THE UNITED NATIONS

AS A SECURITY POLITICAL ACTOR - WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON AFRICA

Bjørn Møller

DIIS REPORT 2005:11

© Copenhagen 2005

Danish Institute for International Studies, DIIS

Strandgade 56, DK -1401 Copenhagen, Denmark

Ph: +45 32 69 87 87 Fax: +45 32 69 87 00 E-mail: diis@diis.dk Web: www.diis.dk

Cover Design: Carsten Schiøler Layout: Allan Lind Jørgensen Printed in Denmark by Vesterkopi AS

ISBN: 87-7605-101-3

Price: DKK 50.00 (VAT included) DIIS publications can be downloaded free of charge from www.diis.dk

Hardcopies can be ordered at www.diis.dk

This publication is part of DIIS's Defence and Security Studies project which is funded by a grant from the Danish Ministry of Defence.

Bjørn Møller holds an MA in History and a Ph.D. in International Relations, both from the University of Copenhagen. Since 1985, he has been (senior) research fellow, subsequently programme director at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), which in 2003 became part of the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS). He served as Secretary General of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) from 1997 to 2000, and is External Lecturer at the Department of Political Science and the Centre of African Studies (both at the University of Copenhagen) as well as at the research centre on Development and International Relations (DIR) at Aalborg University. In addition to being the author of numerous articles and editor of seven anthologies, he is the author of three books. He is presently writing a two-volume book on Civil Wars, Genocides and Interventions. African Conflicts and Conflict Management.

DIIS REPORT 2005:11

Table of Contents

Abstract	4
Executive Summary	5
Preface: What to Understand by Security	7
The Global Security Role of the United Nations The UN and "National" Security	9 9
The UN and Societal Security The UN and Human Security The UN and Environmental Security	11 15 16
The UN and Its Partners The Inherent Problems of International Organisations Collaboration with NGOs and International Business Collaboration with States and Regional Organisations	19 19 20 21
The UN and the National Security of African States The Constitutive Role: Decolonisation and Independence The (Re)Constructive Role: State-Building and Reconstruction The Protective Role (1): Collective Security The Protective Role (2): Peacekeeping	26 26 31 35 39
The UN and the Societal Security of African Peoples The UN, Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in Rwanda and Sudan The UN and Apartheid	46 46 49
The UN and the Human Security of Africans Poverty and Human Security Child Soldiers Wartime Rape Victims	51 51 56 56
The UN and Environmental Security in Africa Human Threats to the Environment Environmental Threats to Man	59 59 60
Conclusion and Perspectives	66
Notes	70
DIIS's Defence and Security Studies	120

Abstract

The report analysis the UN's role in the provision of four different forms of security – national, societal, human and environmental security – both in general terms and with regard to Africa. It also contacins brief surveys of the UN's collaboration with regional and subregional organisations and of envisaged UN reforms.

Executive Summary

The report analyses the role of the United Nations with regard to security, in several different senses of the word, i.e. national, societal, human and environmental security, first in theoretical and general terms and subsequently with regard to Africa.

As far as national security (i.e. the security of states as such) is concerned, it distinguishes between constitutive, reconstructive and protective roles, i.e. the UN's role in bringing African states into being in the first place, its role in helping reconstructing failed states and in protecting (by means collective security or peacekeeping missions) existing and functioning states, respectively. This is followed by an analysis of the UN's role in safeguarding societal security, i.e. indentity and cohesion of societal groups such as nations or ethnic groups, e.g. against genocide and racism. Next comes an analysis of human security roles, intended to protect the survival and well-being of individuals against such threats as poverty with all its malign consequences. Two special cases of human security threats are mentioned, both affecting the most vulnerable members of society--child soldiers and rape victims. With regard to "environmental security" a distinction is made between threats to the environment such as poaching and threats to human beings related to the environment such as HIV/AIDS and conflicts over natural resources.

These analyses are supplemented with brief accounts of the UN's collaboration with regional and subregional organisations and of envisaged reforms of the UN.

Oversigt

Rapporten analyserer FNs sikkerhedspolitiske rolle mht. forskellige betydninger af begrebet "sikkerhed" – både teoretisk og generelt og mere konkret mht. Afrika.

Hvad angår national sikkerhed, dvs. sikkerhed for stater som sådanne, skelnes der mellem konstitutive, rekonstruktive og beskyttende roller, dvs. mellem FNs rolle i oprettelsen af stater som de afrikanske, i genopbygningen af fejlslagne stater og i beskyttelsen af eksisterende og fungerende stater gennem "kollektive sikkerhedsoperationer" og fredsbevarende indsatser. Herefter følger en analyse

af FNs rolle I sikringen af societal sikkerhed, dvs. samfundsmæssige gruppers (f.eks. nationers) indentitet og sammenholdskraft overfor trusler som racisme og folkemord. Dette følges af en analyse af "human security"-opgaver med det formål at beskytte individer mod trusler som fattigdom med alle dens negative følgevirkninger. To specielle trusler mod særligt udsatte grupper gennemgås nærmere, nemlig tvangsrekrtterede børnesoldater og ofre for voldtægt under væbnede konflikter. For så vidt angør "miljømæssig sikkerhed" skelnes der mellem trusler mod miljøet som sådan (f.eks. krybskytteri) og trusler mod mennesker stammende fra miljøet som f.eks. HIV/AIDS og konflikter over naturressourcer.

Udover disse analyser indeholder rapporten også korte oversigter over FNs samarbejde med regionale og subregionale organisationer samt de planlagte reformer af FN-systemet.

Preface: What To Understand By Security

Peace and security would seem to constitute almost text-book examples of global "collective goods," and as the global organisation *par excellence* the United Nations would appear as the obvious candidate for the provision of such global collective goods. Hence, we should indeed expect the UN to play a major role as a provider of security. However, what to count as a contribution to security depends, of course, on the definition of "security", which is indeed "an essentially contested concept". ²

Arnold Wolfers has suggested a definition which has become standard, according to which "Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked." However, even leaving aside the subjective element this definition leaves open a number of questions, most prominently whose values it is that might be threatened, the nature of these values, the possible sources of threat and the form of the threat. "Security" may thus have different "referent objects" (understood as the entity whose values are at stake) including the state, societal groups, individuals or the environment, usually labelled national, societal, human and environmental security, respectively. For obvious reasons, the values at stake also differ from one

Table 1: Concepts of Security

Label	Referent object	Value at risk	Sources of threat	Form of threat
National security	The State (Regime)	Sovereignty Territorial integrity	Other states (Substate actors)	Military attack
Societal security	Nations societal groups	National unity Identity	(States) Migrants Cultures	Genocide, Ethnic cleansing, Discrimination
Human security	Individuals, Man-kind	Survival, Quality of life	The State Globalisation	Crime, Under- development
Environ- mental security	Eco-system, Species	Sustain- ability	Mankind	Pollution, Warming, Destruction of habitats

category of referent objects to another, and the threats to them may appear from different sources as well as in different forms, as summarised in Table 1.⁴

What further complicates the issue is the fact that "security" or "insecurity" do not have to be conceived of as inherent attributes of issues as such, but might better be viewed as ones that are socially constructed via a speech act ("securitisation)" which entails the claim that a problem is of existential importance, urgent and therefore one that warrants a resort to "extraordinary measures." In principle, it is thus possible for anybody (in the role as "securitising actor") to securitise anything on behalf of a referent object of security which may be anybody or even anything, e.g. the global environment as such or miscellaneous endangered species. 6

Lest the concept of security should become analytically useless, however, one should be cautious about expanding its meaning too far, thereby watering it down by making it all-encompassing – and one should beware of the interplay of corporate or bureaucratic interests, some of which may be served by the labelling of something as a security issue, thereby giving it a higher priority in the battle over budgets, which is not necessarily what the rest of society might want.

The Global Security Role of the United Nations

Even though one might thus, in principle, label just about everything the UN (or any other actor) does as contributions to security, in the following analysis a pragmatic delimitation will be used, which includes all four referent objects of the table above, but mainly in so far as threats to the security of these referent objects has something to do with the deliberate use of force. The threats, the absence of which is denoted at security, thus include, for instance, crime but not decease, and the forceful dislocation of people through armed conflict or ethnic cleansing, but not the flight from natural disasters – and "food security" is taken into consideration only in so far as it is jeopardised by conflict (as all to frequently happens).8

A comprehensive overview of the UN's contributions to security thus defined will be provided, first in general and then more specifically applied to Africa, but in neither case is there any presumption of exhaustiveness. The analysis will be arranged according to the various conceptions of security (i.e. national, societal, human and environmental) but a considerable overlap is inevitable, as the same measures may be contributions to several kinds of security simultaneously – as indeed they preferably should, lest the pursuit of one form jeopardises the other kinds of security.

The UN and "National" Security

The UN has, on paper at least, a pre-eminent role in the provision of national security to its member states, in the sense of underpinning the security of each state against attacks from any other state. Just as had been the case of its predecessor, the League of Nations, ⁹ the UN was thus conceived in 1945 as a collective security system. As such it rests on the twin pillars of a general prohibition of attacks by states against each other and a universal obligation to help such states as are nevertheless the victims of attack. ¹⁰

The UN Charter in article 2.4 thus proscribes not only the actual use of force by states against other states, but also the threat of such use. States are only allowed to use force in (collective or individual) self-defence, and even this right is conditional upon the endorsement of the UN Security Council (article 51). These provisions are not due to any inadvertent "slip of the pen" by the drafters of the UN Charter, but reflect a very deliberate attempt at banning war, as had

been the case of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928.¹¹ The concept of self-defence did, of course, contain a certain ambiguity, but it was certainly not the intention to accept at face value any claim of attacking others in self-defence – if only because Nazi Germany's attack on Poland (1 September 1939) had been argued in such terms.¹² There has all along been some disagreement on the permissibility of "anticipatory self-defence," i.e. pre-emption, and the "war against terror" has raised further questions.¹³ However, there can be no dispute of the intensions of the UN Charter, namely to ban aggression and allow only genuine self-defence, perhaps including the pre-emption of imminent attacks in such cases where a reactive approach is deemed futile, but not preventive wars to forestall the appearance of future threats.¹⁴

The role of the Security Council is pre-eminent, as this body alone has the right to authorise the use of force, be that in self-defence or in order to restore the *status quo ante bellum* after an act of aggression.¹⁵ However, in combination with the Cold War the veto system built into the UN Charter meant that the entire system of collective security was almost still-born and remained ineffectual, as aggressors were in most cases protected by their veto-holding patrons, to say nothing of those cases were the aggressors themselves belonged to the exclusive group of permanent members, the "P5". The UN-authorised war against Iraq in 1991 was thus the first, and to date it remains the only, instance of a genuine collective security operation undertaken under the auspices of the UN.¹⁶

As a partial substitute for such "Chapter VII operations," the UN devoted most of its military activities to peacekeeping (sometimes labelled "Chapter Six-and-a-Half" missions), which has little to do with national security in the traditional sense, as it has in most cases been a matter of preventing an intrastate war from flaring up again through the interpositioning of international peacekeepers.¹⁷ For an overview of the missions see Table 2.¹⁸

Whereas "traditional" peacekeeping has usually been fairly unproblematic because of the modest military demands, the more recent "generations" of peacekeeping have been much more complicated, for several reasons: Most of them have taken place within, rather than between states; at least one of the parties has usually been a non-state actor, often with less than complete control of its armed forces; there has often been no clear and/or uncontested line of demarcation between the formerly warring parties; the truce or peace which the peacekeepers have been intended to keep has often been fragile, inevitably producing a certain

"mission creep"; many of the PKOs have been accompanied by humanitarian emergencies, necessitating a collaboration of the peacekeepers with a host of humanitarian NGOs and agencies; and, finally and potentially most seriously, several have been so urgent that the blue helmets have arrived too late, in too small numbers and with too inadequate equipment to really make much of a difference. While steps have been taken to address these shortcomings, inter alia following the rather severe critique raised in the "Brahimi Report," much remains to be done.

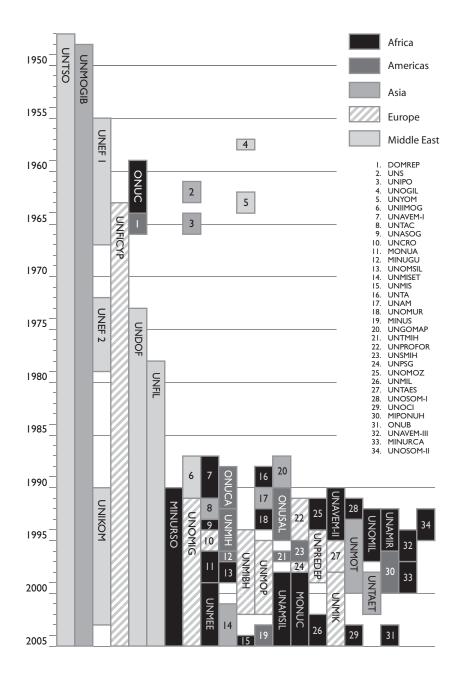
Arguably, the UN has also helped enhance the national security of its member states through arms control and disarmament initiatives, including efforts to stem the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to outlaw certain weapons such as chemical and biological weapons as well as, more recently, anti-personnel landmines.20 However, critics or sceptics contend that this endeavour is either illusory or irrelevant. Whereas the lofty goal of "general and complete disarmament" (GCD) would clearly matter, it is hardly realistic in the foreseeable future, the plethora of UN resolutions calling for it notwithstanding. It is even debatable whether it would be worth pursuing, even if such a disarmed world had been realistic. As "general and complete" is not tantamount to "irreversible," GCD would probably be incompatible with prudent defence planning and it might damage stability, as it would place a high premium on deception and break-out. In a completely disarmed world, the first state to acquire a significant amount of military would enjoy an overwhelming superiority, that none of its neighbours would find acceptable. Hence, everybody would want to guard against such an eventuality, implying that GCD would never be genuine.²¹ Whereas more modest arms control agreements may well be more realistic, they rarely make much of a difference, as they usually simply codify what the signatories have already decided to do.²²

The UN and Societal Security

As far as the more controversial category of "societal security," i.e. the protection of the cohesiveness and identity of human collectives such as nations, ethnic or religious groups, is concerned, the UN also has a role to play.

The most severe threat to societal security is, of course, genocide, to the prevention of which the 1948 Genocide Convention is devoted. ²³ Other threats to societal security include "ethnic cleansing" which falls under the rubric of "crimes against humanity". ²⁵ The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights also





stipulated (art. 2) that the human rights were to apply to "everyone (...) without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status," thereby also indirectly safeguarding the groups to which the said individuals might belong. ²⁶ Its sequels on economic, social and cultural rights and on civil and political rights, respectively, also contain provisions which may protect group identities, ²⁷ as do various other conventions such as that protecting stateless persons and that on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination ²⁸ Some have even argued that a new set of collective human rights are in the making which directly protect group identities, ²⁹ inter alia applying to indigenous peoples. ³⁰

Not only has the UN thus been instrumental in generating international norms protecting societal security, but it has also gradually established an ephemeral machinery for actually enforcing these norms. It has thus established two special tribunals to try cases of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY: International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia) and Rwanda (ICTR, more about which below), respectively, in addition to which

Legend (Tabel 2): DOMREP: Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic; MINUGUA: UN Verification Mission in Guatemala; MINURCA: UN Mission in the Central African Republic; MINURSO: UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara; MINUSTAH: UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti; MIPONUH: UN Civilian Police Mission in Haiti; MONUA: UN Observer Mission in Angola; MONUC: UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; ONUB: UN Operation in Burundi; ONUC: UN Operation in the Congo; ONUCA: UN Observer Group in Central America; ONUSAL: United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador; UNAMIC: UN Advance Mission in Cambodia; UNAMIR: UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda; UNAMSIL: UN Mission in Sierra Leone; UNASOG: UN Aouzou Strip Observer Group; UNAVEM: UN Angola Verification Mission; UNCRO: UN Confidence Restoration Operation; UNDOF: UN Disengagement Observer Force; UNEF: UN Emergency Force; UNFICYP: UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus; UNFIL: UN Interim Force in Lebanon; UNGOMAP: UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan; UNHTMIH: UN Transition Mission in Haiti; UNIKOM: UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission; UNIMOG: UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group; UNIPOM: UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission; UNMEE: UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea; UNMIBH: UN Mission In Bosnia And Herzegovina; UNMISET: UN Mission of Support in East Timor; UNMIH: UN Mission in Haiti; UNMIK: UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo; UNMIL: UN Mission in Liberia; UNMIS: UN Mission in the Sudan; UNMOGIB: UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan; UNMOP: UN Mission of Observers In Prevlaka; UNMOT: UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan; UNOCI: UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire; UNOGIL: UN Observation Group In Lebanon; UNOMIG: UN Observer Mission in Georgia; UNOMIL: UN Observer Mission in Liberia; UNOMOZ: UN Operation in Mozambique; UNOMSIL: UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone; UNOMUR: UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda; UNOSOM: UN Operation in Somalia; UNPREDEP: UN Preventive Deployment Force; UNPROFOR: UN Protection Force; UNPSG: UN Civilian Police Support Group; UNSF: UN Security Force in West New Guinea; UNSMIH: UN Support Mission in Haiti; UNTAC: UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia; UNTAES: UN Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium; UNTAET: UN Transitional Administration in East Timor; UNTAG: UN Transition Assistance Group; UNTSO: UN Truce Supervision Organization UNYOM: UN Yemen Observation Mission.

an International Criminal Court (ICC) has been established.³¹ Partly because of deliberate US obstruction,³² however, the latter has had rather a bumpy start and its potential remains hard to judge.

Such courts and tribunals may have a certain deterrent effect, thereby perhaps helping prevent future genocides, crimes against humanity or war crimes, but they do little to actually prevent or stop atrocities in progress. Some would argue that a (customary) right (or even an obligation) to undertake "humanitarian interventions" in such cases has developed through a UN-authorised practice, whereas others have questioned this, probably correctly. Still others argue in favour of instituting such a right/obligation, e.g. with reference to a "responsibility to protect." If states do not live up to their responsibility to protect their citizens (or, indeed, if the state is the one against which people need protection) they forfeit their sovereign rights and others are then entitled or even obliged to offer such protection. In his report, delivered to the UN General Assembly (21 March 2005) *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*, the Secretary General thus included the admonition that "We must also move towards embracing and acting on the 'responsibility to protect' potential or actual victims of massive atrocities."

Both the establishment of judicial institutions and mechanisms for passing judgment on crimes committed within a state's sovereign domain and humanitarian interventions obviously represent serious challenges to the strong international norm of "non-interference in internal affairs." This is enshrined in the UN Charter's article 2.7, according to which not even the UN Security Council (much less individual states) are entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of member states unless there exists a threat to *international* peace and security. The jury seems to still be out on the issue which norm to give precedence, i.e. on whether to prioritise national over societal (or human) security or vice versa.

What the UN has *not* been able or willing to do is to provide clear norms for what is in many cases the best safeguard of a group's societal security, namely secession from the state which threatens its group identity. Whereas colonies were granted the right to secede (*vide infra*) other territories have typically not enjoyed such a right. The rather vague norm of "national self-determination" has been applied with great circumspection, giving priority to the norms of sovereignty and territorial integrity, and thus denying groups the right to secede³⁶ – even to the point of withholding recognition of "*de facto* states" (i.e. state-like territories

or polities), thereby sometimes transforming the "mother countries" from which they have, to all practical intents and purposes seceded, into partial "quasi states," which are not in actual control of the entire territory formally encompassed by their sovereign domain.³⁷

The UN and Human Security

Much of what is mentioned above as contributions to, and safeguards of, societal security also applies to human security, i.e. the security (in the sense of survival and well-being) of individual human beings. Debatable though the analytical utility of this concept may be, ³⁸ it seems to have entrenched itself in the political debate, both within the United Nations and other fora. Indeed, it seems to have first been coined by one of the UN's special organisations, the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), in its 1993 and 1994 *Human Development Reports*, as the following quotes will show.

The concept of security must change-from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security (*Human Development Report 1993*)³⁹

For most people today, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime-these are the emerging concerns of human security all over the world. (...) Human security is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and in poor. The threats to their security may differ – hunger and disease in poor nations and drugs and crime in rich nations – but these threats are real and growing. (...) Most people instinctively understand what security means. It means safety from the constant threats of hunger, disease, crime and repression. It also means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of our daily lives-whether in our homes, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment (*Human Development Report 1994*). 40

One might even argue that human security in the broad sense of the term corresponds quite closely to the "human development" which UNDP measures on an annual basis with its human development indexes, or what Johan Galtung labelled a reduction of "structural violence." Adopting such a broad definition obviously risks transforming just about everything the UN and its various affiliates are engaged in into contributions to security, to the detriment of the concept's analytical utility. However, if we, for strictly pragmatic reasons, narrow down the concept to involve only such "human security problems" as are related to armed conflicts, it is possible to identify a narrower (but still comprehensive) field of activities.

The UN (e.g. the UNHCR: UN High Commissioner for Refugees)⁴² is thus heavily involved in humanitarian assistance, not least to war victims, including refugees and (to a somewhat lesser degree) IDPs (internally displaced persons) fleeing from a (civil) war in progress.⁴³ As we shall se below (under Rwanda) this has not always been unproblematic, and may occasionally even have exacerbated the problems it was intended to solve. In most cases, however, human lives are saved. The UN also usually takes the lead in the reconstruction of war-torn societies, which usually improves the human security of the surviving victims of an armed conflict,⁴⁴ as do other elements in what is in UN parlance⁴⁵ referred to as "post-conflict peace-building" such as democratisation.⁴⁶

We might also want to include the struggle against such direct human rights violations as might provoke a rebellion, the reduction of which might thus qualify as conflict prevention. ⁴⁷ Not only has the UN contributed to codify human rights (*vide supra*), but in response to blatant and direct human rights violations the UN has on several occasions imposed sanctions. Realising that traditional ("blunt") sanctions have often hurt the innocent without really affecting the culprits, whose behaviour they were intended to change, growing attention has recently been paid to devising so-called "smart" sanctions, but their usefulness remains to be documented. ⁴⁸ Needless to say, these may also be applied in cases of violations of national or societal security.

The UN and Environmental Security

The concept of environmental security is, unfortunately, rather "fuzzy" and ambiguous. In principle, the environment as such may also be the referent object of security, ⁴⁹ i.e. the entity whose survival is at stake: This may either the global ecosystem as a whole, geographically limited ecosystems or even individual species. If so, this cannot be a matter of the survival of the elements (all of which are mortal or perishable) but of the whole, i.e. the species or ecosystem, pointing to reproductive capacity or sustainability as the relevant values at stake.

Proceeding from this conceptualisation we might well come to realise that the main threat to these values is Mankind. Considering that *homo sapiens* is not only a threat to other species, but also a species in its (our) own right, and that we are parts of the global and local ecosystems, rather than merely potential threats to them, it is also possible (and much less radical, albeit more "anthropocentric") to conceptualise environmental security as an absence of such threats to national, societal or human security as are related to environmental factors.

Quite a compelling case can indeed be made for a reorientation of security studies in this direction, ⁵⁰ and considerable attention has been paid to such matters, especially since the publication in 1987 of the report of the Brundtland Commission (established under the auspices of the UN) on *Our Common Future*. ⁵¹ Ever since, the UN has been involved in both the debate over, and the actual provision of environmental security in both senses of the term, by mitigating environmental problems stemming from armed conflict, or even from preparations for war, ⁵² and by seeking to prevent armed conflicts over environmental issues, e.g. in the form of resource wars that might jeopardise both national, societal and human security, as might localised struggles over scarce natural resources. ⁵³

The UN's role has mainly been that of a setter of norms and standards, e.g. with such treaties and conventions as UNCLOS-II (UN Convention on the Law of the Seas), ⁵⁴ the Convention on the Law of the Non-navigational Uses of International Watercourses of 1997, ⁵⁵ and the Kyoto Protocol, ⁵⁶ and via the conferences convened by the UN Environment Programme, e.g. in Stockholm (1972), Rio de Janeiro (1992), Nairobi (1997), Malmö (2000) and Johannesburg (2002), each adopting declarations which are (at least politically) binding on the signatories. ⁵⁷ In the Rio declaration, the links between peace and the environment were spelled out in the following principles:

- (24) Warfare is inherently destructive of sustainable development. States shall therefore respect international law providing protection for the environment in times of armed conflict and cooperate in its further development, as necessary.
- (25) Peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible.
- (26) States shall resolve all their environmental disputes peacefully and

by appropriate means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. ⁵⁸

Even HIV/AIDS (which might also be labelled an environmental problem) has been proclaimed a security issue by the UN Security Council in its resolution 1308 (17 July 2000) which acknowledged that "the HIV/AIDS pandemic is also exacerbated by conditions of violence and instability, which increase the risk of exposure to the disease through large movements of people, widespread uncertainty over conditions, and reduced access to medical care."⁵⁹

However, the UN and its several specialised agencies are also deeply involved in actually handling environmental problems as such or in mitigating environmental damage to populations, through decease, famine and malnutrition, dislocation, etc. This is, for instance, the case of the World Health Organisation (WHO),⁶⁰ UNAIDS,⁶¹ UNHCR, the World Food Programme (WFP)⁶² and others. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to elaborate on these activities, but we shall return to some of them (and the dilemmas facing these agencies) below under Africa.

The UN and Its Partners

We have thus seen that the UN has many obligations related to national, societal, human and environmental security, and that it has (at least in principle) various instruments at its disposal. However, we are left with the question whether the organisation is able to live up to its obligations and to which extent it has the capacity to wield the various instruments effectively.

The Inherent Problems of International Organisations

As most international organisations, the UN has no resources of its own, but it is entirely dependent on contributions from its members, each of whom may be tempted to "free-ride" on the others – a classical "collective action problem" know from numerous other instances involving the "production" of collective goods, where there is no direct link between contribution and "consumption". 63

Pessimists (often posing as International Relations "realists") thus generally advise against reliance on such organisations, the strength of which would arguably tend to be inferior to the sum of their members' strengths, ⁶⁴ especially so when adversaries are supposed to collaborate, which makes the distribution of the burdens involved in producing the collective good even more decisive, as it will be seen as affecting relative gains and losses. ⁶⁵ They thus tend to prefer states to do what (they think) needs to be done on their own, either acting unilaterally or in (what is in US "newspeak" often called) "coalitions of the willing." ⁶⁶ They also tend to be generally pessimistic about the production of the collective goods, seeing the "tragedy of the commons" as an insoluble problem. ⁶⁷

IR liberalists tend to be more optimistic, both about the possibilities of realising collective goods and about the strength of organisations, ⁶⁸ pointing to the importance of absolute as compared to relative gains, and to the importance of regimes and institutions for producing such absolute (collective) gains, ⁶⁹ as well as to the synergies deriving from collective action under the auspices of international organisations. ⁷⁰

Unfortunately, judging from the meagre resources being placed at the disposal of the UN in comparison with, for instance, national military budgets, it seems that the pessimists are right and the optimists wrong, even though there is nothing "natural" or inevitable about this. It is simply a consequence of political choices

on the part of member states. Moreover, because the (lack of) resources available to the UN is bound to affect its performance, the sombre predictions of the Realists/pessimists may become self-fulfilling prophecies, as each failure by the UN in the field tends to make member states even less eager than before to contribute the requisite resources to the organisation. This makes it all the more imperative for international organisations like the UN to forge alliances and partnerships with other actors on the international scene.

Collaboration with NGOs and International Business

NGOs have been defined by the UN as "any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level",⁷¹ which is probably as good a definition as any. The UN has quite a long history of collaboration with such NGOs,⁷² and the importance of this partnership seems to be growing, just as national governments also outsource activities to such organisations.⁷³

Even though the concept of social movements is broader than that of NGOs, the latter play a prominent, and apparently growing, role as the organisational pillars of social movements. Such social movements in general, and transnational ones in particular, have a long history (viz. the anti-slavery movement of the 19th century), and their role does indeed seem to be increasing. What seems more questionable are the claims about the perspectives entailed by NGOs, cast in the role of representing (global or national) "civil society". One might, of course, reject the broad definition above of NGOs in favour of one defining them as progressive and/or democratic, but that would tend to render most analyses circular. As a matter of fact, however, quite a lot of NGOs "happen to be" progressive as well as, in a certain sense at least, democratic – at least in the sense of representing a "democratic corrective" to governments.

Some have certainly envisioned the emergence of a true "global civil society", heralding new forms of governance which will transcend that based on states. Such "civil society romanticists" have even seen this trend as tantamount to a democratisation of world politics. ⁷⁶ In the same vein, many concrete suggestions have, indeed, been made for a "democratisation" of the UN that should allow it to become an organisation of peoples rather than states – as was seemingly implied by the opening words of the UN Charter: "We the peoples of the United Nations..." In such an attempted "democratisation", NGOs have been envisaged as playing a central role. ⁷⁷ As most NGOs are no more (probably less) accountable than most governments such romantic

visions may be more problematic than they might appear at first glance.

Moreover, even though NGOs are, by definition, non-profit, this does not mean that they are not, at least partly, driven by economic motives. In fact the "rules of the game" dictate that they maximise their revenues and minimise their expenses, just as private, profit-seeking, companies.⁷⁸ There may thus be less than meets the eye to the differences between them and private enterprises, with which the UN has also recently launch a collaboration (or at least consultation), e.g. under the auspices of the "Global Compact."

Whereas the campaign to ban anti-personnel landmines represented a good example of collaboration between NGOs, governments and the UN, ⁸⁰ the more recent global campaign against "blood diamonds" thus also included private business, *in casu* diamond merchants such as De Beers. ⁸¹

Collaboration with States and Regional Organisations

Even though the UN's collaboration with such non-state actors certainly holds promise, the cooperation with member state governments and regional organisations probably remains more important.

Especially the collaboration with the latter seems to be growing in importance. Since the end of the Cold War it has become increasingly fashionable to suggest that regional organisations should play a more prominent role – often argued as an application of the principle of "subsidiarity". The origins of the principle of subsidiarity go way back, *inter alia* to the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (Leo XIII, 1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (Pius XI, 1931). According to the latter, the principle entails that

a community of a higher order should not interfere in the internal life of a community of a lower order, depriving the latter of its functions, but rather should support it in case of need and help to co-ordinate its activity with the activities of the rest of society, always with a view to the common good.⁸²

Subsidiarity is also one of the central principles of European Union law, and was thus also codified in the (apparently stillborn) Constitution for Europe signed in June 2004. ⁸³ Furthermore, the principle is also enshrined in international law, defining certain roles for regional organisations. Chapter VIII of the UN

Charter thus stipulates that

The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority (art. 53.1) (...)

The Members of the United Nations (...) shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council." (art. 52.2)

Regional organisations thus represent instances of first resort as far as the peaceful resolution of conflicts is concerned, but it is also underlined that different rules apply to the use of non-peaceful means with the stipulation that "No enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council" (art. 53.1). The United Nations thereby reserves for itself the right to either authorise military action by regional organisations, or withhold such authorisation, in which case the use of forces constitutes a violation of art. 2.4 of the Charter, according to which "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state (...)". 84

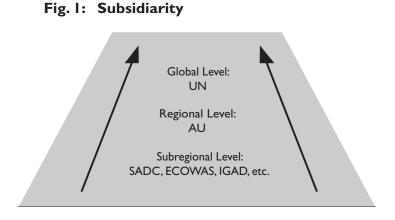
The gist of the norm of subsidiarity is thus that regional and subregional organisations should be the "first resort" for problems transcending national borders, leaving the "international community" and global organisations like the UN to deal only with those problems that cannot be solved at lower levels, as illustrated in Fig. 1.85

A number of considerations do indeed speak in favour of such a division of labour and responsibility. For instance, in the case of an intra-state conflicts, adjacent countries are often more inclined to get involved because they almost inevitably suffer from the consequences of the conflict, e.g. in the form of a flow of refugees. Hence, states may be more likely to honour their obligations as members of a region or subregion, i.e. as neighbours, than as members of the international community, as doing so corresponds to their national interest. Furthermore, neighbouring countries are often in a better position to comprehend a conflict than distant ones, as they tend to share the same culture. Finally, the

regional level of action is often most suitable for managing problems of ethnic groups and nations "straddling borders" as well as for handling other border-transcending issues, such as shared rivers and similar environmental matters, cross-border migration and transborder crime, and perhaps for dealing with border disputes. ⁸⁶

Notwithstanding all these attractions, however, the subsidiarity norm is not without its inherent problems. First of all, regional or subregional organisations may either be missing or too weak for the task. Few regions have as strong economic, political and normative foundations for regional collaboration as has Western Europe, where a particular form of regionalisation predominates, namely regional integration. In most other parts of the world other and less ambitious modes of regionalisation are the best that can realistically be hoped for. By implication, to relegate the responsibility for such complicated matters as conflict prevention, management and resolution to such regional or subregional organisations may be a recipe for failure, as the requisite means may not be available at these levels, simply because of a general lack of resources affecting both the members and the organisation as such.

Secondly, subsidiarity may come to be seen as a justification for what is really "buck-passing", i.e. for neglecting the developing world and leaving the solution of its problems to the weak Third World states. Thirdly, what makes such buck-passing even less fair is the fact that it will be the strong who are passing the buck to the weak, who neither have the economic nor the military capacity to



shoulder the burden, as will be obvious from the distribution of global military expenditures in Chart 1.⁸⁷ If we compare this distribution of military capacities with the needs, i.e. the number of armed conflicts by region, the division of labour comes to look even less fair (see Table 3).⁸⁸

What may help a bit is the fact that the rich countries do acknowledge a certain responsibility to help the developing world. At its meeting on Sea Island, 10 June

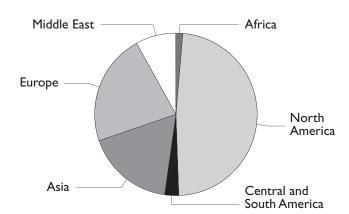


Chart I: Global Military Expenditure 2003

Table 3: Armed Conflicts by Region

	Europe	Middle East	Asia	Americas	Africa
1990	_	4	13	4	11
1991	I	6	11	4	11
1992	3	5	12	3	7
1993	5	6	10	3	7
1994	4	6	10	3	6
1995	3	6	11	3	5
1996		6	10	3	3
1997	-	4	9	2	4
1998	I	4	9	2	11
1999	2	3	9	2	11
2000	I	4	9	2	9
2001	I	4	9	3	7
2002		2	9	3	6
2003		3	8	3	4

2004, the G8 thus launched a "G8 Action Plan: Expanding Global Capability for Peace Support Operations", 89 entailing a commitment to "train and, where appropriate, equip a total of approximately 75,000 troops worldwide by 2010." Even though this is a poor substitute for the actual involvement to which these countries are both legally and morally obliged, it is probably better than nothing, seen from the vantage point of the envisaged beneficiaries.

• • •

Having now provided an inevitably superficial survey of the security roles of the UN; the rest of the paper will be devoted to the roles played by the organisation in Africa.

In his *Africa Report* of 1998, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan highlighted several shortcomings, such as the marginalisation of Africa, the declining provision of ODA (official development assistance), and the receding willingness of non-African states to supply military forces for peace support operations in Africa. ⁹⁰ Since then, it seems that Africa has received growing attention by the UN. Special reports have been published on the problems of the continent and a special "UN System-Wide Special Initiative on Africa" (SIA) has been established as part of the so-called "Africa Initiative". ⁹¹ However, the UN's involvement is much older, as the organisation has, since its very foundation, been involved in a wide range of activities directly related to, or impacting upon, conflict prevention, management and resolution in various parts of Africa. ⁹²

The UN and the National Security of African States

The UN's contribution to national (i.e. state) security has arguably been even more significant in Africa than elsewhere, as the organisation has not merely helped protect existing states but has also been instrumental in creating these states in the first place as well as in reconstructing failed states. We may thus logically distinguish between the UN's constitutive, (re)constructive and protective roles, whilst recognising that a certain overlap is likely.

The Constitutive Role: Decolonisation and Independence

The achievement of independence by the former colonies in Africa was manifested in their being recognised as independent states and their admission as such to the United Nations. However, not only did the UN play this "constitutive" role, but it also helped bring about independence and statehood in the first place, as had its predecessor, the League of Nations.

It may be debatable whether this is to be applauded or regretted, as some have argued that the state as an institution is an alien imposition on Africa and that the continent would have been better off without the period of colonisation followed by decolonisation and statehood, as it would have allowed African societies to develop less artificial forms of political organisation than the state. ⁹³ By the time of independence there were, indeed, several attempts and initiatives at creating political structures other than states (especially all-African or regional federations) but their implementation was obstructed by the outgoing colonial powers as well as, occasionally, by would-be African politicians and hindered by the UN's demands for statehood. The international system was simply not designed to accommodate other entities than states and whatever other entities these states might form. ⁹⁴

The first step towards future independence was arguably the proclamation of the norm of national self-determination by US President Wilson (in his famous "fourteen points")⁹⁵ in the wake of the First World War. Even though this norm was primarily intended for application to the vanquished (but anyhow moribund) Habsburg and Ottoman empires and their dependent territories, the norm was formulated in general terms. Imperialism was simply no longer quite *comme il faut*. The norm of self-determination was subsequently codified (albeit in rather vague and ambiguous terms) by the League of Nations, which in article 22 of its

covenant referred to colonies as "not *yet* able to stand by themselves" with the implication that "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation". Hence the need for "tutelage", which should be entrusted to "advanced nations", acting on behalf of the League.

As a consequence, the vanquished (including Germany) were forced to relinquish their colonies, but these were not simply taken over by the victors as colonies, but as "trusts." A norm of accountability was further established, the mandate powers having to provide annual reports on their administration to the League. Moreover, the way in which the former colonies were classified according to their prospects of independence also established certain precedents and certainly a compelling logic, according to which colonies might advance towards independence, in due course. ⁹⁶ In Africa the reordering of the colonial map meant that the former German colonies Rwanda and Burundi (treated as one territory) were to be administered by Belgium and Tanganyika by the UK. South-West Africa was, likewise, taken over by the UK, but it chose to "outsource" the administration to the *de facto* (but not yet *de jure*) independent South Africa (more about which below). The colonies Togo and Cameroon, in their turn, were divided between the UK and France. ⁹⁷

After the Second World War the League's norm of national self-determination was taken over by the UN, as evidenced by its creation of a Trusteeship Council. 98 Moreover, in 1960 some clarification was achieved as to the implications of self-determination when the General Assembly passed resolution 1514, known as the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Territories and Countries*, which effectively removed whatever international legitimacy colonialism might have retained until that date.

The General Assembly,

- (...) Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations. Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic cooperation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace.
- (...) Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, and end must be put to

colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith.

Declares that: (...)

