

Index

Abepura incident, Papua, 103, 105 aborted plot scenarios, in Burundi, 66 Aceh conflict, Indonesia, 107 Act of Free Choice, Papua, 93-94 Afghanistan, 12, 19 Africa, decline in mass atrocities in, 13. See also Burundi; Sudan African Union (AU), 134 African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), 134-35 agency, individual, in Burundi's endgame, 72-74 AHRC (Asian Human Rights Commission), 88 Akol, Lam, 141 Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), 193-95 Ali, Abdel Wahab Abdel Rahman, 130 Allawi, Ayad, 198 alliances role in ending war in Bosnia, 172-73 in South Slav conflicts, 155-58 amnesty for political crimes, Guatemala, 41 anarchy, 123 Anbar province, Iraq, 192–93 ANC (National Constituent Assembly), Guatemala, 48 Anderson, Benedict, 58 Anfal campaign, Iraq, 11, 182 Annan, Kofi, 114 anti-atrocity toolbox model, 8, 18-19. See also atrocity endings Arab Iraq, conflict in. See Iraq Arab militias, in Sudan, 127–28, 136–37 ARBiH (Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine) Croat-ARBiH offensive of 1995, 172-73 Konjić, events in, 165-67 resistance to Bosnian Serbs by, 161 Sarajevo, events in, 170 weaponry disadvantage for, 163

Arias, Oscar, 48 armed conflict. See also specific conflicts by region or country atrocity endings and, 15-18 South Slav atrocities during, 155 armed interventions, international, 20-21. See also coercive intervention; international community armed resistance, atrocity endings and, 16. See also rebel groups; resistance movements Army Intelligence Directorate (D-2), Guatemala, 36 Arusha peace process, Burundi, 75, 78 ASEAN Charter, 100 Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), 88 asymmetric conflicts, 4-17 Athor, George, 143 atrocity endings. See also specific atrocities by country or region armed conflict story, 15-18 capacity, relation to, 15, 17-18, 22-24 dynamics of, 6-9 general discussion, 1-3, 25-26 historical-political change story, 9, 11-15, international engagement story, 18-24, 136, 143, 146, 174 limits of genocide studies, 3-5 perpetrator logic story, 9-11, 37, 143-44 quality of data available on, 5-6 reasons to study, 3 representative cases, 2-3, 5-9 AU (African Union), 134 Awakening movement, Iraq, 193-95 Azpuru, Dinorah, 33, 49



212 Index

Ba'ath era, Iraq, 182 constitutional status Bosnia-Herzegovina, 156 Badr Corps, Iraq, 190 defined, 155 Bagaza, Jean Baptiste, 59 fatalities, 160 Baggara Arab militias, in Sudan, 127-28 mass killing at Srebrenica, 167-69 Bosnian Croats. See also Bosnia-Herzegovina; balance of power, in Indonesian policy, 106-7 Balcells, Laia, 17 constitutional status, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 156 Balkan Wars, 154-58 defined, 155 Bangladesh, 2-12 fatalities, 160 al Bashir, Omar, 134, 139 split in political and military leadership of, 165 Bass, Gary, 12 Bosnian Serbs. See also Bosnia-Herzegovina Battle for Baghdad, Iraq, 193 constitutional status, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 156 Batutsi. See Burundi defined, 155 ending of war, 172-75 Beganović, Emir, 165 Bellamy, Alex, 20 fatalities, 160 Belo, Carlos, 100 Konjić, events in, 165-67 Biddle, Stephen, 195 Milošević's assertion of power over, 172-73 Biha, Léopold, 61 overview, 161-63 Blair, Dennis C., 114 Prijedor, mass atrocities in, 163-65 Bloxham, Donald, 38 Sarajevo, mass atrocities in, 169-71 Blue Nile conflict, Sudan, 132-33 Srebrenica, mass atrocities in, 167-69 Boban, Mate, 165 Žepa, events in, 169 Bolad, Daud, 137-38 Boyle, Michael, 172, 174 Bor massacre, Sudan, 141 Brett, Roddy, 4, 6-7, 12, 23 Bosnia-Herzegovina, 21. See also NATO bombing Bringa, Tone, 155-56 of Bosnia Brundige, E., W., 94 Buchanan, Thomas, 62 armed conflict and atrocity ending, 16 armed resistance and atrocity ending, 16 Burnett, Frances H., 56 atrocity endings, overview of, 161-63, 171 Burr, Millard, 125, 129 Buruma, Ian, 204 detention camps in, 164-66 dissent between national and provincial elites, Burundi, 2 armed conflict and atrocity ending, 16 documentation of atrocities, 6 armed resistance and atrocity ending, 17 dynamics of ending of atrocities, 7-8 background to ethnic violence, 57-60 end of war, 172-75 causal mechanisms governing endgame, 71-78 ethnic groups in, 155-56 civil war of 1994-2005, 65-66 as ethnically partitioned state, 156 during Cold War, 12 fatalities in, 14, 159-61 colonial rule, 58-59 general discussion, 175-76 counterinsurgency, 17 defining endings in, 67-71 independence of, 2 international community, role of, 21, 150-51, democratization in, 18 171, 173-76 documentation of atrocities, 6 dynamics of ending of atrocities, 6 versus Iraq, 3 ending as contested terrain in, 67 Konjić, events in, 165-67 limits on liberal governance in, 22-23 episodes of violence, 5 non-state actors, role in, 19 episodic endings in, 67-71 fatalities in, 60, 69-70 overview, 150-51 general discussion, 78-79 Prijedor, events in, 163-65 Sarajevo, events in, 169-71 independence of, 59 South Slav conflicts, 23, 151-59 individual agency in endgame, 72-74 Srebrenica, events in, 167–69 internal dissent, role in endgame, 75-76 state capacity, 22 international community, role of, 21, 76-77 Žepa, events in, 169 language of increase and decrease in violence, Bosniaks. See also Bosnia-Herzegovina 68-69



