Index

Abdullah, Abdullah, 102, 177, 183
Accords on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict. See Paris Peace Accords
administrative structures, 31
Afghan Assistance Coordination Authority (AACA), 140
Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, 185
Afghanistan, 4
democracy-building in, 205
drug trade in, 185
elections in 2004 and 2005, 142–146
electoral results in 2005–2014, 178
elite power struggles in, 183–184
elites, 52
emergence from 25 years of conflict, 38
founding and consolidation of modern nation, 94
Interim Administration, 100, 102, 134, 140, 195
invasion by Soviet Union, 95
Loya Jirga, 135–137, 142, 145
micro-societies of, 97, 176, 181
Najibullah puppet regime, 96
National Development Framework, 140–141
National Solidarity Program, 139, 215
neopatrimonial political order in, 49, 63, 174–186
Northern warlords’ control of Kabul, 97–99
Pashtun monarchy, 94–95, 97
patrimonialism in, 184–185
peacebuilding operations in, 26
political parties in, 211
post-intervention, 174–186
election of warlords to government positions in, 179–180
parliamentary fragmentation in, 174–175
Pashtuns in, 176
political consolidation challenges in, 180
state-capacity building in, 176
Taliban problem in, 180–181
Provincial Councils, 181
regional centers of power, 98–99
rentier regime, 95
revenues, 182
single non-transferable vote (SNTV) system in, 143–146, 175
state- and democracy-building in, 6
Taliban regime in, 99–100
Transitional Administration (ATA), 134, 139–140, 142, 145, 195
transitional governance in, 133–142, 210
UNAMA in, 133–135
warlords, 96, 138–139, 179–180
Afghanistan Compact, 142, 174, 182
African National Congress (South Africa), 131
aid coordination, 214
Akashi, Yasushi, 114, 116
Alkatiri, Mari, 121, 166
Allawi, Ayad, 194, 208
All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue, 88
Al-Maliki, Nouri, 195
Al-Qaeda, 100
An Agenda for Peace (Boutros-Ghali), 13
Angkar, 74
Angola, 34, 219
Annan, Kofi, 90, 101
Apodeti (Timorese Popular Democratic Association), 82
Araujo, Rui de, 173
Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor (FALINTIL), 85–88, 90, 92
Ashley, David, 156
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 78, 216
Autesserre, Séverine, 210, 214–215
Barder, Owen, 217
Barnett, Michael, 205
Baskin, Mark, 213
Bellamy, Alex, 204
Belo, Carlos, 88, 89
bin Laden, Osama, 100
Boix, Carles, 46
Bonn Agreement, 101–103, 135, 180
Bosnia, 34
Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 13
Brahimi, Lakhdar, 101, 134, 199
Brabimini Report, 13
Bremer, Paul, 194
Bringing the State Back In (Evans et al.), 221
Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party, 159
Burundi, 34
peacebuilding intervention in, 149, 197–198, 203
power-sharing governance by elites in, 197–198
Call, Charles, 36, 208
Cambodia, 4–5
ASEAN and, 216
civil war, 38, 72–77
democratization in, 203
elections of 1993, 115–120
electoral results in 1998–2013, 160
elites in, 52
genocide in, 74
history, 72, 77
Khmer Rouge regime, 73–75
PKR regime, 75–77
Sihanouk’s rule as king, 72–73
“killing fields,” 74
neopatrimonial political order in, 49, 63, 154–164
Paris Peace Accords on, 77
peacebuilding operations in, 26
political parties in, 211
post-intervention, 154–164
Seila community program, 215
transitional governance in, 111–114, 210
Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP), 163
Cambodian People’s Party (CPP), 5, 75, 117–120, 155–157, 159–164
Campbell, Susanna, 198, 203
capacity-building, 201–204
Caplan, Richard, 127
Capoccia, Giovanni, 29
Carnation Revolution, 81
Carrascalão, Mario, 121
Catholic Church, 88, 126, 166
Central African Republic, 34
CEP. See Community Empowerment and Local Governance Project (GEP)
Chayes, Sarah, 97
Chesterman, Simon, 127
Chopra, Jarat, 128, 213
civil war in Afghanistan, 93–103
in Cambodia, 38, 72–80
clientelism cause of, 58
definition of, 63–64
gaining political support with, 64–65
CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance), 87
CNRT. See National Council for Timorese Resistance (CNRT) or National Congress for the Reconciliation of East Timor (CNRT)
Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK), 75, 78, 113
Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), 194–197
Cold War, 12
Community Empowerment and Local Governance Project (GEP), 129–130
comparative-historical analysis, 27
competitive authoritarianism, 62
Congo, 34
Congress Party (India), 131
constitutional arrangements, 31
Costy, Alexander, 141
Côte d’Ivoire, 34
CPP. See Cambodian People’s Party (CPP)
critical peacebuilding phases, 23, 68
Croatia, 34
Curtis, Devon, 149, 197, 213
democracy-building approach, 24–25, 204–205
elite consensus in, 55
institutionalization before liberalization, 58
in transitional governance, 57
Democratic Republic of Congo, 149, 214
developing countries, poor governance and economic outcomes in, 62–63
Di Palma, Giuseppe, 206
Diehl, Paul, 19
Dostum, Rashid, 97–99, 138, 145, 177, 183, 184
Doyle, Michael, 54, 71
drug trade, 185
Dunn, James, 82
Durrani, Ahmad Shah, 94
Dutch East Indies, 84

