

Notes

Introduction

1. 'Students protest over death, tension in Jaffna', www.tamilnet.com (4 March 2005) and author observations of the militarism in May 2005; 'Suicide and other bombing attacks in Israel since the signing of the Declaration of Principles (Sept 1993)', Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, www.mfa.gov.il/MFA; 'Protestant family insist they won't be forced out of home', *News Letter* (14 July 2005) and 'Living as prisoners in their own homes', *Irish Times* (17 June 2005); Oxfam Community Aid Abroad, *Two Years On ... What Future for an Independent East Timor?* (Victoria: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad, 2004), p. 6 and 'The road to recovery', *Guardian* (28 December 2004).
2. P. du Toit, *South Africa's Brittle Peace: The Problem of Post-settlement Violence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); T. Debiel and A. Klein, *Fragile Peace: State Failure, Violence and Development in Crisis Regions* (New York: Zed Books, 2002); C. Crocker, F.O. Hampson and P. Aall (eds) *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001); B. Rowan, *The Armed Peace: Life and Death after the Ceasefires* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2004); D. McKittrick, *The Nervous Peace* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1996).
3. H. Schmid, 'Peace Research and Politics', *Journal of Peace Research*, 5, 3 (1968) pp. 217–32.
4. S. Stedman, 'Policy Implications', in S. Stedman, D. Rothchild and E. Cousens (eds) *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) pp. 633–71 at p. 664.
5. Emphasis added. R. Cooper and M. Berdal, 'Outside Intervention in Ethnic Conflict', in M. Brown (ed.) *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993) pp. 181–205 at p. 181.

1 Peace

1. Testifying to the value of peace as a commercial brand, a software package (a customer information system for the utility industry) has been named after peace: www.peace.com.
2. For example, the weighty and very useful *Turbulent Peace* compendium from the United States Institute of Peace has contributions from over fifty authors, yet none of them conceptualise peace. C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson and P. Aall (eds) *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001).
3. Accounts of the Israeli–Palestinian peace process can be found in E. Said, *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After* (London: Granta, 2002); G. Usher, *Dispatches from Palestine: The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process* (London: Pluto, 1999) and

- G.R. Watson, *The Oslo Accords: International law and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Agreements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
4. G. Sartori, 'Concept misinformation in comparative politics', *American Political Science Review*, 64, 4 (1970), pp. 1033–53 at p. 1035.
 5. H. Schmid, 'Peace research and politics', *Journal of Peace Research*, 5, 3 (1968), pp. 217–232.
 6. Q. Skinner, 'Meaning and understanding in the history of ideas', *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, 8, 1 (1969), pp. 3–53 at p. 52.
 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–3.
 8. E. Luttwak, 'The curse of inconclusive intervention', in Crocker, Hampson and Aall (eds) *op. cit.*, pp. 265–72 at p. 265.
 9. 'Al Qaeda issues new threat', www.cnn.com (18 November 2002).
 10. P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992) p. 105.
 11. S. Bailey, *Peace is a Process* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1993) and E. Adler, 'Condition(s) of peace', *Review of International Studies*, 24 (1998) pp. 165–91 at p. 168.
 12. Many authors are careful to distinguish between conflict resolution and conflict transformation, with the latter paying greater attention to unjust social relationships in addition to direct violence. See, H. Miall, O. Ramsbotham and T. Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000) p. 21.
 13. M. Gopin, 'What do I need to know about religion and conflict?', in J.P. Lederach and J.M. Jenner (eds) *A Handbook of International Peacebuilding* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass, 2002) pp. 107–13 at pp. 110–11.
 14. R.S. Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000) p. 284.
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 207–44. See also C. Mitchell, 'Mennonite Approaches to Peace and Conflict Resolution', in C. Sampson and J.P. Lederach (eds) *From the Ground Up: Mennonite Contributions to International Peacebuilding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp. 218–32.
 16. C. McKeogh, *Innocent Civilians: The Morality of Killing in War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002) p. 5. H. Slim questions the idea of the civilian in 'Why protect civilians? Innocence, immunity and enmity in war', *International Affairs*, 79, 3 (2003) pp. 481–501.
 17. Matter of fact accounts of humans killing other humans retain a shock value on account of their lack of empathy. See, for example, the diary extract from a Gestapo officer, Felix Landau, detailed to execute Polish civilians during the Second World War, 'Diary of Blutordenstrager Felix Landau, 12 July 1941', in R.J. Aldrich (ed.) *Witness to War: Diaries of the Second World War in Europe and the Middle East* (London: Corgi, 2005) pp. 315–16.
 18. See US Defense Secretary D. Rumsfeld's references to the Geneva Convention when US troops were captured by Iraqi forces in March 2003. Transcript of 'Secretary Rumsfeld interview with Bob Schieffer and David Martin', CBS *Face the Nation* (23 March 2003) www.defenselink.mil.
 19. J.H. Yoder, *When War is Unjust: Being Honest in Just War Thinking* (New York: Orbis, 1996) pp. 8–11 and M. Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) p. 5.
 20. R.W. Dyson, *Aquinas: Political writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) pp. xxxii–xxxiv.

