

INDEX

- Abdullah, King (Jordan), 59
Abu Shanab, Ismail, 59
Accord for Freedom Against
Terrorism, 85
Adams, Gerry, 19–20, 21, 53, 54,
69, 96, 120
Africa, weapons decommission-
ing in peace processes, 69
African National Congress
(ANC), 10, 24, 38, 43, 56,
97, 104, 106–107, 112
Bisho murders, 97, 99
Boipatong massacre, 97
leadership of, 98–99
murder of leader Chris Hani,
59–60, 98
in negotiations with South
African government,
107–108
power sharing in new govern-
ment, 109, 111, 120
violence against, 41
Afrikaner Resistance Movement
(Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, AWB), 56
“Agenda for Government,”
25
Agirre, José Antonio, 78
Agreement for the Pacification
and Normalization of
Euskadi, 80
Ahern, Bertie, 18
Ahtisaari, Martti, 25
Al-Aqsa intifada, 93
Alatas, Ali, 42–43
Álava province, 77, 78, 83–84
Amnesty International, in
Basque Country, 82
ANC. *See* African National
Congress (ANC)
Anglo-Irish Agreement, 10,
18–19
Angola, arms ownership in, 63
apartheid, 102–106
Arafat, Yasser, 38, 52, 54, 59,
68, 89–90, 91, 92, 93,
120
Arana y Goiri, Sabino de, 78
Argentina, self-amnesty after
Falklands defeat, 122
Al-Asad, Hafiz, 59
Association of Victims of
Terrorism (AVT), 82–83
Autonomous Basque
Community, 79
AVT. *See* Association of Victims
of Terrorism (AVT)
AWB. *See* Afrikaner
Resistance Movement
(Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, AWB)
Ayyash, Abu, 55
Aznar, José Maria, 84, 85

Balfour, Lord, 88
Ballymoney killings in
Northern Ireland, 96
Barak, Ehud, 68, 92, 93
Basque Autonomy Statute,
72

- Basque Country, 77–78, 116
 autonomy for, 79
 conventional crime in, 62
 development of Basque
 nationalism, 78–79
 emergence of “street gueril-
 las,” 61–62
 murder of Miguel Angel
 Blanco, 97, 99
 peace process in, 10, 57, 84–85
 police forces in, 72
 prisoner movement in, 67
See also Basque Homeland
 and Liberty (ETA)
- Basque Homeland and Liberty
 (ETA), 10, 52, 57, 61,
 77–78, 116
 cease-fire offered by, 84, 85
 claimed right to police areas
 under its control, 62
 “dirty war” against, 40–41
 emergence and development
 of, 79–83
 extension of cease-fire by, 50
 Spain’s response to, 83–84
 ties to IRA, 81
 violence by, 54, 59, 97, 99
- Basque Nationalist Party (Partido
 Nacionalista Vasco, PNV),
 78, 79
- Basque Popular Socialist Party
 (HASI), 80
- Basse Navarre province, 77
- Begin, Menachem, 90
- Behan, Brendan, 56
- Beilin, Yossi, 91
- Bell, Nicole, 43
- Berkowitz, Leonard, 120–121
- Bisho murders, 97, 99
- Blair, Tony, 22, 53
- Blanco, Miguel Angel, 97, 99
- Boer War, 103
- Boipatong massacre, 97, 99,
 108–109
- Botha, P. W., 105–106, 106–107
- British-Irish Council, 23
- Brooke, Sir Peter, 20
- Buthlezi, Mangosutho, 108,
 110, 121
- Cambodia, police and security
 forces in, 72
- Camp David Accords, 90, 91, 92
- Canary Wharf bombing, 22, 47,
 50
- Carter, Jimmy, peace treaty
 between Israel and Egypt,
 90
- catalytic episodes, in peace
 processes, 98–100
- cease-fires, 8
 success of peace processes
 linked to, 116–118
- Chad, 72
- Chile
 amnesty in, 123
 reparations laws in, 123
- Clausewitz, Karl von, 52
- Clinton, Bill
 Camp David Accords, 91, 92
 Northern Ireland peace
 process, 20, 21
- Coalition Government of
 Democratic Kampuchea, 72
- coalitions, formation of as part
 of peace process, 34
- cohesion, as factor when vio-
 lence threatens peace
 process, 98–99
- Colombia
 in Contadora Group, 10
 decommissioning of weapons
 in, 68
 ELN in, 43–44

