NOTES

1 The full case studies are available on request from ACORD.

2 The fall of the Berlin Wall was preceded by a number of significant nuclear arms treaties in the 1980s, such as the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, which also contributed to the reduction of this fear.

3 The number of wars taking place at any one time, and the exact numbers of war casualties, depend upon how a 'war' is defined. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI, 1987-1992) there have been 165 major armed conflicts since 1945 (35 in Africa), which have resulted in 40 million deaths. If the definition of armed conflict is extended to include genocides, democides, and ethnocides, 160 million people have been killed by their governments this century (Rupesinghe, 1992). A generally accepted definition of a major armed conflict is one involving more than 1,000 battle-field deaths. Despite agreement on this criterion there are inconsistencies in the records. Few official records are kept, especially of civilian deaths. SIPRI's emphasis on accumulated battle deaths means that civilian massacres and genocides are not taken into account.

4 The term 'low-intensity warfare' was applied to a number of conflicts during the 1980s, particularly in Latin America, to describe wars of destabilisation by powerful states against others using proxy guerrilla forces (for example in Nicaragua and Mozambique). While the wars may have been low-intensity from the point of view of the aggressors, the effects were far different for the victims.

5 Language is rarely neutral. These labels reflect a change in the meaning of war and in the perception of power relations. The labels 'local', 'low intensity', 'regional', or 'domestic' (applied by the North) describe wars taking place 'elsewhere'; and perhaps help to distance the North from any responsibility for them (Miller, 1992). For the purpose of this paper the term 'internal war' will be used as it reflects a theme of the paper: that responses to these wars require an understanding of the historical particularity of the context in which the wars are taking place.

6 The end of the Cold War, the economic strength of East Asian countries, and the economic crisis in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have created a problem with terminology used to describe what was already a heterogeneous range of countries. The term 'Third World' might now be more applicable to the former Soviet Union, than countries in East Asia (Berger, 1994). For the purpose of this paper the term 'South' is mainly used.

7 This concern is reflected in a growing literature among British NGOs since 1990 on the implications of the rise of armed conflict in the South: Agerbak 1991, Duffield, 1990; Panos, 1991; ACORD, 1991; ActionAid, 1993; Save the Children Fund, 1991.

8 The model of modern nation states can be traced to the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia.

9 This in part is due to the way in which 'security' expenditure is hidden. In South Africa, for example, the secret service was funded by the Finance Ministry, and 'homeland' armies from the development budget. Actual expenditure was usually higher than requested (Ball, 1991; 277-278).
10 These commercial links are one explanation for the refusal of the Nigerian military to hand over power to a civilian government. Commentators have noted similar links between the new military government in the Gambia and the military in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and Ghana, all members of the ECOMOG 'peacekeeping' force in Liberia (Dowden, Independent, 12/8/94).

11 This section draws on the work of Duffield on war and famine in Africa (1990) and subsequent work on 'complex emergencies' (Duffield 1992; 1993 with Prendergast; 1994a; 1994b; 1994c), and the parallel work of writers such as de Waal (1989; 1990; 1993) and Keen (1992).

12 This is reflected in the decline in, for example, British diplomatic representation in African countries. The British Foreign Office has stated, for example, that it would never reopen an embassy in Somalia. In many instances, NGOs now provide an essential channel of information for foreign ministries.

13 This form of war economy can also be seen in Bosnia, where 'warlords' have profited from the war. The Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic, for example, has been accused of profiteering (Independent 7/8/94). Significantly, UN peacekeeping contingents have also been accused of war profiteering (Ashdown, 'Bosnia: No way to run a war', Independent 8/8/94).

14 Relief for Rwandan refugees in Zaire, who include members of the former government and army who carried out genocide, might be an extreme example.

15 This draws on the work of ACORD, 1992b.

16 This section draws on the work of el Bushra and Piza-Lopez, 1994a.

17 The financial costs of peacekeeping are placing enormous economic strain on the UN. As of May 1993 contributions by Member States amounted to only $1.4 billion. The UN's problems stem partly from the financial squeeze placed on the UN by the Reagan administration in the 1980s, which perceived the UN as politically biased and financially irresponsible.

18 ACORD, December 1991. Also ACORD's case studies of programmes in Mali, Sudan, Uganda, and Angola.


20 It was reported that, at the time that UNOSOM II was offering a reward for General Aideed, he was also receiving regular payments from the UN for his forces, for facilitating the peaceful landing of US Marines from UNITAF. Also see Vines, 1994 on Renamo.

21 In spite of these efforts 12 staff members of ACORD lost their lives in the Rwandan crisis.
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Information on the organisations involved in the workshop

ACORD: A Consortium for Africa. ACORD (Agency for Co-operation and Research in Development) is a broad-based, international consortium of non-governmental organisations. The Consortium is independent of political and religious affiliations, and works under the trusteeship of its member agencies, in partnership with its field teams and local communities in Africa.

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