21. I.L. Horowitz, *War and Peace in Contemporary Social and Philosophical Theory* 2nd edn. (London: Souvenir Press, 1973) p. 24. See also M. Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith, 1978) p. 16.
22. The notions of negative peace (a mere cessation of direct violence) and positive peace (a more holistic version of peace cognisant of equity, justice and the need to deal with both direct and indirect violence) are associated with Johan Galtung.
23. Background on civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo can be found in T. Trefon (ed.) *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa* (London: Zed Books, 2004) and G. Prunier, *From Genocide to Continental War: The Congo Conflict and the Crisis of Contemporary Africa* (London: Hurst, 2005).
24. D. Anand discusses the social construction of 'the other' in 'The violence of security: Hindu nationalism and the politics of representing "the Muslim" as a danger', *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 94, 379 (2005) pp. 203–15.
25. See J. Baudrillard's marvellously caustic *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995) pp. 29–59. See also, J. Der Derain, 'Virtuous war/virtual theory', *International Affairs*, 76, 4 (2000) pp. 771–88.
26. R. McNamara in the documentary movie *Fog of War*, directed by E. Morris (Los Angeles: Sony, 2004).
27. On peacemaking in traditional societies see A.P. Vayada, *War in Ecological Perspective: Persistence, Change and Adaptive Processes in Three Oceanian Societies* (New York: Plenum Press, 1976) and R.M. Keesing, *Custom and Confrontation: The Kwaio Struggle for Cultural Autonomy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
28. R.G. O'Connor, 'Victory in modern war', *Journal of Peace Research*, 6, 4 (1969) pp. 367–84 at p. 380.
29. See A.P. Vayada, *Maori Warfare* (Wellington: Reed, 1960) and J. Evans (ed.) *Elsdon Best: Notes on the Art of War* (Auckland: Reed, 2001).
30. See, for example, speeches by President G.W. Bush commending US troops in their efforts to 'promote peace', 'Speech by President George Bush, Fort Bragg, North Carolina' (26 May 2005) and 'Remarks by the President to Military Personnel at Macdill Air Force Base, Tampa, Florida', (16 June 2004) both from www.whitehouse.gov.
31. Adler, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
32. U. Heyn, *Peacemaking in Medieval Europe: A Historical and Bibliographical Guide* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1997) p. 17.
33. The persistent ethical dilemmas associated with war, sovereignty and humanitarianism mean that Just War theory is served by an excellent and constantly updated literature. Modern classics on the subject include: M. Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); J.B. Elsthtain (ed.) *Just War Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) and Y. Melzer, *Concepts of Just War* (Leyden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1975).
34. Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
35. *Ibid.*
36. See, for example, N. Hunter, 'Rethinking pacifism: the Quakers' dilemma in a time of war', *The American Prospect*, 12, 21 (2001), online edition, no

- pagination; M. Evans (ed.) *Just War Theory: A Reappraisal* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) and P. Lawler, 'The "good war" after September 11', *Government and Opposition*, 37, 2 (2002) pp. 151–72.
37. K. Boulding, *Stable Peace* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978) p. 19.
 38. D. Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The Story of Parihaka* (Auckland: Reed/Southern Cross, 1994).
 39. For earlier schemes for pacific unions see V. Vaněček, *The Universal Peace Organization of King George of Bohemia: A Fifteenth Century Plan for World Peace 1462–1464* (Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1964), Eméric Crucé's 1623 proposal for a universal arbitration system (mentioned in M. Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 19) and of course Immanuel Kant's, *Perpetual Peace* (New York: Macmillan, 1957).
 40. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

2 Liberal democratic peace

1. Bellamy and colleagues stress how the 'liberal-democratic peace' has shaped contemporary UN peacekeeping, A. Bellamy, P. Williams and S. Griffin, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001) pp. 26–31.
2. R. Muggah, 'No magic bullet: a critical perspective on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and weapons reduction in post-conflict contexts', *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 94, 379 (2005) pp. 239–52 at p. 242.
3. J. Darby, 'Borrowing and lending in peace processes' in J. Darby and R. Mac Ginty (eds) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) pp. 245–55 and A. Guelke, 'The Politics of Imitation: The Role of Comparison in Peace Processes', in A. Guelke (ed.) *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict: Advancing Peace in a Deeply Divided Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) pp. 168–84.
4. The term 'the invention of peace' comes from M. Howard, *The Invention of Peace: Reflections on War and International Order* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).
5. M. Ignatieff, *Empire Lite: Nation-building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan* (London: Vintage, 2003) p. 7.
6. Oliver Richmond uses the term 'liberal peace' in his excellent *The Transformation of Peace: Peace as Governance in Contemporary Conflict Endings* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).
7. Amy Chua describes the US view of democracy in *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability* (London: Heinemann, 2004) pp. 274–5.
8. The rarity of international war can be tracked in Wallenstein and colleague's annual conflict survey contributions to the *Journal of Peace Research*.
9. For critical views of international peace-support intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, see D. Chandler, *Bosnia: Faking Democracy after Dayton* (London: Pluto, 1999) and E.M. Cousens, 'From Missed Opportunities to Over-Compensation: implementing the Dayton Agreement in Bosnia', in S.J. Stedman, D. Rothchild and E.M. Cousens (eds) *Ending Civil Wars: The*

- Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) pp. 531–66.
10. M. Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) pp. 5–19.
 11. U. Heyn, *Peacemaking in Medieval Europe: A Historical and Bibliographical Guide* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1997) p. 22.
 12. Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
 13. K. Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) p. 25.
 14. Although venerated by some commentators, others were less complimentary to Wilson. Harold Nicolson referred to the ‘slowness of the President’s own mental processes’ at the Versailles peace talks in H. Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (London: Constable, 1944) p. 72. A more sympathetic portrait is provided by E.J. Dillon, *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference* (New York: Harper, 1920) pp. 89–116. See also R. Paris, ‘Wilson’s Ghost: The Faulty Assumptions of Postconflict Peacebuilding’, in C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson and P. Aall (eds) *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001) pp. 765–84.
 15. Discussion of Wilson’s vision and reactions to it can be found in A. Williams, *Failed Imagination? New World Orders of The Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) pp. 19–78.
 16. Speech delivered by President Woodrow Wilson to a Joint Session of Congress 8 January 1918. Point 14.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. *Ibid.*, Point 3.
 19. Address by President Woodrow Wilson to Sixty-Fifth Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document No. 5, 2 April 1917.
 20. H. Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994) p. 226–7.
 21. A. Williams, ‘Post-war reconstruction before World War Two’, paper presented at the Department of Politics seminar series, University of York (14 November 2003).
 22. For commentary on pessimistic accounts of the League’s capability to deal with international crises, see D. Birn, *The League of Nations Union, 1918–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) pp. 226–9.
 23. S. Marks, *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe 1918–1933* (London: Macmillan, 1976).
 24. The text of the Atlantic Charter can be accessed at www.usinfo.state.gov.
 25. Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations.
 26. Winston Churchill intended that the Atlantic Charter would only apply to western European states, leaving Eastern and Central Europe to a Soviet fate.
 27. Extract from the ‘Truman Doctrine’ cited in D. Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969) p. 222.
 28. State of the Union Address by President Ronald Reagan to a Joint Session of Congress (4 February 1986).
 29. Cited in the movie *Muhammad Ali – When We Were Kings* (Los Angeles, CA: Universal Pictures, 2001). For similar sentiments see ‘*The Black Scholar* interviews Muhammad Ali’, in G. Early (ed.) *The Muhammad Ali Reader* (New York: Rob Weisbach Books, 1998) pp. 83–89.

