

## Notes

### Introduction

1. John Vasquez, James Turner Johnson, Sanford Jaffe, and Linda Stamatou, *Beyond Confrontation: Learning Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 1.
2. *Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking*, Vols. 1-4 (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1990-1995)

### One. Questions of Sovereignty and Nonintervention

1. J. Martin Rochester, *Waiting for the Millennium: The United Nations and the Future of World Order* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 36.
2. See Margaret G. Hermann, Charles W. Kegley, and Gregory A. Raymond, "The Decay of the Nonintervention Principle" (Paper presented at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the International Association for Conflict Management, Lo-Skolen, Elsinore, Denmark, June 11-14, 1995)
3. Ironically, in Central Asia the weakness of respect for international borders may indeed be protecting the sovereignty of new states. Graham Fuller found that many Russians do not consider the borders between Russia and the new states of Central Asia to be permanent or even real. If Russia considered these borders to be fixed, it would probably struggle to change them. As long as they are transitory, they are tolerable. Thus—at least for the time being—the less Russia fully accepts these international borders, the more apt it is not to interfere in the sovereignty of the new states. See Graham Fuller, "New States, New Geopolitics. Central Asia and Its Neighbors," 1994.
4. Robert Kaplan, *The Ends of the Earth: A Journey at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Random House, 1996), 83.
5. See Steven R. Ratner, *The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict after the Cold War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), especially chapter 2.
6. Milton J. Esman and Shibley Telhami, eds., *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 11.
7. Harry G. Gelber, *Sovereignty through Interdependence* (London: Kluwer Law International, 1997), 231.
8. Terrence Lyons, "The International Context of Internal War: Ethiopia/Entrea," in *Africa in the New International Order. Rethinking State Sovereignty and Regional Security*, ed. Edmond J. Keller and Donald Rothchild (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), 94.
9. See Ted Robert Gurr, with contributions by Barbara Harff, Monty G. Marshall, and James R. Scarritt, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993).
10. See Timothy R. Sample, "New Techniques of Political and Economic Coercion," in *U.S. Intervention Policy for the Post-Cold War World: New Challenges and New Responses*, ed. Arnold Kanter and Linton F. Brooks (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).
11. Jack Donnelly, "The Past, the Present, and the Future Prospects," in *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Milton J. Esman and Shibley Telhami (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 43.

12. Edward C. Luck, "The United Nations, Multilateralism, and U.S. Interests," in *U.S. Foreign Policy and the United Nations System*, ed. Charles William Maynes and Richard S. Williamson (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 34.
13. Elise Boulding, ed., *Building Peace in the Middle East: Challenges for States and Civil Society* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994).
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15. Donald Rothchild, "Responding to Africa's Post-Cold War Conflicts," in *Africa in the New International Order: Rethinking State Sovereignty and Regional Security*, ed. Edmond J. Keller and Donald Rothchild (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), 231.
16. Linton F. Brooks and Arnold Kanter, eds., *U.S. Intervention Policy for the Post-Cold War World: New Challenges and New Responses* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 15.
17. Raymond F. Hopkins, "Anomie, System Reform, and Challenges to the UN System," in *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Milton J. Esman and Shibley Telhami (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 96.
18. *Ibid.*, 81.
19. Deng, "Sovereignty and Humanitarian Responsibility," 207.
20. Hermann, Kegley, and Raymond, "The Decay of the Nonintervention Principle," 23. One exception to the emphasis on new forms of intervention being multilateral is *U.S. Intervention Policy for the Post-Cold War World: New Challenges and New Responses*, ed. Arnold Kanter and Linton F. Brooks (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994). The essays collected in this volume address new tools for intervention, such as nonlethal military weapons, economic coercion, the manipulation of information, and how best to reorganize the U.S. security system to provide such tools.
21. Donnelly, "The Past, the Present, and the Future Prospects," 49.
22. Hermann, Kegley, and Raymond, "The Decay of the Nonintervention Principle," 26.