- FARC in, 43, 99–100
 as member of Group of Friends, 10
 peace process in, 43–44, 99–100
- Coming Out of Violence project, 12
- community violence, 14, 61
 confrontational violence, 61–62
 “ordinary decent crime,” 62–64
 policy implications, 64–66
- Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, 106
- Conarky Accord, 72
- conflict resolution and
 violence and ethnicity, 12–13
See also peace process
- Contadora Group, 10
- Continuity IRA, 56–57, 118
- Coordinadora Gesto por la Paz de Euskal Herria, 82
- crime, as opposed to political violence, 62–64
- custodians of peace process, 8–9
See also guardians
- Darby, John, 11–12
- Dealers, 47, 48
 condemnation of violence by, 59–60
 as key people in peace process, 58, 119
 militant dealers and internal paramilitary violence, 57–58
 use of political violence by, 49
- decommissioning, of weapons, 51, 68–71, 117
- de Klerk, F. W., 107, 109, 110
- Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), 49, 59
- Democratic Unionist Party, 51
- devolution, in Sri Lanka, 31–32
- DFLP. *See* Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)
- Downing Street Declaration, 21, 38
- Dumcree, Orange Order parade at, 22
- EA (Basque Solidarity). *See* Eusko Alkartasuna (EA-Basque Solidarity)
- East Timor, security disengagement in, 42–43
- EE (Basque Left). *See* Euzkadiko Ezkerra (EE-Basque Left)
- Egin, 85
- Egin Irratia, 85
- Egypt
 closing of the Straits of Tiran to Israel, 90
 founding of PLO by, 89
- EHAS. *See* Basque Popular Socialist Party (HASI)
- El Salvador, violent crime in, 64
- election monitoring, 44
- ELN. *See* National Liberation Army (ELN)
- Eritrea, 69
- ETA. *See* Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA)
- ETA-militar, 81
- ETA-politico-militar, 81
- Ethiopia, 69
- ethnicity
 in Sri Lanka, 34–35
 violence and conflict resolution, 12–13
- European Union, 79

- Euskadi 'ta Askatasuna. *See*
Basque Homeland and
Liberty (ETA)
- Euskal Herritarrok (EH). *See*
Herri Batasuna
- Eusko Alkartasuna (EA-Basque
Solidarity), 79
- Euzkadiko Ezkerra (EE-Basque
Left), 79
- FARC. *See* Revolutionary Armed
Forces of Colombia (FARC)
- Fatah, 90, 92
- Frameworks for the Future, 21
- France, Basques in, 77, 83, 85
- Franco, Francisco, 78, 79, 80
- Gandhi, Indira, 33
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 27
- Garaikoetxea, Carlos, 79
- Garmendia, Francisco Mugica,
85
- Gaza Strip, 89, 90, 91, 93
as interim seat of new
Palestinian government, 92
occupation of, 40
self-rule for, 90–91
- Golan Heights, 90, 92
- Goldstein, Baruch, 55
- Gonzalez Marquez, Felipe, 83–84
- Good Friday Agreement, 22–24,
54, 58, 61, 67, 68, 72, 81, 84,
96, 99, 117, 118
- Government of Ireland Act, 18
- Great Britain. *See* United
Kingdom
- greedy spoilers, 47
- Groom, John, 122
- Group of Friends of the
Secretary-General, 10
- Grupos Antiterroristas de
Liberación (GAL), 83
- guardians
internal actors as, 9–10
state as one of, 10
- Guatemala
peace process in, 62
restructuring of police force in,
65
violent crime in, 64
- Guernica, bombing of, 78
- Guipúzcoa province, 77, 78,
83–84
- Gulf War, 91
- Haass, Richard, 13
- Hamas, 48, 52, 54, 59, 91, 92, 93,
116–117, 120
- Hani, Chris, 59–60, 98
- Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.
See Jordan
- HASI. *See* Basque Popular
Socialist Party (HASI)
- Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity),
59, 80, 84, 85
- Herzl, Theodore, 88
- Holland, Mary, 47
- Holocaust, 89
- Home Rule campaigns, 52
- Human Rights Watch, 41
- Hume, John, 20
- Hussein, Sharif (Mecca), 88
- Ibarretxe, Juan, 81
- IFP. *See* Inkatha Freedom Party
(IFP)
- India
end of British raj in, 27
partition of, 27
relations with Sri Lanka,
29–30
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP),
41, 48–49, 56, 108, 111,
121