East Timor, 4–6
cash transfers, 170, 171
colonial history, 80–81
declaration of independence, 84
elections of 2001, 130–133
elections of 2007, 168–169
electoral results in 2007–2012, 168
elites in, 52, 81
collusion among, 173
mestiço Timorese, 81
rent distribution to, 172–173
end of India’s occupation of, 92
Estimated Sustainable Income, 170
human rights violations in, 88–89
independence referendum, 90–93
Indonesian occupation of, 83–86
militia violence in, 90–92

Nahe Biti Bo’ot system of conflict resolution in, 209
neopatrimonial political order in, 49, 63, 164–174
Operation Komodo, 83
peace settlement in, 38, 80–90
peacebuilding operations in, 26
Petroleum Fund Law, 170
petroleum revenues, 167–170
political participation in, 203, 210
political parties in, 81–88, 211
post-intervention, 164–174
civil administration in, 164–165
constitutional crisis in, 169
electoral results in 2007–2012, 168
FRETILIN’s domination in, 165–166
internal strife and political instability in, 166–167
rentier regime in, 172
violence in, 166
public spending, 170–171
resistance to occupation, 80–90
role of Catholic Church in, 88
student movement in, 88
transfer payments to veterans, 171–172
transitional governance in, 120–130
East Timor Defense Force, 167
East Timor Public Administration, 164
East Timor Transitional Administration (ETTA), 126, 127
Eastern Europe, post-socialist transitions in, 59
Eastern Slavonia, 34
El Salvador, 208
elections in Afghanistan (2004 and 2005), 142–146
in Cambodia (1993), 115–120
in East Timor (2001 and 2007), 130–133, 168–169
in Iraq, 195–196
non-electoral ingredients of democratization and, 208–211
proportional representation (PR), 144
single nontransferable vote (SNTV) system in, 144–146
elites
Afghanistan, 52
in Burundi, 197–198
in Cambodia, 52
coalition among, 47
control of resources by, 60
cooperation with UN’s rules, 68
in East Timor, 52
empowerment of, 24–25
international interventions and,
107–151
Afghan elections in 2004 and
2005, 142–146
Cambodian elections of 1993,
115–120
East Timorese elections of 2001,
130–133
transitional governance in
Afghanistan, 133–142
transitional governance in
Cambodia, 111–114
transitional governance in East
Timor, 120–130
in limited access order, 47, 65
maneuvering in peacebuilding
pathway, 66–67
neopatrimonial political orders and,
25–26
patron–client networks, 64–65
peace settlements, 53–56, 103–106
political order and, 44
post-conflict, 41, 66–67
post-conflict settlements, 24
transformative events and, 50–53
transitional governance and,
149–150
in transitional governance phase of
peacebuilding, 192–193
violence and, 65
embedded autonomy, 31
Eritrea, 219
Estimated Sustainable Income (ESI),
170
Evans, Peter, 221
extensive power, 31
Fahim, Marshal, 175
Fahim, Mohammed, 102, 137,
138
FALINTIL (Armed Forces for the
National Liberation of
East Timor), 85–88, 90, 92,
131
Fariss, Christopher, 213
France, 72
FRETILIN. See Revolutionary Front
for an Independent East Timor
(FRETILIN)
Fukuyama, Francis, 57, 209
FUNCINPEC (National United Front
for an Independent, Neutral,
Peaceful, and Cooperative
Cambodia), 75, 113, 117–120,
155–156, 159–160
genocide, in Cambodia, 74
Ghani, Ashraf, 139, 183
Giustozzi, Antonio, 184
Goldstone, Anthony, 93
Goodhand, Jonathan, 185
governance
effective and legitimate, 200–201
patrimonial, 62
post-intervention outcomes, 31–33
power-sharing, 197–198
transitional. See transitional
governance
“Great Game,” 94
Grindle, Merilee, 215
Gusmão, José Alexandre “Xanana,”
86–90, 121, 124, 126, 127, 130,
167–170, 173
Habibie, B.J., 90, 91
Haiti, 34
Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin, 96, 99, 101
Heng Samrin, 75
Hezb-i-Islami faction, 101
historical institutionalism, 220–222
Hobbes, Thomas, 43
Hughes, Caroline, 76, 86–87, 123, 157,
161–163
Hun Sen, 5, 75, 78, 111, 113, 116, 119,
158–161, 163
Huntington, Samuel, 46, 57–58, 202
Indonesia, 219
invasion and occupation of East
Timor, 83–86
Operation Komodo, 83
talks with Portugal on East Timor,
83, 89, 91
institutions
administrative structures, 31
constitutional arrangements, 31
focus on functions of, 215
institution-building, 57–58
peacebuilding and, 30–31
political order and, 44
insurrectionaries, 110
intensive power, 31
INTERFET, 92
internal imperialism, 94
international interventions, 107–151
Afghan elections in 2004 and 2005, 142–146
Cambodian elections of 1993, 115–120
East Timorese elections of 2001, 130–133
transitional governance in Afghanistan, 133–142
transitional governance in Cambodia, 111–114
transitional governance in East Timor, 120–130
Iraq, 194–197
elections, 195–196
elites in, 195
failure of reconstruction strategy in, 195
Interim Governing Council, 194
Interim Government, 194, 208
Transitional Government, 195
Joint Assessment Mission, 122, 129
Joint Election Management Body (JEMB), 145
Karzai, Hamid, 6, 100, 102, 134, 136–139, 143, 145–146, 174–175, 177, 195
Khalilzad, Zalmay, 134, 145
Khan, Abdul Rahman, 94
Khan, Ismail, 97, 137, 138
Khan, Mohammed Daoud, 95
Khem empire, 72
Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF), 75, 113
Khmer Rouge, 73–75
attacks against Vietnam, 74
Cambodian elections of 1993 and, 115–116, 118–119
genocide, 74
legitimate source of political power, 113
in post-intervention Cambodia, 158
“killing fields,” 74
Kosovo, 34
Lake, David, 213
Laos, 72, 219
Lebanon, 219
Leviathan (Hobbes), 43