## Two. International Organizations

1. Jonathan Dean, *Ending Europe's Wars: The Continuing Search for Peace and Security* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1994), 376.
2. Raymond F. Hopkins, "Anomie, System Reform, and Challenges to the UN System," in *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Milton J. Esman and Shibley Telhami (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 74.
3. See Felice D. Gaer, "Protecting Human Rights," and Donald J. Puchala, "Reforming the United Nations or Going Beyond?" as well as other chapters in *U.S. Foreign Policy and the United Nations System*, ed. Charles William Maynes and Richard S. Williamson (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996).
4. See John M. Lee, Robert von Pagenbardt, and Timothy W. Stanley, *To Unite Our Strength: Enhancing the United Nations Peace and Security System* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1992); and see Joseph Preston Baratta, *International Peacekeeping: History and Strengthening*, U.N. Reform Monograph no. 6 (Washington, D.C.: The Center for U.N. Reform Education, 1989).
5. Lee et al., *To Unite Our Strength*, 134.
6. See *UN at 50: Preferred Futures for the United Nations* (Iowa City: Iowa Division, United Nations Association—USA, 1995).
7. Edward C. Luck, "The United Nations, Multilateralism, and U.S. Interests," in *U.S. Foreign Policy and the United Nations System*, ed. Charles William Maynes and Richard S. Williamson (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 38.
8. Baratta, *International Peacekeeping*, 2.
9. Brian Urquhart, "Beyond the 'sheriff's posse,'" *Survival* 32, no. 3 (May/June 1990): 198.

10. Michael Doyle, "Managing Global Security: The United Nations. Not a War Maker, a Peace Maker," in *U.S. Foreign Policy and the United Nations System*, ed. Charles William Maynes and Richard S. Williamson (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 60.
11. Baratta, *International Peacekeeping*, 3.
12. *Ibid.*, 4.
13. Steven R. Ratner, *The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict after the Cold War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 10.
14. Doyle, "Managing Global Security," 60.
15. See Ratner, *The New UN Peacekeeping*, 14–15.
16. *Ibid.*, 23.
17. Doyle, "Managing Global Security," 75.
18. Ratner, *The New UN Peacekeeping*, 23.
19. Doyle, "Managing Global Security," 76.
20. *Ibid.*, 67.
21. Constantine C. Menges and Peter A. Clark, "Political Settlements and Negotiations in Contemporary Regional Conflicts: Results and Lessons for the Future" (Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, Program on Transitions to Democracy, July 1994), 15–16 of conclusion.
22. Doyle, "Managing Global Security," 71.
23. *Ibid.*, 77.
24. Such coordination is necessary not only within the UN operation, but between the UN and other IOs. In El Salvador, for example, the peace agreement among warring parties worked on by the UN, and the structural adjustment plan pursued with the government by the IMF, were sought in isolation from each other and involved policies that may have worked at cross purposes. Janie Leatherman, William DeMars, Patrick Gaffney, and Raimo Váyrinen, "Preventive Action and Inventive Action in Intrastate Crises" (August 1996), 387.
25. Ratner, *The New UN Peacekeeping*, 240.

### Three. Unofficial Diplomacy

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2. Emily MacFarquhar, Robert I. Rotberg, and Martha A. Chen, "Non-Governmental Organizations, Early Warning, and Preventive Diplomacy," *World Peace Foundation Report no. 9* (June 1995), 1.
3. Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Vigilance and Vengeance: NGOs Preventing Ethnic Conflict in Divided Societies* (Cambridge, Mass.: World Peace Foundation, 1996), 6.
4. See Center for Preventive Action, "The Burundi Policy Forum," Report to the Grant Program of USIP (October 1996).
5. St. Egidio was also involved in starting the peace negotiations that led to the end of the civil war in Mozambique. See Richard Synge, *Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action, 1992–1994* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997).
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7. David Steele, "Conflict Resolution among Religious People in Bosnia and Croatia" (1996), 2.
8. Centre for the Strategic Initiative of Women, "The Project for Women to Bring Peace to Somalia," Report to the Grant Program of USIP (September 1995).
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10. Ron Kraybill, "Reflection on Twenty Years in Peacebuilding," in *From the Ground Up: Mennonite Contributions to International Peacebuilding*, ed. John Paul Lederach and Cynthia Sampson (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, forthcoming), 17.
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#### Four. Managing Ethnic Conflict

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2. *Ibid.*, 3.
3. See *ibid.*, chapter 4.
4. Donald L. Horowitz, "Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management," in *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, ed. Joseph V. Montville (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1987), 453.
5. Julio Tresierra, "Mexico and Indigenous Peoples in the Nation-State," in *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*, ed. Donna Lee Van Cott (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, 1994), 179.
6. Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, 91.
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11. Kemal Kirisci and Gareth Winrow, *The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of a Trans-State Ethnic Conflict* (London: Frank Cass, 1997).
12. Graham Fuller, "New States, New Geopolitics: Central Asia and Its Neighbors," 1994.
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14. See Susan Woodward, "Redrawing Borders in a Period of Systemic Transition," in *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Milton J. Esman and Shibley Telhami (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 198–234.
15. See Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, chapter 5.
16. *Ibid.*, 91.
17. See Airat Aklaev, "Ethnopolitical Identity and Legitimacy Crises in the Former Soviet Union Republics of the USSR" (1995).
18. Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, 137.
19. John Maresca, "Making Sense of the Spectrum of Rights," in *Managing Ethnic Tension in Post-Soviet Space: The Examples of Kazakhstan and Ukraine*, ed. Maria Drohobychky (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1995), 44.
20. Steven L. Burg, "The International Community and the Yugoslav Crisis," in *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Milton J. Esman and Shibley Telhami (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 268.