- INLA. *See* Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)
- internal actors
 "guardians," 9–10
 role of, 9–10
- International Body on Arms
 Decommissioning, 22, 51
- International Research Program
 on the Causes of Human
 Rights Violation (PIOOM),
 12–13
- intifada, 91
- IRA. *See* Irish Republican Army
- Ireland
 partition of, 16–17
 settlement of, 16
See also Irish Republic;
 Northern Ireland
- Irish diaspora, 19, 20
- Irish National Liberation Army
 (INLA), 18, 56, 68, 97
- Irish Republic
 acceptance of "principle of
 consent" regarding
 Northern Ireland as part of
 UK, 19, 21, 23
 back-channel contacts with
 IRA, 20
 as guardian of Northern
 Ireland peace process, 10
 recognition of State of
 Northern Ireland, 19
- Irish Republican Army (IRA), 17,
 18, 20, 38, 54, 56–57, 97, 116
 arms decommissioning, 21–22,
 24, 69–71
 back-channel contacts with, 20
 Canary Wharf bombing, 21,
 22, 47, 50
 cease-fires declared by, 21, 22,
 53
 drug dealer killings, 58, 60
- IRA Army Council, 97
 murders attributed to, 51
 return to violence in 1996, 41
 war with security forces, 62
See also Continuity IRA, Real
 IRA, Sinn Féin
- Islamic Jihad, 48, 92, 116–117,
 120
- Israel
 banning of painful physical
 interrogation in, 40
 Herut party, 90
 independence and war with
 Arabs, 89
 Likud coalition, 90
 occupation of West Bank and
 Gaza, 40
 peace process in, 10, 116
 prisoner releases in, 68
 settlement of Jews on Arab
 land, 90
 in Six Day War, 90
 use of excessive violence by, 40
- Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 87
 earliest history, 87–88
 peace process, 55, 116–117
 decommissioning of
 weapons as part of, 68–69
 prisoner releases, 68
 signing of accord between
 Sadat and Begin, 90
 violence during, 116–117
- Israeli-Palestinian Declaration
 of Principles (DOP), 91–92
- Iturbe, Txomin, 84
- Jaffna peninsula, 35–36, 54
- Jericho, 91
- Jerusalem
 as international zone, 89
 taking of East Jerusalem by
 Israel, 90