- 2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. (...)
- 4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected. (...)
- 6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

While this declaration certainly provided legitimacy as well as urgency to decolonisation, it was not without its inherent contradictions. National self-determination was thus interpreted as applying only to geographically distinct territories, but neither to territories contiguous to the "mother country" such as the Russian and Soviet conquests (sometimes referred to as the "saltwater criterion") on to parts of colonies. General Assembly (UNGA) resolution 1541 of 15 December 1960 thus mentioned an implicit prima *facie* criterion for accepting a territory as a colony, namely that it should be "geographically separate and (...) distinct ethnically and/or culturally from the country administering it" (Art. IV), in which case the said territory should be allowed to freely decide whether to form an independent state or integrate, or enter into an association, with an already independent state (Art. VI). Moreover, it was made clear that national self-determination was a right to be exercised only once, and that it did not apply to parts of former colonies.

This norm was put to a test with the several cases of attempted secession from newly independent African states, such as that of Katanga (from Congo) in 1961 and of Biafra (from Nigeria) in 1967-1970. In both cases the secessionist attempt was almost unanimously condemned by the international community and recognition (and UN membership) was denied to the secessionists. The case of Western Sahara (i.e. what Africans call Sahrawi) was different, the African

countries (except Morocco) recognising it as an independent state, deeming the 1975 Moroccan conquest to have been illegal, but the rest of the world withholding recognition. The case of Eritrea was even more *sui generis* as this was a former Italian colony which had initially been associated, in the form of a federation, with independent Ethiopia but subsequently effectively annexed (1962), thereby provoking a war of secession, which was ultimately (1991) victorious. After a referendum in 1993, Eritrea then formally seceded from Ethiopia with the latter's consent, and only then did it receive international recognition, including membership of the UN. 102

Decolonisation thus proceeded with an astonishing pace, as is obvious from Table 4,¹⁰³ and most of it had been completed by the mid-sixties and in most cases peacefully and even amicably.¹⁰⁴ There were, however, a few cases of belated decolonisation (besides that of Eritrea, which arguably belongs to the same category), mainly involving the Portuguese colonies and the white minority regimes in Southern Africa.

Up until the 1974 "April Revolution" in Portugal, the regime in Lisbon remained recalcitrant in clinging to its three colonies in Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau (with Cape Verde). It thus waged quite a brutal counter-insurgency war against the armed liberation movements MPLA (*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*), FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*) and PAIGC (*Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e do Cabo Verde*), respectively. Even though the above UNGA resolution should logically have produced a clear condemnation of Portugal, the Cold War prevented this, as the United States saw the liberation movements as Soviet allies and therefore supported its NATO ally Portugal, albeit discretely. Hence, the UNSC did pass several resolutions condemning Portugal, and the UNGA in December 1965 imposed (non-mandatory) sanctions against it (following the boycott proclaimed by the OAU in 1963), to but nothing more forceful – and all to small avail.

The former German colony Southwest Africa had, as mentioned above, by the League of Nations been made a South African mandate territory, initially acting on behalf of the UK. When the mandate was subsequently retracted by the UN, the apartheid regime simply refused to withdraw and maintained its hold on what was in 1990, after a protracted armed struggle by SWAPO (South-West African People's Organisation), to become the present Namibia. 109 The UN

Table 4: Decolonisation in Africa

Present name	Inde- pendence	Temporary adm.	Present name	Inde- pendence	Temporary adm.	
German Colonies			Portuguese Colonies			
Burundi	1962	Belgium	Angola	1975	n.a.	
Cameroon	1960	UK/France	Cape Verde	1975	n.a.	
Namibia	1990	South Africa	Guinea-Bissau	1974	n.a.	
Rwanda	1962	UK/Belgium	Mozambique	1975	n.a.	
Tanzania ^a	1961/63	UK	Sao Tome/Pr.	1975	n.a.	
Togo ^b	1960	UK/France				
			French Colonies			
British Colonie	es		Algeria	1962	n.a.	
Botswana	1966	n.a.	Benin	1960	n.a.	
Egypt	1922	n.a.	Burkina Faso	1960	n.a.	
The Gambia	1965	n.a.	Central Afr. Rep	. 1960	n.a.	
Ghana	1957	n.a.	Chad	1960	n.a.	
Kenya	1963	n.a.	Comoros	1975	n.a.	
Lesotho	1966	n.a.	Congo, Rep. Of	1960	n.a.	
Malawi	1964	n.a.	Cote d'Ivoire	1960	n.a.	
Mauritius	1968	n.a.	Djibouti	1977	n.a.	
Nigeria	1960	n.a.	Gabon	1960	n.a.	
Seychelles	1976	n.a.	Guinea	1958	n.a.	
Sierra Leone	1961	n.a.	Madagascar	1960	n.a.	
South Africa ^c	1910/94	n.a.	Mali	1960	n.a.	
Swaziland	1968	n.a.	Mauritania	1960	n.a.	
Sudan⁴	1956	Egypt	Morocco	1956	n.a.	
Uganda	1962	n.a.	Niger	1960	n.a.	
Zambia	1964	n.a.	Senegal	1960	n.a.	
Zimbabwe ^c	1965/80	n.a.	Tunisia	1956	n.a.	
Italian Colonies		Spanish Colonies				
Eritrea ^e	1993	Ethiopia	Eq. Guinea	1968	n.a.	
Libya	1951	opia	Sarawi ^g	n.a.	Morocco	
Somalia ^f	1960		wiii	11141	. 10.0000	
			Independent throughout			
Belgian Coloni	ies		Ethiopia ^h	1941/55	n.a.	
DR of Congo	1960	n.a.	Liberia	1847	n.a.	

Legend: a) Independence of Tanganyika (former mandate territory) and Zanzibar (former colony), respectively; b) French mandate territory, British part ceded to Ghana; c) Independence/ transition to majority rule; d) Anglo-Egyptian condominium; e) Federated with Ethiopia in 1952, annexed in 1962; f) Merger of Italian and British Somalia; g) The former Spanish West Sahara has been recognised by most African countries under the name Sahrawi, but not by Morocco; h) Formally an Italian colony from 1936 until it was liberated by the UK in 1941, but only formally recognised as a state in 1955

played a central role in this protracted liberation process, ¹¹⁰ even though US officials have subsequently claimed credit for the accomplishment. ¹¹¹

In the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, i.e. the present Zimbabwe, the white settler minority pre-empted independence in 1965 with a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in order to preserve minority rule and the other privileges of the whites, not least their property rights. The UN (and the UK) responded with a refusal of recognition of the new would-be state (UNSCR 217 of 20 November 1965) followed by an imposition of mandatory sanctions against it (UNSCR 232 and 253, 16 December 1966 and 29 May 1968, respectively). As these UN initiatives ran concurrently with an armed liberation struggle, ti is difficult to assess the relative importance of this sanctions regime in forcing the regime to finally compromise and sign up to the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979, which inaugurated majority rule in 1980 – a date which also marks independence.

One might also reckon the transition to democracy by South Africa as the very final instance of decolonisation, but is appears more sensible to relegate the UN's efforts to this effect to the chapter on societal security (*vide infra*) as this was primarily a matter of a change of regime in an independent state as a means to improve the conditions of the majority of its citizens.

The (Re)Constructive Role: State-Building and Reconstruction

While the UN-assisted decolonisation of Africa did produce states enjoying formal sovereignty, the product was not necessarily viable and certainly not strong states. Hence the UN has also had to involve itself in state-building or state reconstruction in the cases of failed or collapsed states, in most cases as an integral part of what in UN parlance is usually referred to as post-conflict peace-building.

One reason for this is probably that the borders of the previous colonial domains have been taken over by the new states without revision, some of which made very little sense. Neither did they always represent "natural boundaries" (e.g. delimited by mountain ranges or rivers), nor did they correspond well to the residential patterns of nations, tribes or ethnic groupings. As a result the post-colonial states were often extremely ethnically diverse, hence vulnerable to ethnic strife, and awkwardly sized and/or shaped, e.g. landlocked, containing exclaves, too large to be manageable or unsustainably small.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the very

existence of borders was alien to nomadic peoples such as those in the Sahel region and elsewhere in Africa.

Moreover, the new states were born into a well-established and highly regulated state system, where the norms of statehood as such were fairly well established – codified in, inter alia, the *Draft Declaration on Rights and Duties of States* of 1949 (which has never entered into force, but nevertheless seems to have a politically binding character) and the *Vienna Convention on Succession of States in respect of Treaties*. It remains disputed whether any degree of (what is in modern parlance termed) "good governance" is a *legal* requirement for a polity's recognition as a state, but it seems to be on the verge of becoming a *political* requirement for retaining the rights of sovereignty – also because the West (and particularly the United States) seems to believe (probably erroneously) that failed states are likely to harbour terrorists, hence constitute threats to their national security. 120

Even though the two are sometimes confused, it makes sense to distinguish between states that are unable and those that are unwilling to protect their citizens. In the former category we find weak as well as failed states, whereas the latter also includes strong states governed by malevolent, occasionally even genocidal, regimes. As the latter mainly constitute threats to the societal and/or individual security, I have relegated them to the chapter on societal security – also because such states should neither be built nor reconstructed, but reformed. Some states are, however, so weak that their very statehood is threatened, or it has already, to all practical intents and purposes, vanished as in the case of failed states.

Africa does, indeed, contain more than its fair share of such weak and even failed states, where the institution of the state has lost its Weberian "monopoly on the legitimate use of force." In some cases, states have collapsed completely, 122 which means that the state has lost what some have called "empirical sovereignty" or "internal sovereignty" whilst usually retaining formal (or external) sovereignty, 123 manifested in the continued recognition by other states as well as by the UN and other international organisations — in which case it constitutes a "quasi-state." In other cases, the state is fragile and perhaps weakening to the point where complete collapse seems a distinct possibility — and where the main task becomes to prevent such collapse by strengthening the states capacities. This may, however, well entail certain uncomfortable dilemmas,

as strengthening a non-democratic and oppressive state's capacities is likely to result in an exacerbated human rights situation, whereas democratising a state may well weaken its governing capacities, at least temporarily. All good things do not always go together!

Even though a growing number of African states in the early 1990s have adopted democratic constitutions¹²⁵ and held reasonably free and fair multi-party elections, 126 even such formally democratic states are often, to a large extent, neopatrimonial, in the sense that the real power structure resides in a tangled web of personal ties. While traditional patrimonialism (as described by Max Weber and others)¹²⁷ rested on authentic tradition, e.g. in the form of legitimate succession to power or religious legitimation (as with the Golden Stool of the Ashanti or the legendary descent of Ethiopian kings and emperors from King Solomon), 128 neopatrimonialism is built around "strong-men", often coming from the economic sphere or from the military. 129 Power is personalised and based on patron-client relations, where the patron enjoys the support of his clients in return for the favours he is able to bestow on them, e.g. in the form of jobs or protection, all in a very informal manner, in fact presupposing a primacy of the informal and defying accountability. 130 While neopatrimonialism is thus the antithesis of the Weberian meritocracy, it may nevertheless be tantamount to a social contract of sorts, as argued by Patrice Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz who in their book with the telling title *Africa Works* also find traces of accountability and representation:

[T]he foundations of political accountability in Africa are both collective and extra-institutional: they rest on the particularistic links between Big Men, or patrons, and their constituent communities (...) That is why, despite the undeniably large gap (in terms of resources and lifestyle) between elites and populace, leaders are never dissociated from their suppporters. They remain directly linked to them through a myriad of nepotistic or clientilistic networks staffed by dependent intermediaries. ¹³¹

This may, however, be too optimistic, if only because neopatrimonial states are usually haunted by corruption (some to the extent of being "kleptocratic" as in Mobuto's Zaïre), ¹³² as a result of which politics tends to amount to little more than a struggle for personal enrichment. The state may thus degenerate into a vehicle for predation and illegitimate extraction and waste of scarce

resources, i.e. a "vampire state", as argued by George Ayittey in his work on *Africa in Chaos*:

[I]n Africa, government officials do not serve the people. The African state has been reduced to a mafia-like bazaar, where everyone with an official designation can pillage at will. In effect, it is a "state" that has been hijacked by gangsters, crooks, and scoundrels. (...) The inviolate ethic of vampire elites is self-aggrandizement and self-perpetuation in power. To achieve those objectives, they subvert every institution of government: the civil service, judiciary, military, media, and banking. As a result, these institutions become paralyzed. (...) Regardless of their forms, the effects of clientelism are the same. Politics is viewed as essentially extractive. ¹³³

Needless to say, such states do not automatically elicit the loyalty and support of their citizens upon which political stability might rest. Hence, when the behaviour of the incumbent regime provokes opposition, it tends to resort to oppressive means to quell it, thereby often forcing the opposition to take up arms, whence may result a civil war which further weakens the state, perhaps eventually to the point of complete collapse.

This was, more or less, what happened to Somalia, representing almost a textbook example of state failure. Because this was accompanied by widespread human suffering, including a (partly war-provoked) famine, the UN stepped into the breach with what was officially labelled a peacekeeping operation (UNOSOM I), even though its main objective was in fact state-building via humanitarian intervention. As such, however, it was singularly ineffective, partly (but not only) because of the less than constructive role played by the United States (vide infra). Not only did the UN (or at least UN-authorised) intervention thus utterly fail in its endeavour to reconstruct the Somali state, but the UN was also debarred by the above-mentioned strong norm against secession from granting recognition to what has since 1991 been a de facto state, the former British colony of Somaliland, which remains "in limbo," even though its claims to statehood are far more credible than those of the successive interim governments of Somalia proper. 134

Other attempts at post-conflict and post-collapse state reconstruction in Africa have included Liberia, where the first attempt was singularly ineffective, as it did

not bring a halt to the civil war in progress and merely preserved a modicum of "quasi statehood" in (parts of) the capital Monrovia, leaving the rebels under the warlord Charles Taylor in control of most of the country. What eventually brought the civil war to a (temporary) halt was the electoral victory of the very same Taylor in 1997,¹³⁵ whose misgovernment by around 2000 provoked another round of civil war.¹³⁶ Even though the UN (as well as ECOWAS)¹³⁷ has been instrumental in bringing this to a negotiated end, it is too early to proclaim success in the state reconstruction endeavour.

Neighbouring Sierra Leone also descended into chaos in the early 1990s, partly through "spill-over" from Liberia, where Charles Taylor lent his support to the RUF (Revolutionary United Front), notorious for its amputation practice and other atrocities. Neither ECOWAS nor the UN were particularly successful in bringing this rebellion under control, but the UN had to be "bailed out" militarily, first by a South African-based private military company, Executive Outcomes, and then by a unilateral British intervention. Around the turn of the century, however, peace seems to have come, at long last, to Sierra Leone, and the UN has assumed important roles, both with regard to military issues such as DDR (disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration) and security sector reform, and civilian issues such as elections and "transitional justice." It has, for instance, supported and participated in a special court to try cases of war crimes and crimes against humanity as well as sponsored a South Africainspired Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

A more successful case of state-building was the UN mission to civil war-torn Mozambique in the early 1990s, where a massive UN presence allowed for an orderly transition to peace entailing, inter alia, the transformation of the rebel group RENAMO into a political party contesting the ruling FRELIMO in reasonably free and fair elections, accompanied by a comprehensive DDR programme.¹⁴²

The Protective Role (I): Collective Security

Besides the above constitutive and (re)constructive tasks of helping to bring states into being and/or putting them back together when they have collapsed, the UN should ideally also help protect existing states against foreign aggression, i.e. perform the traditional role of a collective security organisation. However, neither the track records in Africa of the UN nor its predecessor, the League of Nations, are particularly impressive in this respect.

The membership of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in the League of Nations thus helped very little when the fascist regime of Italy in 1935 invaded the country in a second attempt at establishing a colony. Even though this constituted a clear breach of the League's rules, and almost a textbook example of a contingency calling for a collective security response, the appeals by the Emperor for assistance were largely ignored and Ethiopia's military defence against the Italian aggression proved unsuccessful. 144

Since WWII there have, fortunately, only been few situations calling for collective security responses, simply because the African continent has seen very few international wars, as most armed conflicts have either been simple intrastate or internationalised intrastate (i.e. "transnational") conflicts. The main explanation is probably neither that the African states have lacked any *casus belli* (for which the aforementioned odd borders might well have qualified), nor that they were deterred from aggression by the UN's prohibition of aggression, nor even that each state was able to deter would-be aggressors by means of adequate defensive capabilities (which most African states lack). A better explanation may be that very few African states have possessed the requisite military capabilities (and especially power projection capabilities) to launch any major attacks, even against next-door neighbours. ¹⁴⁵ Besides numerous small-scale cross-border operations, there have thus only been two "real wars" on the continent, in neither of which the UN came to the rescue of the victim of aggression:

- The Ogaden War between Somalia and Ethiopia (1977-78), launched by the former as a follow-up to its support for ethnically Somali rebels in a part of Ethiopia claimed by Somalia.¹⁴⁶
- The war between Ethiopia and Eritrea (1998-2000), initiated by the latter by a small-scale "land grab" focused on the Badme plains, claimed by Eritrea, which provoked a forceful Ethiopian response turning it into a major war. 147

A partial explanation of the lack of UN involvement in the Ogaden War might (as in other wars in this period) be the stalemate in the UN Security Council produced by the Cold War. Indeed, the USSR was quite heavily involved (both directly and by "proxy" in the shape of Cuban troops) on the side of Ethiopia, whereas the United States leaned heavily to the Somali side. ¹⁴⁸ In the latter case, however, this "excuse" was no longer valid, but we must look elsewhere for an explanation.

Just as the Cold War gave the superpowers an interest in becoming involved in Africa (as everywhere else), ¹⁴⁹ it also offered them several reasons *not* to do so, unless some kind of cooperation, or at least a tacit understanding, with the respective other was possible. ¹⁵⁰ Neither of them was prepared to be "sucked into" an African conflict that might eventually result in them fighting each other directly, with all the accompanying risks of uncontrollable escalation. ¹⁵¹ Hence the tendency (especially on the part of the USSR) to disengage before a conflict might escalate out of control and pose risks of a direct confrontation between US and Soviet forces. ¹⁵² Since the end of the Cold War, however, almost exactly the opposite might be said of the USA and its allies as well as of Russia: Whereas there are no longer any particular risks involved with becoming engaged, the reasons for doing so have also vanished into thin air. Africa simply no longer really matters, ¹⁵³ and this attitude on the part of two of the members of the Security Council is bound to impact on the decisions of this body, producing a reluctance to get involved in anything African and especially so in the case of major wars.

Besides the few international wars, some of the aforementioned transnational wars have also featured so significant elements of foreign interference that they might arguably have qualified as contingencies calling for collective security responses.¹⁵⁴ Examples include the following:

- The civil war in Mozambique was, to at least the same extent, a proxy war waged by the UDI regime in "Rhodesia" and subsequently by apartheid South African against the FRELIMO government by means of extensive support for the (MNR, i.e. Mozambican National Resistance, and subsequently) RENAMO rebels.¹⁵⁵
- The Angolan civil war featured extensive support from both Zaïre and South Africa for first FNLA (*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola*) and then UNITA in their struggle against the MPLA government, in its turn a beneficiary of substantial Cuban and Soviet support. The latter stages of the war also saw occasional direct South African operations against Angola. 156
- The several civil wars in Ethiopia were internationalised in several respects: through Arab support for the ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front) and Sudanese support for the EPLF (Eritrean People's Liberation Front), both secessionist movements in Eritrea; and by first Israeli and later Soviet and Cuban support to the successive governments in Addis Ababa concurrently with the aforementioned support by Somalia for the secessionist WSLF (Western

- Somali Liberation Front) in the Ogaden region.¹⁵⁷
- The North-South civil war in Sudan also saw Israeli, Ethiopian and Ugandan support for first the Anya-nya and then the SPLF (Sudan People's Liberation Front) in their struggles for secession and/or autonomy. In retaliation, Sudan has lent its support for the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army) in northern Uganda.¹⁵⁸
- The war in the Congo, which has been called "Africa's great war," was an unsavoury mixture of a civil war between a multitude of indigenous groups and a transnational war involving, among others, Rwanda and Uganda, first on the side of the AFDL (*Alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo*) rebels against the Mobuto regime, and then on the side of other rebels against the new government of Laurent Kabila, and Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe on the side of the successive post-Mobuto government of the two Kabilas (*pêre* and *fils*). 159

In neither of these cases (nor in the several not mentioned), however, has the UN played any major role in bringing the conflict to an end, except for mediation and other "good offices." After the termination of hostilities in such conflicts (and others), however, the UN has been involved in post-conflict peacebuilding, inter alia by means of peacebuilding missions and offices where their role is mainly civilian and political. For a summary of these missions as of June 2005, see Table 5. ¹⁶¹

Table 5: UN Pead	ce-building and Political
Offices in Affrica	(June 2005)

Country	Acronym	Full Name	Since	
Central African Republic	BONUCA	UN Peace-building Office In The Central African Republic	2000	
Guinea Bissau	UNOGBIS	UN Peace-building Support Office In Guinea-bissau	1999	
Somalia	UNPOS	UN Political Office for Somalia	1995	
Great Lakes Region	Office of The of The Secreta for The Great	1997		
West Africa	Office of The Sof The Secreta	for The Great Lakes Region Office of The Special Representative of The Secretary-general West Africa		

The Protective Role (2): Peacekeeping

The main military involvement by the UN in support of its African member states in their (intrastate or transnational) conflicts has, beyond comparison, been in the form of peacekeeping operations, of which there have been a total of 23 in Africa, ¹⁶² a summary of which is provided in Table 6. ¹⁶³

Some of these missions (e.g. UNASOG and UNMEE)¹⁶⁴ have constituted "traditional peacekeeping" in situations where the forces could be deployed in an interpositioning mode between formerly warring parties and tasked with monitoring a truce to which both sides were genuinely committed. Some have been adequately resourced, even for complex and demanding mandates, even including elements of state-building (*vide supra*), as MINURCA, ¹⁶⁵ UNTAG, ¹⁶⁶ UNOMOZ and UNAMSIL (*vide supra*). One (MINURSO) ¹⁶⁷ has performed quite successfully, yet without any end in sight.

Others, such as the successive UNAVEM and MONUA missions, ¹⁶⁸ as well as UNOMIL and UNOMSIL ¹⁶⁹ had to do with truces that were violated by at least one side, inevitably leading to the dreaded "mission creep." ¹⁷⁰ In many cases, the resources have been totally incommensurate with the mandate, especially when taking the size of the countries of deployment into consideration. This has, for instance, been the case of MONUC, where it was initially envisaged to deploy a maximum of 5,000 troops (now expanded to 16,700) to a country with an area of 2.3 million square kilometres, i.e. six times that of Germany (*sic!*). ¹⁷¹ Most of the UN PKOs were thus problematic in one respect or the other, but the most obvious failures were probably the following, all of which may actually have done more harm than good:

The first PKO in the Congo (ONUC) effectively ended up as a warring party in the extremely chaotic situation following the country's independence from Belgium. Rather than supporting the democratically elected prime minister Patrice Lumumba, ONUC ended up supporting the rebels, and rather than helping secure the unity of the country, they temporarily collaborated with secessionist Katanga – all because the United States succeeded in persuading the UN that Lumumba was a Soviet "pawn." ¹⁷²

The two PKOs in Somalia (UNOSOM-I and II) went terribly wrong, not least because of the lack of collaboration with the (partly concurrent) American UNITAF-mission, which went its separate ways. For instance, it unilaterally

Table 6: UN Peacekeeping Missions in Africa: Overview

			Past O	perations		
C	Full	Agro-			Mandate	Max.
Country	Name	nym	Time	UNSCR#	Mission	Size
Angola	UN Angola	UNA VEM -I	Dec 1988- May 1991	#626 (20.12.88)	Verify redeployment and withdrawal of Cuban troops	70
	Verifica- tion Mission	UNA VEM-II	May 1991- Feb 1995	#696 (30.05.91)	Monitor ceasefire and police	490
	(I-III)			#747 (24.03.92)	Same plus observe elections	
				#804 (20.01.93)	Modalities for peace process/local ceasefires	
				#952 (27.10.94)	Verify implementation of Lusaka Agreement	
		UNA VEM-III	Feb 1995- June 1999	#976 (08.02.95)	Restore Peace under Lusaka Protocol and Acordoz do Paz	4,220
				#1118 (30.06.97)	Termination of mission, hand-over to MONUA	
	UN Observer Mission in Angola	MONUA	June 1997- Feb 1999	#1118 (30.06.97)	Consolidate peace and reconciliation, confidence-building, environment conducive to long-term stability, democratic development, rehabilitation	3,568
				#1180 (29.06.98)	Extension, resumption of withdrawal	
				#1229 (26.02.99)	Termination of mandate	
Central African Republic	UN Mission in the Central African Republic	MINUR CA	Apr 1998- Feb 2000	#1159 (27.03.98)	Enhance security, disarmament, support for elections	1,374
Chad- Libya	UN Aou- zou Strip Observer Group	UNA SOG	May-June 1994	#914 (04.05.94)	Monitor Libyan withdrawal	12
Congo	UN Operation	ONUC	July 1960- June 1964	#143 (14.07.60)	Provide military assistance to the government	19,828
	in the Congo			#161 (21.02.61)	Prevent the occurrence of civil war, arrangements for ceasefire, use of force as last resort	
				#169 (24.11.61)	Apprehension, deportation of mercenaries	
Liberia	UN Observer Mission in Liberia	UNO MIL	Sept 1993- Sep 1997	#866 (22.09.93)	Monitor ceasefire and peace agreement, cantonment, disarmament, de-mobilisation, monitor elections, train ECOMOG mine-clearance, coordinate humanitarian assistance	458
				#1020 (10.11.95)	Slight adjustments (fewer tasks)	

Table 6: (continued)

	Past Operations					
Country	Full	Agro-	Time		Mandate	Мах.
Country	Name	nym	Tille	UNSCR#	Mission	Size
Mozam- bique	UN Operation in Mozam- bique	UNO MOZ	Dec 1992- Dec 1994	#797 (16.12.92)	Monitor ceasefire, disarmament and demobilisation, withdrawal of foreign forces, technical assistance to/monitoring of electoral process; coordinate and monitor humanitarian assistance	7,663
Namibia	UN Transition Assistance Group	UNTAG	Apr 1989- Mar 1990	#632 (16.02.89)	Oversee elections, ensure end to hostile acts	5,993
Rwanda	UN Assistance Mission for	UNA MIR	Oct 1993- Mar 1996	#872 (05.10.93)	Help implement Arusha agreement	5,090
	Rwanda			#912 (21.04.94)	Seek ceasefire, assist in humanitarian aid, protect civilians	3
				#918 (17.05.94)	Secure humanitarian areas, establish security	
				#965 (30.11.94)	Protect international staff, train police force	
				#997 (09.06.95)	Repatriation of refugees, monitor security situation, assist in provision of humanitarian aid	r
				#1029 (12.12.95)	Repatriation of refugees	
Rwanda- Uganda	UN Observer Mission Uganda- Rwanda	UNO MUR	June 1993- Sep 1994	#846 (22.06.93)	Prevent military assistance from Uganda to RPF in Rwanda	81
Sierra Leone	UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leon	UNOM SIL e	July 1998- Oct 1999	#1181 (13.07.98)	Monitor military situation, monitor disarmament/demobilisation	209
Somalia	UN Operation in Somalia	UNO SOM-I	Apr1992- Mar 1993	#75 I (24.04.92)	Monitor ceasefire, protection of int. staff and humanitarian aid (only Mogadishu)	949
	(1-11)			#775 (28.08.92)	Protect humanitarian aid in al of Somalia	I
				#794 (03.12.92)	Authorising UNITAF (United Task Force)	
		UNO SOM-II	Mar 1993- Mar 1995	#814 (26.03.93)	Take over from UNITAF, create secure environment (enforcement measures), disarmament, mine-clearance, repatriation	28,000
				#837 (06.06.93)	Same plus arrest of perpetrators of attack against UN staff	
				#897 (04.02.94)	Same without use of coercive means	

Table 6: (continued)

	Current Operations					
Country	Full	Agro-	Time		Mandate	Мах.
Country	Name	nym	Tille	UNSCR#	Mission	Size
Burundi	UN Operation in Burundi	ONUB	June 2004 -present	#1545 (21.05.04)	Monitor ceasefire and flow of arms, disarmament, demobilisation, secure environment for elections, protect civilians	5,445
Côte d'Ivoire	UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire	UNOCI	Apr 2004 -present	#1528 (27.02.04)	Monitor ceasefire and borders, DDR, support for humanitarian assistance	6,237
DRC	UN Organiza- tion Mission in	MONUC	Nov 1999 -present	#1291 (24.02.00)	Monitor ceasefire, DDR, facilitate humanitarian assistance, emergency mine action	17,004
	the Democratic Republic			#1445 (04.12.02)	Higher troop numbers	
	of the Congo			#1493 (28.07.03)	Higher troop numbers	
				#1565 (01.10.04)	More troops, protection of civilians, collaboration with ONUB, cease arms, security of government, assist humanitarian aid, assist DDR, assist in elections, promote human rights	
Ethiopia /Eritrea	UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea	UNMEE	July 2000 -present	#1320 (15.09.00)	Interpositioning, monitor ceasefire, assistance for mine-clearing	4,200
Liberia	UN Mission in Liberia	UNMIL	Sept 2003 -present	#1509 (19.09.03)	Monitor ceasefire, cantonment, plan DDRR, provide security, support humanitarian assistance and security re-form, assist in preparation for elections	16,503
Sierra Leone	UN Mission in Sierra Leone	UNAM SIL	Oct 1999 -present	#1270 (22.10.99)	Implement peace agreement, DDR, facilitate humanitarian aid	17,500
				#1289 (07.02.00)	Same plus provide security, protect civilians	
Sudan	UN Mission in the Sudan	UNMIS	Mar 2005 -present	#1590 (24.03.05)	Monitor ceasefire, assist in DDR, assist in public information campaign, promotion of human rights and security sector reform	<10,000
Western Sahara	UN Mission for the Referen- dum in Western Sahara	MINUR SO	Apr 1991 -present	#690 (29.04.91)	Monitor ceasefire, oversee exchange of POW, repatriation, voter registration, organise referendum	237

launched a hunt for one of the rivalling warlords, Mohammed Aideed, only to call off the chase after the loss of eighteen troops (from the secret "Delta Force") in a shootout which also cost the lives of between three hundred and a thousand Somalis. As a reaction to this humiliation Washington commenced a complete withdrawal accompanied by a campaign to make the other contributing countries to likewise withdraw. Rather than having solved or even mitigated the conflict, the UN missions thus left behind a country in complete dissolution, where real power to an even greater extent than before the mission had been transferred from tradition leaders (e.g. clan elders) to the warlords.¹⁷³

Most disastrous of all was the PKO in Rwanda (UNAMIR). 174 It had been intended to monitor a ceasefire in the civil war which had erupted following the incursion in 1990 by the (Tutsi-dominated) rebel movement RPF/A (Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army) from its bases in neighbouring Uganda. In conformity with its "standard operating procedure" for civil wars the UN had mandated a small and lightly armed PKO (UNAMIR, for a period assisted by UNAMUR to monitor the border with Uganda), which was tasked with monitoring a ceasefire between the two parties. Concurrently with the civil war, however, the government of Rwanda (and particularly the extremist wings of the Hutudominated governing parties) was planning a genocide with the aim of nothing less than the total extermination of the Tutsi population, making up about fifteen percent of the total population. Even though credible warnings about this were received in January 1994 (including information about the training by the army of Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi militias in mass killings by means of machetes) these were disregarded by the UN Security Council, apparently reflecting a meeting of minds between two of the permanent members, the United States and France.

When the genocide was launched on the 6th of April 1994, UNAMIR was thus unable to prevent it, notwithstanding repeated appeals for reinforcement sent by its supreme commander, Roméo Dallaire. In the course of the following hundred days, an average of 8-10,000 people (i.e. three times "9/11") were thus slaughtered

Legend (Tabel 6): Max Size: Only international personnel, both military and civilian; The maximum strength for UNOMOZ calculated as max. military strength (30 Nov 1993) plus max. civilian police (31 Oct 1994); UNSCR: UN Security Council Resolution no., extensions with no or only minor amendments not included, **boldfaced** when adopted under Chapter VII (in some cases only for part of the mandate); DDR: Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; DDRR: Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration and repatriation; POW: prisoners of war

per day (*sic!*) with the utmost brutality, while the UN merely planned for the evacuation of the ex-pats and the final withdrawal. Indeed, UNAMIR did not even have the means to jam the broadcasts of the radio station (*Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines*) that was directing the killers to their victims.¹⁷⁵

The *postludium* to this tragedy was arguably even less dignified. When the civil war was resumed by the RPF after the launch of the genocide, it swiftly forced the army and militias into retreat, Seeing its former allies in distress, France succeeded in obtaining a UN mandate (UNSCR 929 of 22 June 1994) for a "humanitarian intervention," code-named *Operation Turquoise*. This did not even attempt to save the victims of the genocide, but allowed the perpetrators to escape (using civilians as cover and bringing along the entire army with its

Table 7: African Contributions to UN Peacekeeping (as of March 2005)

Rank	Name	Troops
4	Ethiopia	3,421
6	Ghana	3,320
7	Nigeria	3,041
10	South Africa	2,316
11	Morocco	1,709
12	Senegal	1,572
13	Kenya	1,483
17	Namibia	880
23	Tunisia	520
25	Niger	474
28	Benin	410
33	Togo	324
45	Mozambique	193
48	Zambia	132
49	Egypt	122
50	Cameroon	121
53	Burkina Faso	97
54	Mali	92
55	Zimbabwe	86
60	Guinea	61
61	Gambia	58
62	Malawi	55
68	Chad	40
74	Djibouti	24
78	Uganda	22

weaponry, the state treasury and most of the civil service) into neighbouring Zaïre, ¹⁷⁶ whence they have ever since launched small-scale attacks into Rwanda as well as participated in the Congolese civil war. ¹⁷⁷ This has probably been the most outrageous abuse of alleged humanitarian reasons to justify a military intervention since Nazi Germany invaded Czechoslovakia to protect the Sudeten Germans in 1938! ¹⁷⁸

Africa's experience with UN peacekeeping has thus not only been positive, which serves to qualify the widespread impression that the rest of the world is helping the black continent. It should also be recalled that African countries are not merely consumers of peacekeeping, but also providers of peacekeepers to missions both within and beyond their own continent, as becomes obvious from Table 7. For comparison, the first NATO country to appear on the list is Poland (ranked as no. 20 with 721 troops), whereas the United States only appears as no. 30 with a mere 363 troops, i.e. about one tenth of what countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana and Nigeria are contributing.

The UN and the Societal Security of African Peoples

As the most dramatic threat to the societal security of a human collective (e.g. a nation or an ethnic or religious group) is obviously genocide, the above account of the Rwandan genocide and the UN's failure to prevent or stop it might as well have been included in the present chapter.

The case dramatically illustrates the potential trade-off between national security (including the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity) and societal (and human) security. On the one hand, the former allows a state to inflict unspeakable suffering on its citizens with impunity, both as individuals and as collectives. Safeguarding of the latter may, on the other hand, require either the launch of a humanitarian intervention or an acceptance of the right of an oppressed group to secede from a state governed by their oppressors. Difficult choices may thus have to be made, which the UN is poorly equipped to do. Hence, the UN does not seem to have been much better at protecting societal than national security in Africa.

The UN, Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in Rwanda and Sudan

Whereas the UN has thus neither managed to stop on-going or prevent impending genocides, it may play a role in deterring would-be *genocidaires* from implementing their genocidal plans via the threat of punishment by means of a judicial machinery to try cases of genocide.

In the wake of the Rwandan genocide, the UN Security Council thus decided (in UNSCR 955 of 8 November 1994) to establish an International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), ¹⁸⁰ which came to be located in Arusha, Tanzania. Its jurisdiction was stipulated as three sets of crimes (genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes) committed in a specific period (1 January-31 December 1994) either in Rwanda or by Rwandan citizens elsewhere. ¹⁸¹ It was ensured that there would be no relaxation of traditional rules of procedure, evidence, etc. ¹⁸² The ICTR began its proceedings in 1995 and issued its first indictments in November 1995. Since then however, the ICTR has only managed to ensure the arrest of around fifty suspects and convict (as of June 2005) a mere twenty-one, of which eight sentences had been appealed. ¹⁸³ A total of sixteen cases were awaiting trial and twenty-five were still in progress, ten of them conducted *in absentia* because the accused were still at large. ¹⁸⁴

All good intentions notwithstanding, this entire procedure has been quite controversial. First of all, the government of Rwanda feels it should have jurisdiction over those responsible for crimes committed in Rwanda by Rwandans against other Rwandan citizens, which is surely not an unreasonable demand. Secondly, it is dissatisfied with the inability of the ICTR to pass death sentences; and thirdly, it is understandably frustrated by the slow pace of the court cases.¹⁸⁵

The critique notwithstanding, a positive consequence of the establishment of the ICTR (along with the ICTY and the ICC, and to some extent even the aforementioned Special Court for Sierra Leone) is certainly that international law becomes clarified by the establishment of precedents. For instance, in 2004 the ICTR passed judgement on three of the ideological and propagandistic leaders of the genocide, i.e. the founders of the infamous hate radio station RTLMC, Ferdinand Nahimana and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (both sentenced to life imprisonment, in the latter's case reduced, because of mitigating circumstances, to 35 years) and Hassan Ngeze, the editor of the extremist newspaper *Kangura* (which had in published the "Hutu Ten Commandments"), likewise to life imprisonment. These sentences surely establish a legal precedent to the effect that the freedom of speech does not apply to hate propaganda and incitement to genocide. In the words of the tribunal (referring to Nahimana), "without a firearm, machete or any physical weapon, he caused the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians." ¹⁸⁶

That the setting of such precedents does not suffice as a deterrent against genocides or crimes against humanity has been dramatically demonstrated by the events in the Darfur provinces of Sudan since February 2003. Whereas the United States has officially proclaimed this to be a genocide in progress, other actors such as the EU, the AU and the UN have found the evidence inconclusive.¹⁸⁷ There is, however, little doubt that the government is waging an extremely brutal counter-insurgency war, including massive ethic cleansing against the two rebel movements SLA and JEM (Justice and Equality Movement), with an estimated death toll (as of June 2005) of 180,000 people and an internal displacement of up to two million.¹⁸⁸ Most of the atrocities have been committed by the Arab *Janjaweed* militias; there is conclusive evidence of support by government forces – as there was for Khartoum's previous use of *Baggarra* tribal militias to raid Dinka villages in order to weaken the SPLA, but also taking advantage of the situation for private slave raids.¹⁸⁹

The government in Khartoum is thus, beyond any reasonable doubt, guilty of crimes against humanity, implying that the international community is obliged to prosecute the culprits. This raised the question where and how to stage the trial, bringing into play the long-standing dispute between the United States and most of the world community, most prominently the EU, over the ICC: Washington initially promoted the idea of yet another special tribunal (or even the use of the ICTR), whereas the EU insisted on using the ICC. Eventually, a compromise was struck (in UNSCR Resolution 1593, 31 March 2005) according to which the US consented to the use of the ICC on the condition that no US citizen would be brought to trial (which nobody had intended in the first place). By the time of writing, the first arrest warrants had thus been issued, but no legal proceedings had yet begun. 190

One might have expected the United States, having proclaimed it a genocide, to have undertaken, or at least advocated the UN to take, more forceful action, for instance in the form of a humanitarian intervention. However, not only was the US and its allies by that time already "over-extended" with major deployments in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Balkans, but it was also unclear what might be accomplished by military means. To do an "Iraq" against the Sudan would have been extremely demanding, and to establish a "safe haven" within Darfur might simply have played into the hands of the ethnic cleansers. Moreover, there were (entirely justified) concerns that forceful action over Darfur might have derailed the fragile peace process between the government and the SPLA in southern Sudan, thereby perhaps spoiling the best chance for decades to bring Africa's longest and most destructive civil war to an end. ¹⁹¹

What the UN (and the rest of the international community) did was to "pass the buck" in Darfur to the AU, which is now present with a major military observer group, supported financially and logistically by both NATO and the EU. 192 This allows the UN to concentrate its own military efforts on monitoring the peace between North and South by means of UNMIS. Its mandate (formulated in UNSCR 1590) also include several tasks very central to societal security of the peoples of the South, including their freedom of religion and the safeguarding of their collective identities, which has been a prominent issue in Sudan's "conflict history" ever since independence, indeed ever since colonial times. 193 UNMIS is thus supposed to

(a.vi) to assist the parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in addressing the need for a national inclusive approach, including the role

of women, towards reconciliation and peace-building; (...)