Index 213

military coups in, 61, 65
military junta, 61–62
military stalemate, role in endgame, 75
1959 Hutu Revolution, 61
1965 events, 61–62
1972 events, 62–64
1988 events, 64–65
1993 events, 65
non-state actors, role in, 19
overview, 56–57
patterns in endings, 66–67
peasant uprising, 64–65
periods of mass atrocities, overview, 60–61
perpetrator logic story, 11
realignment of political positions, 75–76
return to normalcy, 70–71
Rwanda factor, role in endgame, 74–75
state capacity, 18, 22
transformational ending, 6, 67, 71–77
victims, data on, 60–61, 69–70
Bururi Lobby, Burundi, 59–60
Bush, George W., 192
bushfire scenarios, in Burundi, 66
Buyoya, Pierre
Bururi Lobby, 59–60
individual agency in endgame, 72–74
peaceful transfer of power, 10
realignment of political positions, 75–76
reforms by, 64–65
Cambadia
Cambodia, 14 capacity, atrocity endings as related to, 15, 17–18
22–24
Carnegie Balkan Commission, 154
CASABLANCA faction, Burundi, 59 Catholic Church
support for East Timor by, 115
targeting of by Indonesian Armed Forces, 99
CAVR (Commission for Reception, Truth
and Reconciliation of Timor-Leste), 87, 89
92
Ćećez, Grozdana, 165–66
CEH (Historical Clarification Commission),
Guatemala, 29, 37, 44
Čelebići camp, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 166
Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of
Disasters (CRED), 125–26

limits on liberal governance in, 23, 24

```
Chimaltenango department, Guatemala, 46
Civil Defence Patrols (PACs), Guatemala, 39
civil society movements
  absence of, in Papua, 107-8
  supporting East Timor, 99-101, 114-15
civil war. See also Indonesia; Iraq; Sudan
  in Burundi, 65-66
  Lebanese, 199
  and other forms of violence, 3-4
civilian rule, return to in Guatemala, 30, 48-49
civilians, violence against. See atrocity endings;
     specific atrocities by country or region
"Civilization Project," Sudan, 129-32
Classe, Léon, 58-59
clergy, targeting of by Indonesian Armed Forces,
Clinton, Bill, 114
CNDD (Conseil National pour la Defense de la
     Democracy), Burundi, 65-66, 76
Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Iraq, 186
coalitions
  role in ending war in Bosnia, 172-73
  in South Slav conflicts, 155-58
coercive intervention. See also NATO bombing of
     Bosnia
  in Bosnia, 152, 159, 175–76
  effect on atrocities, 20-21
Cold War
  decline in mass atrocities after, 13-15
  Guatemala's internal armed conflict and,
  in historical-political change story, 11-15
  Latin America's experience of, 33-35
collective punishment, 42
Colombia, 34
colonial rule, in Burundi, 58-59
Commission for Reception, Truth and
     Reconciliation of Timor-Leste (CAVR), 87,
     89, 92
communist Yugoslavia, 156-59
Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), Sudan,
conflict. See also specific conflicts by region or
  atrocity endings and armed, 9, 15-17
  relation to victimhood, 204
  South Slav atrocities during, 155
  termination of, 13
Conley-Zilkic, Bridget, 7-8, 21, 23-24
Conseil National pour la Defense de la
     Democracy (CNDD), Burundi, 65–66, 76
constitution of 1985, Guatemala, 48
constitutional drafting process, Iraq, 186
Contact Group Plan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 173
```