liberal peacebuilding model, 21
Liberia, 34
limited access order, 47, 65
Lin, Juan, 32
liurai, 80
Lobato, Nicolau, 86
Lobato, Rogério, 167
Locke, John, 43
Loya Jirga, 135–137, 142, 145, 203, 209
Macedonia, 34
madrasa, 99
Mahoney, James, 27, 110
Maley, William, 185
Mali, 34, 35
Mann, Michael, 31
Martin, Ian, 121
Massoud, Ahmad Shah, 97–100, 137
Matanock, Aila, 213
Maubere mountain people, 81
mestiço Timorese, 81
modern state
political order in, 45
transition from traditional state to, 43
modernization theory, 46, 55, 58
Mohaqeq, Haji Mohammed, 137, 145, 184
Mozambique, 34, 86
mujahideen, 94, 95, 97, 137, 146
Nahe Biti Bo’ot system of conflict resolution, 209
Namibia, 34
National Congress for Reconstruction of East Timor (CNRT), 168
National Consultative Council (East Timor), 126
National Congress for the Reconciliation of East Timor (CNRT), 168
National Council for Timorese Resistance (CNRT), 87, 121–122
criticism from civil society, 130
dissolution of, 130
as local counterpart of UNTAET, 124–126
National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), 87
National Development Framework (Afghanistan), 140–141
National Front (Afghanistan), 183
National Solidarity Program (NSP), 139, 215
neopatrimonial political order, 25–26, 47–50, 61–66, 152–189
in Afghanistan, 174–186
in Cambodia, 154–164
comparative perspective, 186–189
core elements of, 153–154
in East Timor, 164–174
patronage in, 152–153
peacebuilding and, 217–218
Nol, Lon, 73
normal development phase, 23
North, Douglass, 47
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 14, 16
Northern Alliance, 93, 100, 101, 138, 143
O’Dwyer, Conor, 60
Olson, Mancur, 47
Omar, Mullah Mohammed, 99
Operation Enduring Freedom, 101
Operation Komodo, 83
opportunistic actors, 111, 212
paradoxes of peacebuilding, 190–223
capacity-building and, 201–204
democracy and, 204–205
effective and legitimate governance, 200–201
implicit theory of peacebuilding, 198–200
international norms and, 194–198
modification of peacebuilding practice, 205–217
neopatrimonial political order and, 217–218
political order in post-conflict states, 191–194
statebuilding and, 201–204
parasitic actors, 111, 212
Paris, Roland, 20, 58, 199, 201, 203, 209
Paris Conference on Cambodia, 78
Paris Peace Accords, 77, 111–112, 119, 212
party-building, 211–212
Pashtuns, 94, 97, 176
patrimonial governance, 62
patrimonialism, 152
kinship-based, 209–210
neopatrimonial equilibrium, 47–50
patronage, 58, 63–64, 152–153
peace process, 6
peace settlements, 70–106
in Afghanistan, 93–103
as beginning of peacebuilding pathway, 54–55
Bonn Agreement, 101–103
in Cambodia, 72–80
comparative perspectives, 103–106
as conditional elite pacts, 53–54
in East Timor, 80–90
elites’ negotiations and pacts in, 53–56
Paris Peace Accords, 77
peacebuilding argument and significance of, 3–8
budget in fiscal year 2014–15, 12
comparative-historical analysis of, 27
definition of, 12–13
future research and theoretical implications of, 218
historical institutionalism, 220–222
indigenous statebuilding, 219–220
political science, 220–222
implicit theory of, 198–200
liberal peacebuilding model, 21
peacebuilding (cont.)
outcomes, 29
  governance, 31–33
  institutions, 30–31
paradoxes of, 190–223
pathway, 66–69
phases in, 23
politics of, 2–3
post-intervention phase of, 193
principles for modification of,
  205–217
  focus on institutional function,
  215–217
international post-conflict
engagement, 212–214
keeping the power balance fluid,
  206–208
multidimensional state–society
compact, 214–215
non-electoral ingredients of
democratization, 208–211
political parties, 211–212
spoiler concept in, 51
transformative, 3
  elites and, 50–53
  international interventions in, 66
transitional governance approach
to, 13–17
transitional governance phase in,
  192–193
viewing in time, 28–30
peacebuilding research, 17–22
causal arguments in, 18–19, 24
international relations and, 18,
  20–21
interventions and empowerment of
elites, 24–25
political economy perspective on,
  23–24
on practice and theory, 19–20
People’s Democratic Party of
Afghanistan (PDPA), 95
People’s Republic of Kampuchea
(PRK), 75–78, 155
Petroleum Fund, 173
Petroleum Fund Law (East Timor),
  170
Pierson, Paul, 23, 28–30, 60, 106, 154,
  188
Pol Pot, 74
political contenders, 52
political decay, 45
political disorder, 45
political gap, 46
political order
  definition of, 44–45
  elites’ roles in, 44
hybrid or intermediate states of,
  45
institutions and, 44
  neopatrimonial, 47–50, 61–66
opposite of, 45
  in post-conflict states, 41–69
pursuit of, 43–47
study of, 43–44
political parties, 211–212
  in Afghanistan, 211
  in Cambodia, 211
  in East Timor, 81–88, 211
political science, 220–222
Ponzio, Richard, 137
poppy cultivation, 185
Porcell, Gerald, 116
Portugal
  Carnation Revolution, 81
colonization of East Timor, 80–81
talks with Indonesia on East Timor,
  83, 89, 91
post-conflict political order, 4–5
post-conflict settlements, 24
post-conflict states
  Afghanistan, 174–186
  Cambodia, 154–164
  mirage of modern political order in,
  191–194
neopatrimonial political orders in,
  25–26
political order in, 41–69
post-socialist transitions, 59
power
  extensive, 31
  intensive, 31
Progressive Era, 204
proportional representation (PR), 144
Qanooni, Yunus, 102, 145, 177
Rainsy, Sam, 159, 163
Ramos-Horta, José, 89, 168
Ranarridh, Norodom, 117, 158–160
Index