(A.ix) to ensure an adequate human rights presence, capacity, and expertise within UNMIS to carry out human rights promotion, protection, and monitoring activities; (...)

(b) to facilitate and coordinate, within its capabilities and in its areas of deployment, the voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced persons, and humanitarian assistance, inter alia, by helping to establish the necessary security conditions;¹⁹⁴

To what extent this will prove successful remains to be seen. Besides these efforts, the UN Secretary General has also been reporting continuously on Sudan, as has his appointed special representative for the Sudan, Jan Pronk. Moreover, several UN special agencies have been involved in humanitarian assistance to the victims of the two concurrent civil wars in Sudan – for instance the UNHCR, UNHCHR, WHO, UNDP, UNICEF and WFP. 196

The UN and Apartheid

Apartheid as practiced in South Africa obviously constituted a threat to the societal security of the non-white peoples of the country, i.e. mainly the black majority, but also the Asians and coloured. This policy of segregation according to racial criteria was partly intended as a means of protecting economic and other privileges for the white minority, and was underpinned, until the late 1980s, by a "divine sanction" in the form of an endorsement of apartheid by the Calvinist church. It clearly threatened the identity and collective cohesion of the non-whites via the banning of the ANC (African National Congress) and other liberation movements and numerous other human rights violations — even though in the process it strengthened, rather than weakening, "black consciousness" and political support for the ANC.

The UN, and especially the General Assembly, soon became a battleground for a controversy between the adamant opponents of apartheid (mainly in the Third World) and its lukewarm supporters in the West, who saw the regime as a (rather unattractive, but useful) bulwark against a (largely imaginary) communist threat.²⁰¹ Eventually, however, the opponents' views prevailed, producing a growing constituency in favour of sanctions against the regime, which were indeed imposed and gradually made both broader and more compulsory and binding.²⁰²

Foreign and transnational NGOs played an important role in this global struggle against apartheid, ²⁰³ e.g. by promoting such sanctions as were asked for by the ANC. ²⁰⁴ The means employed to the end of deposing the apartheid regime included a combination of support for the liberation movements (mainly the ANC) and pressure directed at the respective governments in the home countries of the NGOs – e.g. in the United States where the objective was to to make the U.S. government cease its support for the apartheid regime and impose sanctions. ²⁰⁵ NGOs also worked closely with the UN²⁰⁶, especially its Special Committee against Apartheid. The *Declaration of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa* (Paris, 27 May 1981) thus emphasised

... the importance of action by local authorities, mass media, trade unions, religious bodies, co-operatives and other non-governmental organisations as well as men and women of conscience, to demonstrate their abhorrence of apartheid and their solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia. It draws particular attention to the constructive value of consumer boycotts, sports boycott, cultural and academic boycott (...) It encourages assistance to the victims of apartheid and their national liberation movements, as appropriate actions by the public, in support of international sanctions against apartheid. ²⁰⁷

These recommendations were confirmed in the (very elaborate) *Programme of Action against Apartheid*, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1983, containing admonitions to NGOs, trade unions, political parties, etc. to cease all collaboration with the apartheid regime and to support the liberation movements.²⁰⁸

The UN thus contributed significantly to the eventual fall of the apartheid regime, just as it was involved in monitoring and facilitating the transition itself, as well as in supervising the first democratic elections in 1994. The UN thereby helped improve the societal security of all non-white inhabitants of South Africa. The deposed minority, however, and especially the Afrikaans-speaking whites, began to see the transition as a threat to their own societal security and for a time sought protection in "consociational" forms of democracy-cum-power sharing such as promulgated by Aron Lijphardt and others, 11 yet eventually consented to the protection accorded to them by one of the world's most democratic constitutions, underpinned by a protection of private property rights.

The UN and the Human Security of Africans

Human security, in the sense of an absence of serious threats to the survival and well-being of humans as individuals, is seriously endangered in most of Africa, where the life of most people is indeed "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."²¹³

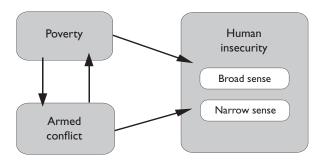
Poverty and Human Security

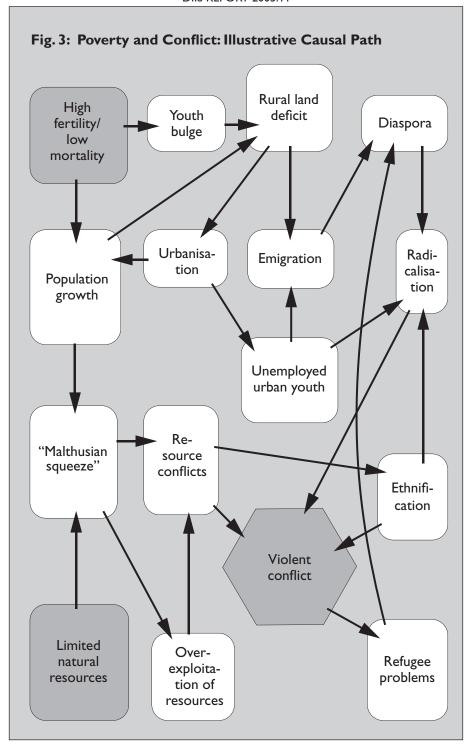
The general and almost permanent economic crisis in which most African states have found themselves for decades²¹⁴ is probably the main cause of this, the steadily deteriorating living conditions leaving close to half of the population to get by on less than a dollar a day (see Table 8). ²¹⁵

Table 8: Global Poverty:
People Living on Less than I\$ a Day

Region	Perce 1990	ntage 1999	Nun 1990	nber 1999
Sub-Saharan Africa	47.4	49.0	241	315
East Asia and Pacific	30.5	15.6	486	279
South Asia	45.0	36.6	506	488
Latin America/Caribbean	11.0	11.1	48	57
C/E Europe & CIS	6.8	20.3	31	97
Middle East/ North Africa	2.1	2.2	5	6

Fig. 2: Poverty, Conflict and Human Security





However, besides general poverty and misery, armed conflicts also play a significant role as challenges to human security, and not only in the direct sense of representing a threat of violent death, as illustrated in Fig. 2. First of all, armed conflict tends to exacerbate developmental problems and aggravate poverty, thereby damaging human security in the broader sense. Indeed, it is not merely actual armed conflict which has this detrimental effect, but also such potential armed conflicts as are planned for, usually in the form of armaments representing a drain on societal security. Even though some have claimed that an arms build-up in "backward" countries may contribute to modernisation, ²¹⁶ most analysts today aggree that the opposite is normally the case, i.e. that an arms build-up comes at the expense of economical and social development. ²¹⁷

Secondly, poverty may, at least to some extent, contribute to conflicts and thereby indirectly harm human security in the narrow sense of the term. There is no direct causal link between poverty and violence, neither in the sense that armed conflicts are predominantly waged by poor people, nor that that is any significant positive correlation between a country's level of poverty and its propensity for armed conflict. Rather, the link is indirect and the causal path runs through poverty-related problems such as relative deprivation and inequality, "youth bulges," societal marginalisation and ethnification. Several such causal paths are illustrated in Fig. 3, but it is beyond the scope of the present paper to elaborate further on this.²¹⁸

There is thus a plausible, albeit partly indirect, link between poverty and conflict and, by logical implication, between development and human security. This means that the considerable share of global development aid which is channelled through the UNDP and other UN agencies, could be seen as contributions to enhancing human security, as might the UN's promotion of human rights, inter alia under the auspices of UNHCHR (UN High Commissioner for Human Rights) and OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs).

However, as it is beyond the scope of the present paper to elaborate on this general problematique, we shall concentrate on some of the special problems of two categories of people, namely children running the risk of being abducted to serve as child soldiers or auxiliaries in armed conflicts, women running the risk of becoming the victims of war-related rape.

Table 9: Child Soldiers in Sub-Saharan Africa (2004)

	Conventions	Government side	Opponents
State	AP CRC ICC ILO RAF	Non-statutory forces	Movement/Army
Angola	• • • • Y		FLEC: Frente da libertação do Penclave de Cabinda–Forças Armadas de Cabinda
Burkina Faso	• • • • • N		(MPCI: Mouvement patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire)
Burundi	• • • • o Y	Guardians de la Y Paix	CNDD: Conseil national pour la Y défense de la démocratie
			CNDD-FDD: Conseil national pour Y la défense de la démocratie-Forces pour la défense de la démocratie
			FNL: Parti de libération du peuple Y hutu-Forces nationales de libération (and youth wing: Jeunesse Patriotique Hutu)
CAR	• • • • P	Self-defence groups P	(MLC: Mouvement pour la libération P du Congo)
Chad	• • • • • Y		MDJT: Mouvement pour la Y démocratie et justice au Tchad
Congo, Democratic Republic of	• • • • Y	Mayi-Mayi, Y including Mudundu-40	CNDD-FDD: Conseil national pour Y la défense de la démocratie—Forces pour la défense de la démocratie
			FARDC: Forces armées de la Y République démocratique du Congo
			FDLR: Force démocratique de libération du Rwanda
		RCD-ML: Y Rassemblement	congolaise
		congolais pour la démocratie-Mouve- ment de libération	FNI: Front nationaliste et Y integrationaliste
		ment de liberation	MLC: Mouvement pour la libération Y du Congo
			RCD-Goma: Rassemblement Y congolais pour la démocratie (with local defence forces, LDF)
			PUSIC: Parti pour l'unité et la Y sauvegarde du Congo
Congo	• • • • P		UPC: Union des patriotes congolais Y
Congo, Rep. of			Ninjas Y
Côte d'Ivoire	• o • Y	Jeunes Patriotes Y	MPJ: Mouvement pour la paix et la Y justice
		(LURD: Liberians Y United for Reconciliation and Democracy)	MPIGO: Mouvement populaire Y ivoirien pour le Grand Ouest
		(MODEL: Movement for Democracy in Liberia)	
		FLGO: Forces de Libération du Grand West	MPCI: Mouvement patriotique de Y Côte d'Ivoire

Table 9: (continued)

	Conventions	Government side	Opponents
State	AC CRC ICC ILO RAF	Non-statutory forces	Movement/Army
Eritrea	• • o P		
Guinea	• • • • P	Jeunes Volontaires (LURD: Liberians Y United for Reconciliation and Democracy)	- Y
Liberia	0 • • • Y	SBU: Small Boys Units ATU: Anti-Terrorist Y	LURD: Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy MODEL: Movement for Democ- Y
		Units	racy in Liberia
Nigeria	• • • • • N	•	OPC: O-odua People's Congress P
Rwanda	0 • • • Y	LDF: Local Defence Y Forces	Ex-FAR (Forces Armees de Rwanda) P – in the DRC
		RCD-Goma: Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (in the DRC)	Interahamwe (in the DRC) Y FDLR: Forces démocratiques pour la libération de Rwanda (in the DRC)
Sierra Leone	0 • • • N	CDF: Civil Defence Prorces	ary Council
6 1 1 .		D : 1 1 1 2	RUF: Revolutionary United Front Y
Somalia	0 0 P	Regional adm. Lower Y Shabelle	Juba Valley Alliance Y RRA/SRRC: Rahanwein Resistance Y Army
		Regional adm. Middle Y Shabelle	,
			USC/SSA: United Somali Congress/Somali Salvation Alliance
		Regional adm. Puntland Y	USC: United Somali Congress Y
Sudan	0 • Y	Janjaweed Y	SPLM/A: Sudan People's Liberation Y Movement/Army
			SSUM: South Sudan Unity Movement Y SLM/A: Sudan Liberation Y Movement/Army
			JEM: Justice and Equality Movement Y
Uganda	• • • • Y	LDU: Local Defence Y Units	LRA: Lord's Resistance Army
Zimbabwe	• • • • Y	Green Bombers Y	

Legend: •:ratified; o:signatory, but not ratified; (): group from another country operating in the listed country; **AC:** African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child; **AP:** Additional protocols to the Geneva Conventions (1977); **CAR:** Central African Republic; **CRC:** Convention on the Rights of the Child; **DRC:** Democratic Republic of Congo; **ICC:** Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court; **ILO:** International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 182 concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour; **N:** No use of child soldiers; **OP:** Optional Protocol to CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict; **P:** Possible/Probable use of child soldiers; **RAF:** Regular armed forces; **Y:** Confirmed use of child soldiers

Child Soldiers

Notwithstanding the almost universal condemnation of this phenomenon, and the existence of many conventions and other legal instruments to prohibit the use of under-eighteens as soldiers, ²¹⁹ there are an estimated 300,000 children in the government and rebel armies around the world, of which a around 100,000 are to be found in Africa. ²²⁰ Not only rebel movements recruit children for their armies, but various governments do the same, as set out in Table 9. It omits countries whose birth registration systems leave something to be desired, and which may thus inadvertently recruit under-eighteens (as Botswana). ²²¹

Most child soldiers are boys, but in some (government as well as rebel) armies the ranks of under-eighteens also include girls, who are in some cases used in combat roles, whereas in others they mainly serve as auxiliaries and sex.-slaves for (usually euphemistically called "wives" of) the adult fighters.²²² Some of the cases are clearly more severe than others, the widespread, systematic and cruel use of (usually abducted or otherwise forcefully recruited) child soldiers for combat roles in Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi and the DRC being among the worst examples.²²³

The UN's roles in addressing this severe human security problem have mainly been those of setting norms (inter alia most of the aforementioned conventions) and of reporting on the (all too widespread) violations of these norms. UN agencies such as UNICEF have further been involved in an ameliorating role, inter alia by assisting in the demobilisation of child soldiers, which is usually even more complicated that what the demobilisation of an adult fighter entails as the children have usually been forcefully abducted, sexually abused, generally brutalised and, as a result, deeply traumatised.

Wartime Rape Victims

Another particularly vulnerable group in situations of armed conflict is that of women. Whereas women are less likely than men to die in combat, for the simple reason that they constitute merely a small minority of the actual fighters in most civil wars, the fact that most war deaths are to be found among civilians means that women are at least as likely to be targeted as men. Moreover, they are much more likely to suffer a fate which is becoming increasingly common in (un)civil wars in Africa as well as elsewhere, i.e. to end up as rape victims.

Rape has, of course, been a recurrent phenomenon in wars since time imme-

morial, ²²⁴ at least in the sense of being seen by commanders as "a perk for the boys". ²²⁵ In several of the aforementioned conflicts, however, rape seems to have been used almost as a political weapon in an ethnic or national conflict, where it is directed against the women who usually are the ones to reproduce as well as symbolise the community in question. There is nothing particularly African about this, but we have seen this in the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and perhaps even in what was probably history's largest mass-rape, the Japanese "rape of Nanking", where an estimated 80,000 women were raped and many mutilated and killed between December 1937 and March 1938. ²²⁶ In Rwanda as well, the systematic rape of Tutsi women by Hutu extremist forces was also intended as a means to the genocide in progress, as it damaged the reproductive capacity of the Tutsi nation. ²²⁷ The fact that the perpetrators of rape in Africa are often HIV-positive exacerbates the crime and aggravates the plight of the victims, ²²⁸ who are often also ostracized from their local communities and extended families.

The UN's role in addressing these problems has mainly been the same as for child soldiers: the setting of international norms, the prosecution of violators of these norms, combined with certain ameliorative functions. Most importantly, it has authoritatively proclaimed wartime rape to constitute a crime against humanity which may even qualify as a means of genocide. This was, inter alia, established by the aforementioned ICTR, which in its sentence in the trial against the *bourgmestre* of the Taba commune, Jean-Paul Akayesu, argued

[R]ape and sexual violence (...) constitute genocide in the same way as any other act as long as they were committed with the specific intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a particular group, targeted as such. (...) In light of all the evidence before it, the Chamber is satisfied that the acts of rape and sexual violence described above, were committed solely against Tutsi women, many of whom were subjected to the worst public humiliation, mutilated, and raped several times, often in public (...), and often by more than one assailant. These rapes resulted in physical and psychological destruction of Tutsi women, their families and their communities. Sexual violence was an integral part of the process of destruction, specifically targeting Tutsi women and specifically contributing to their destruction and to the destruction of the Tutsi group as a whole. The rape of Tutsi women was systematic and was perpetrated against all Tutsi women and solely against them. (...) Sexual violence was a step in the process of destruction of the tutsi

group - destruction of the spirit, of the will to live, and of life itself. (...) [T]he acts of rape and sexual violence, as other acts of serious bodily and mental harm committed against the Tutsi, reflected the determination to make Tutsi women suffer and to mutilate them even before killing them, the intent being to destroy the Tutsi group while inflicting acute suffering on its members in the process. ²²⁹

According to the Rome Statute, the ICC is also ready to prosecute cases of wartime rape as crimes against humanity or genocide.²³⁰

Besides these more direct initiatives, the UN is also involved, less directly but potentially equally significantly, in a range of projects aiming at strengthening women's rights and empowering women.²³¹ It has, inter alia, instituted a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences as well as a Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to oversee the implementation of the various conventions on women's rights such as the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952, in force since 1954) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979, in force since 1981).²³² Not only may this have a certain deterrent effect against prospective rapists, but it may also help rape victims to deal with (or even better remove) their stigmatisation by certain societies. It thus contributes to the human security of the entire female half of the various populations.

The UN and Environmental Security in Africa

As mentioned above, the term "environmental security" can be used in two different senses, either referring to the security of the environment as such, including its protection from mankind, or to environmental threats to humans, i.e. to the national, societal or human security of states, human collectives or individuals. The UN plays a role in Africa with regard to both sets of issues. ²³³

Human Threats to the Environment

As mentioned in the introduction, the UN may be seen as a provided of collective goods and a guardian of collective values. Some of these are important for the survival of the planet or particular habitats or species, whereas cultural sites of historical significance and certain natural sites are mainly deemed valuable for their aesthetic or recreational features – thus, strictly speaking, perhaps not belonging to the category of threats to the environment, as the value is merely in the eyes of the (human) beholder.

For the protection of the environment as such, the UN has established a United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), featuring inter alia a World Conservation Monitoring Centre (WCMC). ²³⁴ Its main concern is the protection of biodiversity, to which end the UN at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 adopted a Convention on Biological Diversity. ²³⁵ A central concept in this convention is that of "protected area," defined as "an area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity and of natural and associated cultural resources, managed through legal or other effective means." Many of these areas are located in Africa. The same is the case of many of the endangered species, to which another UN convention is devoted, the "Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora" (CITES), which is supplemented by a list of the endangered animal and plant species entitled to protection. ²³⁷

The UN special organisation UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) coined the phrase "World Heritage" for the latter category, and in 1972 adopted the "World Heritage Convention." Since that time the organisation has compiled, and continuously updates a list of (cultural as well as natural) "world heritage sites," several of which are located in Africa, to which the states parties to the convention are obliged to

provide some protection, for which effort they are entitled to some international support. ²³⁹

Whereas all such initiatives are, of course, applauded by environmentalists, for their contribution to environmental security in the radical sense, they sometimes also entail uncomfortable dilemmas stemming from the fact that humans are dependent on the utilisation of the environment, and the more desperately so the poorer they are. In some cases, the protection of habitats may thus entail a loss of land for cultivation or other use, which may even jeopardise the food security of the human inhabitants as may be the case when endangered animal species form part of their traditional diet. Moreover, the very fact of protection, e.g. in the form of a ban on the sale and export of (parts of) animals or plants, such as elephant tusks, rhino horns or various furs, creates a "shadow economy" of poaching and smuggling, benefiting from the inflated prices of the outlawed goods. Sometimes this economy involves the people deprived of their traditional livelihood by the application of the conventions, but sometimes the beneficiaries are newcomers to the area. ²⁴⁰

Fortunately, it is sometimes possible to devise win-win solutions, to such dilemmas, e.g. by taking into account the economic benefits which may be derived from an unspoiled natural environment, e.g. in the form of "eco-tourism," where jobs and income lost by conservation and habitat or species protection may be compensated for (at least economically) by the tourist industry. ²⁴¹ Ideally, such schemes might even take the form of "peace parks," for the creation and maintenance of which cooperation between (formerly) mutually hostile adjacent states is required. ²⁴²

Environmental Threats to Man

In Africa perhaps more than elsewhere, the natural environment poses numerous threats to man, both as states, collectives and individuals, on which the UN may impact.

National security, i.e. the security of states may be reduced by a virus such as that causing HIV-AIDS, which threatens to further reduce the (already severely deficient) military capacities of African states, for the simple reason that large proportions of the troops in most African armies are infected. Not only are the ranks thus depleted, but the ability to project military power, if only for peacekeeping operations, is also impaired by the risk of spreading the virus to

the people the troops were supposed to help.²⁴³ In this respect the UNAIDS programme may certainly be of assistance, as may the UNDPKO by ensuring a testing for HIV/AIDS of all UN peacekeepers, as is its stated policy.²⁴⁴

The security of African states may also be jeopardised by resource wars, the prevention (or, if unsuccessful, the stopping) of which may call for collective security or peacekeeping missions. Such resource wars tend to come in two different versions, which might be labelled "wars of scarcity" and "wars of plenty," respectively. To the former category belong wars, including intrastate armed conflicts, over scarce resources such as water, and they are thus driven by basic needs, whereas the underlying motive in the conflicts of the latter category is greed, i.e. the quest for riches such as oil or diamonds.

Water conflicts are certainly conceivable in large parts of Africa where rainfall is limited and states thus dependent on riverine water resources. We shall take as an example what is probably the potentially most conflict-prone river basin in Africa, namely that of the Nile, flowing from Uganda and Ethiopia through Sudan to Egypt. Their shared dependency on the Nile has for centuries or even millennia locked Sudan and Egypt into a symbiotic relationship, but both are dependent on the other two countries hosting the springs of the White and Blue Nile, respectively. However, neither Uganda nor Ethiopia are parties to the bilateral (Egyptian-Sudanese) Nile Waters Agreement of 1959. ²⁴⁵ If Ethiopia were to become able to exploit the tributaries to the Blue Nile (which presently flow out of the country without being exploited because of lack of infrastructure), this might well put it on a collision course with both Sudan and Egypt. In principle, Uganda would be in a comparable position with regard to the White Nile, and its president Museveni in 2004 demanded his fair share of influence. ²⁴⁶

In Sudan the most controversial project has been the planned Jonglei Canal, dating back to 1901, but only reinvigorated in 1974 by the Nimeiri government, who intended to construct the canal to prevent the evaporation of Nile waters in the large Sudd swamps in the Jonglei province. While this would benefit both the north and Egypt, it would be at the expense of the local population, who depend on the swamps. ²⁴⁷ It might thus be seen as a conflict between the government's quest for national security and the struggle of the peoples (Dinka, Nuer, Nuba, etc.) of the South for societal security. The construction projects for the canal came under military attacked by the SPLA in 1983, and the plans have not since been revived. ²⁴⁸

How likely issues such as these are to produce armed conflict depends, according to Thomas Homer-Dixon, on several factors such as the dependency of the countries involved on these rivers and the balance of power between them. ²⁴⁹ As far as the Nile is concerned, for instance, the country which is most dependent on its unimpeded flow is downstream Egypt which is, however, also militarily much stronger than both Ethiopia and Sudan. Hence, neither of these two upstream countries is likely to provoke Egypt to a military confrontation by depriving it of water – and Egypt is not in a position to affect the water supplies of any of the downstreamers. Even though a war may thus be unlikely, there is still a need for regulation, ideally even collaboration. In recognition of the need for a somewhat broader framework of collaboration than the bilateral agreement, the so-called Nile Basin Initiative was launched in 1999, encompassing all stake-holders, but it remains, at best, a multilateral regime *in embryo* and has no legal force. ²⁵⁰

The UN may play a role, inter alia via the Convention on the Law of the Non-navigational Uses of International Water-courses, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1997.²⁵¹ Among the general principles enshrined in it were the following:

Article 5 (1) Watercourse States shall in their respective territories utilize an international watercourse in an equitable and reasonable manner. In particular, an international watercourse shall be used and developed by watercourse States with a view to attaining optimal and sustainable utilization thereof and benefits therefrom, taking into account the interests of the watercourse States concerned, consistent with adequate protection of the watercourse.

(2) Watercourse States shall participate in the use, development and protection of an international watercourse in an equitable and reasonable manner.

In determining what is equitable, states will be obliged to take into account not only ecological imperatives but also "the social and economic needs of the watercourse States concerned" (art. 6.1.b). Moreover, they are committed to "take all appropriate measures to prevent the causing of significant harm to other watercourse States." (art. 7.1). Article 8 entails a general obligation to cooperate:

(Article 8.1) Watercourse States shall cooperate on the basis of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, mutual benefit and good faith in order to attain optimal utilization and adequate protection of an international watercourse.

Moreover, should conflicts (over water or other issues) nevertheless erupt, the convention also stipulates that

(Article 29) International watercourses and related installations, facilities and other works shall enjoy the protection accorded by the principles and rules of international law applicable in international and non-international armed conflict and shall not be used in violation of those principles and rules.

Alas, however, this convention, adopted by the UN in 1997 (with 103 votes in favour and a mere three against) has still not been ratified by the 35 states required for it to enter into force, but only twelve countries had, by 2002, ratified or consented to be bound by it.²⁵²

While water conflicts are about scarcity, other resource wars are about valuable natural resources such as oil, diamonds, coltrane or slow-growth timber, which have haunted countries such as Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Congo in the form of protracted (and partly internationalised) civil wars. ²⁵³ Indeed, according to Paul Collier and others, the presence of such resources is a much stronger propellant towards conflict than scarcity as it brings greed into play, either on the part of domestic elites or of foreign actors. ²⁵⁴

The UN has embarked on handling such conflicts in several ways. First of all, it has published reports on the exploitation of natural resources, e.g. in the Congo, thereby "naming and shaming" both states such as Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe and individual members of their respective elites, which may have a certain impact. Secondly, it has imposed sanctions against parties such as RUF (in Sierra Leone) and UNITA, (in Angola) thereby denying them access to the revenues from diamond sales that had had used to purchase arms, which has probably contributed to shortening the conflicts. Thirdly, spurred by NGOs it has been involved in the aforementioned campaign against "conflict diamonds" in the "Kimberley Process" aiming towards a certification scheme for diamonds, allowing customers to distinguish "dirty" from "clean diamonds."

The UN has thus played a role (and might play an even more significant one) in addressing environmental threats to national security. As far as environmental threats to societal security, others are conceivable than the above Jonglei Canal dispute. Some might involve the possible destruction of human habitats (i.e. livelihoods) as seems to have happened in Darfur since the start of the civil war

Table 10: Droughts, Floods and Famine in the Horn of Africa, 1961-2001

Year	Djibouti	Ethiopia	Eritrea	Somalia	Sudan
1961				F	
1964				D	
1965		D			
1968		F			
1969		D		D	
1972		Fam			
1973		D			
1974		D		D	D
1975		D			F
1976		F		D	
1977	F	D+F		F	
1978	F	D+F			F
1980	D		Not	D	D
1981	F	F	applicable	F	
1983		D		D	D+Fam
1984	D	D			D
1985		F			
1987		D		D	D
1988	D	F		D	F
1989	F	F+D		F	
1990		F+D			D+F
1991		D			D
1992	_	D			D
1993	F	F+Fam	W	-	-
1994	F	F+Fam		F	F
1995	-	F		F	F. D
1996	D	F		-	F+D
1997		F+D		F	F
1998	Г.	Fam+D		F	F+Fam
1999	D	D+F+F	_	Fam	Flood
2000	D D	D+F D+F	D D	D+F	D+E
2001	D	D+F	D	D+F	D+F

in 2003, which may be tantamount to ethnic cleansing and potentially even genocide against the Fur people.²⁵⁷ What the UN may do in such situations is more less the same as mentioned above in the general section on societal security.

Environmental threats to human security (i.e. survival and well-being) are legio as the environment in large parts of the continent is distinctly inhospitable to human inhabitants. The Horn of Africa is this far from unique even though it may be somewhat worse off than other regions. As listed in Table 10,²⁵⁸ all the countries of this region have been haunted by environmental catastrophes such as earthquakes, flood and drought (as well as swarms of locust), producing recurrent (albeit usually localised) = famines with death tolls in the thousands...

What the UN can do (and does) in such situations to protect the human security of the victims is, of course, mainly to provide humanitarian aid, e.g. in the form of food supplies, blankets, medicine etc. However, as repeatedly pointed out by authors such as Alex de Waal, Mark Duffield and others, and as increasingly realised by the UN and the humanitarian NGOs with whom they are usually collaborating, such aid is rarely apolitical. Very often, large parts of the emergency aid is "taxed" heavily by governments and rebel groups, and sometimes humanitarian emergencies and even famines are even exploited by the incumbent regimes (e.g. in Ethiopia and Sudan) to tilt the balance-of-power *vis-à-vis* rebel groups. Hence the need for the UN and others to keep in mind the norm of the medical profession, *primum non nocere*, i.e. to do no harm.

Conclusion and Perspectives

We have thus seen that the United Nations does indeed matter to Africa, also with regard to security issues. This holds true both with regard to national security in the narrow and traditional sense (to the extent that this concept makes sense in an African context) and as far as expanded concepts of security are concerned, including societal, human and environmental security.

This has also been acknowledged by the African Union, e.g. in connection with its adoption in February 2004 (in the form of a "solemn declaration") of nothing less than a "Common African Defence and Security Policy." The AU in this document committed itself to quite a broad concept of security, similar to the one that has formed the basis for the above analysis:

... ensuring the common security of Africa involves working on the basis of a definition which encompasses both the traditional, state-centric, notion of the survival of the state and its protection by military means from external aggression, as well as the non-military notion which is informed by the new international environment and the high incidence of intra-state conflict. The causes of intra-state conflict necessitate a new emphasis on human security, based not only on political values but on social and economic imperatives as well. This newer, multi-dimensional notion of security thus embraces such issues as human rights; the right to participate fully in the process of governance; the right to equal development as well as the right to have access to resources and the basic necessities of life; the right to protection against poverty; the right to conducive education and health conditions; the right to protection against marginalization on the basis of gender; protection against natural disasters, as well as ecological and environmental degradation (art. 6)

The AU further committed itself to collaborating closely with the UN, inter alia via its Peace and Security Council:

In the fulfillment of its mandate for the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa, the Peace and Security Council shall cooperate and work closely with the United Nations Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Peace and Security Council shall also cooperate and work closely with other relevant UN Agencies in the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa. Where necessary, recourse will be made to the United Nations to provide the necessary financial, logistical and military support for the African Union's activities in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa, in keeping with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter on the role of Regional Organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security (art. 38).

The Peace and Security Council and the Chairperson of the Commission shall maintain close and continued interaction with the United Nations Security Council, its African members, as well as with the Secretary General, including holding periodic meetings and regular consultations on questions of peace, security and stability in Africa (art. 39).

That the UN thus matters to Africa, however, does not mean that its actual performance on the continent has been beyond reproach. In a number of instances, the UN has failed, either in the sense of intervening but thereby making matters worse rather than better (as in the case of Somalia), or of not intervening to stop a genocide in progress, as in Rwanda, where the UN persisted in treating the conflict as a civil war. However, it is debatable whether it is fair to blame the UN as such for errors such as these or whether the real culprits are the member states in general, and perhaps the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the "P5." There is little doubt that mistakes were indeed made by the UN as such, but even with the most competent staff and the best of intentions the organisation's ability to do anything the P5 would not agree to have it do would be very limited.

Whereas the Security Council was for decades largely prevented from acting by the East-West conflict, since around 1990 the explanation has to be found elsewhere, most obviously in the fact that Africa no longer really matters to the P5. There is thus a lot to be said in favour of a reform of the UN in general and the Security Council in particular, which should make it both more efficient and more legitimate in the eyes of the world, inter alia by making it more truly representative of the world community. The choice of the UK and France as permanent members of the Security Council alongside the United States, the

Soviet Union and China may have appeared reasonable in 1945, as these two powers in a certain (perverted) sense "represented" their extensive colonial empires and thus, for instance, most of Africa. Since decolonisation around 1960 this has become an obvious anachronism which seriously detracts from the UN's legitimacy.

Some wheels are presently in motion for a reform of the UN in general and the Security Council in particular. The High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change appointed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in November 2003 in December 2004 published its recommendations in a report on *A More Secure World. Our Shared Responsibility*, in which it advanced two different models for a change of the composition of the Security Council:

- Model A envisaged six new permanent seats on the SC, yet without veto powers, as well as three new non-permanent seats divided among the various regions.
- Model B envisaged no new permanent members, but a category of eight four-years seats on the Council, which would be renewable as well as one new two-year seat to be divided between the regions.²⁶²

In his aforementioned report, *In Larger Freedom*, Kofi Annan refrained from recommending either of the two models, but urged member states to proceed with reform, and it does indeed seem conceivable that one of the two reform models may be implemented in the near future. Which it will be makes little difference for Africa, as both envisage granting the continent a total of six seats out of a total of 24 in the SC, of which two would be permanent according to model A, whereas model B merely envisages two renewable four-year seats – which may well turn out to be *de facto* permanent.

The AU has generally welcomed the reform proposals, but demanded an additional seat. Even without this, and regardless of whether models A or B is implemented, the reform would surely represent an improvement on the present situation (with a mere two rotating seats) seen from an African point of view. This will leave the continent's states with the need to select two from their midst to serve as long-term or permanent representatives of them all. Three states have announced their candidature, namely Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt for this. In view of the present collaboration between the two former, almost constituting a "hegemonic duo" is seems likely that they will prevail

over Egypt which is only "half-African," given the fact that it also belongs, to at least the same extent, to the Middle East. However, at the AU summit in July 2005, no agreement was reached, so by the time of writing (5 July 2005) the jury was still out. 264

Notes

¹ On the general theory of collective (or public) goods see, for instance, Kaul, Inge, Isabelle Grunberg & Marc A. Stein: "Defining Global Public Goods," in idem, idem & idem (eds.): Global Public Goods. International Cooperation in the 21st Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 2-19; Desai, Maghnad: "Public Goods: A Historical Perspective," in Inge Kaul, Pedro Conceicao, Katell le Goulven & Ronald U. Mendoza (eds.): Providing Public Goods. Managing Globalization (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 63-77. On peace as a collective good see Mendez, Ruben P.: "Peace as a Public Good," in Kaul, Grundberg & Stein (eds.): op. cit., pp. 382-416. For a critical analysis of some of the underlying assumptions see Møller, Bjørn: "Peace as a Global Public Good," fortcoming (both in Danish and English) in anthologies published by the Danish Institute for Human Rights. Preliminary version available at www.diis.dk/graphics/personweb/bmo/ Peace-as-a-global-public-good.doc.

² Gallie, W.B.: "Essentially Contested Concepts," in Max Black (ed.): *The Importance of Language* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Praeger, 1962), pp. 121-146.

³ Wolfers, Arnold: "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol," in idem: *Discord and Collaboration*. *Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1962), pp. 147-165 (quote from p. 150).

⁴ For an overview see Møller, Bjørn: "National, Societal and Human Security: Discussion—Case Study of the Israel-Palestine Conflict," in Hans Günter Brauch, Peter H. Liotta, Antonio Marquina, Paul Rogers & Mohammed Selim (eds): Security and Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts (Berlin;: Springer, 2003), pp. 277-288. The main works are Buzan, Barry: People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991); Wæver, Ole, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre: Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe (London: Pinter, 1993); Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver & Jaap de Wilde: The New Security Studies: A Framework for Analysis (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998). For a critique of the concept of societal security and an advocacy of human security see McSweeney, Bill: "Security and Identity: Buzan and the Copenhagen School," Review of International Studies, vol. 22, no. 1 (1996), pp. 81-93; idem: Security, Identity and Interests. A Sociology of International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁵ Wæver, Ole: "Securitization and Desecuritization," in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.): *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 46-86.

⁶ An example of this (logical, but very radical) view is Eckersley, Robyn: *Environmentalism and Political Theory* (London: UCL Press, 1992).

⁷ The central UN agency is, of course, FAO (Food and Agriculture Organisation), the website of which is www.fao.org/, and under whose auspices a Committee on World Food Security has been established, publishing annual reports on food security in all countries (www.fao.org/ES/ESA/en/fs.htm). On food security see also Devereux, Stephen & Simon Maxwell (eds.): Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa (London: IDTG Publishing, 2001); Young, E. M.: "Globalization and Food Security: Novel Questions in a Novel Context?" Progress in Development Studies, vol. 4, no. 1 (2004), pp. 1-21; Dimitrov, Radoslav S.: "Water, Conflict, and Security: A Conceptual Minefield," Society and Natural Resources, vol. 15, no. 8 (2002), pp. 677-691. For a thought-provoking argument

to the effect that humanitarian relief in situations of famine often (inadvertantly) damages food security see de Waal, Alex: Famine Crimes. Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa (Oxford: James Currey, 1997). See also Labonte, Ronald, Ted Screcker, David Sanders & Wilma Meeus: Fatal Indifference. The G8, Africa and Global Health (Lansdowne, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press, 2004), pp. 96-115.