- Jerusalem (*cont.*)
 taking of West Jerusalem by
 Israel, 89
- Jordan, 89
- KAS Alternative, 81–82
- KAS (Patriotic Socialist
 Coordinating Council). *See*
 Koordinatora Albertzale
 Sozialista (KAS-Patriotic
 Socialist Coordinating
 Council)
- Khmer Rouge, 72
- KLA. *See* Kosovo Liberation Army
 (KLA)
- Koordinatora Albertzale
 Sozialista (KAS-Patriotic
 Socialist Coordinating
 Council), 80
- Kosovo Corps, 69
- Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA),
 69
- Kumar, Krishna, 38–39
- IAB. *See* Patriotic Workers
 Council (IAB)
- Labourd province, 77
- LAIA. *See* Patriotic Revolutionary
 Workers Party (LAIA)
- LAK. *See* Patriotic Workers
 Committee (LAK)
- Latin America
 decommissioning of weapons
 in, 68
 peace processes in, 44
See also individual countries
- leadership, as factor when vio-
 lence threatens peace
 process, 98
- League of Nations, creation of
 Mandatory Palestine, 88–89
- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
 (LTTE), 10, 31, 32, 33,
 35–36, 48, 54–55, 62–66
- Liberia, 69
- limited spoilers, 47
- “long war” (attrition strategy) in
 Northern Ireland, 19–20
- Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF),
 49, 57, 118
- LTTE. *See* Liberation Tigers of
 Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
- LVF. *See* Loyalist Volunteer Force
 (LVF)
- Mac Ginty, Roger, 11–12, 69, 70
- McAliskey, Bernadette, 50
- McGuinness, Martin, 97
- McLaughlin, Mitchell, 58
- Major, John, 21, 41
- Mali, 69
- Mandatory Palestine. *See* Palestine
- Mandela, Nelson, 56, 59–60, 67,
 98–99, 101, 104–105, 106,
 107, 109–110, 118
- Mavericks, 47–48, 57, 59, 119–120
- Mayhew, Sir Patrick, 21, 69
- Mbeki, Thabo, 110, 112
- Mexico
 in Contadora Group, 10
 as member of Group of
 Friends, 10
- Middle East peace process, vio-
 lence affecting, 38
- Militants, violence by, 14, 46–50
 internal paramilitary violence,
 57–58
 policy implications, 58–61
 return to political violence,
 50–52
 spoiler violence by zealots,
 54–57
 tactical violence, 52–54
- Mitchell Committee, 40

- Mitchell, George, 22, 23, 24, 51, 54
 Mitchell Principles, 51–52, 59, 119
 Mitchell Report, 51–52
 Mitchell Review, 24
 Mitterand, François, 83
 Monday Accord, 72
 Moro National Liberation Front, 72
 Mozambique, 69, 71
 Muslim Brotherhood, 91
 “mutually hurting stalemate,” 97–98

 Namibia, 69
 National Defense Force, 71
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 90
 National Liberation Army (ELN), 43–44
 Navarra province, 77
 Nehru, Jawarhalal, 27
 Netanyahu, Benjamin, 55, 68, 92
New York Times, 43
 Niger, 72
 “no guns, no government,” 24
 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 10
 for human rights, 44
 North-South Ministerial Council, 23
 Northern Ireland
 “Agenda for Government,” 24–25
 Anglo-Irish Agreement, 18–19
 arms decommissioning in, 21–22, 24
 Ballymoney killings, 96
 British-Irish Council, 23
 Catholics’ view of conflict, 15, 16, 17
 conventional crime in, 62, 64
 creation of, 16–17
 development of civil society, 19
 Direct Rule in, 17
 economy, 18
 government abolished by Parliament, 17
 historical background of conflict, 16–17
 “long war” in, 19–20
 militant republicanism in, 17
 North-South Ministerial Council, 23
 Northern Ireland Executive, 24
 Omagh bombing, 49, 60, 96–97, 98, 99
 peace process in, 15–16, 19–20, 116, 117
 1990–94, 20–21
 1994–95, 21–22
 1998–99, 23–25
 cease-fires (1994–95), 21–22
 community violence, 61–62
 decommissioning, 51, 117
 Good Friday Agreement, 22–24, 54, 58, 61, 67, 68, 72, 81, 96, 99, 117, 118
 police and security forces in, 72
 political violence in, 50
 power-sharing assembly in, 23
 “principle of consent” regarding Northern Ireland as part of UK, 19, 21, 23
 prisoner releases in, 67–68, 122
 Protestants’ view of conflict, 15, 16, 17
 punishment beatings against “antisocial elements,” 57–58
 recognition of State of, 18–19
 religious imbalances in, 19
 remit of cross-border bodies, 23