30. M. Cox, 'Rethinking the end of the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 20 (1994), pp. 187–200.
31. M. Mandelbaum, *The Ideas that Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy and Free Markets in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002) p. 11.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
33. F. Fukuyama, 'The end of history?' *The National Interest*, (Summer 1989) pp. 3–18 at p. 4. See also, J.L. Gaddis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) pp. 168–92 and Mandelbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
34. M. Doyle, 'Liberalism and world politics', *American Political Science Review*, 80, 4 (1980) pp. 1151–69.
35. Typical of this genre are K. DeRouen and S. Goldfinch, 'Putting the numbers to work: Implications for violence prevention', *Journal of Peace Research*, 41, 1 (2005) pp. 27–45 and M. Benson, 'Dyadic hostility and the ties that bind: state-to-state versus state-to-system security and economic relationships', *Journal of Peace Research*, 41, 6 (2004) pp. 659–76.
36. E.A. Henderson, *Democracy and War: The End of an Illusion?* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) p. 2.
37. B. Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping* (New York: United Nations, 1992) p. 35.
38. S.M. Lynne Jones, 'Preface', in M.E. Brown, O.R. Coté, S.M. Lynne Jones and S.E. Miller (eds) *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996) pp. ix–xxxiii.
39. J.M. Owen, 'How liberalism produces democratic peace', in M.E. Brown, O.R. Coté Jr., S.M. Lynn Jones and S.E. Miller (eds) *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996) pp. 116–54 at p. 117.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
41. J. Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) pp. 44–5.
42. Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
43. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
44. See M. Cox, G.J. Ikenberry and T. Inoguchi (eds) *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies and Impacts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
45. A. Mack, 'Civil war: academic research and the policy community', *Journal of Peace Research*, 39, 5 (2002) pp. 515–25 at p. 516.
46. R. Smith, 'The unfinished tasks of liberalism', in B. Yack (ed.) *Liberalism without Illusions: Essays on Liberal Theory and The Political Vision of Judith N. Shklar* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1996) pp. 241–62 at pp. 241–2.
47. W. Kymlicka provides an excellent discussion of the tension between rights for the individual and the group in *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) pp. 39–48.
48. J. MacMillan, *On Liberal Peace: Democracy, War and the International Order* (London: I.B. Taurus, 1998) p. 13.
49. Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
50. Mandelbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Mandelbaum's argument that the legitimacy of the market has never been so widely accepted is contested by opponents of globalisation. See, for example, A. Callinicos, *Against the Third Way* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001) pp. 28–43.

51. Mandelbaum, *op cit.*, p. 265.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
54. R. Falk, 'Global Civil Society and the Democratic Prospect', in B. Holden (ed.) *Global Democracy: Key Debates* (London: Routledge, 2000) pp. 162–78 at p. 171.
55. R. Sandbrook, *Closing the Circle: Democratization and Development in Africa* (London: Zed Books, 2000) p. 11.
56. G. Soros, *The Bubble of American Supremacy: Correcting the Misuses of American Power* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004) p. 10.
57. This was certainly the author's impression during observation of UN sponsored women's empowerment schemes in Jordan, December 2004.
58. R. England, 'Market forces can help fight AIDS', *Financial Times*, 12 July 2004.
59. K. Good, *The Liberal Model and Africa* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002) p. 71.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 75–88.
61. See examples in G. Kemp and D. Fry (eds) *Keeping the Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peaceful Societies around the World* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
62. Chua, *op. cit.*
63. A. Karatnycky, 'Freedom in the world 2003: Liberty's expansion in a turbulent world – thirty years of the survey of freedom', www.freedomhouse.org.
64. Sandbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
65. Burnell provides an account of the expansion of democracy assistance in the 1990s in P. Burnell, 'Democracy Assistance: Origins and Organizations', in P. Burnell (ed.) *Democracy Assistance: International Cooperation for Democratization* (London: Frank Cass, 2000) pp. 34–64 at pp. 39–44.
66. T. D. Sisk, 'Elections – Conflict Management in Africa: Conclusions and Recommendations', in T.D. Sisk and A. Reynolds, *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998) p. 147.
67. M. Bratton, 'Second Elections in Africa', in L. Diamond and M.F. Plattner (eds) *Democratization in Africa* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) pp. 18–33 at p. 19.
68. S. Bastian and R. Luckham, 'Introduction: Can Democracy be Designed?', in Bastian and Luckham (eds) *Can Democracy be Designed? The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-Torn Societies* (London: Zed Books, 2003) pp. 1–13 at p. 1.
69. F. B. Adamson, 'International Democracy Assistance in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan', in S.E. Mendelson and J.K. Glenn (eds) *The Power and Limits of NGOs: A Critical Look at Building Democracy in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) pp. 177–206 at p. 178.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
71. M.A.M. Salih, *African Democracies and African Politics* (London: Pluto, 2001) p. 3.
72. For conceptual and case study coverage of this issue see D. Rapport and L. Weinberg (eds) *The Democratic Experience and Political Violence* (London: Frank Cass, 2001). See also A. Mack, S. Gates and K. Strøm, 'Democratic institutions: governance and civil war', concept paper for Democratic Institutions Workshop, 7–9 June 2004, Bellagio, Italy.
73. B. Reilly, 'Electoral systems for divided societies', *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 2 (2002) pp. 156–70 and L. Garber and K. Kumar, 'What have we learned