⁸ According to FAO, less than twenty percent of the world's food crises were thus from 1986-91 mainly caused by conflict and similar man-made contingencies, whereas the share had risen to almost forty percent in the period from 1992-2004. See FAO: The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2004 (Rome: FAO, 1994), p. 16. On war-related food insecurity see also Scanlan, Stephen J.: "Guns, Butter, and Development: Security and Military Famine Extensions of the Modernization versus Dependency Debate," Journal of Political and Military Sociology, vol. 29, no. 2 (2001), pp. 331-355; idem & J. Craig Jenkins: "Military Power and Food Security: A Cross-National Analysis of Less-Developed Countries, 1970-1990," International Studies Quarterly, vol. 45, no. 1 (2001), pp. 159-187; Pingali, Prabhu, Luca Alinovi & Jacky Sutton: "Food Security in Complex Emergencies: Enhancing Food System Resilience," Disasters, vol. 29, Supplement 1 (2005), pp. 5-23; Flores, Margarita, Yasmeen Khwaja & Philip White: "Food Security in Protracted Crises: Building More Effective Policy Frameworks," ibid., pp. 25-50; White, Philip: "War and Food Security in Eritrea and Ethiopia, 1998–2000," ibid., pp. 92-112; Archibald, S. & Paul Richards: "Seeds and Rights: New Approaches to Post-war Agricultural Rehabilitation in Sierra Leone," ibid., vol. 26, no. 4 (2002), pp. 356-367; Mancusi-Materi, Elena: "Food Aid for Social Development in Post-Conflict Situations," Development, vol. 43, no. 3 (2000), pp. 106-112; Clarke, Paul: "Food Security and War in Afghanistan," ibid., pp. 113-119

⁹ On the shortcomings of the League of Nations in general see Bennett, A. LeRoy: *International Organizations* 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), pp. 24-42; Northedge F.S.: *The League of Nations. Its Life and Times, 1920-1946* (Leichester: Leichester University Press, 1986), passim; Claude, Inis L. Jr.: Swords Into Plowshares. The Problems and Progress of International Organization, 4th ed. (New York: Random House, 1984); and, of course, the unrivalled classic, Carr, E.H.: *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations.* 2nd ed. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964).

¹⁰ On collective security in general see Weiss, Thomas G. (ed.): Collective Security in a Changing World (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993); Johansen, Robert C.: "Lessons for Collective Security," World Policy Journal, vol. 8, no. 3 (1991), pp. 561-574; Kupchan, Charles A. & Clifford A. Kupchan: "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," International Security, vol. 16, no. 1 (1991), pp. 114-161; idem & idem: "The Promise of Collective Security," ibid., vol. 20, no. 1 (1995), pp. 52-61; Lutz, Dieter S.: Sicherheit 2000. Gemeinsame Sicherheit im Übergang vom Abschreckungsregime zu einem System Kollektiver Sicherheit in und für Europa (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991); Jaberg, Sabine: Systeme kollektiver Sicherheit in und für Europa in Theorie, Praxis und Entwurf. Ein systemwissenschaftlicher Versuch (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998); Hook, Steven W. & Richard Robyn: "Regional Collective Security in Europe: Past Patterns and Future Prospects," European Security, vol. 8, no. 3 (1999), pp. 82-100. More critical analyses include Russell, Richard: "The Chimera of Collective Security in Europa," ibid., vol. 4, no. 2 (1995), pp. 241-255; Betts, Richard K.: "Systems for Peace or Causes of War? Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe," International Security, vol. 17, no. 1 (1992), pp. 5-43; Joffe, Josef: "Collective Security and the Future of Europe: Failed Dreams and Dead Ends," Survival, vol. 34, no. 1 (1992), pp. 36-50; Yost, David: "The New NATO and Collective Security," ibid., vol. 40, no. 2 (1998), pp. 135-160; Miller, Lynn H.: "The Idea and the Reality of Collective Security," Global Governance, vol. 5, no. 3 (1999), pp. 303-332; Clark, Mark T.: "The Trouble with Collective Security," *Orbis*, vol. 39, no. 2 (1995), pp. 237-258; Butfoy, Andrew: "Themes within the Collective Security Idea," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1993), pp. 490-510.

- ¹¹ Baratta, Joseph Preston: "The Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Outlawry of War," in Richard Dean Burns (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament*, vols. I-III (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), vol. II, pp. 695-705.
- ¹² See Calvocoressi, Peter & Guy Wint: *Total War. Causes and Courses of the Second World War* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 90. See also Welch, David A.: *Justice and the Genesis of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 147-153.
- 13 Dinstein, Yoram: War, Aggression and Self-Defence. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Grotius Publications, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 83-97 & passim. On the more recent debates see, for instance, Drumbl, Mark A.: "Self-Defense and the Use of Force: Breaking the Rules, Making the Rules, or Both?" International Studies Perspectives, vol. 4, no. 4 (2003), pp. 409-431; Calhoun, Laurie: "Self-defence, Defence and Pre-emption," Politics, vol. 24, no. 3 (2004), pp. 181-188; Müller, Anna Caroline: "Legal Issues Arising from the Armed Conflict in Afghanistan," Non-State Actors and International Law, vol. 4, no. 3 (2004), pp. 239-276; Frank, Justin N.B. & Javaid Rehman: "Assessing the Legality of the Attacks by the International Coalition against Terrorism against Al-Qaeda and the Taleban in Afghanistan: An Inquiry into the Self-Defence Argument under Article 51 of the UN Charter," Journal of Criminal Law, vol. 67, no. 5 (2003), pp. 415-430.
- ¹⁴ Murphy, John F.: "Force and Arms," in Oscar Schachter & Christopher C. Joyner (eds.): *United Nations Legal Order*, vols. 1-2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 247-317.
- ¹⁵ See, for instance, Russett, Bruce (ed.): *The Once and Future Security Council* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
- ¹⁶ The UN Security Council Resolution 678 (29 November 1990) thus authorised "Member States co-operating with the Government of Kuwait, unless Iraq on or before 15 January 1991 fully implements ... the foregoing resolutions, to use all necessary means to uphold and implement Security Council resolution 660 (1990) and all subsequent relevant resolutions and to restore international peace and security in the area.. UNSCR 660 (2 August 1990), simply demanded "that Iraq withdraw immediately and unconditionally all of its forces to the positions in which they were located on 1 August 1990". See also See Schachter, Oscar: "United Nations Law in the Gulf Conflict," *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 85, no. 3 (1991), pp. 452-473.
- ¹⁷ On peacekeeping in general see Diehl, Paul F.: International Peacekeeping (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 1993); Durch, William J. (ed.): The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); idem (ed.): UN Peacekeeping, American Politics and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Hill, Stephen & Shahin P. Malik: Peacekeeping and the United Nations (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1996); Otunnu, Olara A. & Michael W. Doyle (eds.): Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998); Ratner, Steven R.: The New UN Peacekeeping. Building Peace in Lands of Conflict After the Cold War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); Warner, Daniel (ed.): New Dimensions of Peacekeeping (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1995); Whitman, Jim (ed.): Peacekeeping and the UN Agencies (London: Frank Cass, 1999); Findley, Trevor: The Use of Force in Peace Operations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹⁸ Based on information at the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) at www. un.org/ Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp.

¹⁹ The official tile of the Brahimi Report is *Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations* (A/55/305, S/2000/809). It is available at www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/. See also Zittel, Brian E.: "The Brahimi Report: At a Glance," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 55, no. 2 (2002), pp. 502-504; Guéhenno, Jean-Marie: "The United Nations Post-Brahimi: An Interview with the UN Under Secretary-General for Peace Operations," *ibid.*, pp. 489-500; Norberg, Annika Hilding: "Challenges of Peace Operations," *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 10, no. 4 (2003), pp. 94-103; Van Baarda, Ted1 & Fred Van Ierse: "The Uneasy Relationships between Conscience and Military Law: The Brahimi Report's Unresolved Dilemma," *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 3 (2002), pp. 25-50; Peou, Sorpong: "The UN, Peacekeeping and Collective Human Security: From An Agenda for Peace to the Brahimi Report," *ibid.*, no. 2 (2002), pp. 51-68; Thakur, Ramesh: "Cambodia, East Timor and the Brahimi Report," *ibid.*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2001), pp. 115-124.

²⁰ For an overview see Dhanapala, Jayantha (ed.): *The United Nations, Disarmament and Security. Evolution and Prospects* (Geneva: UNIDIR, 1991); Roberts, Adam: "The United Nations and International Security," *Survival*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1993), pp. 3-30; Whittaker, David J.: *United Nations in the Contemporary World* (London: Routledege, 1997), pp. 57-67; Gati, Toby Trister & Edmund T. Piasecki: "The United Nations and Disarmament," in Burns (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 11), vol. 2, pp. 751-770; Brauch, Hans Günter, Czeslav Mesjasz & Björn Möller: "Controlling Weapons in the Quest for Peace: Non-Offensive Defence, Arms Control, Disarmament and Conversion," in Chadwick F. Alger (ed.): *The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-First Century* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1998), pp. 15-53. On the Ottawa Convention banning landmines see Thakur, Ramesh & William Maley: "The Ottawa Convention on Landmines: A Landmark Humanitarian Treaty in Arms Control?" *Global Governance*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1999), pp. 273-302.

²¹ For a Soviet proposal for GDC, *anno* 1962, see "Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament Under Strict International Control, *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 56, no. 3 (1962), pp. 926-946; and, for a US counterpart, "Outline of Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World," *ibid.* pp. 899-925. On the possible implications see Marshall, Charles Burton: "Character and Mission of a United Nations Peace Force, Under Conditions of General and Complete Disarmament," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 59, no. 2 (1965), pp. 350-364. See also Thee, Marek: "Arms Control: The Retreat from Disarmament: the Record to Date and the Search for Alternatives," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 14, no. 2. (1977), pp. 95-114; Sohn, Louis B.: "Disarmament at the Crossroads," *International Security*, vol. 2, no. 4. (1978), pp. 4-31; Bandy, John D.. "Rites of disarmament," *Peace and Change*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1993), pp. 126-156; Myrdal, Alva: *The Game of Disarmament. How the United States and Russia Run the Arms Race* (New York: Pantheon, 1976), pp. 66-84.

²² On the limitations of arms control in general see Adler, Emanuel (ed.): *The International Practice of Arms Control* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 1992); Carter, April: *Success and Failure in Arms Control Negotiations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Glynn, Patrick: *Closing Pandora's Box. Arms Races, Arms Control and the History of the Cold War* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Gray, Colin S.: *House of Cards. Why Arms Control Must Fail* (Ithaca, NJ: Cornell University Press, 1992); Schelling, Thomas C.: "What Went Wrong with Arms Control?" in Øyvind Østerud (ed.): *Studies of War and Peace* (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1986), pp. 90-109; idem & Morton H. Halperin: *Strategy and Arms Control* (New York: Pergamon, 1961).

²³ On the definition of genocide see Dunne, Tim & Daniela Kroslak: "Genocide: Knowing What It Is That We Want to Remember, or Forget, or Forgive," *International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 4, no. 3-4 (2000), pp. 27-46; Jørgensen, Nina H.B.: "The Definition of Genocide: Joining the Dots in the Light of Recent Practice," *International Criminal Law Review*, vol. 1, no. 3-4 (2001),

pp. 285-313. On the concepts of cultural and linguistic genocides see Morsink, Johannes: "Cultural Genocide, the Universal Declaration, and Minority Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 4 (1999), pp. 1009-1060; and Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove: "The Globalisation of (Educational) Language Rights," *International Review of Education*, vol. 47, no. 3-4 (2001), pp. 201-219. On "political genocide" see Van Schaack, Beth: "The Crime of Political Genocide: Repairing the Genocide Convention's Blind Spot," *Yale Law Journal*, vol. 106, no. 7 (1997), pp. 2259-2291.

²⁴ The "deportation or forcible transfer of population" is thus listed in art. 7 (defining crimes against humanity) of the "Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court," available at www. preventgenocide.org/law/icc/ statute/part-a.htm#2. See also Petrovic, Drazen: "Erthnic Cleansing - An Attempt at Methodology," European Journal of International Law, vol. 5, no. 3 (1994), pp. 342-359; Ahmed, Akbar S.: "Ethnic Cleansing: a Metaphor for Our Time?" Ethnic & Racial Studies, vol. 18, no. 1 (1995), pp. 1-25; Simons, Anna1: "Making Sense of Ethnic Cleansing," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, vol. 22, no. 1 (1999), pp. 1-19; Preece, Jennifer Jackson: "Ethnic Cleansing as an Instrument of Nation-State Creation: Changing State Practices and Evolving Legal Norms," Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 20, no.4 (1998), pp. 817-842; Wolff, Stefan: "Can Forced Population Transfers Resolve Self-Determination Conflicts? A European Perspective,". Journal of Contemporary European Studies, vol. 12, no. 1 (2004), pp. 11-29; Mueller, John: "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'," International Security, vol. 25, no.1 (2000), pp. 43-71. For a historical overview see Brubaker, Rogers: "Aftermaths of Empire and the Unmixing of People: Historical and Comparative Perspectives," ibid., no. 2 (1995), pp. 189-218; Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew: "A Brief History of Ethnic Cleansing," Foreign Affairs, vol. 72, no. 3 (1993), pp. 110-121; Walling, Carrie Booth: "The History and Politics of Ethnic Cleansing," International Journal of Human Rights, vol. 4, no. 3-4 (2000), pp. 47-66; Rieber, Alfred J.: "Repressive Population Transfers in Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe: A Historical Overview," Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, vol- 16, no. 1-2 (2000), pp. 1-27; Martin, Terry: "The Origins of Soviet Ethnic Cleansing," Journal of Modern History, vol. 70, no. 4 (1998), pp. 813-861; Hayden, Robert M.: "Imagined Communities and Real Victims: Self-determination and Ethnic Cleansing in Yugoslavia," American Ethnologist, vol. 23, no. 4 (1996), pp. 783-801. For an argument that the UN inadvertantly encourages ethnic cleansing see Sproat, Peter Alan: "The United Nations' Encouragement of Aggression and Ethnic Cleansing: Time to Abandon the Right to Self-Determination?" Terrorism and Political Violence, vol. 8, no. 1 (1996), pp. 93-113.

²⁵ On the origins of the concept see Fine, Robert D.: "Crimes Against Humanity: Hannah Arendt and the Nuremberg Debates," *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 3, no. 3 (2000), pp. 293-311. For a political science and philosophical point of view see Vernon, R.: "What is Crime against Humanity?" *Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2002), pp. 231-249; Skogly, Sigrun I.: "Crimes Against Humanity – Revisited: Is There a Role for Economic and Social Rights?," *International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2001), pp. 58-80. For a legal perspective see de Guzman, Margaret McAuliffe: "The Road from Rome: The Developing Law of Crimes against Humanity," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2000), pp. 335-403; Robinson, Darryl: "Defining 'Crimes against Humanity' at the Rome Conference," *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 93, no. 1 (1999), pp. 43-57

²⁶ "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948, available at www.un.org/Overview/rights.html. On the role of the UN in the promotion of human rights see *The United Nations and Human Rights, 1945-1995*. The United Nations Bluebook Series, Vol. VII (New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations, 1995); Hannum, Hurst: "Human Rights," in Schachter & Joyner (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 14), vol. 1, pp. 319-348; Farer, Tom J. & Felice Gaer: "The UN

and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning," in Adam Roberts & Benedict Kingsbury (eds.): *United Nations, Divided World. The UN's Role in International Relations*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 240-296. See also Newman, Frank C. & David Weisbrodt: *International Human Rights: Law, Policy, and Process.* 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co., 1996); Buergenthal, Thomas: "The Normative and Institutional Evolution of International Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 4 (1997), pp. 703-723.

²⁷ "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights," in *The United Nations and Human Rights* (*op. cit.*, note 26), pp. 229-234; "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," *ibid.*, pp. 235-244 (with an optional protocol on pp. 244-246). See also Hamm, Brigitte: "A Human Rights Approach to Development," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 4 (2001), pp. 1005-1031; Wellman, Carl: "Solidarity, the Individual and Human Rights," *ibid.*, vol. 22, no. 3 (2000), pp. 639-657; Udombana, N. J.: "The Third World and the Right to Development: Agenda for the Next Millennium," *ibid.*, pp.753-787; Robinson, Fiona: "NGOs and the Advancement of Economic and Social Rights: Philosophical and Practical Controversies," *International Relations*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2003), pp. 79-96.

²⁸ "Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons," (1954) in *The United Nations and Human Rights (op. cit.*, note 26), pp. 181-187; and the "Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness" (1961), *ibid.*, pp. 206-210; "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" (1965), *ibid.*, pp. 219-225

²⁹ Freeman, Michael & David Beetham: "Are there Collective Human Rights?" *Political Studies*, vol. 43, no. 4 (1995), pp. 25-40.

³⁰ See, for instance, Colchester, Marcus: "Indigenous Rights and the Collective Conscious," Anthropology Today, vol. 18, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1-3; Birch, Marchéta L.: "Torture, Identity, and Indigenous Peoples Individual and Collective Rights," Albany Law Review, vol. 67, no. 2 (2003), pp. 537-544; Morgan, Rhiannon: "Advancing Indigenous Rights at the United Nations: Strategic Framing and Its Impact on the Normative Development of International Law," Social and Legal Studies, vol. 13, no. 4 (2004), pp. 481-501; Muehlebach, Andrea: "What Self in Self-Determination? Notes from the Frontiers of Transnational Indigenous Activism," *Identities*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2003), pp. 241-268; Peang-meth, Abdulgaffar: "The Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Their Fight for Self-Determination," World Affairs, vol. 164, no. 3 (2002), pp. 101-114; Pitty, Roderic: "Indigenous Peoples, Self-Determination and International Law," International Journal of Human Rights, vol. 5, no. 4 (2001), pp. 44-71; Scott, Craig: "Indigenous Self-Determination and Decolonization of the International Imagination: A Plea," Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 18, no. 4 (1996), pp. 814-820. On minority rights in general see Ramaga, Philip Vuciri: "The Bases of Minority Identity," ibid., vol. 14, no. 3 (1992), pp. 409-428; Ofuatey-Kodjoe, W.: "The United Nations and the Protection of Individual and Group Rights," International Social Science Journal, vol. 47, no. 2 (1995), pp. 315-331.

³¹ On the ICC see Knoops, Geert & Jan Alexander: "International and Internationalized Criminal Courts: the New Face of International Peace and Security?" *International Criminal Law Review*, vol. 4, no. 4 (2004), pp. 527-547; Leonard, Eric K.: "Discovering the New Face of Sovereignty: Complementarity and the International Criminal Court," *New Political Science*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2005), pp. 87-103; Dedarbaum, Jonathan: "The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court: A Commentary," *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 6, no. 4 (2004), pp. 601-604; Meernik, James: "Reaching Inside the State: International Law and Superior Liability," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 5, no. 4 (2004), 356-377; Fehl, Caroline: "Explaining the International Criminal Court: A 'Practice Test' for Rationalist and Constructivist Approaches,"

European Journal of International Relations, vol. 10, no.3 (2004), pp. 357-396; Hayden, Patrick: "Cosmopolitanism and the Need for Transnational Criminal Justice," Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory, no. 104 (2004), pp. 69-95; Tochilovsky, Vladimir: "Globalizing Criminal Justice: Challenges for the International Criminal Court," Global Governance, vol. 9, no 3 (2003), pp. 291-299; Economides, Spyros: "The International Criminal Court: Reforming the Politics of International Justice," Government and Opposition, vol. 38, no. 1 (2003), pp. 29-52; Farer, Tom J.: "Restraining the Barbarians: Can International Criminal Law Help?" Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 22, no. 1 (2000), pp. 90-117.

³² On the US attitude see Magliveras, Konstantinos & Dimitris Bourantonis: "Rescinding the Signature of an International Treaty: The United States and the Rome Statute Establishing the International Criminal Court," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2003), pp. 21-49; Galbraith, Jean: "The Bush Administration's Response to the International Criminal Court," *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2003), pp. 683-702; Ralph, Jason: "Between Cosmopolitan and American Democracy: Understanding US Opposition to the International Criminal Court," *International Relations*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2003), pp. 195-211; Mayerfeld, Jamie: "Who Shall Be Judge?: The United States, the International Criminal Court, and the Global Enforcement of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2003), pp. 93-123

³³ On humanitarian interventions see, for instance, Moore, Jonathan (ed.): *Hard Choices. Moral* Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998); Rodley, Nigel (ed.): To Loose the Bands of Wickedness. International Intervention in Defence of Human Rights (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1992); Lyons, Gene M. & Michael Mastanduno (eds.): Beyond Westphalia? National Sovereignty and International Intervention (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 1995); Roberts, Adam: "Humanitarian War: Military Intervention and Human Rights," International Affairs, vol. 69, no. 3 (1993), pp. 429-450; idem: "Intervention: One Step Forward in the Search for the Impossible," International Journal of Human Rights, vol. 7, no. 3 (2003), pp. 142-153; Phillips, Robert L. & Duane L. Cady: Humanitarian Intervention. Just War Versus Pacifism (Lanham, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996); Hippel, Karin von: Democracy by Force. US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Merle, Jean-Christophe: "The Problem with Military Humanitarian Intervention and Its Solution," Philosophical Forum, vol. 36, no. 1 (2005), pp. 59-76; Bellamy, Alex J.: "Motives, Outcomes, Intent and the Legitimacy of Humanitarian Intervention," Journal of Military Ethics, vol. 3, no. 3 (2004), pp. 216-232; Conlon, Justin: "Sovereignty vs. Human Rights or Sovereignty and Human Rights?" Race and Class, vol. 46, no. 1 (2004), pp. 75-100; Harbour, Frances V.: "Moral Agency and Moral Responsibility in Humanitarian Intervention," Global Society, vol. 18, no. 1 (2004), pp. 61-75; Ayoob, Mohammed: "Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration," Global Governance, vol. 10, no. 1 (2004), pp. 99-118; idem: "Humanitarian Intervention and State Sovereignty," International Journal of Human Rights, vol. 6, no. 1 (2002), pp. 81-102; Newman, Edward: "Humanitarian Intervention, Legality and Legitimacy," ibid., no. 4 (2002), pp. 102-120; Heinze, Eric A.: "Humanitarian Intervention: Morality and International Law on Intolerable Violations of Human Rights," ibid., vol. 8, no. 4 (2004), pp. 471-490; Welsh, Jennifer M.: "From Right to Responsibility: Humanitarian Intervention and International Society," Global Governance, vol. 8, no. 4 (2002), pp. 503-521; Boyle, Francis A.: "Humanitarian Intervention Under International Law," Review of International Affairs, vol. 1, no. 4 (2002), pp. 45-56; Nardin, Terry: "The Moral Basis of Humanitarian Intervention," Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 16, no. 1 (2002), pp. 57-70.

³⁴ The Responsibility to Protect. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001); and *The Responsibility*

to Protect. Research, Bibliography, Background (same publishers). See also MacFarlane, S. Neil, Carolin J. Thieking & Thomas G. Weiss: "The Responsibility to Protect: Is Anyone Interested in Humanitarian Intervention?" Third World Quarterly, vol. 25, no. 5 (2004), pp. 977-992; Weiss, Thomas G.: "The Sunset of Humanitarian Intervention? The Responsibility to Protect in a Unipolar Era," Security Dialogue, vol. 35, no. 2 (2004), pp. 135-153; Chandler, David: "The Responsibility to Protect? Imposing the 'Liberal Peace'," International Peacekeeping, vol. 11, no. 1 (2004), pp. 59-81; Warner, Daniel: "Responsibility to Protect and the Limits of Imagination," International Journal of Human Rights, vol. 7, no. 3 (2003), pp. 154-160.

³⁵ "In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All," *UN Documents*, A/59/2005), p. 35. The background to this was the report of a high-level panel appointed by the SG: *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (New York: United Nations, 2004).

³⁶ Cassese, Antonio: Self-Determination of Peoples. A Legal Reappraisal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Ofuatey-Kodjoe: "Self-Determination," in Schachter & Joyner (eds.): op. cit. (note 14), vol. 1, pp. 349-389. For various perspectives see Sellers, Mortimer (ed.): The New World Order. Sovereignty, Human Rights and the Self-Determination of Peoples (Oxford: Berg, 1996); Freeman, Michael: "The Right to Self-Determination in International Politics: Six Theories in Search of a Policy,," Review of International Studies, vol. 25, no. 3 (1999), pp. 355-370; Halperin, Morton & David J. Scheffer: Self-Determination in the New World Order (Washington, DC: Brookings Books, 1992).

³⁷ On quasi-states see Jackson, Robert H.: *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Bilgin, Pinar & Adam David Morton: "Historicising Representations of 'Failed States': Beyond the Cold-War Annexation of the Social Sciences?" *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2002), pp. 55-80.

³⁸ On the concept see Commission on Human Security: *Human Security Now* (New York: Commission on Human Security, 2003); Suhrke, Astri: "Human Security and the Interests of States," Security Dialogue, vol. 30. no. 3 (1999), pp. 265-276; Liotta, P. H.: "Through the Looking Glass: Creeping Vulnerabilities and the Reordering of Security," ibid., vol. 36, no. 1 (2005), pp. 49-60; idem: "Boomerang Effect: The Convergence of National and Human Security,," ibid., vol. 33, no. 4 (2002), pp. 473-486; Tow, William T. & Russell Trood: "Linkages between Traditional Security and Human Security," in William T. Tow, Ramesh Thakur & In-Taek Hyun (eds.): Asia's Emerging Regional Order. Reconciling Traditional and Human Security (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2000), pp. 13-32; Kim, Woosang & In-Taek Hyum: "Toward a News Concept of Security: Human Security in World Politics," ibid., pp. 33-46; Wilkin, Peter: "Human Security and Class in a Global Economy," in Caroline Thomas & idem (eds.): Globalization, Insecurity, and the African Experience (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 23-40; Thomas, Caroline: "Furthering the Debate on Human Security," ibid., pp. 179-183; idem: "Global Governance, Development and Human Security: Exploring the Links," Third World Quarterly, vol. 22, no. 2 (2001), pp. 159-185; Zacarias, Agostinho: Security and the State in Southern Africa (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), pp. 139-160; McSweeney: op. cit. (note 4), pp. 152-172; Renner, Michael: Fighting for Survival. Environmental Decline, Social Conflict and the New Age of Insecurity (London: Earthscan, 1997), pp. 135-153 & passim; Booth, Ken: "Security and Emancipation," Review of International Studies, vol. 17, no. 4 (1991), pp. 313-326; idem: "Human Wrongs and International Relations," International Affairs, vol. 71, no. 1 (1995), pp. 103-126; Ogata, Sadako: "Human Security - Protecting and Empowering the People," Global Governance, vol. 9, no. 3 (2003), pp. 273-282; Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko: "New Threats to Human Security in the Era of Globalization," Journal of Human Development, vol. 4, no. 2 (2003), pp. 167-180; Chen, Lincoln: "Human Security and Global Health," *ibid.*, pp. 181-190; Waisova, Sarka: "Human Security – the Contemporary Paradigm?" *Perspectives: Central European Review of International Affairs*, vol. 20 (2003), pp. 58-72; Sidel, Victor W. & Barry S. Levy: "Security and Public Health," *Social Justice*, vol. 29, no. 3 (2002), pp. 108-119; McDonald, Matt: "Human Security and the Construction of Security," *Global Society*, vol. 16, no. 3 (2002), pp. 277-295; Bain, William: "The Tyranny of Benevolence: National Security, Human Security, and the Practice of Statecraft," *ibid.*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2001), pp. 277-294; King, Gary & Christopher J. L. Murray: "Rethinking Human Security," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 116, no. 4 (2001), pp. 585-610; Paris, Roland: "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?," *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2001), pp. 87-102; Newman, Edward: "Human Security and Constructivism," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2001), pp. 239-251; Kay, Cristobal: "Introduction: Globalisation, Competitiveness and Human Security," *European Journal of Development Research*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1997) pp. 1-6; O'Neill, Helen: "Globalisation, Competitiveness and Human Security: Challenges for Development Policy and Institutional Change," *ibid*, pp. 7-37.

⁴² On the UNHCR see its website www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home. See also Forsythe, David: "UNHCR's Mandate: the Politics of Being Non-Political,", *UNHCR Working Paper*, no. 33 (2001); Davies, Sara E.: "Start Looking South: The Refugee Convention Fifty Years On," *International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2004), pp. 355-366; Lui, Robyn: "A Cautionary Note on UNHCR's Comprehensive Strategy for Refugees," *Social Alternatives*, vol. 21, no. 4 (2002), pp. 28-34; Adelman, Howard: "From Refugees to Forced Migration: The UNHCR and Human Security," *International Migration Review*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2001), pp. 7-32; Goodwin-Gill, Guy S.: "Refugees: Challenges to Protection," *ibid.*, pp. 130-142; Crisp, Jeffrey: "Mind the Gap! UNHCR, Humanitarian Assistance and the Development Process," *ibid.*, pp. 168-191; Barnett, Michael: "Humanitarianism with a Sovereign Face: UNHCR in the Global Undertow," *ibid.*, pp. 244-277; Bwakira, Nicholas: "From Nansen to Ogata: UNHCR's Role in a Changing World," *ibid.*, pp. 278-283; Suhrke, Astri & Kathleen Newland: "UNHCR: Uphill into the Future," *ibid.*, pp. 284-302; Loescher, Gil: "The UNHCR and World Politics: State Interests vs. Institutional Autonomy," *ibid.*, pp. 33-56; Stavropoulou, Maria: "Displacement and Human Rights: Reflections on UN Practice," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 3 (1998), pp. 515-554.

⁴³ On the various categories see Turton, David: "Refugees, Forced Resettlers and 'Other Forced Migrants:' Towards a Unitary Study of Forced Migration," *UNHCR Working Paper*, no. 94 (2003). On IDPs see Deng, Francis M.: "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement," *International Migration Review*, vol. 33, no. 2 (1999), pp. 484-496; idem: *Protecting the Dispossessed. A Challenge for the International Community* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1993), pp. 51-81 & passim; Cohen, Roberta & idem: *Masses in Flight. The Global Crisis of Internal Displacement* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1998); idem & idem (eds.): *The Forsaken People: Case Studies of the Internally Displaced* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1998); Korn, David A.: *Exodus within Borders* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 1999); Weiss, Thomas G.: "Internal Exiles: What Next for Internally Displaced Persons?" *Third World*

³⁹ UNDP: *Human Development Report 1993*, at www.undp.org/hdro/e93over.htm.

⁴⁰ idem: *Human Development Report 1994*, at www.undp.org/hdro/e94over.htm.

⁴¹ Galtung, Johan: "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," in idem: *Peace: Research, Education, Action.* Essays in Peace Research, vol. I (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers Forlag, 1975), pp. 109-134. On the source of inspiration for this concept, colonial Rhodesia, see idem: "Twenty Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and some Responses," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1985), pp. 141-158.

Quarterly, vol. 24, no. 3 (2003), pp. 429-437; idem: "Whither International Efforts for Internally Displaced Persons?," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 36, no. 3 (1999), pp. 363-373; Mooney, Erin D.: "Principles of Protection for Internally Displaced Persons," *International Migration*, vol. 38, no. 6 (2001), pp. 81-102; van Hear, Nicholas: "Locating Internally Displaced People in the Field of Forced Migration," *Norwegian Journal of Geography*, vol. 54, no. 3 (2000), pp. 90-95.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Pugh, Michael (ed.): Regeneration of War-Torn Societies (Houndmills: Macmillan, 2000); Harris, Geoff (ed.): Recovery from Armed Conflict in Developing Countries. An Economic and Political Analysis (London: Routledge, 1999); Ball. Nicole: "The Challenge of Rebuilding War-Torn Societies," in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson & Pamela Aall (eds.): Turbulent Peace. The Challenges of Managing International Conflict (Washingt pp. 719-736; Durch, William J.: "Picking Up the Peaces: The UN's Evolving Postconflict Roles," Washington Quarterly, vol. 26, no. 4 (2003), pp. 195-210; Ramsbotham, Oliver: "Reflections on UN Post-Settlement Peacebuilding," International Peacekeeping, vol. 7, no. 1 (2000), pp. 169-189.

⁴⁵ On the terminology see Boutros-Ghali, Boutros: An Agenda for Peace. Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992" (S/24111), at www. un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html Minor amendments of the terminology can be found in idem: Supplement to An Agenda For Peace. Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations" (A/50/60--S/1995/1, 3 January 1995), at www. un.org/Docs/SG/agsupp.html. See also Hill, Roger: "Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-Making and Peace-Keeping," in World Armaments and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook 1993 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 45-65.

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Kuman, Krishna (ed.): *Postconflict Elections, Democratization and International Assistance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998); Sisk, Timothy: "Democratization and Peacebuilding: Perils and Promises," in Crocker, Hampson & Aall (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 44), pp 785-800; Last, David: "Organizing for Effective Peacebuilding," *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2000), pp. 80-96; Schnabel, Albrecht: "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Second-Generation Preventive Action," *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2002), pp. 7-30.

⁴⁷ On conflict prevention see, for instance, the UN Secretary General's reports "Prevention of Armed Conflict" (June 2001, UN Documents, no. A/55/985-S/2001/574, A/55/985/Corr.1-S/2001/574/Corr.1), followed in 2002 by an "Interim Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict" (UN Documents, A/58/365 -S/2003/888). It was followed by a resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 18 July 2003, on "Prevention of Armed Conflict" ((UN Documents, A/RES/57/337). For an overview of the UN's activities see also the webpage on "Conflict Prevention" at www. un.org/Depts/dpa/prev_dip/fst_prev_dip.htm. See also Hampson, Fen Osler & David M. Malone: "Improving the UN's Capacity for Conflict Prevention," International Peacekeeping, vol. 9, no. 1 (2002), pp. 77-98; Kanninen, T.: "Recent Initiatives by the Secretary-General and the UN System in Strengthening Conflict Prevention Activities," International Journal on Minority and Group Rights, vol. 8, no. 1 (2001), pp. 39-43. On conflict prevention in general see, for instance, Jentleson, Bruce W.: Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World (Lanham, ML: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict: Preventing Deadly Conflict. Final Report (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997); Brown, Michael E. & Richard N. Rosecrance (eds.): The Costs of Conflict. Prevention and Cure in the Global Arena (Lanham, ML: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999); Cortright, David (ed.): The Price of Peace. Incentives and International Conflict Prevention (Lanham, ML: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997); Lund, Michael S.: Preventing Violent Conflicts. A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, 1996).

⁴⁸ On sanctions in general see Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, Jeffrey J. Schott & Kimberly Ann Elliott: Economic Sanctions Reconsidered. History and Current Policy, 2nd ed., vols. 1-2 (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1990); Preeg, Ernest H.: Feeling Good or Doing Good with Sanctions. Unilateral Economic Sanctions and the U.S. National Interest (Washington, DC: CSIS Press, 1999); Simons, Geoff: Imposing Economic Sanctions. Legal Remedy or Genocidal Tool? (London: Pluto Press, 1999); Cortright (ed.): op. cit. (note 47), passim; idem & George A. Lopez (eds.): Economic Sanctions. Panacea or Peacebuilding in a Post-Cold War World? (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); Mansfield, Edward D.: "International Institutions and Economic Sanctions," World Politics, vol. 47, no. 4 (1995), pp. 575-605; Boudreau, Donald G.: "Economic Sanctions and Military Force in the Twenty-First Century," European Security, vol. 6, no. 2 (1997), pp. 28-46; Pape, Robert A.: "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," International Security, vol. 22, no. 2 (1997), pp. 90-136; idem: "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work," ibid., vol. 23, no. 1 (1998), pp. 66-77; Elliott, Kimberly Ann: "The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty," ibid., pp. 50-65; Rogers, Elizabeth S.: "Using Economic Sanctions to Control Regional Conflicts," Security Studies, vol. 5, no. 4 (1996), pp. 43-72; Kirshner, Jonathan: "The Microfoundations of Economic Sanctions," ibid., vol. 6, no. 3 (1997), pp. 32-64; Lavin, Franklin L.: "Asphyxiation or Oxygen? The Sanctions Dilemma," Foreign Policy, vol 104 (1996), pp. 139-153; Stremlau: John Sharpening International Sanctions: Toward a Stronger Role for the United Nations (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1996), available at www.ccpdc.org/pubs/sum/frame. htm; Wright, Clive: "Tackling Conflict Diamonds: the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme," International Peacekeeping, vol. 11, no. 4 (2004), pp. 697-708; Colonomos, Ariel: "Civil Norms and 'Unjust' Embargoes," Journal of Human Rights, vol. 3, no. 2 (2004), pp. 189-201; Chesterman, Simon & Béatrice Pouligny: "Are Sanctions Meant to Work? The Politics of Creating and Implementing Sanctions Through the United Nations," Global Governance, vol. 9, no. 4 (2003), pp. 503-518; Brzoska, Michael: "From Dumb to Smart? Recent Reforms of UN Sanctions," ibid., pp. 519-535; Hawkins, Darren & Joshua Lloyd: "Questioning Comprehensive Sanctions: the Birth of a Norm," Journal of Human Rights, vol. 2, no. 3 (2003), pp. 441-454; Pentland, Ray: "Just War-Just Sanctions," Political Theology, vol. 3, no. 2 (2002), pp. 178-195; Tostensen, Arne & Beate Bull: "Are Smart Sanctions Feasible?" World Politics, vol. 54, no. 3 (2002), pp. 373-403; de Jonge Oudraat, Chantal: "Making Economic Sanctions Work," Survival, vol. 42, no. 3 (2000), pp. 105-127; Gordon, Joy: "Economic Sanctions, Just War Doctrine, and the 'Fearful Spectacle of the Civilian Dead," Cross Currents, vol. 49, no. 3 (1999), pp. 387-400.

⁴⁹ For a radical analysis, the gist of which is to abandon "anthropicentrism" see Eckersley: *op. cit.* (note 6), *passim*.

⁵⁰ A good example is Gwyn Prins, who has argued in favour of a reorientation of security studies to the environment. See, e.g., idem: "Politics and the Environment," *International Affairs*, vol. 66, no. 4 (1990), pp. 711-730; idem: "The Four-Stroke Cycle in Security Studies," *ibid.*, vol. 74, no. 4 (1998), pp. 781-808; idem: "A New Focus for Security Studies," in Desmond Ball & David Horner (eds.): *Strategic Studies in a Changing World: Global, Regional and Australian Perspectives* (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, 1992), pp. 178-222; idem: "Global Security and Military Intervention," *Security Dialogue*, vol. 27, no. 1 (1996), pp. 7-16.