- Northern Ireland (*cont.*)
 security disengagement in, 42
 the Troubles in, 17–19
 Victims' Commission in, 68, 122
 Victim's Liaison Unit, 122
 violence affecting peace process in, 38, 66
 Northern Ireland Executive, 24–25
 Nuremberg Tribunal method of victim recognition, 122
- Official IRA. *See* Irish Republican Army (IRA)
- Omagh bombing, 49, 60, 96–97, 98, 99, 120
- Opportunists, 47, 48–50, 57, 59, 119
 use of violence by, 49
- Orange Free State, 103
- Orange Order, 96
 parades, 62
 at Drumcree, 22, 96
- Oreja, Jaime, 52–53
- Oslo peace process, 52, 55, 68, 91
 Palestinian support for, 55–56
- Ottoman Empire, 88
- Pais Vasco, 84
- Pakistan, 27
- Palestine
 creation of, 88
 Jewish population of, 89
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 38, 48, 52, 89–90, 91, 120
 Covenant of, 90
 as Dealer, 48
 Oslo talks, 91
- Palestinian Authority, 53, 57, 64, 92, 91–92, 93, 98, 120
- Palestinians
 factional violence among, 57
 intifada among, 91
 in Israel, 10
 nationalism among, 89
 self-identity of, 88
- Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), 109
- Panama, in Contadora Group, 10
 paramilitary organizations, 46–47, 49–50, 52, 118
 integration of into normal society, 121–123
 internal paramilitary violence, 57–58
- Parnell, Charles Stuart, 52
- Partido Popular (PP), 84
- Partido Socialista de Euskadi (PSE), 79
- Pastrana, Andres, 43–44
- Patriotic Revolutionary Workers Party (LAIA), 80
- Patriotic Workers Committee (LAK), 80
- Patriotic Workers Council (LAB), 80
- Patten, Chris, 24
- Patten policing bill, 72–73
- Patten Report, 24
- peace agreements, 8
 internal, 9
 neutralization of zealots, 119–120
- peace process
 cease-fires linked to success of, 116–118
 definition of and other terms for, 11–12
 integration of paramilitary groups into normal society, 121–123
 management of security disen-

- gagement in, 41–43
 power holders and power seekers, 120–121
 principle of “sufficient inclusion,” 118–119
 role of violence during, 13, 96
 as catalyst for negotiations, 96–97
 violence and, 12–14
 People against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), 64
 Peres, Shimon, 38, 55, 91
 PFLP. *See* Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)
 Philippines, the, 72
 PIOOM. *See* International Research Program on the Causes of Human Rights Violation (PIOOM)
 PIRA (Provisional IRA). *See* Irish Republican Army (IRA)
 “Plantation of Ulster,” 16
 PLO. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
 PNV. *See* Basque Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista Vasco, PNV)
 police and security forces, reform of, 71–73
 political violence, 50–52
 replacement by confrontational violence after cease-fire declaration, 61–62
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 49, 59
 Popular Unity. *See* Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity)
 power holders, 120–121
 power seekers, 120–121
 power sharing
 within governing bodies, 34, 109, 111
 between political parties, 34
 PP. *See* Partido Popular (PP)
 primary custodians, of peace process, 8–9
 “principle of consent” regarding Northern Ireland as part of UK, 19, 21, 23
 prisoner releases, 67–68
 Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), 20
 proportional representation, 34
 Provisional IRA (PIRA). *See* Irish Republican Army (IRA)
 PSE. *See* Partido Socialista de Euskadi (PSE)
 PSOE. *See* Socialist Workers Party (PSOE)
 PUP. *See* Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)
 Pyrénées-Atlantiques, 77