21. Harvey Glickman (assisted by Peter Furia), "Issues in the Analysis of Ethnic Conflict and Democratization Processes in Africa Today," in *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa*, ed. Harvey Glickman (Atlanta: The African Studies Association Press, 1995), 4.
22. Masipula Sithole, "Ethnicity and Democratization in Zimbabwe: From Confrontation to Accommodation," in *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa*, ed. Harvey Glickman (Atlanta: The African Studies Association Press, 1995), 153.
23. See Donna Lee Van Cott, ed., *Indigenous People and Democracy in Latin America* (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, 1994).
24. Glickman, "Issues in the Analysis," 23.
25. Esman and Telhami, *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*, 13.
26. Maresca, "Making Sense," 45.
27. Donald L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Conflict Management for Policymakers," in *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, ed. Joseph V. Montville (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1987), 121.
28. Raymond F. Hopkins, "Anomie, System Reform, and Challenges to the UN System," in *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Milton J. Esman and Shibley Telhami (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 83. See also Donald L. Horowitz, "Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management," in *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, ed. Joseph V. Montville (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1987).
29. Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [changed to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on January 1, 1995], June 29, 1990, paragraphs 30–40. See Jonathan Dean, *Ending Europe's Wars: The Continuing Search for Peace and Security* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1994), 380.
30. Dean, *Ending Europe's Wars*, 381.
31. *Ibid.*, 382.
32. See Sam Amoo, "Role of the OAU: Past, Present, and Future," in *Making War and Waging Peace: Foreign Intervention in Africa*, ed. David R. Smock (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993).
33. See Gilbert M. Khadiagala, "Mediating Conflicts in Eastern Africa," 1996.
34. Kirişçi and Winrow, *The Kurdish Question and Turkey*.
35. See Waldemar Hummer, "The Roots of Ethnic Conflict and the Search for Solutions in the Central Danubian Region" (October 1993).
36. Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, 158.
37. See *ibid.*, chapter 6.
38. See Horowitz, "Ethnic Conflict Management for Policymakers."
39. Glickman, "Issues in the Analysis," 26.
40. Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, 294.
41. Glickman, "Issues in the Analysis," 23.
42. Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, 291.

## Five. Democratic Peace Proposition

1. James Lee Ray, *Democracy and International Conflict: An Evaluation of the Democratic Peace Proposition* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 201.
2. *Ibid.*, 201.
3. Bruce Russett, with the collaboration of William Antholis, Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember, and Zeev Maoz, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3.

4. Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Margaret G. Hermann, "The Political Psychology of 'Peace through Democratization,'" *Cooperation and Conflict* 30, no. 1 (1995): 10.
5. Spencer R. Weart, "Peace among Democratic and Oligarchic Republics," *Journal of Peace Research* 31, no. 3 (1994): 304.
6. Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, 31 (emphasis in the original).
7. Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember, and Bruce M. Russett, "Peace between Participatory Polities: A Cross-Cultural Test of the 'Democracies Rarely Fight Each Other' Hypothesis," *World Politics* 44, no. 4 (July 1992): 579.
8. *Ibid.*, 594.
9. Gregory Raymond, "Democracies, Disputes, and Third Party Intermediaries," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38, no. 1 (March 1994): 29.
10. Weart, "Peace among Democratic and Oligarchic Republics," 309.
11. Kegley and Hermann, "The Political Psychology," 14. See also Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Margaret Hermann, "Military Intervention and the Democratic Peace," *International Interactions* 21, no. 1 (1995). Russett also considers the "important anomaly" of U.S. covert action since the 1950s in Guatemala, Chile, Iran, Indonesia, and Nicaragua. Russett finds that these instances do not challenge the democratic thesis, because he deems these democracies as not yet stable or fully democratic. He also argues that in the case of Nicaragua, U.S. democratic culture and institutions operated to drive the government's use of force underground. See Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, 123–24.
12. Kegley and Hermann, "The Political Psychology," 14.
13. These include U.S. covert paramilitary interventions against established governments in Angola, Cambodia, Chad, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Israel, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Panama, and South Yemen. See *ibid.*, 15.
14. *Ibid.*, 17.
15. Margaret G. Hermann and Charles W. Kegley, Jr., "Rethinking Democracy and International Peace: Perspectives from Political Psychology," *International Studies Quarterly* 39 (1995): 529.
16. Edward Mansfield, "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Capacity, and War," 1997. Weart also finds peace between like republics only after they are well established: "Whatever normally inhibits confrontations between republics is evidently weak when a republic is born, but rapidly becomes stronger." Weart, "Peace among Democratic and Oligarchic Republics," 305.
17. Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, 136 (emphasis in the original).