Reilly, Benjamin, 211
rentier regime, 95
Revolutionary Front for an
Independent East Timor
(FRETILIN), 82, 124
budget, 167–168
coiral with UDT, 82
in East Timorese elections of 2001,
130–133
Maputo clique, 86, 132
political and military structure
during occupation, 86
in post-intervention East Timor,
165–166
resistance to Indonesia’s occupation
of East Timor, 85
Richmond, Oliver, 210
Roeder, Philip, 205
Rothchild, Donald, 205
Rubin, Barnett, 95–102, 135, 142–143,
182, 185
Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, 221
Rustow, Dankwart, 55
Rwanda, 34, 149, 219
Saikal, Amin, 176–177
Sam Rainsy party (Cambodia),
159–160
Sanderson, John, 117
Sary, leng, 158
Schetter, Conrad, 203
Scott, James C., 63
settlement phase, 23
Shah, Zahir, 95, 101
sharia law, 99
Shefter, Martin, 58
Shia elites, 195
Shirzai, Gul Agha, 103, 137, 138, 175
Sierra Leone, 34
Sihanouk, Norodom, 72–73, 113
abdication of throne, 72–73
designation as king of Cambodia,
72–73
exile in Beijing, 74
as president of Supreme National
Council, 112
single nontransferable vote (SNTV),
143–146, 175
Skocpol, Theda, 31, 221
Slater, Dan, 46
Soares de Oliveira, Ricardo, 220
Sokha, Kem, 163
Soltan, Karol, 125
Somaliland, 219
South Sudan, 34, 35
Southeast Asia
Association of Southeast Asian
Nations (ASEAN), 78, 216
authoritarian regimes in, 46
Soviet Union, invasion of Afghanistan, 95
specialists in violence, 46
spoilers, 51
Sri Lanka, 219
State of Cambodia (SOC)
formation of, 75
participation in 1993 election,
115–117
in post-intervention Cambodia, 155
transitional governance in
Cambodia and, 111, 113–114
statebuilding, 24–25, 57
capacity-building and, 201–204
indigenous, 219–220
states
failure of, 45
formation of, 57
transition from traditional to
modern, 43
stationary bandit, 47
Stedman, Stephen, 51
Stepan, Alfred, 32
Stinchcombe, Arthur, 55–56
student movement, 88
subversive actors, 110
sucos, 80
Suharto, President, 83, 85
Suhrke, Astri, 213
Sunnis, 195
Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution
in Iraq (SCIRI), 196
Supreme National Council of
Cambodia (SNC), 112
Tajikistan, 34
Taliban, 38, 93, 99–100, 180–181, 185
tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI), 86
Thailand, 72
Thelen, Kathleen, 27, 110
Thier, Alexander, 139