 Rabin, Yitzhak, 38, 54, 91, 92
 assassination of, 55, 95
 Ramaphosa, Cyril, 25
 Reagan, Ronald, opposition to Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, 106
 Real IRA, 56, 96, 97, 118
 republicanism, in Northern Ireland, 17, 19
 Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), 43, 99–100
 Reynolds, Albert, 20
 Rhodes, Sir Cecil, 103
 road checks, 45
 Robinson, Peter, 51
 Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), 42, 44, 72
 RUC. *See* Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)

- Rwanda, 72
- Sadat, Anwar, 90
- Santacristina, José Luis Álvarez, 57
- Savir, Uri, 91
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, 57
- SDLP. *See* Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)
- Second Temple (Jerusalem), 88
- security disengagement, during peace process, 41–43, 44–45
- security industry, shrinkage of, 122
- Senanayake, D. S., 27–28
- Sharon, Ariel, 40, 93
- Sharpeville riots, 104
- Shukeiry, Ahmed, 89
- Sidiropoulos, Elizabeth, 63
- Sierra Leone, 72
- Sinai Peninsula, 90
- Sinhalese, in Sri Lanka, 29, 30–31, 31–32
- Sinn Féin, 19–20, 21, 53–54, 58
 in 2001 elections, 25
 arms decommissioning, 21–22, 24, 69–70, 69–71
 assumption of ministerial office by, 24
 as Dealer, 48
 Good Friday Agreement, 22–23
 inclusion of in peace process, 118
 peace talks with, 21, 22, 51
 rejection of violence, 96–97
 secret communications with Irish government, 20–21
 violence associated with, 52, 60, 120
- Six Day War, 90
- Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), 20, 22, 23, 24, 25
- Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), 83
- Sollenberg, Margareta, 12
- Soule province, 77
- South Africa, 101
 Afrikaner Freedom Front, 110
 apartheid in, 102–104
 arms ownership in, 62–63
 Boipatong massacre, 97, 99, 108–109
 conventional crime in, 62, 63
 decommissioning weapons in, 69
 Democratic Alliance, 111
 economic sanctions against, 105
 Great Trek, 102
 history of, 102–103
 inclusion of former militants into police force, 65
 internal paramilitary violence in, 57
 National Party in, 102, 104, 105, 109
 National Peace Accord, 108–109
 new constitution, 109, 111
 Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), 109
 peace process in, 10, 101
 leadership, 98–99
 monitoring of, 44
 negotiations, 106–107
 transition, 107–110
 undermining of, 56
 police and security forces in, 71
 political violence in, 38, 50, 117
 power sharing in, 109, 111
 prisoner releases in, 67
 racial tensions in, 63–64
 as “rainbow nation,” 110–111
 Rivonia trial, 105

- security disengagement in, 43
 Sharpeville riots, 104
 Soweto riots, 105
 "sufficient consensus" principle, 119
 truth commissions in, 122
 UN arms embargo, 105
 vigilantism in, 64
 Voortrekkers, 103
 South African Institute of Race Relations, 38
 South African National Peace Accord, 69
 Soweto riots, 105
 Spain
 Basque nationalism in, 10, 77-79
 government response, 83-84, 118
 peace process since 1998, 84-85
 relations with ETA, 50, 52-53, 79-83
 as member of Group of Friends, 10
 parliamentary democracy in, 79
 relations with ETA, "dirty war" against, 40-41
 Socialist Party in, 40-41, 83, 84
 Spanish Civil Guards, 65, 72
 spoilers, 13, 47
 violence by, 54-57, 97
 Sri Lanka
 assignment of bureaucratic positions in, 30-31
 attempts to quicken pace of change in, 34
 citizenship issues, 29-30
 conflict in, 27-28
 language and religion as issues, 28-29, 30
 management and resolution, 29-32
 stages, 28
 devolution in, 31-32
 ethnic tensions in, 34-35
 external factors affecting peace process, 33
 peace process in, 10, 33-36
 relations with India, 29-30
 "war for peace" strategy in, 40, 66
 state
 as guardian of peace process, 10
 violence by, 14, 39
 dirty tricks, 40-41
 policy implications, 43-45
 security threat, 41-43
 Stedman, Stephen, 8-9, 13, 47, 48
 Straits of Tiran, 90
 Sudan, 72
 "sufficient consensus," principle of, 119
 "sufficient inclusion," principle of, 118-119
 tactical violence, 52-54
 Tajikistan, 72
 Tamil Nadu, 32
 Tamil Tigers. *See* Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
 Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), 32
 Tamils, in Sri Lanka, 29, 30-31, 31-32, 40
 Terraza, Mario Rolando, 63
 Terre'Blanche, Eugene, 56
 timing, as factor when violence threatens peace process, 99
 total spoilers, 47
 Transjordan. *See* Jordan