⁵¹ World Commission on Environment and Development: *Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Brundtland, Gro Harlem: "The Environment, Security and Development," *SIPRI Yearbook 1993 (op. cit.*, note 45), pp. 15-26. See also Moss, Richard H.: "Resource Scarcity and Environmental Security," *ibid.*, pp. 27-36; Renner Michael G.: "National Security: The Economic and Environmental Dimensions," *Worldwatch Paper*, no. 89 (Washington DC: Worldwatch Institute, 1989); Thomas, Caroline: *The Environment in International Relations* (London: Royal Institute of

International Affairs, 1992), pp. 115-151 & passim; Weizsäcker, Ernst U. von: Erdpolitik. Ökologische Realpolitik an der Schwelle zum Jahrhundert der Umwelt, 3rd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992); Boulding, Elise: "States, Boundaries and Environmental Security," in Dennis J.D. Sandole & Hugo van der Merwe (eds.): Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice. Integration and Application (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 194-208; Dalby, Simon: "Security, Modernity, Ecology: The Dilemmas of Post-Cold War Security Discourse," Alternatives, vol. 17, no. 1 (1992), pp. 95-134; idem: "Ecological Metaphors of Security: World Politics in the Biosphere," ibid., vol. 23, no. 3 (1998), pp. 291-319; Eddy, Elizabeth: "Environmental Security: Securing What for Whom?" Social Alternatives, vol. 23, no. 4 (2004), pp. 23-28; Dokken, Karin: "Environment, Security and Regionalism in the Asia-Pacific: Is Environmental Security a Useful Concept?" Pacific Review, vol. 14, no. 4 (2001), pp. 509-530; Haque, M. Shamsul: "Environmental Security in East Asia: A Critical View," Journal of Strategic Studies, vol. 24, no. 4 (2001), pp. 203-234; Timura, Christopher T.: "Environmental Conflict' and the Social Life of Environmental Security Disclosure," Anthropological Quarterly, vol. 74, no. 3 (2001), pp. 104-113; Barnett, Jon & Stephen Dovers: "Environmental Security, Sustainability and Policy," Pacifica Review: Peace, Security and Global Change; vol. 13, no. 2 (2001), pp. 157-169; Rogers, Raymond A.: "Are Environmentalists Hysterical or Paranoid? Metaphors of Care and 'Environmental Security'," Ethics and the Environment, vol. 5, no. 2 (2000), pp. 211-227; Litfin, Karen T.: "Constructing Environmental Security and Ecological Interdependence," Global Governance, vol. 5, no. 3 (1999), pp. 359-377; Ney, Steven: "Environmental Security: A Critical Overview," Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences, vol. 12, no. 1 (1999), pp. 7-30; Sands, Philippe: "Enforcing Environmental Security: The Challenges of Compliance with International Obligations," Journal of International Affairs, vol. 46, no. 2 (1993), pp. 367-390; Brock, Lothar: "Security Through Defending the Environment: An Illusion?" in Elise Boulding (ed.): New Agendas for Peace Research. Conflict and Security Reexamined (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), pp. 79-102; Mische, Patricia: "Security Through Defending the Environment: Citizens Say Yes!" ibid. pp. 103-120. A good overview is Græger, Nina: "Review Essay: Environmental Security," Journal of Peace Research, vol. 33, no. 1 (February 1996), pp. 109-116. On the UN role see Mische, Patricia & Mauricio Andres Ribeiro: "Ecological Security and the United Nations System," in Chadwick F. Alger (ed.): The Future of the United Nations System. Potential for the Twenty-first Century (Toyo: United Nations University Press, 1998), pp. 315-356.

⁵² A good overview of the linkages is Gleditsch, Nils Petter: "Armed Conflict and the Environment: A Critique of the Literature," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 35, no. 3 (1998), pp. 381-400. A precursor of the current debate was that in the early 1980s on the "nuclear winter" hypothesis, according to which even a small-scale nuclear war could have caused a climatic and ecological disaster, the casualties of which would not only be the warring states, but the entire globe. See Sagan, Carl: "Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe" (Foreign Affairs, Winter 1983-84), in William P. Bundy (ed.): *The Nuclear Controversy. A* Foreign Affairs *Reader* (New York: New American Library, 1985), pp. 117-152; Ehrlich, Paul, Carl Sagan, Donald Kennedy & Walter Orr Roberts: *The Cold and the Dark. The World After Nuclear War* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1984).

⁵³ See, for instance, Dimitrov, Radoslav S.: "Water, Conflict, and Security: A Conceptual Minefield," *Society & Natural Resources*, vol. 15, no. 8 (2002), pp. 677-691; Haas, Peter M.: "Constructing Environmental Conflicts from Resource Scarcity," *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1-11; Gleick, Peter H.: "Water and Conflict: Fresh Water Resources and International Security," *International Security*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1993), pp. 79-112; Lowi, Miriam R.: "Bridging the Divide: Transboundary Resource Disputes and the Case of Westbank Water," *ibid.*,

pp. 113-138; Beschomer, Natasha: "Water and Instability in the Middle East," *Adelphi Papers*, no. 273 (1992); Morris, Mary E.: "Water Scarcity and Security Concerns in the Middle East," *The Emirates Occasional Papers*, no. 14 (1998); Homer-Dixon, Thomas F.: *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); idem: "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict. Evidence from Cases," *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 1 (1994), pp. 5-40; idem: "Environmental Scarcity and Intergroup Conflict," in Michael T. Klare & Yogesh Chandrani (eds.): *World Security. Challenges for a New Century.* 3rd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 342-365; Klare, Michael: *Resource Wars. The New Landscape of Global Conflict.* 2nd ed. (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 2001); Hauge, Wenche & Tanja Ellingsen: "Beyond Environmental Scarcity: Causal Pathways to Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 35, no. 3 (1998), pp. 299-317; Elhance, Arun P.: *Hydropolitics in the 3rd World. Conflict and Cooperation in International River Basins* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999); Suliman, Mohamed (ed.): *Ecology, Politics and Violent Conflict* (London: Zed Books, 1998). For a chronological overview of conflicts over water see Gleick, Peter: *Water Conflict Chronology*, at www.worldwater.org/conflict.htm.

⁵⁴ UNCLOS-II is available in D'Amato, Anthony & Keith Engel (eds.): *International Environmental Law Anthology* (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co., 1996), Appendix, pp. 102-143.

⁵⁵ The full text is available at http://waternet.rug.ac.be/convention.htm. On the state of ratification see UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme): *Atlas of International Freshwater Agreements* (Nairobi: UNEP, 2002), p. 6.

⁵⁶ "Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change," at http://unfccc.int/resource/ docs/convkp/kpeng.html. See also Rowlands, Ian H.: "The Kyoto Protocol's 'Clean Development Mechanism': a Sustainability Assessment," Third World Quarterly, vol. 22, no. 5 (2001), pp. 795-811; Jagers, Sverker C. & Johannes Stripple: "Climate Governance Beyond the State," Global Governance, vol. 9, no. 3 (2003), pp. 385-399; Yamin, Farhana: "The Kyoto Protocol: Origins, Assessment and Future Challenges," Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, vol. 7, no. 2 (1998), pp. 113-127; Worika, Ibibia Lucky, Thomas Walde, Michael Brown & Sergei Vinogradov: "Contractual Architecture for the Kyoto Protocol: From Soft and Hard Laws to Concrete Commitments," ibid., vol. 8, no. 2 (1999), pp. 180-190; Wang, Xueman & Glenn Wiser:: "The Implementation and Compliance Regimes under the Climate Change Convention and its Kyoto Protocol," ibid., vol. 11, no. 2 (2002), pp. 181-198; Dessai, Suraje, Nuno S. Lacasta & Katharine Vincent: "International Political History of the Kyoto Protocol: from The Hague to Marrakech and Beyond," International Review for Environmental Strategies, vol. 4, no. 2 (2003), pp. 183-205; Shimada, Kunihiko: "The Legacy of the Kyoto Protocol: Its Role as the Rulebook for an International Climate Framework," ibid., vol. 5, no. 1 (2004), pp. 3-13; Grubb, Michael: "Kyoto and the Future of International Climate Change Responses: From Here to Where?" ibid., pp. 15-38; Haites, Erik & Farhana Yamin: "Overview of the Kyoto Mechanisms," ibid., pp. 199-215.

⁵⁷ The activities of UNEP are described at its website, www.unep.org/.

⁵⁸ See "Rio Declaration on Environment and Development," at www.unep.org/Documents. Multilingual/. For an elaboration on the links see also UNEP's Division of Early Warning and Assessment (DEWA): *Understanding Environment, Conflict, and Cooperation* (Nairobi: UNEP, 2004).

⁵⁹ On the links between HIV/AIDS and security, including the military domain, see International Crisis Group: "HIV/AIDS as a Security Issue," *Issues Repor*t, no. 1 (Brussels: ICG, 2001); idem: "HIV/AIDS as a Security Issue in Africa: Lessons from Uganda," *ibid.*, no. 3 (204); Ala, Jacqui: "AIDS as a New Security Threat," in Mwesigu Baregu & Christopher Landsberg (eds.): *From*

Cape to Congo. Southern Africa's Evolving Security Architecture (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 131-156; Tripodi, Paolo & Preeti Patel: "The Global Impact of HIV/AIDS on Peace Support Operations," International Peacekeeping, vol. 9, no. 3 (2002), pp. 51-66; Bratt, Duane: "Blue Condoms: The Use of International Peacekeepers in the Fight against Aids," ibid., pp. 67-86; Ostergard, Robert L: "Politics in the Hot Zone: AIDS and National Security in Africa," Third World Quarterly, vol. 23, no. 2 (2002), pp. 333-350; Heinecken, Lindy: "HIV/AIDS, the Military and the Impact on National and International Security," Society in Transition, vol. 32, no. 1 (2001), pp. 120-127.

- ⁶⁰ The WHO has, for instance, launched a "Health and Environmental Linkages Initiative" (described at www.who.int/heli/en/).
- ⁶¹ On the UN's AIDS-related activities see also www.unaids.org/en/default.asp. On the links between sustainable development and AIDS see UNAIDS: *HIV/AIDS*, *Human Resources and Sustainable Development* (Geneva: UNAIDS, 2002). See also the special issue of *Review of African Political Economy* on AIDS (vol. 27, no. 86, December 2000).
- ⁶² See for instance WFP: *Consolidated Framework of WFP Policies* (2004), at www.wfp.org/eb. For a critique, claiming that food aid often exacerbates problems, e.g. by prolonging conflicts, see de Waal: *op. cit.* (note 7), *passim*.
- ⁶³ See, for instance, Olson, Mancur: *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); idem & Richard Zenkhauser: "An Economic Theory of Alliances," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, vol. 48, no. 3 (1966), pp. 266-279; Riker, William H.: *The Theory of Political Coalitions* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1962). On the free-riding problem in alliances see Murdoch, James C.: "Military Alliances: Theory and Empirics," in Keith Hartley & Todd Sandler (eds.): *Handbook of Defence Economics*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1995), pp. 89-108; Sandler, Todd & Keith Hartley: *The Economics of Defense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 19-51; Liska, George: *Nations in Alliance. The Limits of Interdependence* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins Press, 1962), p. 27.
- ⁶⁴ See, for instance, Aron, Raymond: *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, 8th ed. (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1984), p. 56; Waltz, Kenneth N.: *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA.: Addison-Wesley, 1979), pp. 197-199, 203; Snyder, Glenn: *Alliance Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 50-52.
- ⁶⁵ See Snidal, Duncan: "Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation," in David A. Baldwin (ed.): *Neorealism and Neoliberalism. The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 170-208; Powell, Robert: "Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory," *ibid.*, pp. 209-233; Gieco, Joseph: "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism," *ibid.*, pp. 116-140; idem: "Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation: The Limits of Neoliberal Institutionalism and the Future of Realist Theory," *ibid.*, pp. 301-338; idem: *Cooperation among Nations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990). For a critique of Realism's view of relative gains see Vasquez, John: *The Power of Power Politics. From Classical Realism to Neotraditionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 307-310.
- ⁶⁶ Patrick, Stewart: "Beyond Coalitions of the Willing: Assessing U.S. Multilateralism," *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2003), pp. 37-57; Trachtenberg, David J.: "Finding the Forest Among the Trees: The Bush Administration's National Security Policy Successes," *Comparative Strategy*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2004), pp. 1-8; Stuart, Douglas T.: "NATO and the Wider World: from Regional Collective Defence to Global Coalitions of the Willing," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 58, no. 1 (2004), pp. 33-46; Norris, John H.: "When Alliance and

Self-Interest Collide," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2003), pp. 359-368; Wilson, Gary: "UN Authorized Enforcement: Regional Organizations versus 'Coalitions of the Willing," *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2003), pp. 89-106.

⁶⁷ On the tragedy of the commons see Hardin, Garrett: "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science*, no. 162 (1968), pp. 1243-1248; Stein, Arthur: "Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World," in Baldwin (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 65), pp. 29-59, especially pp. 42-43. This "tragedy" is reminiscent of the famous "stag hunt" in Rousseau, Jean-Jacques: *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (http://un2sg4.unige.ch/ athena/rousseau/jjr_ineg. html#seconde partie). See also Waltz, Kenneth N.: *Man, the State and War. A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 167-169; and Doyle, Michael W.: *Ways of War and Peace. Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co.,1997), pp. 137-160. Yet another version of the same problematique is Waltz's "tyranny of small decisions," described in idem: *op. cit.* 1979 (note 64), pp. 196-198.

⁶⁸ A good overview of liberalism and its historical roots is Doyle: *op. cit.* (note 67), pp. 205-311. The classical critique of liberalism is Carr, Edward Hallett: *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations.* 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

69 Milner, Helen: "Review Article: International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses," World Politics, vol. 44, no. 3 (1992), pp. 466-496. See also Stein, Arthur A.: Why Nations Cooperate. Circumstance and Choice in International Relations (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); Axelrod, Robert: The Evolution of Cooperation (New York: Basic Books, 1984); idem: The Complexity of Cooperation. Agent-Based Models of Competition and Collaboration (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997). On regimes see Keohane, Robert O.: "The Demand for International Regimes," International Organization, vol. 36, no. 2 (1982), pp. 325-355; Krasner, Stephen D. (ed.): International Regimes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1982); Müller, Harald: Die Chance der Kooperation. Regime in den internationalen Beziehungen (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993); Rittberger, Volker (ed.): Regime Theory and International Relations (Oxford: Clarendon Paperbacks, 1995); Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mayer & idem: Theories of International Regimes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Stein, Arthur: "Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World," in Baldwin (ed.): op. cit. (note 65), pp. 29-59.

 70 Kratochwill, Friedrich & John Gerard Ruggie: "International Organization: a State of the Art or an Art of the State?," International Organization, vol. 40, no. 4 (1986), pp. 753-775; Barnett, Michael & Martha Finnemore: "The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations," ibid., vol. 53, no. 4 (1999), pp. 699-732; Jacobson, Harold K., William M. Reisinger & Todd Mathers: "National Entanglements in International Governmental Organizations," in Paul F. Diehl (ed.): The Politics of Global Governance. International Organizations in an Interdependent World (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997), pp. 57-71; Gallarotti, Giulio M.: "The Limits of International Organization: Systematic Failure in the Management of International Relations," ibid., pp. 375-414; Gruber, Lloyd: Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions (Princeton, NJ: Princenton University Press, 2000); Keohane, Robert O.: "Neoliberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics," in idem (ed.): International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), pp. 1-20; idem: "Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge after the Cold War," in Baldwin (ed.): op. cit. (note 65), pp. 269-300; idem & Lisa L. Martin: "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory," International Security, vol. 20, no. 1 (1995), pp. 39-51; Martin, Lisa L. & Beth A. Simmons: "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions," in Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane & Stephen D. Krasner (eds.): Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics (Cambridge,

MA: MIT Press, 1999), pp. 89-117; Ruggie, John Gerard: "Multilateralism: the Anatomy of an Institution," in idem (ed.): *Multilateralism Matters. The Theory and Practice of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 3-47. For a neorealist critique see Mearsheimer, John J.: "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 3 (1994), pp. 5-49; Grieco, Joseph M.: "Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation: The Limits of Neoliberal Institutionalism and the Future of Realist Theory," in Baldwin (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 65), pp. 301-338, idem: "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism," in Charles W. Kegley (ed.): *Controversies in International Relations: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 151-171.

⁷² See, for instance, Gordenker, Leon & Thomas G. Weiss: "Pluralising Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions," Third World Quarterly, vol. 16, no. 3 (1995), pp. 357-388; Donini, Antonio: "The Bureaucracy and the Free Spirits: Stagnation and Innovation in the Relationship Between the UN and NGOs," ibid., pp. 421-440; Otto, Dianne: "Nongovernmental Organizations in the United Nations System: The Emerging Role of International Civil Society," Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 18, no. 1 (1996), pp. 107-142; Clark, Ann Marie & Elisabeth J. Friedman: "The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society," World Politics, vol. 51, no. 1 (1998), pp. 1-39; Albin, Cecilia: "Can NGOs Enhance the Effectiveness of International Negotiation?" International Negotiation, vol. 4, no. 3 (1999), pp. 371-387; Martens, Kerstin: "Non-governmental Organisations as Corporatist Mediator? An Analysis of NGOs in the UNESCO System," Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations, vol. 15, no. 4 (2001), pp. 387-404; Alger, Chadwick F.: "Strengthening Relations between NGOs and the UN System: Towards a Research Agenda," ibid., vol. 13 no. 4 (1999), pp. 393-409; idem: "The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN System: From Article 71 to a People's Millennium Assembly," Global Governance, vol. 8, no. 1 (2002), pp. 93-117; idem: "Evolving Roles of NGOs in Member State Decision-Making in the UN System," Journal of Human Rights, vol. 2, no. 3 (2003), pp. 407-424; Willetts, Peter: "From 'Consultative Arrangements' to 'Partnership': The Changing Status of NGOs in Diplomacy at the UN," Global Governance, vol. 6, no. 2 (2000), pp. 191-212; Joachim, Jutta: "Framing NGOs and Seizing Opportunities: The UN, NGOs, and Women's Rights," International Studies Quarterly, vol. 47, no. 2 (2003), pp 247-274; Richmond, Oliver P.: "Introduction: NGOs, Peace and Human Security," International Peacekeeping, vol. 10, no. 1 (2003), pp. 1-11; Gaer, Felice D.: "Human Rights NGOs in UN Peace Operations," ibid., pp. 73-89; Okumu, Wafula: "Humanitarian International NGOs and African Conflicts," ibid., pp. 120-137; Martens, Kerstin: "Bypassing Obstacles to Access: How NGOs Are Taken Piggy-Back to the UN," Human Rights Review, vol. 5, no. 3 (2004), pp. 80-91.

⁷¹ www.un.org/dpi/ngosection/brochure.htm

⁷³ See, for instance, Hocking, Brian: "Privatizing Diplomacy?," *International Studies Perspectives*, no. 5 (2004), pp. 147-152; Haufler, Virginia: "International Diplomacy and the Privatization of Conflict Prevention," *ibid.*, pp. 158-163.

⁷⁴ On transnational social movements see Keck, Margeret E. & Kathryn Sikkink: *Activists beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NJ: Cornell University Press, 1998); Smith, Jackie, Charles Chatfield & Ron Pagnucco (eds.): *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), especially idem, idem & idem: "Social Movements and World Politics: A Theoretical Framework," pp. 59-80; Ekins, Paul: *A New World Order. Grassroots Movements for Global Change* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁷⁵ On the concept and theory of civil society see, for instance, Cohen, Jean L. & Andrew Arato: *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); Haynes, Jeff: *Democracy*

and Civil Society in the Third World. Politics and New Political Movements (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997); Hirst, Paul: From Statism to Pluralism. Democracy, Civil Society and Global Politics (London: UCL Press, 1997); Schechter, Michael G. (ed.): The Revival of Civil Society. Global and Comparative Perspectives (London: Macmillan, 1999).

- ⁷⁶ Suganami, Hidemi: *The Domestic Analogy and World Order Proposals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Linklater, Andrew: *The Transformation of Political Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1998); Brown, Chris: "International Political Theory and the Idea of World Community," in Ken Booth & Steve Smith (eds.): *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 90-109; Archibugi, Daniele & David Held (eds.): *Cosmopolitan Democracy: an Agenda for a New World Order* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); Falk, Richard: *Explorations at the Edge of Time. The Prospects for World Order* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Camilleri, J.A. & Jim Falk: *The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting World* (London: Edward Elgar, 1992).
- ⁷⁷ Archibugi, Daniele: "The Reform of the UN and Cosmopolitican Democracy: A Critical Review," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1993), pp. 301-315; Rochester, J. Martin: *Waiting for the Millennium. The United Nations and the Future of World Order* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1993); Russett, Bruce (ed.): *The Once and Future Security Council* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
- ⁷⁸ See Cooley, Alexander & James Ron: "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2002), pp. 5-39.
- ⁷⁹ The website of the Global Compact is www.unglobalcompact.org/Portal/Default.asp?. It contains, inter alia, documents from the policy dialogue series on "The Role of the Private Sector in Zones of Conflict." See also Ruggie, John Gerard: "Reconstituting the Global Public Domain - Issues, Actors, and Practices," European Journal of International Relations, vol. 10, no. 4 (2004), pp. 499-531; idem: "Global_governance.net: The Global Compact as Learning Network," Global Governance, vol. 7, no. 4 (2001), pp. 371-378; Wagner, Antonin: "Redefining Citizenship for the 21st Century: from the National Welfare State to the UN Global Compact," International Journal of Social Welfare, vol. 13, no. 4 (2004), pp. 278-286; Kuper, Andrew: "Harnessing Corporate Power: Lessons from the UN Global Compact," Development, vol. 47, no. 3 (2004), pp. 9-19; Zadek, Simon: "On Civil Governance," ibid., pp. 20-28; Bruno, Kenny & Joshua Karliner: "The UN's Global Compact, Corporate Accountability and the Johannesburg Earth Summit," ibid., vol. 45, no. 3 (2002), pp. 33-38; Whitehouse, Lisa: "Corporate Social Responsibility, Corporate Citizenship and the Global Compact: A New Approach to Regulating Corporate Social Power?" Global Social Policy, vol. 3, no. 3 (2003), pp. 299-318; Hughes, Steve & Rorden Wilkinson: "The Global Compact: Promoting Corporate Responsibility?" Environmental Politics, vol. 10, no. 1 (2001), pp. 155-159.
- ⁸⁰ Price, Richard: "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines," *International Organization*, vol. 52, no. 3 (1998), pp. 613-644; Arms Project & Physicians for Human Rights: *Land-mines*. *A Deadly Legacy* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993); Roberts, Shawn & Jody Williams: *After the Guns Fall Silent. The Enduring Legacy of Landmines* (Washington, D.C.: Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, 1995); Cillilers, Jakkie: "South Africa and the International Campaign to Ban Anti-Personnel Land-mines," *African Security Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1997), pp. 5-15.
- ⁸¹ On the role of the UN see un.org/peace/africa/Diamond.html. On the campaign see the website of the NGO Global Witness at www.globalwitness.org/campaigns/diamonds/ index.html www.

On "conflict diamoonds" see also Global Witness: Rich Man, Poor Man. Development Diamonds and Poverty Diamonds: The Potential for Change in the Artisanal Alluvial Diamond Fields of Africa (Washington, DC: Global Witness, 2004); idem: A Rough Trade. The Role of Companies and Governments in the Angolan Conflict (London: Global Witness, 1998); idem: For a Few Dollars More. How al Qaeda Moved into the Diamond Trade (London: Global Witness, 2003); idem: Same Old Story. A Background Study on Natural Resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Washington, DC: Global Witness, 2004); Campbell, Greg: Blood Diamonds. Traciing the Deadly Paths of the World's Most Precious Stones. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2004); Boeck, Filip de:. "Gampiero Worlds: Digging, Dying and 'Hunting' for Diamonds in Angola," Review of African Political Economy, vol. 28, no. 90 (2001), pp. 549-562; Zark-Williams, Alfred B.: "Sierra Leone: The Political Economy of Civil War, 1991-98," Third World Quarterly, vol. 20, no. 1 (1999), pp. 143-162; Malaquis, Assis: "Diamonds Are a Guerilla's Best Friend: The Impact of Illicit Wealth on Insurgency Strategy," ibid., vol. 22, no. 3 (2001), pp. 311-325; Douglas, Ian: "Fighting for Diamonds - Private Military Companies in Sierra Leone," in Jakkie Cilliers & Peggy Mason (eds.): Peace, Profit or Plunder? The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn African Societies (Halfway House: Institute for Security Studies, 1999); pp. 175-200; Douglas, Ian: "Fighting for Diamonds - Private Military Companies in Sierra Leone," ibid., pp. 175-200; Hirsch, John L.: Sierra Leone. Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001); Cilliers. Jakkie & Christian Dietrich (ed.): Angola's War Economy. The Role of Oil and Diamonds (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000).

⁸² Quoted from the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops: *Chatechism of the Catholic Church* (chapter 2: The Human Community), para 1885, at www.usccb.org/catechism/text/pt3sect1chpt2.htm#7. See also Mcilroy, David H.: "Subsidiarity and Sphere Sovereignty: Christian Reflections of the Size, Shape and Scope of Government," *Journal of Church and State*, vol. 45, no. 4 (2003), pp. 739-763. On subsidiarity in general see Carozza, Paolo G.: "Subsidiarity as a Structural Principle of International Human Rights Law," *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 97, no. 38 (2003), pp. 38-79; Schilling, Theodor: "Subsidiarity as a Rule and a Principle, or: Taking Subsidiarity Seriously," *Working Paper*, no. 10/95 (New York University School of Law, Jean Monnet Center, 1995); Føllesdal, Andreas: "Survey Article: Subsidiarity," *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1998), pp. 190-218;

⁸³ See "Provisional Consolidated Version of the Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe" (CIG 86/04), Title III: Union Competences, Art. I.9: Fundamental Principles, para 3. See also Wilke, Marc & Helen Wallace: "Subsidiarity: Approaches to Power-sharing in the European Community," *RIIA Discussion Papers*, no. 27 (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1990); Barber, N.W.: "The Limited Modesty of Subsidiarity," *European Law Journal*, vol. 11, no. 3 (2005), pp. 308-325; Henkel, Christoph: "The Allocation of Powers in the European Union: A Closer Look at the Principle of Subsidiarity," *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, vol. 20, no. 359 (2002), pp. 359-386; Cameron, John & Tidings P. Ndhlovu: "The Comparative Economics of EU 'Subsidiarity': Lessons from Development/Regional Economics Debates," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2001), pp. 327-345;

⁸⁴ On regional organisations and the UN see Weiss, Thomas G., David P. Forsythe & Rogert A. Coate: *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 33-36; Alagappa, Muthiah: "Introduction," in idem & Takashi Inoguchi (eds.): *International Security Management and the United Nations* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1999), pp. 269-294

⁸⁵ Knight, W. Andy: "Towards a Subsidiarity Model for Peacemaking and Preventive Diplomacy: Making Chapter VIII of the UN Charter Operational," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1996), pp. 31-52; O'Brien, David: "The Search for Subsidiarity: The UN, African Regional

Organizations and Humanitarian Action," *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 7, no. 3 (Autumn 2000), pp. 57-83; Vogt, Margaret A.: "Regional Arrangements, the United Nations, and Security in Africa," in Alagappa & Inoguchi (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 84), pp. 295-322.

- ⁸⁶ Kornprobst, Markus: "The Management of Border Disputes in African Regional Subsystems: Comparing West Africa and the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3 (2002), pp. 369-393.
- ⁸⁷ Figures from SIPRI "World and Regional Military Expenditure Estimates 1994 –2003," at http://web.sipri.org/ contents/milap/milex/mex_wnr_table.html.
- ⁸⁸ "Regional Distribution, Number and Types of Major Armed Conflicts, 1990-2003," at http://web.sipri.org/contents/conflict/MAC_patterns.html.
- ⁸⁹ Available at www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2004seaisland/peace.html.
- ⁹⁰ The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa. Secretary General's Report to the United Nations Security Council (16 April 1998) at www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/sgreport/index.html. On follow-up initiatives see Development of Africa: Implementation of the Recommendations in the Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council and the General Assembly, Specifically the Implementation and Coordinated Follow-up by the United Nations System of Initiatives on Africa. Report of the Secretary-General (A/54/133, E/1999/79), at www.un.org/peace/ africa/pdf/ 9917817E.pdf. The UN also established an "Open-Ended Ad Hoc Working Group of the General Assembly on the Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa" to monitor the implementation of the recommendations.
- ⁹¹ SIA is described at www.uneca.org/unsia/index.htm.
- ⁹² An overview of the various conflict-related activities is provided by the *United Nations in Africa* website at www.un.org/peace/africa/index.html. See also Akinrinade, Sola: "Africa and the United Nations," in idem & Amadu Sesay (eds.): *Africa in the Post-Cold War International System* (London: Pinter, 1998), pp. 172-194.
- ⁹³ A strong argument to this effect is Davidson, Basil: *The Black Man's Burden. Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (London: James Currey, 1992), pp. 74-98 and *passim.* An argument to the contrary is Herbst, Jeffrey: *States and Power in Africa. Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). On the artificiality of all Third World states see Ayoob, Mohammed: *The Third World Security Predicament. State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995). See also Boahen, A. Adu: *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 94-112; Young, Crawford: "The Heritage of Colonialism," in John W. Harbeson & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *Africa in World Politics. The African State System in Flux.* 3rd Edition (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000), pp. 23-42.
- 94 A contemporaneous critique is a 1964 article by Mazrui, Ali A.: "The United Nations and African State Sovereignty," in Richard L. Ostergard, Jr., Ricardo René Laremont & Fauad Kalouche (eds.): Power, Politics, and the African Condition. Collected Essays of Ali A. Mazrui, vol. 3 (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004), pp. 311-339. On the various non-state plans see, for instance, Nkrumah, Kwame: Africa Must Unite (London: Heinemann, 1963); Achah, William B.: Pan-Africanism: Exploring the Contradictions. Politics, Identity and Development in Africa and the African Diaspora (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Clapham, Christopher: Africa and the International System. The Politics of State Survival (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 106-133; Nadubere. Dani Wadada: "African Unity in Historical Perspective," in Eddy Maloka (ed.): A United States of Africa

(Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2001), pp. 9-28; Ndi-Zambo, Benoit: "African Unity: Looking Back, Looking Forward, and a Recipe for Failure," *ibid.*, pp. 29-40; Duffield, Ian: "Pan-Africanism since 1940," in A.D. Roberts (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 7: *From 1905 to 1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 95-141.

Predecessors (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1997), vol. II: "Predecessors of the United Nations," pp. 182-184. See also Knock, Thomas J.: To End All Wars. Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 143-147 & passim.

⁹⁶ Callahan, Michael D.: *Mandates and Empire. The League of Nations and Africa* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1999), quotations from the appendix, p. 193. See also Wilson, Henry S.: *African Decolonisation* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), pp. 26-29; Northedge: *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 34-38, 63-66, 192-220; Walters, F.P.: *A History of the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 56-58, 171-173, 211-213; Knipping & Dietl (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 95), pp. 301-310; Dimier, Veronique: "On Good Colonial Government: Lessons from the League of Nations," *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations*, vol. 18, no. 3 (2004), pp. 279-299. On the importance of norms see Jackson, Robert H.: "The Weight of Ideas in Decolonization: Normative Change in International Relations," in Judith Goldstein & Robert O. Keohane (eds.): *Ideas and Foreigh Policy. Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 111-138.

⁹⁹ See, for instance, Halperin & Scheffer: *op. cit.* (note 36), p. 22. See also Gunter, Michael M.: "Self-Determination or Territorial Integrity: The United Nations in Confusion," *World Affairs*, vol. 141, no. 3 (1978), pp. 203-226.

100 Bartkus, Viva Ona: *The Dynamics of Secession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 73-74, 119-124 & passim; Islam, M. Rafiqul: "Secessionist Self-Determination: Some Lessons from Katanga, Biafra and Bangladesh," Journal of Peace Research, vol. 22, no. 3 (1985), pp. 211-221. On Katanga see also Franck, Thomas M.: "United Nations Law in Africa: The Congo Operation as a Case Study," Law and Contemporary Problems, vol. 27, no. 4 (1962), pp. 632-652; Miller, E. M.: "Legal Aspects of the United Nations Action in the Congo," American Journal of International Law, vol. 55, no. 1 (1961), pp. 1-28; Jacobson, Harold Karan: "ONUC's Civilian Operations: State-Preserving and State-Building," World Politics, vol. 17, no. 1 (1964), pp. 75-107; Everwyn, Gerhard: "Which Way in Katanga?" African Affairs, vol. 61, no. 243 (1962), pp. 149-157; Hastings, Stephen: "The United Nations in Katanga," ibid., no. 244 (1962), pp. 191-200; dia Mwembu, Dibwe: "L'épuration ethnique au Katanga et l'éthique du redressement des torts du passé," Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol. 33, no. 2-3 (1999), pp. 483-499; Lemarchand, Rene: "The Limits of Self-Determination: The Case of the Katanga Secession," American Political Science Review, vol. 56, no. 2 (1962), pp. 404-416; Crowley, Daniel J.: "Politics and Tribalism

⁹⁷ Callahan: op. cit. (note 96), p. x & passim.

⁹⁸ Ofuatey-Kodjoe: *loc. cit.* (note 36); Crawford, Neta: "Decolonization as an International Norm: The Evolution of Practices, Arguments, and Beliefs," in Laura W. Reed & Carl Kaysen (eds.): *Emerging Norms of Justified Intervention* (Cambridge, MA: Committee on International Security Studies, AAAS, 1993), pp. 37-62. See also Barber, Hollis W.: "Decolonization: The Committee of Twenty-Four," *World Affairs*, vol. 138, no. 2 (1975), pp. 128-153; Gunter, Michael M.: "Self-Determination in the Recent Practice of the United Nations," *ibid.*, vol. 137, no. 2 (1974), pp. 150-165. For an argument to reinvigorate the trusteeship council see Mohamed, Saira: "From Keeping Peace To Building Peace: A Proposal for a Revitalized United Nations Trusteeship Council," *Columbia Law Review*, vol. 105, no. 3 (2005), pp. 809-340.

in the Katanga," Western Political Quarterly, vol. 16, no. 1 (1963), pp. 68-78; Gibbs, David N.: "Dag Hammarskjold, the United Nations, and the Congo Crisis of 1960-1: A Reinterpretation," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 31, no. 1 (1993), pp. 163-174; Hoffmann, Stanley: "In Search of a Thread: The UN in the Congo Labyrinth," International Organization, vol. 16, no. 2 (1962), pp. 331-361; Wigny, Pierre: "Belgium and the Congo," International Affairs, vol. 37, no. 3 (1961), pp. 273-284. Chomé, Jules: Moïse Tshombe et l'éscroquerie katangaise (Brussels: Ed. Fond. Jacquemotte, 1966); Wrong, Michela: In the Footsteps of Mr Kurtz (London: Fourth Estate, 2001), pp. 61-82; Durch, William J.: "The UN Operation in the Congo: 1960-1964," in idem (ed.) 1993: op. cit. (note 17), pp. 315-352; Witte, Ludo de: The Assassination of Lumumba (London: Verso, 2001), passim; Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges: The Congo. From Leopold to Kabila. A People's History (London: Zed Books, 2002), pp. 94-120; Colllins, Carole: "Fatally Flawed Mediation: Cordier and the Congo Crisis of 1960," Africa Today, vol. 39, no. 3 (1992), pp. 5-22; Miller, Richard I.: Dag Hammerskjold and Crisis Diplomacy (New York: Oceana Publications, 1961), pp. 266-318; Findlay: op. cit. (note 17), pp. 51-86. On Biafra see also Nwa nkwo, Arthur Agwuncha & Samuel Udochukwe Ifejika: The Making of a Nation: Biafra (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1969); St. Jorre, John de: The Brothers' War. Biafra and Nigeria (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1972); Forsyth, Frederick: The Biafra Story (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969); Amadi, Elechi: Sunset in Biafra. A Civil War Diary (London: Heineman, 1973); Post, K. W. J.: "Is There a Case for Biafra?" International Affairs, vol. 44, no. 1 (1968), pp. 26-39; Nixon, Charles R.: "Self-Determination: The Nigeria/Biafra Case," World Politics, vol. 24, no. 4. (1972), pp. 473-497; Bach, Daniel: "Le General de Gaulle et la guerre civile au Nigeria," Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol. 14, no. 2 (1980), pp. 259-272.

101 Cassese: op. cit. (note 36), pp. 214-218; Bartkus: op. cit. (note 100), pp. 73-75 and 119-124; Joffe, George: "The Conflict in Western Sahara," in Oliver Furley (ed.) Conflict in Africa (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), pp. 110-133; Gardner, Anne-Marie: "Self-Determination in the Western Sahara: Legal Opportunities and Political Roadblocks," International Peacekeeping, vol. 7, no. 2 (2000), pp. 115-138; Okere, B. O.: "The Western Sahara Case," The International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 28, no. 2 (1979), pp. 296-312; Mercer, John: "The Cycle of Invasion and Unification in the Western Sahara," African Affairs, vol. 75, no. 301 (1976), pp. 498-510; Zoubir, Yahia H.: "The Western Sahara Conflict: Regional and International Dimensions," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 28, no. 2 (1990), pp. 225-243; von Hippel, Karin: "The Non-Interventionary Norm Prevails: An Analysis of the Western Sahara," ibid., vol. 33, no. 1 (1995), pp. 67-81; Durch, William J.: "Building on Sand: UN Peacekeeping in the Western Sahara," International Security, vol. 17, no. 4 (1993), pp. 151-171.

On the federation see Negash, Tekeste: Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Federal Experience (New Brundswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997); Scholler, Heinrich: "The Ethiopian Federation of 1952: Obsolete Model or Guide for the Future," in Peter Woodward & Murray Forsyth (eds.): Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa. Federalism and its Alternatives (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1994), pp. 10-18; Cumming, Duncan: "The U.N. Disposal of Eritrea," African Affairs, vol. 52, no. 207 (1953), pp. 127-136; Schiller, A. Arthur: "Eritrea: Constitution and Federation with Ethiopia," American Journal of Comparative Law, vol. 2, no. 3 (1953), pp. 375-383; On Ethiopian domination as an instance of colonialism see Selassie, Bereket Habte: "The Eritrean Struggle in the Context of African Decolonization," in George Nzongola-Ntalaja (ed.): Conflict in the Horn of Africa (Atlanta, GA: African Studies Association Press, 1991), pp. 149-166; Reid, Richard: "The Challenge of the Past: The Quest for Historical Legitimacy in Independent Eritrea," History in Africa, vol. 28. (2001), pp. 239-272. On the conflict see Pool, David: From Guerrillas to Government. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (Oxford: James Currey, 2001); Iyob, Ruth: The Eritrean Struggle for

Independence. Domonation, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941-1993 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). On post-independence state-building see Tronvoll, Kjetil: "The Process of Nation-Building in Post-War Eritrea: Created from Below or Directed from Above?," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 36, no. 3 (1998), pp. 461-482.

