantly increase investment, nor benefit the poor as measured by improvements in human development indicators, but it does increase the size of government" (Ear 2007, 71). Though Ear expresses doubt about aid's role in improving the Cambodian populations' standard of living, the country's HDI ranking has shown steady improvement over the past decade.

Post-conflict El Salvador has also been the recipient of foreign aid, mainly from the U.S. and UN. The influx and channeling of aid to certain groups, mainly El Salvador's reformed elites, has caused

tensions between reformed and traditional elite groups and other potential recipients, such as the FMLN.<sup>7</sup> While reform has come from aid from organizations such as USAID, Quan states:

USAID collaboration with these reformed elites did facilitate the reform of El Salvador; opposition to El Salvador's unchanged patterns of social inequality and economic exploitation, for example, are no longer punished by torture and death. But social problems such as high levels of poverty and crime continue unabated as a small, wealthy elite persists (Quan 2005, 288).

Though it may be given with the best of intentions, foreign aid can perpetuate already existing problems (like inequality) that a receiving country is facing. When aid is used improperly it is the population at large, and especially the poor, who suffer the most in this scenario. This can negatively impact democratization and reduce the chance of consolidation, as the still-impooverished citizens develop distrust in corrupt or inept government.

In sum, the incumbent and insurgent political parties of El Salvador, Mozambique and Cambodia have been forced to change from conflict parties to peaceful political parties. This is difficult, but not impossible. During the wars in these countries, insurgent parties such as FUNCINPEC, Renamo, and the FMLN were born. In the wars' aftermath the incumbent parties (ARENA, Frelimo and the CPP) have continued to be successful in a peacetime political arena through wins in presidential and parliamentary elections instead of on the battlefield, and by adapting to conduct themselves in the new political setting. Sometimes the adaptations made by incumbent parties have not always been legal and legitimate. In some of the cases, such as Cambodia, the incumbent party (the CPP) has used tactics such as intimidation of political opponents and violence to maintain control. Though FUNCINPEC and Renamo have had very limited electoral success in the post-conflict period, it is possible for insurgent parties to win and for incumbent parties to step aside graciously. The FMLN has demonstrated this claim by winning the presidency and having successful showings in legislative and municipal elections.

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<sup>7</sup> Reformed elites refers to the group of the Salvadoran dominant class who came to the realization that the military rule of the 1980s would have to be replaced with a political party that won elections and was acceptable to the U.S. (Quan 2005). Traditional elites in El Salvador were those who were based in the coffee-growing sector and were conservative and unwilling to support any type of social or political reform.



This requires effort by both insurgent and incumbent organizations, as political party adaptations to democracy in the immediate post-conflict period have important implications for consolidating and moving forward with democracy.

Not only is it important to assess the way political parties adapt and move forward during a transition, we must also examine their origins and how that may influence success in the post-conflict period. The political parties in this study did not emerge from a democratic background and are diverse ideologically. Political parties like the FMLN, Frelimo and the CPP come from backgrounds in line with socialist and Marxist theory and fall on the left of the political spectrum. On the other side of the scale, Renamo and ARENA take a conservative, right wing ideological perspective and similarly, FUNCINPEC comes from a traditional, royalist background. On the face of it, the parties of the left have been more successful at winning elections, with Frelimo and the CPP dominating their respective governments and the FMLN making significant political advances. ARENA has been a successful party on the right, winning the executive branch in many consecutive election cycles in El Salvador. In past elections, as noted in Chapter 3, ARENA relied less on ideology and more on fear tactics and images from the war to influence voters and gain support. Therefore, perhaps the ideology of the party is not such a significant factor leading to electoral success in the post-conflict period. Rather it may be that a number of other factors that have been discussed in this study (such as development of political party organization and the influence of external powers) are more important in influencing a party's success.