Charge of the Knights operations, Iraq, 196-97

Charter of National Unity, Burundi, 72

Cerezo Arévalo, Vinicio, 30, 48

Chad, 136, 139

al Chalabi, Ahmed, 195

Chandler, David, 26



214 Index

definition of genocide, 3-4 conventional conflicts, 17 counter-coup, Burundi, 61 dissent in Sudan, 10 counterinsurgency. See also Guatemala grammar of violence, 24 Awakening movement in Iraq, 193-95 identity politics, 5 Blue Nile conflict in Sudan, 132-33 international community and events in Sudan, "drain the sea," in Guatemala, 17, 31 21, 24 and mass atrocities, 15-17 kinds of endings in Sudan, 7 militia wars of north-south borderlands in turbulence concept, 17 dead-end scenarios, in Burundi, 66 Sudan, 127-29 Nuba Mountains jihad in Sudan, 129-32 de-Ba'athification, in Iraq, 187 Tutsi, in Burundi, 63 Déby, Idriss, 139 "Declaration of the Shi'a of Iraq," 184 U.S. Surge strategy in Iraq, 192 counterrevolutionary violence, Latin America, Delić, Hazim, 166 Deliberate Force Operation. See NATO bombing coups d'etat of Bosnia in Burundi, 61, 65 democratization in Guatemala, 40-41, 47 and atrocity endings, 18, 21-24 CPA (Coalition Provisional Authority), Iraq, 186 in Indonesia, 108-15 CPA (Comprehensive Peace Agreement), Sudan, demographics, role in conflict in Iraq, 187, 201-3 135, 145 Department of Civil Affairs (S-5), Guatemala, 36, CRED (Centre for Research on the Epidemiology 42-43, 45 of Disasters), 125-26 des Forges, Alison Liebhafsky, 67 Criminal Investigations Department (DIC), detention camps, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 164-66 Guatemala, 36 development logic, in Guatemala's Croatia, 23, 154-58, 172-73 counterinsurgency campaign, 44-45 DIC (Criminal Investigations Department), Croats, Bosnian. See Bosnia-Herzegovina; Bosnian Croats; HVO Guatemala, 36 Cunningham, David E., 4 Dickens, Charles, 83 Dinka people, Sudan, 127-28, 141 D-2 (Army Intelligence Directorate), Guatemala, diplomatic sanctions, effect on atrocities, 20 dissent al Dabi, Mohamed, 138-39 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 10 Darfur, Sudan in Burundi endgame, 75-76 aftermath of conflict, 135-37 in Indonesia, 85–86, 110–12, 116 analysis of conflict, 137-40 perpetrator logic, 11 armed resistance and atrocity ending, 16 role in atrocity endings, 10, 25 atrocity ending in, 134-35 in Sudan, 140 fatalities in, 14, 18, 124-26 divide-and-rule governance strategy, in Papua, Hobbesian contests in, 137 87-105, 109 international community, role of, 21, 134-36, Dixon, Jeffrey, 13-15 146 documentation of atrocities, 5-6 militia wars, 127-28 Donia, Robert, 170 N'djamena Humanitarian Ceasefire Donje Selo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 166 "drain the sea" counterinsurgency, 17, 31 Agreement, 134-35, 146 overview, 133-34 Drooglever, Pieter, 93 Schmittian contests in, 137 al Dulaimi, Adnan, 202 al Dulaimi, Taha, 201-2 SPLA incursion of 1991, 137–38 Dumont, Donald, 62 state role in atrocities, 18-19 2003 null case, 138-39 2008 null case, 139 East Asia, decline in mass atrocities in, 13-14 Darfur Peace Agreement, 136, 145 East Timor, 2. See also independence movement, Dayton Peace Agreement, Bosnia-Herzegovina, in East Timor 170-71, 174 armed conflict and atrocity ending, 16