- about post-conflict elections?', *New England Journal of Public Policy*, 14, 1 (1998) pp. 25–43.
74. J. Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World: Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001) pp. 43–5.
 75. Adamson, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
 76. V.P. Gagnon Jr, 'International NGOs in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Attempting to Build Civil Society', in Mendelson and Glenn (eds) *op. cit.*, pp. 207–31 at p. 223–4.
 77. S. Barakat and M. Chard, 'Theories, rhetoric and practice: recovering the capacities of war-torn societies', *Third World Quarterly*, 23, 5 (2002) pp. 817–35 at p. 823.
 78. In 2003, the US GDP was larger than the *combined* totals of Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom and France (Source: the World Bank). In 2003, the United States spent US\$417.4 bn on its military. The *combined* total of military expenditure for the next 14 highest military spenders was \$316.5 bn. Figures are in constant 2000 dollars and calculated according to SIPRI data: http://web.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex_major_spenders.pdf (2004). On the strategic capability of the United States see R. Kagan, *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003) p. 26.
 79. R. Khaldi, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 2004) p. 153.
 80. Ignatieff, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
 81. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
 82. G.J. Ikenberry, 'American power and the empire of capitalist democracy', *Review of International Studies*, 27, (2001), pp. 191–212 at p. 192. It is worth noting that Ikenberry denies that the United States is an empire. M. Kaldor also questions whether the United States is 'truly an empire' in 'American Power: from "compellence" to cosmopolitanism', *International Affairs*, 79, 1 (2003) pp. 1–22.
 83. G.J. Ikenberry, 'Democracy, Institutions, and American Restraint' in G.J. Ikenberry (ed.) *America Unrivalled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002) pp. 213–238 at p. 215.
 84. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
 85. Mandelbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
 86. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
 87. MacMillan, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

3 Conflict

1. E. Conteh-Morgan, *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts* (New York: Routledge, 2004) p. 1.
2. J. Darby, *What's Wrong with Conflict?* (Centre for the Study of Conflict, Coleraine: University of Ulster, 1995) p. 1.
3. See 'Seeking shelter for the night: Uganda's "night commuter" children', www.msf.org (23 March 2004) and 'Flood of "night commuter" children rises in northern Uganda', www.tearfund.org (17 June 2004) accessed on 1 March 2005. See also Meera Selva, 'The mystic and his brutal army of child soldiers', *The Independent* (30 July 2004).

4. Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *Against All Odds: Promoting the Protection and Capacity of Ugandan and Sudanese Adolescents in Northern Uganda – Participatory Research Study with Adolescents in Northern Uganda May–July 2001* (New York: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2001) pp. 42–3.
5. Datasets include those maintained by the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at the University of Uppsala, the Correlates of War dataset at the University of Michigan, and the now defunct PIOOM (Interdisciplinary Research Programme on the Root Causes of Human Rights Violations).
6. M. Eriksson, P. Wallenstein and M. Sollenberg, 'Armed conflict, 1989–2002', *Journal of Peace Research*, 40, 5 (2003), pp. 593–607.
7. T. Gurr and B. Harff, *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994) p. 13.
8. P. Wallenstein and M. Sollenberg, 'Armed Conflicts, Conflict Termination and Peace Agreements, 1989–96', in M. Sollenberg (ed.), *States in Armed Conflict 1996* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1997), pp. 7–12 at p. 7.
9. Eriksson, Wallenstein and Sollenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 593.
10. R. Brubaker and D.D. Laitin, 'Ethnic and nationalist violence', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24 (1998) pp. 423–54 at p. 424.
11. T. Gurr identifies 275 substantial ethnic or communal minorities at risk in his *People Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000) p. 8.
12. T. Gurr, 'Ethnic warfare on the wane', *Foreign Affairs*, 79, 3 (May/June 2000) pp. 52–64.
13. Two influential works in this regard were D.P. Moynihan, *Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) and M. Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).
14. D.L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983) p. xi. S. Huntington's 'The clash of civilizations?' essay was seminal in popularising ethnic explanations, *Foreign Affairs*, 72 (1993) pp. 22–49. For a more cautious view of the term 'ethnic conflict' see J.R. Bowen, 'The myth of global ethnic conflict', *Journal of Democracy*, 7, 4 (1996) pp. 3–14.
15. N.P. Gleditsch, P. Wallenstein, M. Eriksson, M. Sollenberg and H. Strand, 'Armed conflict 1946–2001: a new dataset', *Journal of Peace Research*, 39, 5 (2002) pp. 615–37 at p. 619.
16. Eriksson, Wallenstein and Sollenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 593.
17. P.B. Spiegel, M. Sheik, B.A. Woodruff and G. Burnham, 'The accuracy of mortality reporting in displaced persons camps during the post-emergency phase', *Disasters*, 25, 2 (2001) pp. 172–80.
18. A.J. Jongman, 'The world conflict and human rights map 2000: the PIOOM Experience with mapping dimensions of contemporary conflicts and human rights violations', paper prepared for the Uppsala Conference on Conflict Data, 7–10 June 2001 and www.freedomhouse.org.
19. 'US aim in Iraq: "Lightning action" ', *USA Today* (27 September 2002).
20. This issue, and suggested corrective measures, are discussed in P.B. Spiegel, M. Sheik, B.A. Woodruff and G. Burnham, *op. cit.*