One could argue that as incumbent parties, the left has clung to power with more determination than the right. In Cambodia and Mozambique the parties on the left (the CPP and Frelimo) have shown less commitment to democratic principles than right wing incumbent parties like ARENA. Actions taken by the CPP and Frelimo to reduce the competitiveness of alternative political parties in elections, silencing dissidents, and altering rules in their favor shows a lack of commitment to democratic governance. In El Salvador, ARENA surprised many by actually allowing an alternation in power after the

people of El Salvador spoke through elections. This shows two things: a commitment to democracy on the part of ARENA and that the FMLN developed enough of a popular following to win elections after the conflict in El Salvador. Both aspects explain the peaceful alternation in power and the FMLN's achievement as an insurgent party, whereas other conservative insurgent parties in this study have been less successful also because of their own failures.

Yet, of all of the factors that measure whether or not a democracy is or will be successful, public support for democracy is often identified as one of the most key elements in a democratic transition (Diamond 1999). In general, support for democracy was measured at 59 percent in El Salvador in the 2010 Latinobarómetro Survey and satisfaction with democracy was measured at 43 percent of those surveyed (Latinobarómetro 2010). In Mozambique, a 2008 survey conducted by Afrobarometer showed 59 percent of participants found democracy preferable to any other kind of government (Afrobarometer 2008). And in Cambodia, participants in a survey conducted by Matthew Carlson and Mark Turner in 2008 found 97.5 percent of participants answered that support for a democratic system was good or very good (Carlson and Turner 2008). In this case it could be argued that Cambodians were saying democracy was what they wanted, but not what they have. These surveys assess support for democracy versus other systems and do not indicate whether or not respondents believed the Cambodian government was democratic. This number is surprising given that some scholars, like Larry Diamond, emphasize the importance of public support in fostering a successful democracy; however, it should be noted that a high percentage of public support for democracy does not necessarily equal a strong democracy (Diamond 1999). Overall, the successes and failures of the transitions and political parties examined in this study have shown that though these cases have many similarities in their transitions (timeframe, international political climate, internal political climate, the role of external and internal political actors, the existence of insurgent and incumbent parties, etc.) these similarities do not lead to parallel outcomes in each case.

## Successes and Failures in Consolidation

Assessing democratic consolidation and the strength of a country's democracy is an important part of discovering what works in promoting consolidation. An evaluation of the current state of democracy in Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique shows us three countries with political parties that used to function as warring groups that, in the post-conflict period, have changed the way they conduct business. Incumbent or insurgent, the parties, even operating in a political process that is less than democratic, are no longer overtly militant and none of the opposition parties advocate the violent overthrow of government. Although the three countries have made improvements in areas such as respect for human rights, the alternation of power after free and fair elections (in El Salvador), and increases in public support of democracy, these countries would not be considered consolidated democracies by standard definitions. It would go too far to say that in these countries democracy has become habit, that there is no turning back, or that the population believes that there is no alternative to democracy. Though this is an accepted definition of consolidation, Steven Friedman questions its simplicity. He asks, how we are supposed to know when populations recognize democracy as the only option? And further, who is supposed to recognize that there is no alternative, the masses or elites? (Friedman 2011). Friedman's work highlights the complexity in defining a consolidated democracy and presents valid questions as to how such a complicated idea can be measured. Due to the existence of historical elite who dominated in each of these countries ("the 14 Families" in El Salvador; colonizers and Frelimo in Mozambique; and the traditional monarchs, colonizers and Khmer elites in Cambodia) the people in each of these countries would likely answer that there can be no democracy until there is elite recognition that there is no alternative to democracy.

Though some scholars question how we measure consolidation, others focus on how to determine whether it exists. Some analysts, but not all, identify these factors in assessing whether or not a democracy is consolidated:

Alternation in power between former rivals; continued stability in times of economic hardship;... stability in the face of a 'radical restructuring of the party system'; and the absence of politically significant anti-system parties or movements (Friedman 2011).

All of these factors are present in this study of Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique. Each of these countries began transitions to democracy in the early 1990s and, as all developing democracies elsewhere in previous eras, have faced challenges in developing the new system. Most scholars seem to praise specific achievements in the move towards democracy, such as signing a peace agreement or allowing the formation of political parties and political competition (de Zeeuw 2006). However, many scholars, like Friedman, caution against calling transitions successful too soon (Friedman 2011).