¹⁰³ Adapted from Thomson. Alex: *An Introduction to African Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 32-33.

¹⁰⁴ Abernethy, David B.: *The Dynamics of Global Governance. European Overseas Empires 1415-1980* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 325-360. See also Cooper, Frederick: *Africa since 1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 20-84; Young, Crawford: *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 182-217; Wilson: *op. cit.* (note 96), *passim*.

105 Wilson: op. cit. (note 86), pp. 179-189; Chabal, Patrick: "Lusophone Africa in Historical and Comparative Perspective," in idem & al.: A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa (London: Hurst & Co., 2002), pp. 3-136, especially pp. 3-28; Landgren-Bäckström, Signe: Southern Africa. The Escalation of a Conflict. A Politico-Military Study (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), passim; Moorcraft, Paul L.: African Nemesis. War and Revolution in Southern Africa 1945-2010 (London: Brassey's, UK, 1994), pp. 63-100 (on Angola) and 111-120 (on Mozambique); Minter, William: Apartheid's Contras. An Inquiry into the Roots of War in Angola and Mozambique (London: Zed Books, 1994), pp. 11-36; Gann, L. H.: "Portugal, Africa, and the Future," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 13, no. 1 (1975), pp. 1-18; Henriksen, Thomas: "Portugal in Africa: A Noneconomic Interpretation," African Studies Review, vol. 16, no. 3 (1973), pp. 405-416; Neumann, Heinzgeorg: "Portugal's Policy in Africa: The Four Years Since the Beginning of the Uprising in Angola," International Affairs, vol. 41, no. 4. (1965), pp. 663-675 On the US attitude see Marcum, John: "The Politics of Indifference: Portugal and Africa, a Case Study in American Foreign Policy," Issue: A Journal of Opinion, vol. 2, no. 3. (1972), pp. 9-17. On Mozambique see also Mondlane, Eduardo: The Struggle for Mozambique (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969); Newitt, Malyn: "Mozambique," in Chabal: op. cit., pp. 185-235, especially pp. 185-194. On Angola see also Birmingham, David: "Angola," ibid., pp. 137-184, especially pp. 137-146; Cornwall, Richard: "The War for Independence," in Jakkie Cilliers & Christian Dietrich (red.): Angola's War Economy. The Role of Oil and Diamonds (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000), pp. 43-68.

¹⁰⁶ Clapham: op. cit. (note 94), pp. 134-159; Berridge, Geoff R.: "The Superpowers and Southern Africa," in Roy Allison & Phil Williams (eds.): Superpower Competition and Crisis Prevention in the Third World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 206-226; Potter, David: "Superpower Rivalry in South Asia and Southern Africa," in Tony G. McGrew & Paul G. Lewis & al.: Global Politics. Globalization and the Nation State (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 45-60; Zacarias: op. cit. (note 38), pp. 62-92.

¹⁰⁷ The relevant UNSC resolutions were the following: UNSCR 163 (9 June 1961) on Angola, condemning Portugal and demanding the granting of independence; 180 (31 July 1963) demanding independence for all three colonies, requesting other states to abstain from supporting Portugal and "take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment for this purpose to the Portuguese Government.," which was reconfirmed in UNSCR 183 (11 December 1963), 218 (23 November 1965), 312 (4 February 1972) and 322 (22 November 1972). The final chapter was the granting of UN membership to the former colonies in UNSC resolutions 356 (Guinea-Bissau, 12 August 1974), 372 (Cape Verde, 18 August 1975), 374 (Mozambique, same date) and 397 (Angola, 22 November 1976). For a cautious defence of Portugal's position

see Martelli, George: "Portugal and the United Nations," *International Affairs*, vol. 40, no. 3 (1964), pp. 453-465.

¹⁰⁸ See UNGA resolution 2107 (21 December 1965). For an assessment of the impact see Hufbauer & al.: *op. cit.* (note 48), vol. 2: "Supplemental Case Histories," pp. 267-271.

Moorcraft: op. cit. (note 105), pp. 213-251; Dobell, Lauren: Swapo's Struggle for Namibia, 1960-1991: War by Other Means (Basel: P. Schlettwein Publishing, 1998), passim.

¹¹⁰ For contemporanous analyses see Emmett, E.: "The Mandate over South-West Africa," *Journal* of Comparative Legislation and International Law, 3rd ser., vol. 9, no. 1 (1927), pp. 111-122; Matthews, E. L.: "The Grant of a Constitution to the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa," ibid.., vol. 8, no. 4 (1926), pp. 161-183. See also Falk, Richard A.: "The South West Africa Cases: An Appraisal," International Organization, vol. 21, no. 1 (1967), pp. 1-23; Pollock, Alexander J.: "The South West Africa Cases and the Jurisprudence of International Law," ibid., vol. 23, no. 4 (1969), pp. 767-787; Dugard, John: "The Revocation of the Mandate for South West Africa," American Journal of International Law, vol. 62, no. 1 (1968), pp. 78-97; Jinadu, L. Adele: "South West Africa: A Study in the 'Sacred Trust' Thesis," African Studies Review, vol. 14, no. 3. (1971), pp. 369-388; Arden-Clarke, Charles: "South-West Africa, the Union and the United Nations," African Affairs, vol. 59, no. 234 (1960), pp. 26-35; Higgins, Rosalyn: "The International Court and South West Africa: The Implications of the Judgment," International Affairs, vol. 42, no. 4. (1966), pp. 573-599; Scott, Michael: "The International Status of South West Africa," ibid., vol. 34, no. 3 (1958), pp. 318-329; Marshall, H.H. "South-West Africa," International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 27, no. 3 (1978), pp. 683-684; Umozurike, U. O.: "International Law and Self-Determination in Namibia," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 8, no. 4. (1970), pp. 585-603; Seiler, John: "South Africa in Namibia: Persistence, Misperception, and Ultimate Failure," ibid., vol. 20, no. 4 (1982), pp. 689-712. On the liberation see Dzinesa, Gwinyayi Albert: "A Comparative Perspective of UN Peacekeeping in Angola and Namibia," International Peacekeeping, vol. 11, no. 4 (2004), pp. 644-663; Howard, Lise Morjé: "UN Peace Implementation in Namibia: The Causes of Success," ibid., no. 9, no. 3 (2002), pp. 99-132. On the reintegration of former SWAPO fighters see Preston, Rosemary: "Integrating Fighters after War: Reflections on the Namibian Experience, 1989-1993," Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 23, no. 3 (1997), pp. 453-472.

111 See, for instance, the (partly autobiographical) article by Crocker, Chester: "Peacemaking in Southern Africa: The Namibia-Angola Settlement of 1988," in idem, Fen Osler Hampson & Pamela Aall (eds.): Herding Cats. Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), pp. 207-244; Papp, Daniel S.: "The Angolan Civil War and Namibia: The Role of External Intervention," in David R. Smock (ed.): Making War and Waging Peace. Foreign Intervention in Africa (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, 1993), pp. 161-196. See also Margaret P. Karns: "Ad Hoc Multilateral Diplomacy: The United States, the Contact Group, and Namibia," International Organization, vol. 41, no. 1 (1987), pp. 93-123.

112 See de Smith: S. A.: "Southern Rhodesia Act 1965," *The Modern Law Review*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1966), pp. 301-306. For a prospective account see Smith, Ian D.: "Southern Rhodesia and Its Future," *African Affairs*, vol. 63, no. 250 (1964), pp. 13-22; and for a retrospective one idem: *Bitter Harvest. The Great Betrayal and the Dreadful Aftermath* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1997), pp. 89-118. See also Barber, James P.: "Rhodesia: The Constitutional Conflict," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 4, no. 4 (1966), pp. 457-469; Harris, Peter S.: "Incomes, Employment, and Political Power in Rhodesia," *ibid.*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1972), pp. 583-596; Henderson, Ian: "White Populism in Southern Rhodesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 14, no. 4. (1972), pp. 387-399.

113 Hufbauer & al.: op. cit. (note 48), pp. 285-293; Minter, William & Elizabeth Schmidt: "When Sanctions Worked: The Case of Rhodesia Reexamined," African Affairs, vol. 87, no. 347 (1988), pp. 207-237. For a contemporaneous critical analysis see Galtung, Johan: "On the Effects of International Economic Sanctions: With Examples from the Case of Rhodesia," World Politics, vol. 19, no. 3. (1967), pp. 378-416. On the question whether the sanctions constituted an interference into domestic affairs see Mudge, George Alfred: "Domestic Policies and UN Activities: The Cases of Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa," International Organization, vol. 21, no. 1 (1967), pp. 55-78; McDougal, Myres S. & W. Michael Reisman: "Rhodesia and the United Nations: The Lawfulness of International Concern," American Journal of International Law, vol. 62, no. 1 (1968), pp. 1-19; Stephen, Michael: "Natural Justice at The United Nations: The Rhodesia Case," ibid., vol. 67, no. 3 (1973), pp. 479-490; Zimmerli, Christopher H.: "Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Southern Rhodesia," International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 20, no. 2. (1971), pp. 239-300.

114 See, for instance, Martin, David & Phyllis Johnson: The Struggle for Zimbabwe (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 2001); Alexander, Jocelyn, JoAnn McGregor & Terence Ranger: Violence and Memory. One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), pp. 113-179; Bhebe, Ngwabi & Terence Ranger (eds.): Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War (London: James Currey, 1995); Ohlson, Thomas: Power Politics and Peace Politics. Intra-State Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa. Report no. 50 (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1998), pp. 82-88; idem & Stephen John Stedman, with Robert Davies: The New Is Not Yet Born. Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1994), pp. 82-90; Alao, Abiodun: "A Comparative Evaluation of the Armed Struggle in Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe," in William Gutteridge & J.E. Spence (eds.): Violence in Southern Africa (London: Frank Cass, 1997), pp. 58-77; Turner, John W.: Continent Ablaze. The Insurgency Wars in Africa, 1960 to the Present (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1998), pp. 16-33. On the clandestine US support for the regime see Horne, Gerald: From the Barrell of a Gun. The United States and the War against Zimbabwe, 1965-1980 (Harare: SAPES Books, 2001), passim.

115 Lord Soames: "From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe," International Affairs, vol. 56, no. 3 (1980), pp. 405-419; Kriger, Norma: "Zimbabwe's Peace Settlement: Re-evaluating the Lancaster House," in Oliver Furley & Roy May (eds.): Peacekeeping in Africa (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 83-104; idem: Guerilla Veterans in Post-War Zimbabwe Symbolic and Violent Politics, 1980-1987 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 33-66; Toit, Pierre du: State Building and Democracy in Southern Africa. Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace Press, 1995), pp. 126, 132-133, 138; Rothchild, Donald: Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa. Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), pp. 147-189; idem: "Successful Mediation: Lord Carrington and the Rhodesian Settlement," in Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson & Pamela Aal (eds.): Managing Global Chaos. Sources and Responses to International Conflicts (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996), pp. 475-486.

¹¹⁶ Anderson, Malcolm: Frontiers. Territory and State Formation in the Modern World (Cambridge; Polity Press, 1996), pp. 78-87; Griffiths, Ieuan L.: The African Inheritance (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 84-98; Ramutsindela, Maano: "African Boundaries and Their Interpreters," in Nuriel Kliot & David Newman (eds.): Geopolitics at the End of the Twentieth Century. The Changing World Political Map (London: Frank Cass, 2000), pp. 180-198; Carrington, C. E.: "Frontiers in Africa," International Affairs, vol. 36, no. 4 (1960), pp. 424-439; Touval, Saadia: "Africa's Frontiers: Reactions to a Colonial Legacy," ibid., vol. 42, no. 4 (1966), pp. 641-654; idem:

"Treaties, Borders, and the Partition of Africa," Journal of African History, vol. 7, no. 2 (1966), pp. 279-293; Herbst, Jeffrey: "The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa," International Organization, vol. 43, no. 4 (1989), pp. 673-692; idem: op. cit. (note 93), pp. 139-172; Clapham, Christopher: "Boundaries and States in the New African Order," in Daniel C. Bach (ed.): Regionalisation in Africa. Integration and Disintegration (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), pp. 53-66. Some of the borders were drawn, and the criteria for drawing the rest were established, at the Berlin Conference in 1884-84, on which see Förster, Stig, Wolfgang J. Mommsen & Ronald Robinson (eds.): Bismarck, Europa, and Africa. The Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). On the legal aspects of the division see Korman, Sharon: The Right of Conquest. The Acquisition of Territory by Force in International Law and Practice (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 41-44, 65-66, 118.

118 See the website of the UN's International Law Commission at www.un.org/law/ilc/texts/decfra. htm. For a contemporaneous critique see Kelsen, Hans. "The Draft Declaration on Rights and Duties of States," *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1950), pp. 259-276. After consideration by the UNGA, it decided (in GA Res. 596-VI of 7 December 1951) to postpone further deliberations *sine die*. See also the *Vienna Convention on Succession of States in respect of Treaties*, which contains a chapter on "newly independent states" (articles 16-30), excempting them from some of the obligations to honour the obligations of their former colonial rulers, yet with the presumption that, all other things being equal, these are binding. Available at www.un.org/law/ilc/texts/tresufra.htm or in *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 72, no. 4 (1978), pp. 971-988. For an analysis see Lavalle, Roberto V.: "Dispute Settlement under the Vienna Convention on Succession of States in Respect of Treaties," *ibid.*, vol. 73, no. 3 (1979), pp. 407-425.

¹¹⁹ For an early argument to this effect, claiming that the above-mentioned non-recognition of UDI "Rhodesia" created a customary law requirement in terms of governing capacity and legitimacy see Devine, D. J.: "The Requirements of Statehood Re-Examined," *Modern Law Review*, vol. 34, no. 4. (1971), pp. 410-417.

120 President Bush is thus quoted for the statement "[W]hen governments fail to meet the most basic needs of their people, these failed states can become havens for terror". ("President Proposes \$5 Billion Plan to Help Developing Nations. Remarks by the President on Global Development Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D.C.," 14 March 2002, at www.whitehouse. gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020314-7.html); and Prime Minister Blair for the statement that "Poverty and instability leads to weak states which can become havens for terrorists and other criminals." ("PM's speech on Africa 7 October 2004," at www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page6452.asp"); External Relations Commissioner of the EU, Chris Patten, argues along the same lines: "Today's weak states can easily turn into tomorrow's failed states. They impoverish their people. But they nourish and enrich terrorists and organised crime. No wonder they attract them, like flies around a carcass." (Speech by The Rt Hon Chris Patten, CH, OSCE MINISTERIAL, Bucharest, 3 December 2001, at http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/news/patten/sp01_605.htm See also Commission for Africa: Our Common Interest. Report of the Commission for Africa (2005, available at www.commissionforafrica.org/english/ report/), pp. 34, 62, 152. Academic arguments to the same effect include Mallaby, Sebastian: "The Reluctant Imperialist: Terrorism, Failed States, and the Case for American Empire," Foreign Affairs, vol. 81, no. 2 (2002), pp. 2-7; TaKeyh, Ray & Nikolas Gvosdev: "Do Terrorist Networks Need a Home?," The Washington Quarterly, vol. 25, no. 3. (Summer 2002), pp. 97-108; Fearon, James D. & David D. Laitin: "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security*, vol. 28, no. 4 (2004), pp. 5-43; Krasner, Stephen D.: "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States," ibid., vol.

¹¹⁷ Ayoob: op. cit. (note 93), passim.

29, no. 2 (2004), pp. 85–120; Walt, Stephen M.: "Beyond bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2001), pp. 56-78. More critical analyses include See Menkhaus, Ken: "State Collapse in Somalia: Second Thoughts," *Review of African Political Economy*, no.97 (2003), pp. 405-422; idem: "Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism," *Adelphi Papers*, no. 364 (2004). For an assessment of threats and non-threats see also International Crisis Group (ICG): "Somalia: Countering Terrorism in a Failed State," *Africa Report*, no. 45 (Brussels: ICG, 2002), pp. 11-12 & *passim*; West, Deborah L: *Combating Terrorism in the Horn of Africa and Yemen* (Cambridge, MA: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2005), pp. 19-22.

¹²¹ Weber, Max: "Politics as Vocation," in H.H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills (eds.): From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Galaxy Books, 1958), pp. 77-128, quote from p. 78.

122 On failed states see Zartmann, William I. (ed.): Collapsed States. The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995); idem: "Intervening to Prevent State Collapse: The Role of the United Nations," in James P. Muldoon (ed.): Multilateral Diplomacy and the United Nations Today (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999), pp. 68-77; Herbst, Jeffrey: "Responding to State Failure in Africa," International Security, vol. 21, no. 3 (1996), pp. 120-144; Joseph, Richard & Jeffrey Herbst: "Correspondence: Responding to State Failure in Africa," ibid., vol. 22, no. 2 (1997), pp. 175-184; Mazrui, Ali A.: "The Failed State and Political Collapse in Africa," in Otunnu & Doyle (eds.): op. cit. (note 17), pp. 233-244; Sung, Hung-En: "State Failure, Economic Failure, and Predatory Organized Crime: A Comparative Analysis," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, vol. 41, no. 2 (2004), pp. 111-129; Pinar Bilgin & Adam David Morton: "Historicising Representations of 'Failed states': Beyond the Cold-War Annexation of the Social Sciences?," Third World Quarterly, vol 23, no 1 (2002), pp 55-80; Carment, David: "Assessing State Failure: Implications for Theory and Policy," ibid., vol. 24, no 3 (2003), pp 407-427; Brinkerhoff, Derick W.: "Rebuilding Governance in Failed States and Post-Conflict Societies: Core Concepts and Cross-Cutting Themes," Public Administration and Development, vol. 25, no. (2005), pp. 3-14; Gordon, Ruth E.: "Saving Failed States: Sometimes a Neocolonialist Notion," American University Journal of International Law and Policy, vol. 12, no. 6 (1997), pp. 903-974; Holm, Hans-Henrik: "Failing Failed States: Who Forgets the Forgotten?" Security Dialogue, vol. 33, no. 4 (2002), pp. 457-471; Langford, Tonya: "Things Fall Apart: State Failure and the Politics of Intervention," International Studies Review, vol. 1, no. 1 (1999), pp. 59-79; Van Eijk, Ryan: "The United Nations and the Reconstruction of Collapsed States in Africa," African Journal of International and Comparative Law, vol. 9 (1997), pp. 573-599.

123 On the different concepts of sovereignty see Jackson, Robert H. & Carl G. Rosberg: "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood," World Politics, vol. 35, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-24; idem & idem: "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood in the African Crisis," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 24, no. 1 (1986), pp. 1-31; Krasner, Stephen D.: "Westphalia and All That," in Goldstein & Keohane (eds.): op. cit. (note 96), pp. 235-264; idem: "Compromising Westphalia," International Security, vol. 20, no. 3 (1995), pp. 115-151; idem: "Rethinking the Sovereign State Model," Review of International Studies, vol. 27, no. 1 (2001), pp. 17-42; idem: "Sovereignty: An Institutional Perspective," Comparative Political Studies, vol. 21, no. 1 (1988), pp. 66-94; idem: Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Onuf, Nicholas G. "Sovereignty: Outline of a Conceptual History," Alternatives, vol. 16, no. 4 (1991), pp. 425-446; Osiander, Andreas: "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth," International Organization, vol. 55, no. 2 (2001), pp. 251-287; Philpott, Daniel: "Sovereignty: An Introduction and Brief History," Journal of International Affairs, vol. 48, no. 2 (1995), pp. 353-368.

- ¹²⁴ Jackson, Robert H.: *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). See also Thürer, Daniel: "The 'Failed State' and International Law," *International Review of the Red Cross*, vol. 81, no. 836 (1999), pp. 731-760; Clapham, Christopher: "Degrees of Statehood," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1988), pp. 143-157.
- ¹²⁵ Hyden, Goran & Denis Venter (eds.): *Constitution-Making and Democratisation in Africa* (Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2001), *passim*.
- ¹²⁶ See Africa at a Glance. Facts and Figures 2001/2 (Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2002), pp. 77, 88-89.
- ¹²⁷ Weber, Max: "Patriarchalism and Patrimonialism," in *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978) vol. 2, pp. 1006-1069.
- 128 On the Ashante monarchy see Edgerton, Robert B.: *The Fall of the Ashante Empire. The Hundred-Year War for Africa's Gold Coast* (New York: The Free Press, 1995); Myatt, Frederick: *The Golden Stool. Ashanti 1900* (London: William Kimber, 1966); Davidson: *op. cit.* (note 93), pp. 53-73. On the Ethiopian monarchy see Levine, Donald N.: *Greater Ethiopia. The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society.* 2nd ed. (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2000), pp. 72-78; Clapham, Christopher: "Ethiopia," in René Lemarchand (ed.): *African Kingship in Perspective. Political Change and Modernization in Monarchical Settings* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), pp. 35-63.
- 129 On neopatrimonialism see Lemarchand, René: "The State, the Parallel Economy, and the Changing Structure of Patronage Systems," in Daniel Rothchild & Naomi Chazan (eds.): The Precarious Balance. State and Society in Africa (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 149-170; Clapham, Christopher: Private Patronage and Public Power (London: Pinter, 1982); Bratton, Michael & Nicholas van de Walle: "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa," World Politics, vol. 46, no. 4 (1994), pp. 453-489, idem & idem: Democratic Experiments in Africa. Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 61-96; Conteh-Morgan, Earl: Democratization in Africa. The Theory and Dynamics of Political Transitions (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), pp. 60-63; Thomson: op. cit. (note 103), pp. 107-112.
- ¹³⁰ Baker, Bruce: "The Unaccountable State," in Tunde Zack-Williams, Diane Frost & Alex Thomson (eds.): *Africa in Crisis. New Challenges and Possibilities* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), pp. 80-96.
- ¹³¹ Chabal, Patrick & Jean-Pascal Daloz: *Africa Works. Disorder as a Political Instrument* (Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 1999), pp. 37 and 38.
- 132 Bayart, Jean-François: L'État en Afrique. La politique du ventre (Paris: Fayard, 1989); idem, Stephen Ellis & Béatrice Hibou: "From Kleptocracy to the Felonius State," in idem, idem & idem: The Criminalization of the State in Africa (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), pp. 1-31; Bayart, Jean-François: "The 'Social Capital' of the Felonious State, or the Ruses of Political Intelligence," ibid., pp. 32-48; Hibou, Béatrice: "The 'Social Capital' of the State as an Agent of Deception, or the Ruses of Economic Intelligence," ibid., pp. 69-113. On Zaïre see Gould, David J.: Bureaucratic Corruption and Underdevelopment in the Third World: The Case of Zaïre (New York: Pergamon, 1980); Clark, John F.: "Zaïre: The Bankruptcy of the Extractive State," in Leonardo Villalón & Phillip Huxtable (eds.): The African State at a Critical Juncture (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998), pp. 109-125.
- ¹³³ Ayittey, George B.N.: *Africa in Chaos* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 151, 153 and 172, respectively..

 134 On Somaliland see Kibble, Steve: "Somaliland: Surviving without Recognition; Somalia: Recognized but Failing?," International Relations, vol. 15, no. 5 (2001), pp. 5-25; Farah, Ahmed Yusuf: "Roots of Reconciliation in Somaliland," in Luc Reuchler & Thania Paffenholz (eds.): Peacebuilding. A Field Guide (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 138-144; Green, Reginald Herbold: "Towards a Macro-Economic Framework for Somaliland's Post-War Rehabilitation and Reconstruction," in Adebayo Adedeji (ed.): Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts. The Search for Sustainable Peace and Good Governance (London: Zed Books, 1999), pp. 257-281; Jhazbhay, Iqbal: "Somaliland: Africa's Best Kept Secret," African Security Review, vol. 12, no.. 3 (2003), pp. 77-82; International Crisis Group: "Somaliland: Democratisation and Its Discontents," Africa Report, no. 66 (Brussels: ICG, 2003). On the situation in the rest of Somalia since the eruption of the civil war see Africa Watch & Physicians for Human Rights: No Mercy in Mogadishu. The Human Cost of the Conflict and the Struggle for Relief (26 March 1992), at www.hrw.org/reports/1992/somalia; Jan, Ameen: "Somallia: Building Sovereignty or Restoring Peace?," in Elilzabeth M. Cousens & Chetan Kumar (eds.): Peacebuilding as Politics. Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 53-88; Lortan, Fiona: "Africa Watch. Rebuilding the Somali State," African Security Review, vol. 9, no.5/6 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000), pp. 94-103; Anon.: "Goverment Recognition in Somalia and Regional Political Stability in the Horn of Africa," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 49, no. 2 (2002), pp. 247-272, especially pp. 252-254; Streleau, Susanne & S'Fiso Ngesi: "Somalia: Beginning the Journey from Anarchy to Order," in Erik Doxtader & Charles Villa-Vicencio (eds.): Through Fire with Water. The Roots of Division and the Potential for Reconliation in Africa (Cape Town: David Philips Publishers, 2003), pp. 154-185; Doornbos. Martin: "Somalia: Alternative Scenarios for Political Reconstruction," African Affairs, no. 101 (2002), pp. 93-107. For a fairly optimistic account, especially of the economy, see Little, Peter D.: Somalia: Economy without State (Oxford: James Currey, 2003).

135 On the Liberian civil war see Ellis, Stephen: The Mask of Anarchy. The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War (London: Hurst & Co, 1999); Huband, Mark. The Liberian Civil War (London: Frank Cass, 1998); Pham, John-Peter: Liberia. Portrait of a Failed State (New York: Reed Press, 2004); Dunn, D. Elwood: "The Civil War in Liberia," in Taisler M. Ali & Robert O. Matthews (eds.): Civil Wars in Africa. Roots and Resolution (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1999), pp. 88-121; Williams, Gabriel I.H.: Liberia: The Heart of Darkness. Accounts of Liberia's Civil War and Its Destabilizing Effects in West Africa (Victoria, BC: Trafford, 2002); Mgbeoji, Ikechi: Collective Insecurity. The Liberian Crisism, Unilateralism, and Global Order (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), pp. 103-127 & passim; Lowenkopf, Martin: "Liberia: Putting the State Back Together," in Zartman (ed.): op. cit. (note 122), pp. 91-108. On the economic factors see Global Witness: Taylor Made. The Pivotal Role of Liberia's Forests in Regional Conflict (London: Global Witness, 2001); idem: Logging Off. How the Liberian Timber Industry Fuels Liberia's Humanitarian Disaster and Threatens Sierra Leone (London: Global Witness, 2002), idem: The Usual Suspects. How the Liberian Government Supports Arms Traficking and Mercenary Activities in West Africa (London: Global Witness, 2003); idem: Liberia - Back to the Future. What Is the Future of Liberia's Forests and Its Effects on Regional Peace? (Washington, DC: Global Witness, 2004); idem: Dangerous Liaisons: The Continued Relationship between Liberia's Natural Resource Industries, Arms Trafficking and Regional Insecurity. Briefing document submitted to the UN Security Council, 8 December 2004 (London: Global Witness, 204).; Motclos, Marx-Antoine: "Libéria: des prédateurs aux ramasseurs de miettes," in François Jean & Jean-Christohpe Rufin (eds.) Economie des Guerres Civiles (Paris: Hachette, 1996), pp. 269-298. On Charles Taylor's victory see Harris, David: "From 'Warlord' to 'Democratic' President: How Charles Taylor Won the 1997 Liberian Elections," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 37, no. 3 (1999), pp. 431-455; Democratization, and International Assistance (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998), pp. 177-194.

136 International Crisis Group: "Liberia: Unravelling," Africa Briefing, no. 45 (Brussels: ICG, 2002); idem: "Tackling Liberia: The Eye of the Regional Storm," ibid., no. 62 (2003); idem:

"Liberia: Security Challenges," ibid., no. 71 (2003).

Lyons, Terrence: "Peace and Elections in Liberia," in Krishna Kumar (ed.): Post-Conflict Elections,

¹³⁷ On ECOMOG in Liberia see Alao, Abiodun, John Mackinlay & 'Funni Olonisakin: Peacekeepers, Politicians, and Warlords: The Liberian Peace Peace Process (Tokyo: UN University Press, 1999); Barclay, Anthony: "Consolidating Peace Through Governance and Regional Cooperation: The Liberian Experience," in Adedeji (ed.): op. cit. (note 134), pp. 297-316; Aning, Emmanuel Kwesi: "Peacekeeping under ECOMOG: A Sub-regional Approach," in Jakkie Cilliers & Greg Mills (eds.): From Peacekeeping to Complex Emergencies. Peace Support Missions in Africa (Johannesburg: SAIIA and Pretoria: ISS, 1999), pp. 75-96; idem: "War to Peace: Dilemmas of Multilateral Intervention in Civil Wars," African Security Review, vol. 9, no. 3 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000), pp. 19-33; Cleaver, Gerry: "Liberia: Lessons for the Future from the Experience of ECOMOG," in Furley & May (eds.): op. cit. (note 115), pp. 223-238; Howe, Herbert: "Lessons of Liberia. ECOMOG and Regional Peacekeeping," International Security, vol. 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 145-176; idem: Ambiguous Order. Military Forces and African States (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 129-186; Mortimer, Robert A.: "ECOMOG, Liberia, and Regional Security in West Africa," in Edmond J. Keller & Donald Rothchild (eds.): Africa in the New World Order (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. 149-164; Vogt, Margaret Aderinsola: "The Involvement of ECOWAS in Liberia's Peacekeeping," ibid., pp. 165-183; Wippman, David: "Enforcing the Peace: ECOWAS and the Liberian Civil War," in Lori Fisler Damrosch (ed.): Enforcing Restraint. Collective Intervention in International Conflicts (New York: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1994), pp. 157-204; Jonah, James O.C.: "ECOMOG: A Successful Example of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping by a Regional Organization in the Third World," in Winrich Kühne (ed.): Blauhelme in einer Turbulenten Welt. Beiträge internationaler Experten zur Fortentwicklung des Völkerrechts und der Vereinten Nationen (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993), pp. 303-326; Sesay, Max Ahmadu: "Collective Security or Collective Disaster? Regional Peacekeeping in West Africa," Security Dialogue, vol. 26, no. 2 (June 1995), pp. 205-222; idem: "West African Military Interventions in the 1990s: The Case of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone," in Louis Du Plessis & Michael Hough (eds.): Managing African Conflicts: The Challenge of Military Intervention (Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 2000), pp. 193-254; Berman, Eric G. & Katie E. Sams: Peacekeeping in Africa: Capabilities and Culpabilities (Geneva: UNIDIR/Pretoria: ISS, 2000), pp. 83-110; Adibe, Clement E.: "Muddling Through: An Anaysis of the ECOWAS Experience in Conflict Management in West Africa," in Liisa Lakso (ed.): Regional Integration for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in Africa. Europe, SADC and ECOWAS (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Department of Political Science, 2000), pp. 103-169; Adebajo, Adekeye: Building Peace in West Africa. Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 43-78; Dowyaro, E.T.: "ECOMOG Operations in West Africa," in Mark Malan (ed.): Boundaries of Peace Support Operations: The African Dimension, ISS Monograph Series, no. 44 (Pretoria: ISS, February 2000), pp. 122-143; Khobe, Mitikishe Maxwell: "The Evolution and Conduct of ECOMOG Operations in West Africa," ibid., pp. 103-121; Ero, Comfort: "ECOMOG: A Model for Africa," in Jakkie Cilliers & Annika Hilding-Nordberg (eds.): Building Stability in Africa: Challenges for the New Millennium. ISS Monograph Series, no. 46 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000), pp. 97-120; idem: "The Future of ECOMOG in West Africa," in Cilliers & Mills (eds.): op. cit., pp. 55-74. On the human rights record of ECOMOG see Human Rights Watch: "Waging War to Keep the Peace: The ECOMOG Intervention and Human Rights, Africa Watch

Report, vol. 5, no. 6 (Washington, DC: Human Rights Watch, June 1993). See also Reno, William: "Reconstructing Peace in Liberia," in Taisler M. Ali & Robert O. Matthews (eds.): Durable Peace. Challenges for Peacebuilding in Africa (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 115-141; Aboagye, Festus & Alhaji M S Bah (eds.): A Tortuous Road to Peace. The Dynamics of Regional, UN and International Humanitarian Interventions in Liberia (Pretoria: ISS, 2005), passim.

¹³⁸ On good overview of the Sierra Leonean civil war is Hirsch: op. cit. (note 81), passim. On the role of diamonds see Zark-Williams: loc. cit. (note 81); Reno, William: "Political Networks in a Failing State. The Roots and Future of Violent Conflict in Sierra Leone," Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft, no.2 (2003), pp. 44-66; Keen, David: "Greedy Elites, Dwindling Resources, Alienated Youths: The Anatomy of Protracted Violence in Sierra Leone," ibid., pp. 67-94. A contested issue is the nature of the RUF recruits. See, for instance, Richards, Paul: "Rebellion in Liberia and Sierra Leone: A Crisis of Youth?," in Furley (ed.): op. cit. (note 101), pp. 134-170; idem: Fighting for the Rain Forest. War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone. (Oxford: James Currey, 1996); idem: "Militia Conscription in Sierra Lene: Recruitment of Young Fighters in an African War," in Lars Mjøset & Stephen Van Holde (eds.): The Comparative Study of Conscription in the Armed Forces (Amsterdam: JAI, 2002), pp. 255-276; Fifthen, Caspar & idem: "Making War, Crafting Peace. Militia Solidarities and Demobilisation in Sierra Leone," in idem (ed.): No Peace, No War. An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts (Oxford: James Currey, 2005), pp. 117-136; Rashid, I.: "Subaltern Reactions: Lumpens, Students and the Left," Africa Development, vol. 22, no. 3/4 (1997), pp. 19-44; Abdullah, Ibrahim: "Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF/SL)," ibid., pp. 45-76.; idem & al.: "Lumpen Youth Culture and Political Violence: Sierra Leoneans Debate the RUF and the Civil War," ibid., pp. 171-216; idem: "'The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone," Journal of Modem African Studies, vol. 36, no. 2 (1998), pp. 1-33; idem & P. Muana: "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone: A Revolt of the Lumpenproletariat," in Christopher Clapham (ed.): African Guerillas (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), pp. 172-193; Fanthorpe, Richard: "Neither Citizen Nor Subject? 'Lumpen' Agency and the Legacy of Native Administration in Sierra Leone, African Affairs, no. 100 (2001), pp. 363-386.

¹³⁹ On the UN see Findlay: *op. cit.* (note 17), pp. 296-314; Ofuatey-Kodjoe, W.: "Sierra Leone," in Jane Boulden (ed.): Dealing with Conflict in Africa. The United Nations and Regional Organizations (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 127-152; Malan, Mark, Phenyop Rakate & Angela McIntyre: "Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone. UNAMSIL Hits the Home Straight," ISS Monograph, no. 68 (Pretoria: ISS, 2002); idem: "UNAMSIL after the Elections," in idem, Sarah Meek, Thokozani Thusi, Jeremy Jinifer & Patrick Coker: "Sierra Leone: Building the Road to Recovery," ISS Monograph, no. 80 (2003), pp. 53-76; Williams, Abiodun: "Sierra Leone and the United Nations System," in Keith Krause & W. Andy Knight (eds.): State, Society, and the UN System: Changing Perspectives on Multilateralism (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1995), pp. 219-244. On the ECOWAS involvement see Sesay: loc. cit. 2000 (note 137); Adibe: loc. cit. (note 137) pp. 103-169; Adebajo: op. cit. (note 137), pp. 79-109. On Executive Outcomes see Douglas, Ian: "Fighting for Diamonds - Private Military Companies in Sierra Leone," in Jakkie Cilliers & Peggy Mason (eds.): Peace, Profit or Plunder? The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn Societies (Halfway House: Institute for Security Studies, 1999), pp. 175-200; Spicer, Tim: An Unorthodox Soldier. Peace and War and the Sandline Affair (Edinburg: Mainstream Publishing, 1999), pp. 189-202 On the British intervention see Connaughton, Richard: "Operation 'Barass'," Small Wars and Insurgencies, vol. 12, no. 2 (2001), pp. 110-119. For an eyewitness account see Bergner, Daniel: Soldiers of Light (London: Allen Lane, 2004).

¹⁴⁰ On security sector reform in general see Wulf, Herbert (ed.): "Security Sector Reform," *BICC*

Brief, no. 15 (Bonn: Bonn International Centre for Conversion, 2000); Smith, Chris: "Security Sector Reform: Development Breakthrough or Institutional Engineering?," Conflict, Security and Development, vol. 1, no. 1 (2001), pp. 5-19; Hendrickson, Dylan: "A Review of Security-Sector Reform," Working Papers, no. 1 (London: The Conflict, Security and Development Group, Centre for Defence Studies, 1999); Hendrickson, Dylan & Andrezej Karkoszka: "The Challenges of Security Sector Reform," SIPRI Yearbook 2002. Armaments, Disarmament and International Security (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 175-202; Williams, Rocklyn: "Africa and the Challenge of Security Sector Reform," in Cilliers & Hilding-Nordberg (eds.): op. cit. (note 137), pp. 30-45; Cawthra, Gavin & Robin Luckham (eds.): Governing Insecurity. Democratic Control and Security Establishments in Transitional Democracies (London: Zed Books,. 2003), passim..On the application to Sierra Leone, including DDR, see Ero, Comfort: "The Legacies of Authoritanism and Political Violence," ibid., pp. 232-253; and ida: "Sierra Leone's Security Complex," Working Paper, no. 5 (London: Centre for Defence Studies, 2000); Fitz-Gerald, Anne M.: Security Sector Reform in Sierra Leone (Shrivenham: Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform, 2004); Thusi, Thokozani & Sarah Meek: "Disarmament and Demobilisation in Sierra Leone," in Malan & al. op. cit. 2003 (note 139), pp. 23-38; Ginifer, Jeremy: "Prioritising Reintegration," ibid., pp. 39-52; Malan, Mark: "Security and Military Reform," ibid., pp. 89-104.