21. A good background account of the war in Nepal can be found in M. Hutt (ed. *Himalayan 'People's War': Nepal's Maoist Rebellion* (London: Hurst, 2004).
22. The complexity of Nepalese constitutional politics is explained in M. Chadda, *Building Democracy in South Asia: India, Nepal, Pakistan* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000) pp. 111–42.
23. See, for example, 'Nepalese Maoists may accept monarchy', *BBC News Online* (23 January 2004).
24. Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Central Committee, 'Press Statement' (25 March 2004).
25. 'Statement by Comrade Prachanda, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) 27 August 2003', Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario website.
26. 'Interview with Chairman Prachanda, leader of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), 28 May 2001', *A World To Win*, 27 (2001).
27. R. Bevacqua, 'Nepal and the "War on Terror"', Japan Policy Research Institute Working Paper, 100 (May 2004). See also 'Nepal Timeline', *BBC News Online*, (2 June 2004) and 'US deplores unleashing of violence by Maoists', *Gorkhapatra Daily* (13 September 2003).
28. P. Collier, 'Economic causes of civil conflict and their implications for policy', World Bank Policy Paper (15 June 2000) p. 2.
29. W. Reno, 'War, markets, and the reconfiguration of West Africa's weak states', *Comparative Politics*, 29, 4 (1997) pp. 493–510 and W. Reno, 'African weak states and commercial alliances', *African Affairs*, 96 (1997) pp. 165–85.
30. Collier, *op. cit.*
31. For critiques see D. Lemke, 'African lessons for international relations research', *World Politics*, 56 (October 2003) pp. 114–38 and R. Mac Ginty 'Looting in the context of violent conflict: a conceptualisation and typology', *Third World Quarterly*, 25, 5 (2004) pp. 857–70 at p. 858. For a discussion of how quantitative peace research can be made more accessible, see R.P. Smith, 'Quantitative methods in peace research', *Journal of Peace Research*, 35, 4 (1998) pp. 418–27.
32. Paul Collier, the author most closely associated with the greed thesis, is Research Director at the World Bank. See his *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy* (Washington, DC and New York: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2003).
33. C. Young, 'Explaining the Conflict Potential of Ethnicity', in J. Darby and R. Mac Ginty (eds.) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) pp. 9–18 at p. 14.
34. A.D. Smith, 'Interpretations of National Identity', in A. Dieckhoff and N. Gutiérrez (eds.) *Modern Roots: Studies of National Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) pp. 21–43 at p. 37.
35. W. Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994) p. 204.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 205–6.
38. C. Mitchell, 'Necessitous Man and Conflict Resolution: More Basic Questions about Basic Human Needs Theory', in J. Burton (ed.) *Conflict: Human Needs Theory* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990) pp. 149–76 at p. 153.
39. A.H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 3rd edn (New York: Harper Collins, 1987).

40. J. Burton, *Violence Explained* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) p. 38.
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47. L. Wells and G. Marwell, *Self-esteem: Its Conceptualisation and Measurement* (London: Sage, 1976) p. 67.
48. J. Macrae, M. Bradbury, S. Jaspers, D. Johnson and M. Duffield, 'Conflict, the continuum and chronic emergencies: a critical analysis of the scope for linking relief, rehabilitation and development planning in Sudan', *Disasters*, 21, 3 (1997) pp. 223–43.
49. See list of characteristics of 'Chronically Vulnerable Areas', in D. Maxwell, 'Programmes in Chronically Vulnerable Areas: Challenges and Lessons Learned', *Disasters*, 23, 4 (1999) pp. 373–84 at p. 376.
50. S. Moeller, *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sells Disease, Famine, War and Death* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
51. J. Macrae, M. Bradbury, S. Jaspers, D. Johnson and M. Duffield, *op. cit.*
52. For a discussion of the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army see R. Brynen, 'Palestinian-Lebanese Relations: A Political Analysis', in D. Collings (eds.) *Peace for Lebanon? From War to Reconstruction* (Boulder, CO Lynne Rienner, 1994) pp. 83–96.

4 Critical peace assessment

1. Sophisticated conflict assessment models have been pioneered by government donors such as DFID and USAID, and NGOs such as International Alert. See, Department for International Development (DFID), *Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes* (London: DFID, 2002); USAID Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, 'Conducting a conflict assessment: a framework for analysis and program development', (9 May 2004); P. Ardon, N. Karuru, M. Lionhardt and A. Sherriff, *PCIA as a Peacebuilding Tool* (London: International Alert, 2002) <http://www.international-alert.org/pdf/pubdev/pcia.pdf> accessed on 13 January 2005. See also, C. Roche, *Impact Assessment for Development Agencies: Learning to Value Change* (Oxford: Oxfam, 1999). For a more education-specific conflict assessment model see, Canadian International Development Agency, 'Education, Conflict and Peacebuilding: A diagnostic tool', www.acdi-cida.gc.ca.