- Transvaal, 103
 Transvaal Agricultural Union, 63–64
 Trimble, David, 23, 24, 97
 truth commissions, 122
 TULF. *See* Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF)
 Turaegs, 72
 Txelis, 57
- UDP. *See* Ulster Democratic Party (UDP)
 Uganda, 69
 Ulster Defence Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters (UDA/UFF), 18, 20, 51
 Ulster Democratic Party (UDP), 20, 51
 Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF). *See* Ulster Defence Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters (UDA/UFF)
 Ulster Unionist Council (UUC), 24
 Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), 23, 24, 25, 54, 69, 97
 Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), 18, 20
- United Kingdom
 back-channel communications with IRA, 20
 as guardian of Northern Ireland peace process, 10
 Labour Party victory, 22
 Palestine mandate, 88–89
 presence of troops in Ireland, 17, 18
 “principle of consent” regarding Northern Ireland as part of UK, 19
See also Northern Ireland
- United National Party (UNP), 27–28
- United Nations
 arms embargo against South Africa, 105
 establishment of Jewish and Arab states, 89
 mediations by, 9, 10
- United States
 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, 106
 involvement in peace processes, 10
- United Tajik Opposition, 72
- UNP. *See* United National Party (UNP)
- Uruguay, impunity law in, 122
- UUC. *See* Ulster Unionist Council (UUC)
- UUP. *See* Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)
- Vance, Cyrus, 109
- Venezuela
 in Contadora Group, 10
 as member of Group of Friends, 10
- Verwoerd, Henrik, 104, 110
 “veto-holders,” 118
 victims, recognition and care of, 122–123
- vigilantism, 64
- Viljoen, Constand, 121
- violence
 as an issue during negotiations, 66–67
 decommissioning of paramilitary weapons, 68–71
 policy implications, 73–75
 prisoner releases, 67–68
 reform of police and security forces, 71–73
 as catalyst for negotiations during peace process, 96–97

- categories of
 - community, 14, 61–66
 - emergence of new violence-related issues during negotiations, 14
 - militants, 14, 46–61
 - state, 14, 39–45
 - central role of in success of peace initiatives, 13
 - changing patterns of, 13
 - effect of
 - on internal negotiations, 8–9
 - on UN operations, 8–9
 - ethnicity and conflict resolution, 12–13
 - internal paramilitary, 57–58
 - peace process and, 12–14
 - political, 50–52
 - tactical, 52–54
 - vulnerability of peace process to, 38
- Viscaya province, 77, 78, 83–84
 - Voortrekkers, 103
- Wallenstein, Peter, 12
 - war-weariness, as catalyst for negotiations, 97–98
 - West Bank, 87–88, 93
 - control of
 - by Israel, 90
 - by Palestinians, 92
 - by Transjordan, 89
 - occupation of, 40
 - self-rule for, 90–91
 - Wye River Accord, 92
- Zahar, Marie-Joelle, 9, 117
 - Zartman, I. William, 13, 97–98
 - Zealots, 47, 48, 49, 53, 57, 59, 60, 117, 119
 - neutralization of, 119–120
 - spoiler violence by, 54–57, 97
 - Zionism, 88