¹⁴¹ On the elections see Kandeh, Jimmy D.: "Sierra Leone's Post-Conflict Elections of 2002," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 41, no. 2 (2003), pp. 189-216. On their less successful predecessor see idem: "Transition without Rupture: Sierra Leone's Transfer Election of 1996," African Studies Review, vol. 41, no. 2 (1998), pp. 91-111. On transitional justice in general see Call, Charles T.: "Is Transitional Justice Really Just?" Brown Journal of World Affairs, vol. 11, no. 1 (2004), pp. 101-123; Vinjamuri, Leslie & Jack Snyder: "Advocacy and Scholarship in the Study of International War Crime Tribunals and Transitional Justice," Annual Review of Political Science, vol. 7, no. 1 (2004), pp. 345-362; Newman, Edward: "Transitional Justice': The Impact of Transnational Norms and the UN," International Peacekeeping, vol. 9, no. 2 (2002), pp. 31-50; Falk, Richard: "Criminal Accountability in Transitional Justice," Peace Review, vol. 12, no. 1 (2000), pp. 81-86. On the application to Sierra Leone see Evenson, Elizabeth M.: "Truth and Justice in Sierra Leone: Coordination between Commission and Court," Columbia Law Review, vol. 104, no. 3 (2004), pp. 730-737; Dougherty, Beth K.: "Right-sizing International Criminal Justice: The Hybrid Experiment at the Special Court for Sierra Leone," International Affairs, vol. 80, no. 2 (2004), pp. 311-328; Beresford, Stuart & A.S. Muller: "The Special Court for Sierra Leone: An Initial Comment," Leiden Journal of International Law, vol. 14, no. 3 (2001), pp. 635-651; Gberi, Lansana: "Briefing: The Special Court of Sierra Leone," African Affairs, vol. 102, no. 407 (2003), pp. 637-648; Lamin, Abdul Rahman: "Building Peace through Accountability in Sierra Leone: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Special Court," Journal of Asian and African Studies, vol. 38, no. 2-3 (2003), 295-320; Malan, Mark: "The Challenge of Justice and Reconciliation," in idem & al.: op. cit. 2003 (note 139), pp. 139-160; Rugumanu, William: "Prospects for Peace Building through Truth Commissions in Africa," in Alfred G. Nhema (ed.): The Quest for Peace in Africa. Transformations, Democracy and Public Policy (Utrecht: International Books, 2004). pp. 189-219.

Hume, Cameron: Ending Mozambique's War. The Role of Mediation and Good Offices (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace Press, 1994); Synge, Richard: Mozambique. UN Peacekeeping in Action, 1992-94 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997); Barnes, Sam: "Peacekeeping in Mozambique," in Furley & May (eds.): op. cit. (note 115), pp. 159-178; Reed, Pamela L.: "The Politics of Reconciliation: The United Nations Operation in Mozambique," in Durch (ed.): op. cit. 1996 (note 17), pp. 275-310; Berman, Eric: Managing Arms

in Peace Processes: Mozambique (Geneva: UNIDIR, 1996); Msabaha, Ibrahim: "Negotiating an End to Mozambique's Murderous Rebellion," in I. William Zartman (ed.): Elusive Peace. Negotiating an End to Civil Wars (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995), pp. 204-230; Schiedman, Witney W.: "Conflict Resolution in Mozambique," in Smock (ed.): op. cit. (note 111), pp. 219-238; Morgan, Glenda: "Violence in Mozambique: Towards and Understanding of Renamo," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 28, no. 4 (1990), pp. 603-619; Vines, Alex: "Disarmament in Mozambique," Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 24, no. 1 (1998), pp. 191-205; Manning, Carrie: "Constructing Opposition in Mozambique. Renamo as a Political Party," ibid., pp. 161-189; Schafer, Jessica: "A Baby Who Does Not Cry Will Not Be suckled: AMODEG and the Reintegration of Demobilised Soldiers'," ibid., pp. 207-222; ida: "Guerillas and Violence in the War in Mozambique: De-socialization or Re-socialization?" African Affairs, vol. 100, no. 399 (2001), pp. 215-237; Turner, J. Michael, Sue Nelson & Kimberley Mahlling-Clark: "Mozambique's Vote for Democratic Governance," in Kumar (ed.): op. cit. (note 135), pp. 153-175; Saul, John S.: "Inside from the Outside? The Roots and Resolution of Mozambique's Un/Civil War," in Ali & Matthews (eds.): op. cit. 1999 (note 135), pp.. 123-166; Costy, Alexander: "The Peace Divident in Mozambique, 1987-1997," in Ali & Matthews (eds.): op. cit. 2004 (note 137), pp. 142-182; Virtanen, Pekka: "Defining the 'Other': Democracy in Mozambique Within. A Historical Perspective," African and Asian Studies, vol. 2, no. 3 (2003), pp. 233-258; Juergensen, Olaf Tataryn: "Repatriation as Peacebuilding and Reconstruction: The Case of Northern Mozambique, 1992-1995," Refugee Survey Quarterly, vol. 21, no. 1-2 (2002), pp. 160-200; McMullin, Jaremey: "Reintegration of Combatants: Were the Right Lessons Learned in Mozambique?" International Peacekeeping, vol. 11, no. 4 (2004), pp. 625-643. For a comparative perspective see Manning, Carrie: "Armed Opposition Groups into Political Parties: Comparing Bosnia, Kosovo, and Mozambique," Studies in Comparative International Development, vol. 39, no. 1 (2004), pp. 54-76.

¹⁴³ Marcus, Harold G.: A History of Ethiopia (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 139-146. The first attempt was made in 1896, where the the Italian army was defeated by the forces of Emperor Menelik II in the famous Battle of Adowa. See Vandervort, Bruce: Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830-1914 (London: UCL Press, 1998), pp. 22-25, 156-166; Pakenham, Thomas: The Scramble for Africa (London: Abacus, 1992), pp. 479-495; Edgerton, Robert B.: Africa's Armies. From Honor to Infamy. A History from 1791 to the Present (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002), pp. 44-46; Rubenson, Sven: "Adwa 1896: The Resounding Protest," in Robert I. Rotberg & Ali A. Mazrui (eds.): Protest and Power in Black Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 113-142; Caulk. Richard: "Between the Jaws of Hyenas". A Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876-1896) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), pp. 483-564.

¹⁴⁴ Baer, George W.: *Test Case. Italy, Ethiopia, and the League of Nations* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1976), *passim*; Northedge: *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 221-254; Walters,: *op. cit.* (note 96), pp. 623-691; Scott, George: *The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 317-368.

¹⁴⁵ For an elaboration on this point see Møller, Bjørn: "Defensive Restructuring of the Military in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Geoff Haris (ed.): *Achieving Security in Sub.-Saharan Africa, Cost-effective Alternatives to the Military* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2004), pp. 17-32.

¹⁴⁶ On the Ogaden War see Lyons, Terrence B.: "The Horn of Africa Regional Politics: A Hobbesian World," in Howard Wriggins (ed.): *Dynamics of Regional Politics. Four Systems on the Indian Ocean Rim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 153-209; Selassie, Bereket Habte: *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), pp. 116-122; Clapham, Christopher: "The Horn of Africa: A Conflict Zone," in Furley (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 101), pp.

72-91; Keller, Edmond J.: Revolutionary Ethiopia. From Empire to People's Republic (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 155-158; idem: "The OAU and the Ogaden Dispute," in George Nzongola-Ntalaja (ed.): Conflict in the Horn of Africa (Atlanta, Georgia: African Studies Association Press, 1991), pp. 97-115; Tareke, Gebru: "The Ethiopia-Somalia War 1977 Revisited," International Journal of African Historical Studies, vol. 33, no. 3 (2000), pp. 635-667.

¹⁴⁷ Negash, Tekeste & Kjetil Tronvoll: *Brothers at War. Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000); Abbink, J.: "Briefing: The Eritrean-Ethiopian Border Dispute," *African Affairs*, vol. 97, no. 389 (1998), pp. 551-565; idem: "Ethiopia-Eritrea: Proxy Wars and Prospects of Peace in the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2003), pp. 407-425; Iyob, Ruth: "The Ethiopian-Eritrean Conflict: Diasporic vs. Hegemonic States in the Horn of Africa, 1991-2000," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2000), pp. 669-682. On the background, pointing to long-standing tensions between the two governing parties, see Young, John: "The Tigray and Eritrean Peoples Liberation Fronts: A History of Tensions and Pragmatism," *ibid.*, vol. 34, no. 1 (1996), pp. 105-120. On the humanitarian costs of the war see Human Rights Watch: "The Horn of Africa War: Mass Expulsions and the Nationality Issue (June 1998-April 2002)," *Human Rights Watch*, vol. 16, no. 3A (2003). For a discourse analysis of the conflict see Sorenson, John & Atsuko Matsuoka: "Phantom Wars and Cyberwars: Abyssianian Fundamentalism and Catastrophe in Erirea," *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2001), pp. 37-63.

¹⁴⁸ Korn, David A.: *Ethiopia, the United States, and the Soviet Union* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), pp. 73-87; Gorman, Robert F.: *Political Conflict on the Horn of Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1981), pp. 172-203; Farer, Tom J.: *War Clouds on the Horn of Africa: The Widening Storm*, 2nd ed. (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1979), pp. 131-142; Lefebvre Jeffrey A.: *Arms for the Horn. U.S. Security Policy in Ethiopia and Somalia 1953-1991* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991); idem: "The United States, Ethiopia and the 1963 Somali-Soviet Arms Deal: Containment and the Balance of Power Dilemma in the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 36, no. 4 (1998), pp. 611-643.

Clapham: op. cit. (note 94), pp. 134-159; Berridge, Geoff R.: "The Superpowers and Southern Africa," in Roy Allison & Phil Williams (eds.): Superpower Competition and Crisis Prevention in the Third World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 206-226; Zacarias: op. cit. (note 38), pp. 62-92; Garthoff, Raymond L.: Détente and Confrontation. American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1985), pp. 502-537; Lefebvre, Jeffrey A.: "Moscow's Cold War and Post-Cold War Policies in Africa," in Keller & Rothchild (eds.): op. cit. (note 137), pp. 206-226; Obasanjo, Olusegun: "A Balance Sheet of the African Region and the Cold War," ibid., pp. 15-25; Schraeder, Peter J.: "Removing the Shackles? U.S. Foreign Policy toward Africa after the End of the Cold War," ibid., 187-205; MacFarlane, Stephen Neil: "Russia, Africa, and the End of the Cold War," in Mohiaddin Mesbahi (ed.): Russia and the Third World in the Post-Soviet Era (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1994), pp. 225-249; Krassin, Yuri: "The USSR and the Third World: A Historical Perspective," ibid., pp. 109-124; Rodman, Peter W.: More Precious Than Peace. The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994), pp. 163-182, 358-399; Hopf, Ted: Peripheral Visions. Deterrence Theory and American Foreign Policy in the Third World, 1965-1990 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 61-116.

¹⁵⁰ On instances of superpower co-operation in Africa see Zartman, I. William: "Superpower Cooperation in North Africa and the Horn," in Roger E. Kanet & Edward A. Kolodziej (eds.): *The Cold War as Competition. Superpower Cooperation in Regional Conflict Management* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 147-170; Young, Crawford: "Superpower Cooperation

- in Central Africa," *ibid.*, pp. 171-195; Kempton, Daniel R.: "Superpower Cooperation in Southern Africa," *ibid.*, pp. 196-223. For an update see Williams, Phil: "The Potential for US-Russian Security Co-operation in the Developing World," in James Goodby (ed.): *Regional Conflicts. The Challenge to US-Russian Co-operation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 13-33.
- ¹⁵¹ For scenarios to this effect see Nincic, Miroslav: *How War Might Spread to Europe* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1985); Posen, Barry R.: *Inadvertent Escalation. Conventional War and Nuclear Risks* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).
- ¹⁵² George, Alexander L.: "U.S.-Soviet Efforts to Cooperate in Crisis Management and Crisis Avoidance," in idem, Philip J. Farley & Alexander Dallin (eds.): *U.S.-Soviet Security Cooperation. Achievements, Failures, Lessons* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 581-599;
- ¹⁵³ Thomas, Scott: "Africa and the End of the Cold War: an Overview of Impacts," in Akinrinade & Sesay (eds.): op. cit. (note 92), pp. 5-27; Wright, Stephen: "Africa and Global Society: Marginality, Conditionality and Conjuncture," ibid., pp. 133-146; Ake, Claude: "The New World Order: A View from Africa," in Hans-Henrik Holm & Georg Sørensen (eds.): Whose World Order? Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 19-42; Clapham, Christopher: "International Relations in Africa after the Cold War: Conflict Unleashed," in William Hale & Eberhard Kienle (eds.): After the Cold War. Security and Democracy in Africa and Asia (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), pp. 99-113; Constantin, François: "Africa: Adjustment and Conditionality," in Zaki Laïdi (ed.): Power and Purpose after the Cold War (Oxford: Berg, 1994), pp. 189-213.
- 154 On the general phenomenon see Midlarsky, Manus I. (ed.): *The Internationalization of Communal Strife* (London: Routledge, 1992). See also Stedman, Stephen John: "Conflict and Conciliation in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Michael E. Brown (ed.): *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 235-266; Keller, Edmond J.: "Transnational Ethnic Conflict in Africa," in David A. Lake & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict. Fear, Diffusion and Escalation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 275-292.
- ¹⁵⁵ Young, Tom: "The MNR/RENAMO: External and Internal Dynamics," *African Affairs*, vol. 89, no. 357 (1990), pp. 491-509; Minter: *op. cit.* (note 105), *passim*; Moorcraft: *op. cit.* (note 105), pp. 253-296; Cawthra, Gavin: *Brutal Force. The Apartheid War Machine* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986), pp. 160-168.
- ¹⁵⁶ Minter: op. cit. (note 105), passim; Moorcraft: op. cit. (note 105), pp. 183-212; Cawthra: op. cit. (note 155), pp. 144-159.
- ¹⁵⁷ Pool, David: "The Eritreans People's Liberation Front," in Clapham (ed.): op. cit. (note 138), pp. 19-35, especially pp. 32-33; idem: From Guerrillas to Government. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (Oxford: James Currey, 2001); Woodward, Peter: The Horn of Africa. Politics and International Relations (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 119-125; Iyob: op. cit. (note 102), pp. 57, 105, 108-114; Farer: op. cit. (note 148), pp. 123-124.
- 158 Prunier, Gérard: "Rebel Movements and Proxy Warfare: Uganda, Sudan and the Congo (1986-1999)," *African Affairs*, vol. 103, no. 412 (2004), pp. 359-383. On the LRA and Sudanese support see Acker, Franck Van: "Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army: The New Order No One Ordered," *ibid.*, pp. 335-357; Behrend, Heike: *Alice Lakwena and the Holy Spirits. War in Northern Uganda, 1986-97* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999); idem: "The Holy Spirit Movement and the Forces of Nature in the North of Uganda," in Holger Bernt Hansen & Michael Twaddle (eds.): *Religion and Politics in East Africa* (London: James Currey, 1995), pp. 59-71; idem: "War in Northern Uganda: The Holy Spirit Movement of Alice Lakwena, Severino Lukoyo and

Joseph Kony (1986-1997)," in Clapham (ed.): op. cit. (note 138), pp. 107-118; Ward, Kevin: "The Armies of the Lord': Christianity, Rebels and the State n Northern Uganda, 1986.-1999," Journal of Religion in Africa, vol. 31, no. 2 (2001), pp. 187-221; Cline, Lawrence E.: "Spirits and the Cross: Religiously Based Violent Movements in Uganda," Small Wars and Insurgencies, vol. 14, no. 2 (2003), pp. 113-130; Jackson, Paul: "Legacy of Bitterness: Insurgency in North West Rwanda," ibid., vol. 15, no. 1 (2004), pp. 19-37; International Crisis Group: "Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict," Africa Reports, no. 77 (Brussels: ICG, 2004). On the support structure of the Sudanese liberation movements see Edgerton: op. cit. (note 143), pp. 122-123, 128-129; Johnson, Douglas H.: "The Sudan's People's Liberation Army," in Clapham (ed.): op. cit., pp. 53-72, especially pp. 55-56, 62-65; idem: The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil War (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), pp. 36-37; Lesch, Ann Mosley: "External Involvement in the Sudanese Civil War," in Smock (ed.): op. cit. (note 111), pp. 79-105, especially pp. 91-92, 96-98; Tripp, Charles: "The Sudanese Civil War in International Relations," in Hale & Kienle (eds.): op. cit. (note 153), pp. 43-81, especially pp. 57-61; Juma, Monica Kathina: "Sudan," in Boulden (ed.): op. cit. (note 139), pp. 185-214, especially pp. 187-188.

159 Reed, William Cyrus: "Guerillas in the Midst. The Former Government of Rwanda and the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire in Eastern Zaire," in Clapham (ed.): op. cit. (note 138), pp. 134-154; Matthee, Heinrich: "Central African Military Interventions in the 1990s: The Case of the DRC," in Du Plessis & Hough (eds.): op. cit. (note 137), pp. 253-286; Clark, John F. (ed.): The African Stakes of the Congo War (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Shearer, David: "Africa's Great War," Survival, vol. 41, no. 2 (1999), pp. 89-106; Adelman, Howard & Govind C. Rao (eds.) War and Peace in Zaire/Congo. Analyzing and Evaluating the Intervention: 1996-1997 (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004); International Crisis Group: "Scramble for the Congo: Anatomy of an Ugly War," ICG Africa Report, no. 26 (Brussels: ICG, 1999); Seybolt, Taylor B.: "The War in the Democratic Republic of Congo," SIPRI Yearbook 2000. World Armaments and Disarmament (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 59-76; Ngoma, Naison: "Hawks, Doves or Penguins. A Critical Review of the SADC Military Intervention in the DRC," ISS Paper, no. 88 (2004); Miskel, James F. & Richard J. Norton: "The Intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo," Civil Wars, vol. 6, no. 4 (2003), pp. 1-13. On the underlying economic ("predatory") motives see Panel of Experts: "Report of the Panel of Experts on Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo," UN Documents S/2001/357; idem: "Addendum to the report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo," ibid., no. S/2001/1072; idem: "Final report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo," ibid., no. S/2002/1146. See also Global Witness: Same Old Story. A Background Study on Natural Resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Washington, DC: Global Witness, 2004); idem: Rush and Ruin – The Devastating Mineral Trade in Southern Katanga, DRC (Washington, DC: Global Witness, 2004). On the special role of Zimbabwe see idem: Branching Out. Zimbabwe's Resource Colonialism in the Democratic Republic of Congo (London: Global Witness, 2002); Reno, William: Warlord Politics and African States (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998), pp.147-182

¹⁶⁰ An overview of the various conflict-related activities is provided by the *United Nations in Africa* website at www.un.org/peace/africa/index.html. See also Akinrinade: *loc. cit.* (note 92).

Based on the UN's Department of Political Affairs (DPA): "Current Political and Peacebuilding Missions," (http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/prev_dip/africa/fst_africa.htm).

¹⁶² See the website of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations at www.un.org/Depts/

dpko/dpko/ co_mission/co_miss.htm. See also the works cited in note 17. The "Brahimi Report" of 2000 also devoted much attention to the special problems of Africa. See *op. cit.* (note 19)..

¹⁶³ Based on data on the various missions from the UN's DPKO: "United Nations Peacekeeping," at www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp.

¹⁶⁴ On UNASOG see www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unasog.htm. On the conflict as such and the role of the ICJ see McKeon Jr., Robert W., Case: "The Aouzou Strip: Adjudication of Competing Territorial Claims in Africa by the International Court of Justice," *Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1991), pp. 147-170. On Ethiopia-Eritrea and UNMEE see www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unmee/; and the works listed in note 147. See also Lata, Leenco: "The Ethiopia-Eritrea War," in Boulden (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 139), pp. 153-184; International Crisis Group: "Ethiopia and Eritrea: War or Peace?" *ICG Africa Report*, no. 68 (Brussels: ICG, 2003). On the experience with SHIRBRIG in UNMEE see International Peace Academy: "Seminar on Standby High-Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG)" at www.ipacademy. org/programs.

¹⁶⁵ See www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/car.htm.

166 See above, notes 110-111, and the DPKO's website, www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/untag.htm. See also Dale, Richard: "The UN and African Decolonization: UNTAG in Namibia," *TransAfrica Forum*, vol. 8, no.3 (1991), pp. 31-48; Howard, Lise Morjé: "UN Peace Implementation in Namibia: The Causes of Success," *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2002), pp. 99-132; Pankhurst, Donna: "Namibia," in Furley & May (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 115) pp. 207-222; Fortna, Virginia Page: "United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia," in Durch (ed.): *op. cit.* 1993 (note 17), pp. 353-375.

¹⁶⁷ On MINURSO and the conflict in Western Sahara/Sahrawi see de Cherif, T.K. Smith: "Peace in the Western Sahara?" *Africa Today*, vol. 38, no. 4 (1991), pp. 49-58; Zunes, Stephen: "Algeria, the Maghreb Union, and the Western Sahara Stalemate," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 3 (1995), pp. 23-36; Ruddy, Frank: "What I Saw in Western Sahara: The Referendum That Wasn't and the One That Still Could Be," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 4 (1998), pp. 140-158; Mohsen-Finan, Khadija: "The Western Sahara Dispute Under UN Pressure," *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2002), pp. 1-12; Maghraoui, Abdeslam: "Ambiguities of Sovereignty: Morocco, The Hague and the Western Sahara Dispute," *ibid.*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2003), pp. 113-126. On the conflict see also note 101.

168 On the missions in Angola see Dzinesa: *loc. cit.* (note 110); Munslow, Barry: "Angola: the Search for Peace and Reconstruction," in Furley & May (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 115), pp. 179-206; Hare, Paul: *Angola's Last Best Chance for Peace. An Indsider's Account of the Peace Process* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998); Sommerville, Keith: "Angola – Groping Towards Peace or Slipping Back Towards War?," in William Gutteridge & J.E. Spence (red.): *Violence in Southern Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), s. 11-39; Firtna, Virginia Page: "United Nations Angola Verification Mission I," in Durch (ed.): *op. cit.* 1993 (note 17), pp. 376-387; ida: "United Nations Angola Verification Mission II," *ibid.*, pp. 376-387; Lodico, Yvonne C.: "A Peace that Fell Apart: The United Nations and the War in Angola," in Durch (ed.): *op. cit.* 1996 (note 17), pp. 103-134; Human Rights Watch: *Angola Unravels. The Rise and Fall of the Lusaka Peace Process* (1999), at www. hrw.org/reports/1999/angola/.

¹⁶⁹ On UNOMIL see Adibe, Clement E.: "The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS-UN Partnership," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 3 (1997), pp. 471-488; Olonisakin, 'Funni: "Liberia," in Boulden (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 139), pp. 111-125; Alao, Mackinlay & idem: *op. cit.* (note 137), *passim;* Adebajo: *op. cit.* (note 137), pp. 56-60. On UNOMSIL see Ofuatey-Kodjoe: *loc. cit.*

(note 139); Hirsch: op. cit. (note 81), pp. 82-87.

¹⁷³ On Somalia see Findlay: *op. cit.* (note 17), pp. 142-148, 166-218; Sahnoun, Mohamed: *Somalia*. The Missed Opportunities (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, 1994); idem: "Mixed Intervention in Somalila and the Great Lakes: Culture, Neutrality, and the Military," in Moore (ed.): op. cit. (note 33), pp. 87-98; Lyons, Terrence & Ahmed I. Samatar: Somalia. State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995); Hirsch, John L. & Robert B. Oakley: Somalia and Operation Restore Hope. Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace Press, 1995); Heinreich, Wolfgang: Building the Peace. Experiences of Collaborative Peacebuilding in Somalia 1993-1996 (Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute, 1998); Baynham, Simon: "Somalia – UN at the Crossroads," African Defence Review, no. 15 (Halfway House: Institute for Defence Policy, 1994); Clark, Jeffrey: "Debacle in Somalia: Failure of Collective Response," in Damrosch (ed.): op. cit. (note 137), pp. 205-240; Lewis, Ioan & James Mayall: "Somalia," in James Mayall (ed.): The New Interventionism 1991-1994. United Nations Experience in Cambodia, former Yugoslavia and Somalia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), s. 94-126; Durch, William J.: "Introduction to Anarchy: Humanitarian Intervention and 'State-Building' in Somalia," in idem (ed.): op. cit. 1996 (note 17), pp. 311-366; Donald C.F. Daniel, Brad Hayes & Chantall de Jonge Ouddraat: Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), pp. 79-112; Clarke, Bruce B.G.: "End-State Planning: The Somalia Case," in Max G. Manwaring & W. J. Olson (eds.): Managing Contemporary Conflict. Pillars of Success (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996), pp. 49-70; Hippel: op. cit. (note 33), pp. 55-91; Klingenburg, Konrad: "Stolperstein statt Meilenstein – Das Scheitern der 'robusten' Peacekeepingoperationen der Vereinten Nationen in Somalia," in Hans-Georg Ehrhart & idem (ed.): UN-Friedenssicherung 1985-1995. Analyse und Bibliographie (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996), pp. 91-114; Laitin, David D.: "Somalia: Civil War and International Intervention," in Barbara F. Walter & Jack Snyder (eds.): Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 146-180; Lalande, Serge: "Somalia: Major Issues for Future UN Peacekeeping," in Warner (ed.): op. cit. (note 17), pp. 69-99; Wheeler, Nicholas J.: Saving Strangers. Humanitarian Intervention in International Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 172-207; Jan, Amin: "Somalia: Building Sovereignty or Restoring Peace," in Elizabeth M. Cousens & Chetan Kumar (eds.): Peacebuilding as Politics. Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 53-88; Shawcross, William: Deliver Us from Evil. Warlords and Peacekeepers in a World of Endless Conflict (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), pp. 65-103; Fishel, John T.: Civil Military Operations in the New World (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), pp. 189-207; Waal, Alex de: "Dangerous Precedents? Famine Relief in Somalia 1991-93," in Joanna Macrae & Anthony Zwi (eds.): War and Hunger. Rethinking International Responses to Complex Emergencies (London: Zed Books, 1994), pp. 139-159; Sapir, Debarati G. & Hedwig Deconinck: "The Paradox of Humanitarian Assistance and Military Intervention in Somalia," in Thomas G. Weiss (ed.): The United Nations and Civil Wars (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995), pp. 151-172; Oliver, April: "The Somalia Syndrome," in Roderick K. von Lipsey (ed.): Breaking the Cycle. A Framework for Conflict Inter-vention (New York: St. Martin's Press,

¹⁷⁰ On the concept see Pugh, Michael: "From Mission Cringe to Mission Creep," *Forsvarsstudier*, no. 2 (Oslo: Institutt for forsvarsstudier, 1997).

¹⁷¹ On MONUC see Malan, Mark & Joao Gomes Porto (eds.): *Challenges of Peace Implementation. The UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (Pretoria: ISS, 2004); Miskel & Norton: *loc. cit.* (note 159).

¹⁷² See above, note 100..

1997), pp. 119-148; Delaney, Douglas E.: "Cutting, Running, or Otherwise? The US Decision to Withdraw from Somalia," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2004), pp. 28-46.

174 Good works on the geniocide include Prunier, Gérard: *The Rwanda Crisis. History of a Genocide*. 2nd ed. (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1999); Gourevitch, Philip: *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families. Stories from Rwanda* (London: Picador; 2000); Adelman, Howard & Astri Suhrke (red.): *The Path of a Genocide. The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000); Mamdani. Mahmood: *When Victims Become Killers. Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Oxford: James Currey., 2001); Melvern, Linda: *A People Betrayed. The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide* (London: Zed Books, 2000); ida: *Conspiracy to Murder. The Rwandan Genocide* (London: Verso, 2004). See also the momoirs of two of the central UN staff: Dallaire, Roméo: *Shake Hands with the Devil. The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (Toronto: Random Hourse Canada, 2003); and Khan, Shaharyar K.: *The Shallow Graves of Rwanda* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000). For an internal, and partly self-critical assessment by the UN see "Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," *UN Documents* S/1999/1257.

¹⁷⁵ On this hate radio see Chalk, Frank: "Hate Radio in Rwanda," in Adelman & Suhrke (eds.): op. cit. (note 174), pp. 93-107; Li, Darryl: "Echoes of Violence: Considerations on Radio and Genocide in Rwanda," *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2004), pp. 9-27. See also the verdict by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR): *The Prosecutor v. Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza and Hassan Ngeze*, Case no. ICTR-99-52-T, pp. 117-211. About the jamming option see McKinney, Tiffany: "Radio Jamming: The Disarmament of Radio Propaganda," *Small War and Insurgencies*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2002), pp. 111-144.

¹⁷⁶ On *Opération Turquoise* see Prunier, Gerard: "Opération Turquoise: A Humanitarian Escape from a Political Dead End," in Adelman & Suhrke (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 174), pp. 281-305.

¹⁷⁷ See, for instance, Gnamo, Abbas H.: "The Role of the Interahamwe in the Regional Conflict: The Origins of Unrest in Kivu, Zaïre," in Howard Adelman & Goving C. Rao (eds.): *War and Peace in Zaire/Congo* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004), pp. 85-108; Longman, Timothy: "The Complex Reasons for Rwanda's Engagement in Congo," in Clark (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 159), pp.129-144.

¹⁷⁸ See, for instance, Bruegel, J. W.: "German Diplomacy and the Sudeten Question before 1938," *International Affairs*, vol. 37, no. 3 (1961), pp. 323-331; Robbins, Keith G.: "Konrad Henlein, the Sudeten Question and British Foreign Policy," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 12, no. 4 (1969), pp. 674-697; Aulach, Harindar: "Britain and the Sudeten Issue, 1938: The Evolution of a Policy," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1983), pp. 233-259; Svasek, Maruska: "Narratives of 'Home' and 'Homeland': The Symbolic Construction and Appropriation of the Sudeten German Heimat," *Identities*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2002), pp. 495-513; Bahm, Karl F.: "The Inconveniences of Nationality: German Bohemians, the Disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Attempt to Create a 'Sudeten German' Identity," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 27, no. 3 (1999), pp. 375-405; Lumans, Valdis O.: "The Ethnic German Minority of Slovakia and the Third Reich, 1938-45," *Central European History*, vol. 15, no. 3 (1982), pp. 266-296.

¹⁷⁹ UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: "Ranking of Military and Civilian Police Contributions to UN Operations,," at www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2005/March2005_2.pdf.

¹⁸⁰ At www.ictr.org/ENGLISH/Resolutions/955e.htm, which also includes the statute of the ICTR. See also Boed, Roman: "The United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: Its Establishment, Work and Impact on International Criminal Justice," *Perspectives: Central*

European Review of International Affairs; vol. 17 (2001), pp. 59-67; Meernik, James: "Proving and Punishing Genocide at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda," International Criminal Law Review, vol. 4, no. 1 (2004), pp. 65-81; Symons, Louise: "The Inherent Powers of the ICTY and ICTR," ibid., vol. 3, no. 4 (2003), pp. 3689-405; Humphrey, Michael: "International Intervention, Justice and National Reconciliation: the Role of the ICTY and ICTR in Bosnia and Rwanda," Journal of Human Rights, vol. 2, no. 4 (2003), pp. 495-505; Yacoubian Jr., George S.: "Evaluating the Efficacy of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia;" World Affairs, vol. 165, no. 3 (2003), pp. 133-142; Thornton, Brenda Sue: "The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: A Report from the Field," Journal of International Affairs, vol. 52, no. 2 (1999), pp. 639-646.

- ¹⁸¹ See "Jurisdiction of the ICTR" [www.ictr.org/ENGLISH/geninfo/ictrlaw.htm#2], which distinguishes between *ratione materiae*, *ratione tempore* and *ratione personae et ratione loci*.
- ¹⁸² See at ICTR: "Rules of Procedure and Evidence," at www.ictr.org/ENGLISH/rules/index. htm
- ¹⁸³ ICTR: "Completed Cases," at www.ictr.org/default.htm. The sentences are available at www.ictr.org/default.htm. See also summaries at www.wcl.american.edu/ warcrimes/ictr_judgements.cfm.
- ¹⁸⁴ ICTR: "Cases in Progress," at www.ictr.org/default.htm.
- ¹⁸⁵ Uvin, Peter & Mironko, Charles: "Western and Local Approaches to Justice in Rwanda," *Global Governance*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2003), pp. 219-231.
- ¹⁸⁶ "The Prosecutor v. Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza and Hassan Ngeze," at www.ictr.org/ ENGLISH/cases/Ngeze/judgement/mediatoc.pdf . See also Anon: "International Law Genocide U.N. Tribunal Finds that Mass Media Hate Speech Constitutes Genocide, Incitement to Genocide, and Crimes against Humanity Prosecutor v. Nahimana, Barayagwiza, and Ngese (Media Case). Case No. ICTR-99-52-T," *Harvard Law Review*, vol. 117, no. 8 (2004), pp. 2769-2776.
- ¹⁸⁷ For a rather emotional argument in favour of the situation constituting a genocide see Straus, Scott: "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 1 (2005), pp. 123-133. See also Jurisic, Andjela: "Report from the Field. Who Can Fill the Protection Gaps? The Situation on the Dafur Ground," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2005), pp. 111-119.
- ¹⁸⁸ On the crisis see Steidle, Brian: "Ceasefire, Sudan Style," World Policy Journal, vol. 22, no. 1 (2005), pp. 1-8; Jurisic, Andjella: "Who Can Fill the Protection Gaps? The Situation on the Darfur Ground," Small Wars and Insurgencies, vol. 16, no. 1 (2005), pp. 111-119; Mans, Ulrich: "Briefing: Sudan: The New War in Darfur," African Affairs, vol. 103, no. 411 (2004), pp. 291-294; De Waal, Alex: "Briefing: Darfur, Sudan: Prospects for Peace," ibid., no. vol. 104, no. 414 (2005), pp. 127-135; idem: "Who Are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement," ibid., vol. 104, no. 415 (2005), pp. 181-205; idem: Famine that Kills. Darfur, Sudan, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), passim, especially pp. vii-xxi on the present situation; International Crisis Group: "Darfur Rising: Sudan's New Crisis," Africa Report, no. 76 (Brussels: ICG, 2004); idem: "Sudan: Now or Never in Darfur," ibid., no. 80 (2004); idem: "Darfur Deadline: A New International Action Plan," ibid., no. 83 (2004); idem: idem: Darfur: The Failure to Protect," ibid., no. 89 (2005); idem: "Sudan's Dual Crises: Refocusing on IGAD," Africa Briefing, no. 19 (Brussels: ICG, 2004); idem: "A New Sudan Action Plan," ibid., no. 24 (2005). See also the following reports and briefing papers from Human Rights Watch (all available from www.hrw.org/doc?t=africa&c=darfur): "Darfur in Flames. Atriocities in Western Sudan" (2004); "Darfur Destroyed: Ethnic Cleansing by Government and Militia Forces in Western

Sudan" (2004); "If We Return We Will Be Killed': Consolidation of Ethnic Cleansing in Durfur, Sudan" (2004); "Darfur Documents Confirm Government Policy of Militia Support" (2004); idem: "Empty Promises Continuing Abuses in Darfur, Sudan," (2004); idem: "Sudan: Janjaweed Camps Still Active. Sanctions Urged for August 30 Deadline," (2004); idem: "Targeting the Fur: Mass Killing in Darfur," (2005); idem: "Sexual Violence and its Consequences among Displaced persons in Darfur and Chad" (2005).

¹⁸⁹ Jok, Jok Madut: *War and Slavery in Sudan* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Human Rights Watch: "Slavery and Slave Redemption in the Sudan", *Human Rights Watch Backgrounder*, March 2002, at www.hrw.org/backgrounder/africa/sudanupdate.htm; International Crisis Group: *Good, Oil and Country. Changing the Logic of War in Sudan* (ICG African Report, no. 39, 2002), p. 126;

¹⁹⁰ See "The Prosecutor of the ICC Opens Investigation in Darfur," *ICC Press Release*, 6 June 2005, at www.icc-cpi.int/ press/pressreleases/107.html; "Report of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court to the UN Security Council, June 2005," at www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Sudan/darfur/iccunscjun05.pdf . See also Du Plessis, Max &n Christipher Gevers: "Darfur Goes to the International Criminal Court (Perhaps)," *African Security Review*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2005), pp. 23-34.

¹⁹¹ See ICG: "Sudan: Towards an Incomplete Peace," *Africa Report*, no. 73 (Brussels: ICG, 2003); idem: "Sudan Endgame," *ibid.*, no. 65 (2003).

¹⁹² Seth Appiah-Mensah: "AU's Critical Assignment in Darfur: Challengesd and Constraints," *African Security Review*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2005), pp. 7-21.; International Crisis Group: "The AU's Mission in Darfur: Bridging the Gaps," *Africa Briefing*, no. 28 (Brussels: ICG, 2005). See also Slim, Hugo: "Dithering over Darfur? A Preliminary Review of the International Response," *International Affairs*, vol. 80, no. 5 (2004), pp. 811-828; Williams, Paul D. & Alex J. Bellamy: "The Responsibility to Protect and the Crisis in Darfur," *Security Dialogue*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2005), pp. 27-47.

See, for instance, Deng, Francis M.: War of Visions. Conflict of Identities in the Sudan (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995); Lesch, Ann Mosely: The Sudan. Contested Identities (Oxford: James Currey, 1998); See also Hutchinson, Sharon Elaine: "A Curse from God? Religious and Political Dimensions of the post-1991 Rise of Ethnic Violence in South Sudan", Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 39, no. 2 (2001), pp. 307-331; Jok, Jok Madut & ida: "Sudan's Prolonged Second Civil War and the Militarization of Nuer and Dinka Ethnic Identities", African Studies Review, vol. 42, no. 2 (September 1999), pp. 125-145; Manger, Leif: "The Nuba Mountains - Battlegrounds of Identities, Cultural Traditions and Territories", in Majjbritt Johannsen & Niels Kastfelt (eds.): Sudanese Society in the Context of Civil War (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, North/South Priority Area, 2001), pp. 49-90; Suliman, Mohamed & Axel Klein: "Inversion der Ethnizität: Von Wahrnehmung zur Konfliktursache. Die Fur- und Nubakonflikte im Westsudan", in Afrikanische Perspektiven. Friedensbericht 1998. Theorie und Praxis ziviler Konfliktbearbeitung in Osteuropa (Chur/Zürich: Verlag Rüegger, 1998), pp. 257-278; Rehman, Javaid: "Accommodating Religious Identities in an Islamic State: International Law, Freedom of Religion and the Rights of Religious Minorities", International Journal of Minority and Group Rights, vol. 7 (2000), pp. 139-166.

¹⁹⁴ See "Sudan – UNMIS–Mandate," at www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unmis/mandate.html. UNMIS has also established a civil affairs section and a human rights component, described at www.unmis.org/. The latter is, however mainly intended to monitor developments in Darfur and to liaise with the AU.