2. N. Dodds, 'Only we can deliver a deal', *Guardian* (17 August 2005).
3. See, for example, S. Bose, *Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention* (London: Hurst, 2002).
4. UNHCR Press Release, 'One millionth returnee goes home in Bosnia and Herzegovina' (21 September 2004) www.unhcr.ch.
5. USAID, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
6. *Ibid.*
7. For discussion of Guatemala's post accord experiences, see C. Moser and C. McIlwaine, *Violence in a Post-conflict Context: Urban Poor Perceptions from Guatemala* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2001).
8. See, for example, M. Sommers, *Urbanization, War, and Africa's Youth at Risk* (Washington, DC: USAID and Basic Education Policy Support, 2003) and Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *Untapped Potential: Adolescents Affected by Armed Conflict – A Review of Programs and Policies* (New York: WCRWC, 2000).
9. D. Lemke, 'African lessons for international relations research', *World Politics*, 56 (October 2003) pp. 114–38 at p. 115.
10. H. Kline, *State Building and Conflict Resolution in Colombia, 1986–1994* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2001) pp. 85–118.
11. See B.F. Walter, 'Designing transitions from civil war: demobilization, democratization and commitments to peace', *International Security*, 24, 1 (Summer 1999) pp. 127–55.
12. J. Darby, *The Effects of Violence on Peace Processes* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001) pp. 47–8.
13. Perhaps the seminal contribution to the 'new barbarism' corpus came with R. Kaplan's 'The coming anarchy', *Elmwood Quarterly* (1994) pp. 11–24. For a commentary on the likening of contemporary warfare to medieval wars see N. Winn (ed.) *Neo-medievalism and Civil Wars* (London: Frank Cass, 2004).
14. Indeed, development aid is increasingly targeted at those states deemed the most capable, 'US to direct its aid only to best governed countries', *Financial Times* (18 February 2005).
15. This has certainly been the impression gained by the author following numerous research trips to the former Yugoslavia and Northern Ireland.
16. Excellent consideration of methodological and ethnographic research requirements in deeply divided societies can be found in M. Smyth and G. Robinson (eds) *Researching Violently Divided Societies: Ethical and Methodological Issues* (London and Tokyo: Pluto and United Nations University Press, 2001). See also, R. Lee and E. Stank (eds) *Researching Violence: Essays on Methodology and Measurement* (London: Routledge, 2001).
17. The devolution-monitoring programme in Northern Ireland, for example, is conducted by academics and NGOs and its updates are eagerly awaited as non-partisan assessments of the performance of devolved governance in the wake of the peace accord.
18. N.D. White provides a very useful review of UN observation and monitoring missions 1947–92 in *Keeping the Peace: The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) pp. 215–30. See also S. Hill and S. Malik, *Peacekeeping and the United Nations* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1996).

19. N.D.White, *Keeping the Peace: The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 215.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
21. 'Monitoring Committee for Cotabato peace zones to be formed', *Minda News*, III, 18 (11 June 2004) and 'Peace Agreement Between the Government of Liberia (GOL), The Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), The Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and the Political Parties', Accra, Ghana (18 August 2003).
22. Protocol concerning the Peace Monitoring Group made pursuant to (and amending) the Agreement between Australia, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu concerning the Neutral Peace Truce Monitoring Group for Bougainville of 5 December 1997, Australia Treaty Series (1998) no. 12, Article 4.
23. See, for example, 'IMC report lacks credibility', Sinn Féin press release, www.sinnfein.ie (24 April 2004) accessed on 6 May 2005.
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25. S. Barakat, M. Chard, T. Jacoby and W. Lume, 'The composite approach: research design in the context of war and armed conflict', *Third World Quarterly*, 23, 5 (2002) pp. 991–1003 at p. 991.
26. The concept of 'ethnic censuses' is explored in D. Kertzer and D. Ariel (eds) *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity and Language in National Censuses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
27. See R. Chambers, 'The origins and practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal', *World Development*, 22, 7 (1994) pp. 953–69 and R. Chambers, 'Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): Analysis of experience', *World Development*, 22, 9 (1994)– pp. 1253–68.
28. W. Cooke and U. Kothari (eds) *Participation: The New Tyranny* (London: Zed Books, 2002).
29. The pitfalls of referendums in deeply divided societies are recounted in R. Mac Ginty, 'Constitutional referendums and ethnonational conflict: the case of Northern Ireland', *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, 9, 2 (2003) pp. 1–22; J. Haskell, *Direct Democracy or Representative Government? Dispelling the Populist Myth* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2001) and B. Reilly, 'Democratic validation' in J. Darby and R. Mac Ginty (eds) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) pp. 174–83.
30. S. Hickey and G. Moran, 'Participation: from tyranny to transformation?', briefing paper presented to the 'Bridging Research and Policy' Development Studies Association Conference, London (12 November 2004).
31. DFID, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–29.
36. USAID, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

38. M.E. Brown, 'The Causes of Internal Conflicts: An Overview', in M.E. Brown, O.R. Coté Jr., S.M. Lynn-Jones and S.E. Miller (eds), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press, 1997) pp. 3–25 at p. 15.
39. USAID, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
40. S.J. Stedman, 'Policy Implications', in S.J. Stedman, D. Rothchild and E.M. Cousens (eds) *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) pp. 663–71.

5 Peace accords thwarted by violence

1. Background on the Kosovo war and its aftermath can be found in W. O'Neill, *Kosovo: An Unfinished Peace* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) and T. Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000).
2. For accounts of the violence see 'Kosovo rioters burn Serb churches' (18 March 2004) and 'NATO troops tackle Kosovo discord' (20 March 2004) both from *BBC News Online*, www.news.bbc.co.uk; Human Rights Watch, 'Failure to Protect: Anti-minority violence in Kosovo, March 2004', www.hr.org; United Nations Mission in Kosovo, 'Condemning violence in Kosovo, Security Council demands return to rule of law', *UNMIK Online* (18 March 2004) www.unmikonline.org accessed on 2 February 2005.
3. 'No evidence over Kosovo drowning', *BBC News Online* (28 April 2004) www.news.bbc.co.uk.
4. Those attempting to defend a peace accord may wish to re-brand continuing or mutating violence as a 'security' issue, thus simultaneously making the points that there has been a qualitative change in the conflict (from civil war between groups to a criminal assault on a new political dispensation) and staking a claim to the righteousness of the pro-peace accord position. But such terminological deftness cannot mask the persistence of violence.
5. N. Ball, 'The Challenge of Rebuilding War-Torn Societies', in C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson and P. Aall (eds), *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington, DC: USIP Press, 2001) pp. 719–36 at p. 721. See also a similar list of factors that complicate the ending of civil wars in S.J. Stedman, 'Implementing peace agreements in civil wars: lessons and recommendations for policymakers', IPA Policy Paper on Peace Implementation (New York: International Peace Academy, May 2001).
6. Hence the tendency in some peace processes to locate negotiations away from the conflict area. For example, negotiations between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers took place in Thailand (September 2002), Norway (December 2002), Berlin (February 2003) and London (June 2003). The first meeting of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas took place in the Dead Sea resort of Sharm al-Sheikh, Egypt in February 2005. J. Egeland describes another set of overseas peace talks in 'The Oslo Accord: Multiparty Facilitation through the Norwegian Channel', in C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson and P. Aall (eds), *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999) pp. 529–46.