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. IP address: 54.202.195.117, on 12 Apr 2017 at 10:33:09, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316718513
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timorese Democratic Union (UDT)</td>
<td>81–83, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timorese Popular Democratic Association (Apodeti)</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timorization</td>
<td>122, 127–128, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia)</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transformative peacebuilding</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elites and, 50–53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international interventions in, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional governance approach to, 13–17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional governance, 56–61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Afghanistan, 133–142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Burundi, 197–198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Cambodia, 111–114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparative perspective, 147–151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>democracy-building in, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in East Timor, 120–130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elites and, 149–150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international interventions in, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in peacebuilding, 192–193</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>period, 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>propositions in, 56–57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>statebuilding in, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional governance interventions case selection, 33–34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empowerment of political actors in, 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional governance strategy, 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definition of, 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for transformative peacebuilding, 13–17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional period, 14–15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDT. See Timorese Democratic Union (UDT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda, 219</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL), 164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMA. See United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMET. See United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations, 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 124, 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Political Affairs, 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacebuilding Commission, 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peacebuilding operations, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional governance strategy, 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 133–135, 140–141, 145, 174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Charter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VI, 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VII, 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), 91, 121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET), 164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Security Council, 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endorsement of Cambodia’s Supreme National Council, 112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Five members, 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-determination of East Timor, 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transformative peacebuilding and, 14–15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNRT as local counterpart of, 124–126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collaboration with National Consultative Council, 126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consultation with CNRT leaders, 121–122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Administrators, 128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite’s frustration with, 212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>establishment of East Timor Public Administration, 164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>failure to broker political settlement, 166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandate from UN Security Council, 92–93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandate of, 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opposition to CEP, 129–130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reluctance to East Timorese participation, 123–124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Council mandate for, 121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timorese leadership’s frustration on, 127–128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timorization and, 122–123, 127–128, 201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), 111–114
Cambodian elections of 1993 and, 115–120, 154–156
formation of, 79–80
influence of, 147
limited mandate from P-5, 114
relationship with Supreme National Council, 113–114
roles and responsibilities of, 112
statebuilding and, 157–158
transitional administrative authority of, 113
UNTAC. See United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)
UNTAET. See United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)

Vieira de Mello, Sergio, 121, 123, 126–128

Vietnam
ancient Khmer empire and, 72
invasion of Cambodia by, 74
violence, 65
civil war in Cambodia, 38, 72–77
in East Timor, 90–92, 166
elites and, 65
specialists in, 46

Wallis, John, 47
warlords, 96, 138–139, 179–180
Weber, Max, 31, 43, 46
Weingast, Barry, 47
Weinstein, Jeremy, 207
Williams, Paul, 204
Wimmer, Andreas, 203
World Bank, 16, 122, 129, 140

yaghestan, 97

Zartman, William, 80