Because consolidation and the entrenchment of democracy is no easy feat, the concern that naturally emerges is that countries may backslide into authoritarianism or become failed states. Though El Salvador, Mozambique and Cambodia have all adopted some form of democracy following their conflicts, each of these countries risks backsliding into dictatorship and war. El Salvador's violence, gangs and drug crime lead some scholars to believe it is at risk to become a failed state, as political networks and criminal networks intermingle, creating a powerful arrangement that could be difficult to dismantle (Richani 2010). In Mozambique and Cambodia, the slide into one-party domination puts these states at risk to adopt authoritarian forms of government and some sources, such as Freedom House, contend that Cambodia is already there (Manning 2010; McCargo 2010). Though there is no litmus test for democracy, assessing individual successes and failures establishes a way to evaluate a country's overall transition. Examining how political parties behave in newly introduced forms of government can help us predict the likelihood of consolidation.

### **Impact of this Study and What it Means Going Forward**

Ideas about how to promote democratic forms of government have long been debated in international politics. We can see the progression of democracy over time by more closely examining the waves of democracy, studying long standing democracies and examining emerging democracies

following a conflict period. This research allows scholars to generate new perspectives and begin to isolate which factors are important and less important in sustaining an emerging democracy. Examining how political parties transition and what makes them successful as political competitors is a significant piece of the transition period and can provide insight for how external actors can support such parties in the future. Distinguishing successful from unsuccessful transitions, and determining what explains their relative success, is especially essential as outsiders react to the democratic transitions presently occurring. Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique may provide important clues for understanding and predicting the trajectory of newly transitioning democracies, such as those associated with the Arab Spring. Going forward, this research could identify ways in which countries may transition in the context of the global war on terror. In this study, democratic transition was postponed until the end of the Cold War. The global war on terror could have a similar effect on today's non-transitioned countries. Ultimately, though political context and time period are important, internal actors remain the most important players in the transition according to this research.

There are a number of conclusions one can draw about democratic transition and the political parties that act as the primary internal players in the post conflict period. Here are the findings of this research:

- Political parties, both incumbent and insurgent, will adapt in the post-conflict period. These adaptations may amount to legitimate or illegitimate means to maintain control, but ultimately parties are more likely adapt to function in the new political situation to win elections than to return to war or resort to violence.
- Democratic transition is not easy and is largely dependent on each individual country's political context, as well as their political parties. Countries will face a number of threats to democratic transition.
- If one party dominates control of the political system, there is a heightened risk of backsliding into one-party rule or electoral authoritarianism. In the interest of ending a conflict, some parties may agree to peace agreements, but incumbent parties seek to use weaknesses in the emerging system to maintain political control.
- External intervention is not a magic bullet. Though it can halt the war initially, an imposed peace that does not reflect an understanding of the conflict and the failure to address deep-seated issues will only delay a return to conflict, which will be played out in one way or another.

Despite the similarities in their transitions (from a period of war to a period of peace, the timing of the transition at the end of the Cold War, the external influences, the existence of insurgent parties and incumbent parties, and similar ideological divides within each country) Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique have produced governments that can be described with widely varying degrees of success. El Salvador is the only country in this study that is clearly currently transitioning to democracy. El Salvador's alternation in power is a concrete achievement that sets the country's democratic transition apart from Cambodia and Mozambique. One conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the political parties must be willing to work together to make a democratic transition successful. Factors such as external guidance can be of benefit to political parties during the transition, but ultimately, the change in the parties' structures, attitudes and willingness to alter the way they govern must be achieved internally. Taking a nuanced approach to understanding both structural and attitudinal changes during the transition period is a significant finding of this study. Democratic transition is difficult and even with good intentions and a sound plan for transition, challenges arise and incumbent political parties are likely to adjust in ways that allow them to maintain power, sometimes through undemocratic means. What is clear from this comparison of three cases is that each transition is different and we must exercise caution in deeming a democratic transition as successful too early in the process, or assuming that political parties will behave democratically following a peace agreement.

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