7. R. Licklider, 'Obstacles to Peace Settlements', in C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson and P. Aall (eds), *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999) pp. 697–718 at p. 703.
8. See, for example, the furore following the December 2004 robbery of the Northern Bank in Northern Ireland. Although thought to be the largest bank robbery in European history, it was not a particularly violent incident by the standards of the violent conflict that preceded it.
9. S.J. Stedman, 'Spoiler problems in peace processes', *International Security*, 22, 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 5–53 at p. 5. For a reprise of his argument, including a defence against criticism, see S.J. Stedman, 'Peace Processes and the Challenges of Violence', in J. Darby and R. Mac Ginty (eds), *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) pp. 103–113.
10. Stedman (1997), 'Spoiler problems in peace processes', *International Security*, 22, 2 (Fall 1997) p. 10.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–12.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
15. J. Darby, *The Effects of Violence on Peace Processes* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001) pp. 120–1.
16. M.J. Zahar, 'Reframing the spoiler debate in peace processes' in J. Darby and R. Mac Ginty eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 114–24.
17. For example, the first Irish government made a point of calling anti-Treaty Irish Republican Army forces 'Irregulars'. See, M. Hopkinson, *Green Against Green: The Irish Civil War* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2004) p. 180.
18. See, for example, 'Anti-Iraqi forces fire on marines from mosque' or 'IEDS brings prison terms for anti-Iraqi forces' both United States Central Command News Release, (19 April 2004) and (16 August 2004) respectively.
19. See, for example, 'Anti-Iraqi forces over the weekend', *New York Jewish Times* (31 August 2004); 'US soldier killed; Dozens of anti-Iraqi fighters captured', *Tri-State News* (30 July 2004).
20. P. Richards, *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone* (London and Oxford: The International African Institute and James Currey, 2002) p. xvi.
21. Quotations from A. Nüsse, *Muslim Palestine: The Ideology of Hamas* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998) pp. 146–9.
22. E. Said, *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After*, 2nd edition (London: Granta Books, 2002).
23. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
24. The was a key finding of a United Nations University research seminar on spoiler violence in peace processes, Bruges, 16–17 December 2003.
25. G. Stephanopoulos, *All Too Human: A Political Education* (London: Hutchinson, 1999), p. 190.
26. 'Palestinians arrest Jihad activists after bombing', www.cnn.com (7 November 1998).
27. J. Darby, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–50.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

29. J. Darby, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
30. Stedman (1997) uses the examples of Angola in 1992 (300,000 dead) and Rwanda in 1994 (1 million dead) to illustrate the costs when spoilers prevail, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
31. Ceasefire observance was by no means total or universal, but the main militant organisations generally ceased their attacks on the state and each other, while the state toned down its overt security responses.
32. 'Sharp rise in intimidation', *BBC News Online* (23 September 2004) www.news.bbc.co.uk accessed on 12 February 2005 and 'Violence in Ulster drives 1,240 people from homes', *Guardian* (24 September 2004).
33. 'JVP says Ranil's MOU with Prabhakaran unconstitutional and call it a surrender of the country to LTTE terrorists', www.lankaweb.com (undated) accessed on 13 February 2005.
34. R. Mac Ginty, 'Unionist political attitudes after the Belfast Agreement', *Irish Political Studies*, 19, 1 (2004) pp. 87–99.
35. R. Mac Ginty, 'Constitutional referendums and ethnonational conflict: the case of Northern Ireland', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 9, 2 (2003) pp. 1–22.
36. Cited in 'Kosovo residents still on edge', *BBC News Online* (23 March 2004) <http://www.news.bbc.co.uk> accessed on 2 February 2005.
37. Full results from the Northern Ireland Life and Times survey of political attitudes (1998–2003) can be found online: <http://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/results/polatt.html> accessed on 15 April 2005.
38. R. Gould crystallises feuds in terms of group versus individual tensions in 'Collective violence and group solidarity: evidence from a feuding society', *American Sociological Review*, 64 (1999) pp. 356–80.
39. Darby, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
40. See, for example, C. Steenkamp, 'The legacy of war: conceptualizing a "culture of violence" to explain violence after peace accords', *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 94, 379, (2005) pp. 253–67.
41. See, T. German, *Russia's Chechen War* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003) and J.B. Dunlop, *Russia Confronts Chechnya: Roots of a Separatist Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
42. A. Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1999) p. 351.
43. A. Matveeva, 'Chechnya: Drive for Independence or Hotbed for Islamic Terrorism?', in P. van Tongeren, H. van de Veen and J. Verhoeven (eds), *Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) pp. 354–73.
44. Cited in Ian Traynor, 'Russia rebuffs Chechen peace overture', *Guardian* (12 October 1999).
45. 'Russians "paid Maskhadov bounty"', *BBC News Online* (15 March 2005) <http://www.news.bbc.co.uk>.
46. Namibia, for example, has not mirrored South Africa's dramatic rise in crime rates.
47. T. Farer, 'Introduction', in T. Farer (ed.) *Transnational Crime in the Americas* (New York: Routledge, 1999) pp. xiii–xvi.
48. Human Rights Watch reported 48 deaths from lynching in Guatemala in 1999 and 22 instances of lynching or attempted lynching in the first half of 2000. See 'Guatemala: Human Rights Developments' in *Human Rights Watch*

World Report 2001 available at www.hrw.org/wr2k1/americas/guatemala.html accessed on 22 March 2005.