¹⁹⁵ A total of twelve lengthy reports were thus available by June 2005 at the UN News Centre's page on Sudan, at www.un.org/apps/news/infocusRel.asp?infocusID=88&Body=Sudan&Body1=.

¹⁹⁶ For an overview see "United Nations System in the Sudan Information Pack," at www. unsudanig.org/ system/index.jsp.

197 On the background see Giliomee, Hermann: "The Making of the Apartheid Plan, 1929-1948," Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 29, no. 2 (2003), pp. 373-392; Lovell, Colin Rhys: "Afrikaner Nationalism and Apartheid," The American Historical Review, vol. 61, no. 2 (1956), pp. 308-330; Dvorin, Eugene P.: "The Theory of Apartheid: Nationalist Racial Policy in the Union of South Africa," The Western Political Quarterly, vol. 4, no. 1 (1951), pp. 32-47. See also O-Meara, Dan: Forty Lost Years. The Apartheid State and the Politics ofn the National Party, 1948-1994 (Randsburg, SA: Ravan Press, 1996), pp. 59-82; Du Toit: op. cit. (note 115), pp. 151-178; Wallerstein, Immanuel: "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity," Sociological Forum, vol. 2, no. 2 (1987), pp. 373-388; Mabin, Alan: "Comprehensive Segregation: The Origins of the Group Areas Act and its Planning Apparatuses," Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 2 (1992), pp. 405-431; For a contemporary defence of the system see Manning, Charles A.W.: "In Defense of Apartheid," Foreign Affairs, vol. 43, no. 1 (1964), pp. 135-149.

198 On apartheid as an economic system see Terreblanche, Sampie: A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002 (Scottsville: University of Natal Press, 2002), pp. 297-370; Marais, Hein: South Africa: Limits to Change. The Political Economy of Tranformation (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998), pp. 7-82. On the various aspects of apartheid see Lundahl, Mats: "The Rationale of Apartheid," The American Economic Review, vol. 72, no. 5 (1982), pp. 1169-1179; Welsh, David: "The Cultural Dimension of Apartheid," African Affairs, vol. 71, no. 282 (1972), pp. 35-53; du Toit, Brian M.: "Afrikaners, Nationalists, and Apartheid," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 8, no. 4 (1970), pp. 531-551; Posel, Deborah: "Whiteness and Power in the South African Civil Service: Paradoxes of the Apartheid State," Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 25, no. 1 (1999), pp. 99-119; Landis, Elizabeth S.: "South African Apartheid Legislation I: Fundamental Structure," Yale Law Journal, vol. 71, no. 1 (1961), pp. 1-52; ida: "South African Apartheid Legislation II: Extension, Enforcement and Perpetuation," ibid., no. 3 (1962), pp. 437-500. On the special situation of the "coloured" group see Zegeye, Abebe: "A Matter of Colour," African and Asian Studies, vol. 1, no. 4 (2002) pp. 323-348.

¹⁹⁹ On the link between Christianity and the apartheid ideology see Dubow, Saul : "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'," Journal of African History, vol. 33, no. 2. (1992), pp. 209-237. On the role of the church in supporting apartheid see Ritner, Susan Rennie: "The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid," Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 2, no. 4 (1967), pp. 17-37; Nelson, Jennifer: "The Role of Dutch Reformed Church Played in the Rise and Fall of Apartheid," Journal of Hate Studies, vol. 2, no. 1 (2002), pp. 63-71; Lalloo, Kiran: "The Church and the State in Apartheid South Africa," Contemporary Politics, vol. 4, no. 1 (1998), pp. 39-55; Loubser, J.A: "Apartheid Theology: A 'Contextual' Theology Gone Wrong?" Journal of Church and State, vol. 38, no. 2 (1996), pp. 321-337; Kinghorn, Johan: "Social Cosmology, Religion and Afrikaner Ethnicity, Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 20, no. 3 (1994), pp. 393-404. On its declaration in 1986 of apartheid as "heresy" see Richardson, Neville: "Apartheid, Heresy and the Church in South Africa," Journal of Religious Ethics, vol. 14, no.1 (1986), pp. 1-21; de Gruchy, John W.: "The Revitalization of Calvinism in South Africa: Some Reflections on Christian Belief, Theology, and Social Transformation," ibid., pp. 22-57; Spykman, Gordon J.: "Afrikanerdom and Apartheid: Churches in Turmoil," Journal of Law and Religion, vol. 5, no. 2 (1987), pp. 275-283.

- ²⁰⁰ See Walshe, Peter: The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa. The African National Congress, 1912-1952 (London: C. Hurst & Co, 1970), pp. 379-421; Magabane, Bernard, Phillip Bonner, Jabuani Sithole, Peter Delius, Janet Cherry, Pat Gibbs & Thozama April: "The Turn to Armed Struggle," in South African Democracy Education Trust: The Road to Democracy in South Africa. Vol. 1 (1960-1970) (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004), pp. 53-146; Maaba, Brown Bavusile: "The PAC's War against the State," ibid., pp. 257-298; Fullard, Madeleine: "State Repression in the 1960s," ibid., pp. 341-390; Karis, Thomas G. & Gail M. Gerhart: From Protest to Challenge. A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990. Volume 5: Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979 (Pretoria;: UNISA Press, 1997), passim.
- ²⁰¹ Malhotra: Ram C.: "Apartheid and the United Nations," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Socia Science*, vol. 354 (1964), pp. 135-144; El-Khawas, Mohamed: "The Third-World Stance on Apartheid: The U.N. Record," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1971), pp. 443-452; Newell M. Stultz: "The Apartheid Issue at the General Assembly: Stalemate or Gathering Storm?" *African Affairs*, vol. 86, no. 342 (1987), pp. 25-45
- ²⁰² On the arms embargoes see Wulf, Herbert; "United Nations Arms Embargoes against the Republic of South Africa," in Ian Anthony (ed.): *Arms Export Regulations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 238-244. On the general sanctions regime see *The United Nations and Apartheid*, 1948-1994. The United Nations Blue Book Series, Vol. I (New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations, 1994), *passim*. See also Stultz, Newell M.: "Evolution of the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Regime," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1991), pp. 1-23; Schwartzman, Kathleen C.: "Can International Boycotts Transform Political Systems? The Cases of Cuba and South Africa." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2001), pp. 115-146; Gerald Haines, Corrie: "The United Nations Challenge to Racial Discrimination in South Africa 1946–1950," *African Studies*, vol. 60, no. 2 (2001), pp. 185-204.
- ²⁰³ Korey, William: NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 'A Curious Grapevine' (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 95-116.
- ²⁰⁴ On the ANC's attitude to sanctions see Thomas, Scott: "The Diplomacy of Liberation: The ANC in Defence of Sanctions," in Greg Mills (ed.): From Pariah to Participant. South Africa's Evolving Foreign Relations, 1990-1994 (Johannesburg: The South African Institute of International Affairs, 1994), pp. 169-192. On the sanctions against the apartheid regime see Baker, Pauline H.: "The United States and South Africa: Persuasion and Coercion," in Richard N. Haas & Meghan L. O'Sullivan (eds.): Honey and Vinegar. Incentives, Sanctions, and Foreign Policy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), pp. 95-119; Davis, Jeffrey: "Sanctions and Apartheid: The Economic Challenge to Discrimination," in Cortright & Lopez (eds.): op. cit. (note 48), pp. 173-184; Hufbauer & al.: op. cit (note 48), pp. 221-248; idem, idem, idem & idem: Economic Sanctions Reconsidered. Supplemental Case Stories. 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1990), pp. 226-239; Simons: op. cit. (note 48), pp. 75-81.
- ²⁰⁵ On the role of the USA see Lyman, Princeton N.: *Partner to History. The U.S. Role in South Africa's Transition to Democracy* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2002), pp. 24-40. For a less favourable account on the US policy towards South Africa see Davis, R. Hunt Jr. & Peter J. Schraeder: "South Africa," in Peter J. Schraeder (ed.): *Intervention into the 1990s. U.S. Foreign Policy in the Third World.* 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), pp. 247-267.
- ²⁰⁶ Boutros-Ghali, Boutros: "Introduction," in *The United Nations and Apartheid (op.cit.*, note 202) pp. 1-132. The collaboration of the Special Committee with NGOs was mandated, inter alia, by a General Assembly resolution of 16 December 1966 (A/Res/2203A, XXI), *ibid.*, pp. 293-294; and in a resolution on "International Mobilization against Apartheid" of 24 January 1979

(A/Res/33/183B), ibid., pp. 349-350.

- ²⁰⁷ "Declaration of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Paris, 27 May 1981" (A/Conf. 107/8, 1981), *ibid.*, pp. 361-367, quote from p. 366.
- ²⁰⁸ Document A/Res/38/39b (5 December 1983), *Ibid.*, pp. 379-389.
- Anglin, Douglas G.: "International Monitoring of the Transition to Democracy in South Africa, 1992-1994," *African Affairs*, vol. 94, no. 377 (1995), pp. 519-543; Gastrow, Peter: *Bargaining for Peace. South Africa and the National Peace Accord* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995), pp. 72-74; Landsberg, Chris: "Directing from the Stalls? The International Community and the South African Negotiation Forum," in Steven Friedman & Doreen Atkinson (eds.): *The Small Miracle. South Africa's Negotiated Settlement* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994), pp. 276-300.
- ²¹⁰ See, for instance, Korf, Liezel & Johan Malan:: "Threat to Ethnic Identity: The Experience of White Afrikaans-Speaking Participants in Postapartheid South Africa." *Journal of Social Psychology*; vol. 142, no. 2 (2002), pp. 149-169. On the initial proposals for a white homeland see Ramutsindela, Maano Freddy: "Afrikaner Nationalism, Electioneering and the Politics of a Volkstaat," *Politics*, vol. 18, no. 3 (1998), pp. 179-188.
- ²¹¹ Lijphart, Arend: "Consociational Democracy," World Politics, vol. 21, no. 2. (1969), pp. 207-225; idem: "Consociational Theory: Problems and Prospects. A Reply," Comparative Politics, vol. 13, no. 3 (1981), pp 355-360; du Toit, Pierre: "Consociational Democracy and Bargaining Power," ibid., vol. 19, no. 4 (1987), pp. 419-430; Steiner, Jurg: "Research Strategies beyond Consociational Theory," The Journal of Politics, vol. 43, no. 4. (1981), pp. 1241-1250; Barry, Brian: "Political Accommodation and Consociational Democracy," British Journal of Political Science, vol. 5, no. 4 (1975), pp. 477-505; Lustick, Ian: "Stability in Deeply Divided Societies: Consociationalism versus Control," World Politics, vol. 31, no. 3 (1979), pp. 325-344. On the theory's application to South Africa see Lijphart, Aron: Power-Sharing in South Africa (Berkeley, CA: Institute of International Studies, 1985); idem: "South African Democracy: Majoritarian or Consociational?" Democratization, vol. 5, no. 4 (1998), pp. 144-149; Macdonald, Michael: "The Siren's Song: The Political Logic of Power-Sharing in South Africa," Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 4 (1992), pp. 709-725; Southall, Roger J.: "Consociationalism in South Africa: The Buthelezi Commission and Beyond," Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 21, no. 1 (1983), pp. 77-112.
- ²¹² Strand, Per: "Finalizing the South African Constitution: the Politics of the Constitutional Assembly," Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies, vol. 28, no. 1 (2001), pp. 47-63; Stacey, Richard: "'We the People': the Relationship between the South African Constitution and the ANC's Transformation Policies," ibid., vol. 30, no. 2 (2003), pp. 133-148; Williams, John J.: "Human Rights and Citizenship in Post-apartheid South Africa," Critical Arts Journal, vol. 15, no. 1-2 (2001), pp. 24-49; Hart, Vivien: "Constitution-making and the Transformation of Conflict," Peace and Change, vol. 26, no. 2 (2001), pp. 153-176; Singh, Anand: "The Constitution, Ethnicity and Minority Rights in Post-Apartheid South Africa," South African Journal of Ethnology, vol. 24, no. 1 (2001), pp. 17-24; Van Huyssteen, Elsa: "The Constitutional Court and the Redistribution of Power in South Africa: Towards Transformative Constitutionalism," African Studies, vol. 59, no. 2 (2000), pp. 245-265; Johnston, Alexander: "South Africa: The Election and the Emerging Party System," International Affairs, vol. 70, no. 4 (1994), pp. 721-736; Mbete-Kgositsile, Baleka: "The Principal Actors in the South African Constitution-Making Process," in Hyden & Venter (eds.): op. cit. (note 125), pp. 25-42; Hayson, Fink: "Special Features and Mechanisms in Negotiating the South African Constitution," ibid., pp. 93-113; Ebrahim, Hassen: "The Public Participation Process in South Africa," ibid., pp. 153-161; Ottaway, Marina: South Africa. The Struggle for a

New Order (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1993), pp. 89-113.

²¹⁷ Ball, Nicole: Security and Economy in the Third World (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); Dumas, Lloyd J.: "The Role of Demilitarization in Promoting Democracy and Prosperity in Africa," in Jurgen Brauer & J. Paul Dunne (eds.): Arming the South. The Economics of Military Expenditure, Arms Production and Arms Trade in Developing Countires (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 15-34; Olaniyi, Oyinlola: "Military Spending and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Supply-Side Analysis," ibid., pp. 275-290; Büttner, V. & J. Krause (eds.): Rüstung statt Entwicklung? Sicherheitspolitik, Militärausgaben und Rüstungskontrolle in der Dritten Welt (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995); Norman A. Graham (ed.): Seeking Security and Development. The Impact of Military Spending and Arms Transfers (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994); Väyrynen, Raimo: Military Industrialization and Economic Development. Theory and Historical Case Studies (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1992); Deger, Saadet & Somnath Sen: "Military Expenditure and Developing Countries," in Keith Hartley & Todd Sandler (eds.): Handbook of Defence Economics, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1995), pp. 275-308; Kusi, Newman Kwadwo: "Economic Growth and Defense Spending in Developing Countries. A Causal Analysis," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 38, no. 1 (March 1994), pp. 152-159; Adeola, Francis O.: "Military Expenditure, Health, and Education: Bedfellows or Antagonists in Third World Development," Armed Forces and Society, vol. 22, no. 3 (Spring 1996), pp. 441-467; Looney, Robert E. & David Winterford: Economic Causes and Consequences of Defense Expenditures in the Middle East and South Asia (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995); Mohammed, Nadir A.L. & Jean K. Rhisen: "The Economics of Disarmament in Africa," in Nils Petter Gleditsch, Olav Bjerkholt, Ådne Cappelen, Ron P. Smith & J. Paul Dunne (eds.): The Peace Dividend (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1996), pp. 359-380; Sandler, Todd & Keith Hartley: The Economics of Defense (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 200-220; Mohammed, Nadir Abdel Latif: "The Development Trap: Militarism, Environmental Degradation and Poverty in the South", in Geoff Tansey, Kath Tansey & Paul Rogers (eds.): A World Divided. Militarism and Development after the Cold War (London: Eartscan Publications, 1994), pp. 44-66.

²¹⁸ On relative deprivation see Gurr, Ted Robert: *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970). On youth bulges see Urdal, Henrik: "The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000", *Social Development Papers. Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction*, no. 14 (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2004); Cincotta, Richard P., Robert Engelman & Daniele Anastasion: *The Security Demographic. Population and Civil Conflict after the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Population Action International, 2003); Lisa Mastny & idem: "Examining the Connections Between Population and Security", Chapter 2 in World Watch Institute: *State of the World 2005: Redefining Global Security* (Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute, 2005).

²¹⁹ The main legal instruments are the "Convention on the Rights of the Child" (1989, in force September 2000) at www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/k2crc.htm, especially para 38; the associated "Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict" (2000, in force February)

²¹³ Quote from Hobbes, Thomas: *Leviathan* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 186.

Walle, Nicolas van de: African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), passim.

²¹⁵ Figures from UNDP: Human Development Report 2003. Millennium Development Goals: A Compact among Nations to End Human Poverty (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 41.

²¹⁶ Benoit, Emile: *Defense and Economic Growth in Developing Countries* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973).

2002), at www.unhchr.ch/html/menu2/6/ protocolchild.htm (on the ratification of these two see Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights: "Status of Ratifications of the Principal International Human Rights Treaties as of 9 June 2004", at www.UNHCHR. Ch/Pdf/Report.Pdf); International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 182 on "Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour" (1999, in force November 2002), at www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp1.htm, especially para 3a; "Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court" (1998, in force July 2002), at www.un.org/law/icc/statute/ romefra.htm, art. 8.b.26; "African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child", OAU Documents, no. CAB/LEG/24.9/49 (1990, in force November 1999), at www.africaninstitute. org/eng/afSystem/child/afcharter.php especially art. 22 (on the ratification status see www1.umn. edu/humanrts/instree/afchildratifications.html); Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions (1977), no. I, art. 77.2 and II, art. 4.3c, available from www.genevaconventions.org/ (ratification status at www.icrc.org/). In addition to these inernational agreements, the UN Security Council has passed several resolutions on "Children and Armed Conflict", including UNSCR 1261 (1999), 1314 (2000), 1379 (2001), 1460 (2003) and 1539 (2004) (all available at www.un.org/Docs/sc/ unsc_resolutions.html).

See Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers: Child Soldiers Global Report 2004 (London: CSUCS, 2004), p. 31. See also Machel, Graça: "Impact of Armed Conflict on Children. Report of the expert of the Secretary-General, Ms. Graça Machel, submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution 48/157," UN Documents, A/51/306 (26 August 1996), at www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf; Annan, Kofi: "Protection of Children Affected by Armed Conflict. Note by the Secretary-General," UN Documents, no. A/57/402 (25 September 2002); idem: "Children and Armed Conflict. Report of the Secretary-General", UN Documents, no. A/59/695-S/2005/72 (9 February 2005); Goodwin-Gill, Guy & Ilene: Child Soldiers. The Role of Children in Armed Conflicts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Furley, Oliver: "Child Soldiers in Africa", in idem (ed.): op.cit. (note 101), pp. 28-45; Maxted, Julia: "Children and Armed Conflict in Africa", Social Identities, vol. 9, no. 1 (2003), pp. 51-72; UNICEF: State of the World's Children 2005. Childhood under Stress (New York: UNICEF, 2005), pp. 39-65; Twum-Danso, Afua: "Africa's Young Soldiers. The Co-optation of Childhood," IIS Monograph Series, no. 82 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2003); Wessells, Michael: "Recruitment of Children as Soldiers in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Ecological Analysis," in Mjøset & Holde (eds.): op. cit. (note 138), pp. 237-254; Brett, Rachel and Margaret McCallin, Children: The Invisible Soldiers (Stockholm: Radda Barnen, 1998); Bennett, Elizabeth, Virginia Gamba and Deirdre van der Merwe (eds.): ACT Against Child Soldiers in Africa: A Reader (Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies, 2000).

²²¹ Based on Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers: *op. cit.* (note 220), pp. 335-353 & *passim* (country reports); and Annan: *op. cit.* (note 220), pp. 36-40.

²²² See Mazurana, Dyan, Susan McKay, Khristopher Carlson and Janel Kasper,: "Girls in Fighting Forces and Groups: Their Recruitment, Participation, Demobilisation and Reintegration," *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2002), pp. 97-124; Nordstrom, Carolyn, *Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions* (Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute, 1997); Kearns, Yvonne E.: "The Voices of Girl Soldiers" (New York: Quakers United Nations Office, October 2002), at www.quno.org/newyork/Resources/ QUNOchildsoldiers.pdf); McKay, Susan: "Girls in Militaries, Paramilitaries, and Armed Opposition Groups," at www.waraffectedchildren. gc.ca/girls-en.asp; ida & Diane Mazurana: *Where Are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique:Their Lives During and After War* (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004).

²²³ See Human Rights Watch: "How to Fight, How to Kill: Child Soldiers in Liberia," HRW

Report, vol. 16, no.l 2A (2004); idem: "Forgotten Fighters: Child Soldiers in Angola," ibid., vol. 15, no. 10A (2003); idem: "Stolen Children: Abduction and Recruitment in Northern Uganda," ibid., no. 7A (2003); International Labour Office, ILO: Wounded Childhood. The Use of Children in Armed Conflict in Central Africa (Geneva: ILO, 2003); UNICEF: "Case Study of Children from the Fighting Forces in Sierra Leone" (Document prepared for the International Conference on War-Affected Children, Winnipeg, September 2000) at www.waraffectedchildren.gc.ca/Sierre-Leone-en.asp; UN-OCHA & IRIN: When the Sun Sets, We Start to Worry. An Account of Life in Northern Uganda (Nairobi: OCHA RSO-DEA, 2003), at www.waraffectedchildren.gc.ca/When%20the%20sun%20goes%20down.pdf; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children: No Safe Place to Call Home. Child and Adolescent Night Commuters in Northern Uganda (New York: WCRWC, 2004), at www.waraffectedchildren.gc.ca/Night%20Commuters. pdf; Amnesty International: "Child Soldiers: Criminals or Victims", AI Index, IOR 50/02/00, December 2000..

Tétreault, Mary Ann: "Justice for All: Wartime Rape and Women's Rights", Global Governance, vol. 3, no. 2 (1997), pp. 197-212; Koo, Katrina Lee: "Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness: Women, War and Rape in the International Politics of Security," Australian Journal of Political Science, vol. 37, no. 3 (2002), pp. 525-536; Card, Claudia: "Rape as a Weapon of War," Hypatia vol. 11, no. 4 (Fall 1996), at http://iupjournals.org/ hypatia/hyp11-4.html; Skjelsbæk, Inger: "Sexual Violence and War: Mapping Out a Complex Relationship," European Journal of International Relations, vol. 7, no. 2 (2001), pp. 211-237; ida:: "Sexual Violence in Times of War: A New Challenge for Peace Operations?" International Peacekeeping, vol. 8, no. 2 (2001), pp. 69-85; Shoemaker, Jolynn: "Women and Wars Within States: Internal Conflict, Women's Rights and International Security," Civil Wars, vol. 4, no. 3 (2001), pp. 1-34; Gottschall, Jonathan: "Explaining Wartime Rape," Journal of Sex Research, vol. 41, no. 2 (2004), pp. 129-136.

²²⁵ On wartime rape in Liberia see Cain, Kenneth: "The Rape of Dinah: Human Rights, Civil War in Liberia, and Evil Triumphant," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1999), pp. 265-307, especially pp. 281-284; Swiss, S., P.J. Jennings, G.V. Aryee, G.H. Brown, R.M. Jappah-Samukai, M.S. Kamara, R.D. Schaack & R.S. Turay-Kanneh: "Violence Against Women During the Liberian Civil Conflict," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol. 279, no. 8 (February 1998), pp. 625-629. For a comprehensive survey of mainly wartime rape in the US armed forces see Morris, Madeline: "By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture", *Duke Law Journal*, vol. 45, no. 4 (1996), pp. 651-780. See also Littlewood, Roland: "Military Rape," *Anthropology Today*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1997), pp. 7-16.

²²⁶ On ex-Yugoslavia see Allen, Beverly: *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Minnea-polis, MI: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Stiglmayer, Alexandra (ed.): *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Jones, Adam: "Gender and Ethnic Conflict in ex-Yugoslavia", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1994), pp. 114-134; Lene Hansen: "Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 3, no. 1 (April 2000), pp. 55-75; Jones, Adam: "Gender and Ethnic Conflict in ex-Yugoslavia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1994), pp. 115–134; On Nanking see Chang, Iris: *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1997), *passim*. See also the website "The Rape of Nanking", at www.tribo.org/nanking/index.html.

²²⁷ See Banes, Erin: "Body Politics and the Rwandan Crisis", *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3 (2003), pp. 479-493; Sharlach, Lisa: "Rape as Genocide: Bangladesh, the Former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda", *New Political Science*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2000), pp. 89-102; Human Rights Watch: "Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence During the Rwandan Genocide and Its Aftermath", New York:

Human Rights Watch (1996); Rusell-Brown, Sherrie L.: "Rape as an Act of Genocide," *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2003), pp. 350-274; Jones, Adam: "Gendercide and Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2000), pp. 185-211; Schiessl, Christoph: "An Element of Genocide: Rape, Total War, and International Law in the Twentieth Century, *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2002), pp. 197-210.

- ²²⁸ Donovan, Paula: "Rape and HIV/AIDS in Rwanda," *Lancet*, vol. 360, no. 9350, pp. 17-19. See also Nikolic-Ristanovic, Vesna: "War and Post-War Victimization of Women," *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice*, vol. 10, no. 2-3 (2002), pp. 138-145.
- ²²⁹ See ICTR: "The Prosecutor Versus Jean-Paul Akayesu," Case No. ICTR-96-4-T, Judgement (2 September 1998), paras 731-733, at www.ictr.org/ENGLISH/cases/Akayesu/judgement/akay001. htm#7 8.
- ²³⁰ See also Askin, Kelly D.: "Prosecuting Wartime Rape and Other Gender-Related Crimes under International Law: Extraordinary Advances, Enduring Obstacles," *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2003), pp. 288-349; Goldstone, Richard J.: "Prosecuting Rape as a War Crime," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, vol. 34, no. 3 (2002), pp. 277-285; Lehr-Lehnardt, Rana: "One Small Step for Women: Female-Friendly Provisions in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court," *BYU Journal of Public Law*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2002), pp. 317-254.
- ²³¹ See The *United Nations and the Advancement of Women*, 1945-1996. Blue Book Series, vol. 6 (New York: UN Department of Public Information, 1995).
- ²³² The various legal texts are available at the homepage of the Rapporteur at www.ohchr.org/english/issues/women/ rapporteur/. See also Alleyne, Mark DaCosta: "The Global Promotion of Gender Equality A Propaganda Approach," *Human Rights Review*, vol. 5, no. 3 (2004), pp. 103-126; Bessis, Sophie: "International Organizations and Gender: New Paradigms and Old Habits," *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*; vol. 29, no. 2 (2004), pp. 633-647; Merry, Sally Engle: "Constructing a Global Law-Violence against Women and the Human Rights System," *Law and Social Inquiry*; vol. 28, no. 4 (2003), pp. 941-978; Joachim, Jutta: "Framing Issues and Seizing Opportunities: The UN, NGOs, and Women's Rights," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2 (2003), pp. 247-274; Otto, Dianne: "Gender Comment: Why Does the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Need a General Comment on Woman?" *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1-52; Kwong-Leung Tang: "The Leadership Role of International Law in Enforcing Women's Rights: the Optional Protocol to the Women's Convention," *Gender and Development*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2000), pp. 65-73.
- ²³³ Banuri, Tariq & Erika Spanger-Siegfried,: "The Global Compact and the Human Economy," *Journal of Human Development*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2001), pp. 7-17.

- ²³⁶ See Mulongoy, Kalemani Jo & Stuart Chape: "Protected Areas and Biodiversity: An Overview of Key Issues," *UNEP-WCMC Biodiversity Series*, no. 21 (2004). See also Parris, Thomas M.: "Watching Over Our Protected Areas," *Environment*, vol. 47, no. 5 (2005), p. 3.
- ²³⁷ The convention is available at www.cites.org/eng/disc/text.shtml. For a list of the endangered species see "Checklist of Cited Species" (2003), at http://sea.unep-wcmc.org/ isdb/CitesBook/data/CITES_checklist.zip. See also Willem Wijnstekers: *The Evolution of CITES*, 7th ed. (Geneva: CITES Secretariat, 2003).

²³⁴ Its homepage is www.unep-wcmc.org/.

²³⁵ Available at www.biodiv.org/doc/legal/cbd-en.pdf.

²³⁸ Full text available at http://whc.unesco.org/world_he.htm#debut.

On the linkages see Biological Diversity and Tourism. Introduction on the homepage of the Convention of Biological Diversity at www.biodiv.org/programmes/socio-eco/ tourism/default.asp. See also Stanford, Craig B.: "Gorilla Warfare," Sciences, vol. 39, no. 4 (1999), pp. 18-23; Perier-D'Ieteren, Catheline: "Tourism and Conservation: Striking a Balance," Museum International, vol. 50, no. 4 (1998), pp. 5-14; Weinberg, Adam, Story Bellows & Dara Ekster: "Sustaining Ecotourism: Insights and Implications from Two Successful Case Studies," Society and Natural Resources; vol. 15, no. 4 (2002), pp. 371-380; Di Leva, Charles E.: "The Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources through Legal and Market-Based Instruments," Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, vol. 11, no. 1 (2002), pp. 84-95; Ferraro, Paul J.: "Global Habitat Protection: Limitations of Development Interventions and a Role for Conservation Performance Payments," Conservation Biology, vol. 15, no. 4 (2001), pp. 990-1000; Stronza, Amanda: "Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives," Annual Review of Anthropology, vol. 30, no. 1 (2001), pp. 261-283. For more cautionary views see Stark, Judith Chelius: "Ethics and Ecotourism: Connections and Conflicts," Philosophy & Geography, vol. 5, no. 1 (2002), pp. 101-113; Higginbottom, Karen, Ronda Green & Chelsea Northrope: "A Framework for Managing the Negative Impacts of Wildlife Tourism on Wildlife," Human Dimensions of Wildlife, vol. 8, no. 1 (2003), pp. 1-23; Fennell, David A. & Ebert, Kevin: "Tourism and the Precautionary Principle," Journal of Sustainable Tourism, vol. 12, no. 6 (2004), pp. 461-478; Zhenhua Liu, Michael: "Sustainable Tourism Development: A Critique," ibid., vol. 11, no. 6 (2003), pp. 459-475; Russell, Andrew & Gillian Wallace: "Irresponsible Ecotourism," Anthropology Today, vol. 20, no. 3 (2004), pp. 1-2; Stem, Caroline J., James P. Lassoie, David R. Lee, David D. Deshler & John W. Schelhas: "Community Participation in Ecotourism Benefits: The Link to Conservation Practices and Perspectives," Society & Natural Resources, vol. 16, no. 5 (2003), pp. 387-413.

²⁴² Duffy, Rosaleen: "Peace Parks: The Paradox of Globalisation," *Geopolitics*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2001), pp. 1-26; Ferreira, Sanette: "Problems Associated with Tourism Development in Southern Africa: The Case of Transfrontier Conservation Areas," *GeoJournal*, vol. 60, no. 3 (2004), pp. 301 – 310; Singh, Jaidev & Henk van Houtum: "Post-colonial Nature Conservation in Southern Africa: Same Emperors, New Clothes?" *ibid.*, vol. 58, no. 4 (2002), pp. 253-263; McNeely, Jeffrey A.: "Conserving Forest Biodiversity in Times of Violent Conflict," *Oryx*, vol. 37, no. 2 (2003), pp. 142-152. See also Palm, Anne (ed.): *Cooperation or Conflict: Ways of Managing Scarce Natural Resources in Africa* (Helsinki: KATU. Citizens' Security Council, 1999), pp. 86-125.

²⁴³ Tripodi, Paolo & Preeti Patel: "The Global Impact of HIV/AIDS on Peace Support Operations," *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 9, no. 3 (2002), pp. 51-66; Bratt, Duane: "Blue Condoms: The Use of International Peacekeepers in the Fight against Aids," *ibid.*, pp. 67-86; Heinecken, Lindy: "HIV/AIDS, the Military and the Impact on National and International Security," *Society in Transition*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2001), pp. 120-127. See also a report prepared for the UN's DPKO: Bazergan, Roxanne: "HIV/AIDS: Policies and Programmes for Blue Helmets" (2004), at http://pbpu.unlb.org/ PBPU/Download.aspx?docid=596.

²³⁹ The list is available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list.

²⁴⁰ An excellent analysis of these dilemmas is Duffy, Rosaleen: *Killing for Conservation. Wildlife Policy in Zimbabwe* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000). See also ida: "The Role and Limitations of State Coercion: Anti-Poaching Policies in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1999), pp. 97-121; and Bulte, Erwin H. & G. Cornelis Van Kooten: "State Intervention to Protect Endangered Species: Why History and Bad Luck Matter," *Conservation Biology*, vol. 15, no. 6 (2001), pp. 1799-1803.

- ²⁴⁴ See Office of Mission Support, UNDPKO: "HIV Testing Policy for Uniformed Peacekeepers" (2004), at http://pbpu.unlb.org/PBPU/Download.aspx?docid=381.
- ²⁴⁵ Elhance, Arun P.: *Hydropolitics in the 3rd World. Conflict and Cooperation in International River Basins* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), pp. 53-83; Klare: *op. cit.* (note 53), pp. 138-160; Goldsmith, Paul, Lydia A. Abura & Jason Switzer: "Oil and Water in Sudan", in Jeremy Lind & Katherine Sturman (eds.): *Scarcity and Surfeit. The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts* (Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies, 2002). pp. 187-242; Flintan, Fiona & Imeru Tamrat: "Spilling Blood over Water? The Case of Ethiopia", *ibid.*, pp. 243-320
- ²⁴⁶ Mugisa, Anne & Henry Mukasa: "President Slams River Nile Demands", *The New Vision*, 2 April 2004, at www.government.go.ug/news/?myId=1011.
- ²⁴⁷ Johnson: *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 47-49; ICG: *op. cit.* (note 543), pp. 105-106; Goldsmith & al.: *loc. cit.* (note 39), pp. 204-205.
- ²⁴⁸ ICG: op. cit. (note 543), p. 106.
- ²⁴⁹ Homer-Dixon: *loc.cit*. (note 53).
- ²⁵⁰ See the website of the Nile Basin Initiative at www.nilebasin.org/; and those of the Waterpage (www.thewaterpage.com/nile.htm), of the World Bank (www.worldbank.org/afr/nilebasin/) and of the International Discourse on the Nile River Basin (www.nilediscourse.org/).
- ²⁵¹ At http://waternet.rug.ac.be/convention.htm.
- ²⁵² UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme): *Atlas of International Freshwater Agreements* (Nairobi: UNEP, 2002), p. 6.
- ²⁵³ See the case studies in Lind & Sturman (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 245). See also notes 81, 135 and 159 above.
- ²⁵⁴ Collier, Paul: "Doing Well out of War: An Economic Perspective", in Mats Berdal & David Malone (eds.): *Greed and Grievance. Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. 91-111; Ross, Michael L.: "Oil, Drugs, and Diamonds: The Varying Roles of Natural Resources in Civil War", in Karen Ballentine & Jake Sherman (eds.): *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict. Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 47-70; Cater, Charles: "The Political Economy of Conflict and UN Intervention: Rethinking the Critical Cases of Africa", *ibid.*, pp. 19-46; Ballentine, Karen: "Beyond Greed and Grievance: Reconsidering the Economic Dynamics of Armed Conflict", *ibid.*, pp. 259-283.
- ²⁵⁵ The reports are cited in note 159 above.
- ²⁵⁶ See above, notes 48 and 81.
- ²⁵⁷ Young, Helen, Abdul Monim Osman, Yacob Aklilu, Rebecca Dale & Babiker Badri: *Darfur 2005: Livelihoods under Siege* (Feinstein International Famine Center, Tufts University & Ahfad University for Women, Omdurman, Sudan, 2005), at www.unsudanig.org/emergencies/darfur/assessments/data/Under%20 Siege.pdf.
- ²⁵⁸ Based on the list of natural disasters since 1981 published by Reliefweb, based on *M-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database*, at www.cred.be/emdat/.
- ²⁵⁹ See De Waal: *op. cit.* (note 7); idem: *loc. cit.* (note 173); idem. *op. cit.* (note 188); Duffield, Mark: "Social Reconstruction and the Radicalization of Development: Aid as a Relation of Global Liberal Governance," *Development and Change*, vol. 33, no. 5 (2002), pp. 1049-1072; idem: "NGO Relief in War Zones: Towards an Analysis of the New Aid Paradigm," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 3 (1997), pp. 527-542.

²⁶⁰ Anderson, Mary B. Do No Harm. How Aid Can Support Peace – or War (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999).; Schloms, Michael: "Humanitarian NGOs in Peace Processes," *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2003), pp. 40-55.

²⁶¹ "Solemn Declaration on a Common African Defence and Security Policy", at www.iss.co.za/ AF/RegOrg/unity_to_union/pdfs/au/assembly/sirtefeb04/cadspdecl.pdf.

²⁶² See High-Level Panel: op. cit. (note 35), pp. 79-83.

²⁶³ On the hegemonic role of the two in their respective regions see Adebajo, Adekeye & Landsberg, Christopher.: "South Africa and Nigeria as Regional Hegemons", in Mwesiga Baregu & Christopher Landsberg (eds.): *From Cape to Congo. Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 171-204.

²⁶⁴ Leopold, Evelyn: "African Union Summit Crucial for UN Council reform," *Reuters*, 3 July 2005.

Defence and Security Studies at DIIS

The Defence and Security Studies of the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), which is funded by the Danish Ministry of Defence, began in 2000 and runs through 2009.

The Defence and Security Studies focuses on six areas: Global security and the UN, the transatlantic relationship and NATO, European security and the EU, Danish defence and security policy, Crisis management and the use of force and New threats, terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

Research subjects are formulated in consultation with the Danish Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The design and the conclusions of the research are entirely independent, and do in no way automatically reflect the views of the ministries involved or any other government agency, nor do they constitute any official DIIS position.

The output of the Defence and Security Studies takes many forms – from research briefs to articles in international journals – in order to live up to our mutually constitutive aims of conducting high quality research and communicating its findings to the Danish public.

The main publications of the Defence and Security Studies published by DIIS are subject to peer review by one or more members of the review panel. Studies published elsewhere are reviewed according to the rules of the journal or publishing house in question.

Review Panel

Christopher Coker, Reader, London School of Economics and Political Science Heather Grabbe, Advisor to the EU Commissioner for enlargement Lene Hansen, Associate Professor, University of Copenhagen Knud Erik Jørgensen, Associate Professor, University of Aarhus Ole Kværnø, Professor, Head of the Institute for Strategy and Political Science,

The Royal Danish Defence College Theo Farrell, Senior Lecturer, University of Exeter

Iver Neumann, Senior Adviser, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Research Professor at NUPI Mehdi Mozaffari, Professor, University of Aarhus

Robert C. Nurick, Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow

Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, Associate Professor, University of Copenhagen Terry Terriff, Senior Lecturer and Director of the Graduate School of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham Ståle Ulriksen, Deputy Director and Head of the UN Programme, NUPI Michael C. Williams, Professor, University of Wales at Aberystwyth

More Information

For more information about *The Defence and Security Studies* please consult DIIS's web site (www.diis.dk), or contact Head of Department of Conflict and Security Studies Peter Viggo Jakobsen at DIIS on tel: +45 32 69 87 63 or e-mail: pvj@diis.dk

For more information about the topic of this publication please contact Bjørn Møller on tel: +45 32 69 87 08 or e-mail: bmo@diis.dk