## Six. Nonviolence

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3. J. Patout Burns, ed., *War and Its Discontents: Pacifism and Quietism in the Abrahamic Traditions* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1996).
4. Yehudah Mirsky, "The Political Morality of Pacifism and Nonviolence: One Jewish View," in *War and Its Discontents: Pacifism and Quietism in the Abrahamic Traditions*, ed. J. Patout Burns (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1996), 73.
5. Doug Bond, "Introduction," in *Transforming Struggle: Strategy and the Global Experience of Nonviolent Direct Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, 1992), 2.
6. Ronald M. McCarthy, "Nonviolent Action: Notes on the Technique Approach," in *Transforming Struggle: Strategy and the Global Experience of Nonviolent Direct Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, 1992), 8.

7. See *ibid.*, 7.

8. *Ibid.*, 11

9. See Christopher Kruegler, "Why Nonviolent Sanctions Fail: Typical Strategic Blunders and Their Antidotes," in *Transforming Struggle: Strategy and the Global Experience of Nonviolent Direct Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, 1992), 26

10. Wojciech Ostrowski, "Nonviolent Action: The Polish Experience 1976–1981" in *Transforming Struggle: Strategy and the Global Experience of Nonviolent Direct Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, 1992), 104

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12. Joel Edelstein, "Nonviolence and the 1989 Revolution in Eastern Europe," in *Justice without Violence*, ed. Paul Wehr, Heidi Burgess, and Guy Burgess (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), p. 119.

13. Ostrowski, "Nonviolent Action," 104.

14. See Edelstein, "Nonviolence and the 1989 Revolution," 113.

15. Marek Garztecki, "Freedom and Peace: Polish Views of the Issue," in *Transforming Struggle: Strategy and the Global Experience of Nonviolent Direct Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, 1992), 108.

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17. Edelstein, "Nonviolence and the 1989 Revolution," 118.

18. Garztecki, "Freedom and Peace," 108.

19. See Stephen C. Thomas, "China's Movement to Resolve Conflicts," in *Justice without Violence*, ed. Paul Wehr, Heidi Burgess, and Guy Burgess (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 153.

20. *Ibid.*, 157.

21. Dru Gladney, "Symbolizing Nonviolent Protest in Tiananmen Square: Traditional and Post-Modern Challenges to the Chinese State," in *Transforming Struggle: Strategy and the Global Experience of Nonviolent Direct Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, 1992), 99.

22. Thomas, "China's Movement," 158.

23. *Ibid.*, 147.

24. *Ibid.*, 160

25. See *ibid.*, 158.

26. *Ibid.*, 147

27. Bond, "Introduction," 5

## Seven. Humanitarian Aid

1. See David R. Smock, *Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict in Africa*, Peaceworks no. 6 (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, February 1996).

2. Francis M. Deng, "Sovereignty and Humanitarian Responsibility: A Challenge for NGOs in Africa and the Sudan," in *Vigilance and Vengeance. NGOs Preventing Ethnic Conflict in Divided Societies*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg (Cambridge, Mass.: World Peace Foundation, 1996), 206.

3. Larry Minear and Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian Politics*, Headline Series no. 304 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1995)

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5. See *ibid.*, 2.
6. Richard A. Sollum and Darren Kew, "Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Prevention in Burundi," in *Vigilance and Vengeance. NGOs Preventing Ethnic Conflict in Divided Societies*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg (Cambridge, Mass.: World Peace Foundation, 1996), 236
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8. *Ibid.*, 7.
9. See Smock, *Humanitarian Assistance*, 4.
10. See *ibid.*, 2.
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12. Prendergast, *Frontline Diplomacy*, 31.
13. *Ibid.*, 92.
14. Smock, *Humanitarian Assistance*, 7
15. *Ibid.*, 13.
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17. See Smock, *Humanitarian Assistance*, 14
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