49. J. Brewer, B. Lockhart and P. Rodgers 'Informal social control and crime management in Belfast', *British Journal of Sociology*, 49, 4 (1998) pp. 570–85.
50. These factors are more fully explained in R. Mac Ginty, 'Crime after Peace Accords', in J. Darby (ed.) *Violence and Reconstruction* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).
51. See the 'Culture of Violence' typology in Steenkamp, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
52. C. Tilly, *op. cit.* at p. 21.
53. A. Özerdem, 'Vocational training of former Kosovo Liberation Army combatants: For what purpose and end?' *Conflict, Security and Development*, 3, 3 (2003) pp. 383–405.
54. W. Reno, 'War, markets, and the reconfiguration of West Africa's weak states', *Comparative Politics*, 29, 4 (1997) pp. 493–510 at p. 495.
55. M. Masiwa, 'The fast track resettlement programme in Zimbabwe: disparity between policy design and implementation', *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 94, 379 (2005) pp. 217–24 and N.H. Thomas, 'Land reform in Zimbabwe', *Third World Quarterly*, 24, 4 (2003) pp. 691–712 at p. 700. It is worth noting that many of the so-called veterans engaged in land disputes around 2000 were not literally war veterans from the war of the national liberation in the 1970s. The adoption of the label veterans, however, is revealing.
56. It was estimated that there were 4 million illegal firearms in South Africa by the end of 1997, P. du Toit, *South Africa's Brittle Peace: The Problems of Post-Settlement Violence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) p. 50.
57. M. Knight and A. Özerdem provide an excellent critical appraisal of the complexity of DDR in 'Guns, camps and cash: disarmament, demobilization and reinsertion of former combatants in transitions from war to peace', *Journal of Peace Research*, 41, 4 (2004) pp. 499–516.
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59. An excellent description of the conflict is provided in S. Dinnen, 'Winners and losers: politics and disorder in the Solomon Islands 2000–2002', *Journal of Pacific History*, 37, 3 (2002) pp. 285–98. See also, R. Liloqula and A. Aruhe'eta Pollard, 'Understanding conflict in Solomon Islands: a practical means to peacemaking', Discussion Paper 7 (Canberra: Australian National University, 2000).
60. *Ibid.*
61. C. Call, 'Crime and peace: why do successful peace processes produce the world's most violent countries', paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Washington, DC (February 1999), p. 1.
62. J. Schirmer provides a fascinating overview of the civil-military overlap in 'The Guatemalan Politico-Military Project: legacies of the violent peace', *Latin American Perspectives*, 26, 2 (1999) pp. 92–107.

6 The elusive peace dividend

1. R. Brynne, *A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000) p. 4.

2. K. Gonachar and T. Roetger, 'Assisting conversion and company restructuring in Moldova', Bonn International Center for Conversion, Brief 19 (October 2001) p. 13.
3. S. Makdisi, *The Lessons of Lebanon: The Economics of War and Development* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004) p. 150.
4. B. Kamphuis, 'Economic Policy for Building Peace', in G. Junne and W. Verkoren (eds), *Postconflict Development: Meeting New Challenges* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005) pp. 185–210 at p. 191.
5. T. Addison, A.R. Chowdhury and S.M. Murshed, 'The Fiscal Dimensions of Conflict and Reconstruction', in T. Addison and A. Roe (eds), *Fiscal Policy for Development, Poverty, Reconstruction and Growth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) pp. 260–73 at p. 254.
6. An example of rendering post-war societies fit for consumption rather than production can be seen in Rory Carroll's 'Cola wars as Coke moves on Baghdad', *Guardian* (5 July 2005).
7. S.L. Woodward, 'Economic priorities for successful peace implementation', in S. Stedman, D. Rothchild and E. Cousins (eds), *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) pp. 183–214 at p. 184.
8. See, for example, the intertwining of peace with prosperity in 'Remarks by the President to the Corporate Council on Africa's U.S.–Africa Business Summit', Washington, DC (26 June 2003).
9. K. Hartley, *Economic Aspects of Disarmament: Disarmament as an investment process* (New York: United Nations, 1993) pp. 67–8.
10. D. Braddon, *Exploding the Myth? The Peace Dividend, Regions and Market Adjustment* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000) p. 182.
11. Annual Human Development Reports can be found at www.undp.org.
12. P. Collier, 'Development and security', 12th Bradford Development Lecture, University of Bradford (11 November 2004).
13. *Ibid.*
14. S. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001) pp. 7–9.
15. See C. Moyroud and J. Katunga, 'Coltan exploitation in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo', P. Goldsmith, L. Abura and J. Switzer, 'Oil and Water in Sudan' and F. Flintan and I. Tamrat, 'Spilling blood over water? The case of Ethiopia', in J. Lind and K. Sturman (eds), *Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2002) pp. 159–85, 187–241 and 243–319. Coltan, or columbite-tantalite is a metal ore used in the manufacture of mobile phone circuit boards.
16. See MILF website at <http://www.luwaran.com/> accessed on 28 March 2005.
17. UNDP Human Development Indicators (2004) p. 205.
18. T. Brück, 'The Economics of Civil War in Mozambique', in J. Brauer and K. Hartley (eds), *The Economics of Regional Security: NATO: The Mediterranean and Southern Africa* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000) pp. 191–215 at p. 208.
19. R. Brynen, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
20. N.J. Colletta and M.L. Cullen, *Violent Conflict and the Transformation of Social Capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala and Somalia* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2000) p. 109.

21. C. Nordstrom, *Shadows of War: Violence, Power, and International Profiteering in the Twenty-First Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).
22. *Ibid.*
23. For a critical approach to the concept of corruption see E. Brown, J. Cloke and M. Sohail, 'Key myths about corruption', A briefing paper for a workshop on corruption and development', Development Studies Association Annual Conference, Westminster, London (6 November 2004).
24. Discussion of the definition of corruption can be found in P. Le Billon, 'Buying peace or fuelling war: the role of corruption in armed conflict', *Journal of International Development*, 15 (2003) pp. 413–26.
25. Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–9 and 108.
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