de Waal, Alex

armed resistance and atrocity ending, 16



Index 215

1 0	1 2 2 2 2 2
civil war, 89–91	relation to atrocity endings, 5
data on mass atrocities, 87, 89–92	ethno-nationalism, South Slav, 156–58, 172. See
democratization process, 18	also Bosnia-Herzegovina
documentation of atrocities, 6	ethno-sectarian politics in Iraq, 184–88, 197–204
dynamics of ending of violence, 7	European Union, 77
ending to mass atrocities in 1999, 109–15	Evans, Gareth, 25
general discussion, 115–16	
Indonesian invasion and occupation, 91, 96–97	Falintil, 97–100. See also resistance movements, in
internal dissent, 85–86, 116	East Timor
international community, role of, 21, 86, 97,	FAR (Rebel Armed Forces), Guatemala, 46
99–101, 113–16	tatalities in mass atrocities
leadership, role of, 86, 116	in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 14, 159–61
martial law in, 96–112	in Burundi, 60, 69–70
Operation Lotus, 91	during Cold War, 12
Operation Unity, 91–92	in Darfur, 14, 18, 124–26
overview, 83–86	decline in, 13–15
phases of mass violence in, 89–92	in Guatemala, 42
political shifts in 1980s and 1990s, 98–101	in Indonesia, 87–92
resistance movements in, 91–92, 96–101, 108–15	in Iraq, 15, 191
Santa Cruz massacre, 92, 95, 100	under Lucas Garcia versus Ríos Montt in
state capacity, 22	Guatemala, 42
Suharto's rule, endings to atrocities during,	in South Slav conflicts, 152–54
95–101	in Sudan, 14, 123–25, 133–34
UN-sponsored Popular Consultation, 96, 109–11	Federal Commission for Missing Persons in
economic pressure, due to atrocities in East	Bosnia, 166
Timor, 113 economic sanctions	Firmness 83 plan, Guatemala, 45–46
	fractionalized societies, and political
atrocities, effect on, 20	proportionality, 202–3
in Burundi, effect of, 74	fragmentation, in Iraq, 190–91
in Iraq, effect of, 182	Francework Agreement, Guatemala, 49
in Serbia, effect of, 172	Free West Papua Campaign, 108
in Sudan, effect of, 24	Fretelin, 89–91, 96–97, 99–100. See also
EGP (Guerrilla Army of the Poor), Guatemala, 35–38, 40, 46. <i>See also</i> Guatemala	independence movement, in East Timor FRODEBU party, Burundi, 73, 76
eliminationist ideology, in Guatemala, 32	Fukuymama, Francis, 151–52
Elmslie, Jim, 88	r ukuyinama, r iancis, 151–52
Elster, Jon, 77	G-2 (Military Intelligence Section), Guatemala, 36
Eluay, Theys, 103–6	Gaddafi, Muammar, 139
end of history thesis, 151–52	Garang, John
endings, atrocity. See atrocity endings	attacks on towns by SPLA, 140–41
Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF),	changes to SPLM, 142
132–33	commitment to assist in Darfur, 135
Esquipulas II Accord, Central America, 48–49	confrontation between SPLA factions, 141
essentialist violence, in Guatemala, 32	death of, 142
Ethiopia, 133	disintegration of SPLA, 142
ethnic cleansing, defined, 154–55	Gatalo, Vesilin, 150
ethnic partition	genocide. See also atrocity endings; specific cases
in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 156, 170–71, 173	of genocide by country
in Burundi, 56	definition of by Lemkin, 32
in identity-based conflict narratives, 127	limits of studies of, 3–5
in India, 13	mass atrocities in Guatemala as, 29, 31–33
ethnic violence. See also Bosnia-Herzegovina;	new consensus in studies of, 5
Burundi; Sudan	geo-historical narrative of atrocity endings, 9,
in Guatemala, 32–33	12–15, 18–19



216 Index

geopolitical context, Guatemalan internal armed conflict, 33-35 global war on terror, 19 Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, 32 Gordillo, Fernando, 41 governance reforms in post-Suharto period, Papua, 87-105, 109 grammar of violence, 24 Gramsci, Antonio, 71 Grandin, Greg, 33 Guatemala, 2 armed conflict and atrocity ending, 16 armed resistance and atrocity ending, 16 atrocity ending in, 44-50 Civil Defence Patrols, 39 during Cold War, 12 counterinsurgency, 17 coup d'etat deposing Lucas García, 40-41 coup d'etat deposing Ríos Montt, 47 documentation of atrocities, 6 dynamics of ending of atrocities, 6-7 episodes of violence, 5 fatalities in, 42 geopolitical context, 33-35 historical-political change story, 12 international community, role of, 49, 51 limits of mass violence under Lucas García, 37-40 limits on liberal governance in, 22-23 model villages, 44-45, 47 National Plan for Security and Development, non-state actors, role in, 19 onset of counterinsurgency under Lucas García, 35-37 Operation Ashes, 38-40 Operation Victory 82, 42-47 overview, 29-31 patterns of mass atrocity violence, 31-33 peace process, 48-50 perpetrator logic story, 11 Plan Firmness 1983, 45-46 Plan Sofía, 43-44 political transition, role in ending atrocities, 47-49 population control, 44-45 post-conflict situation, 50-52 Ríos Montt's counterinsurgency strategy, 41-42 state capacity, 18, 22 strategic defeat of guerrillas, 45-47 Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), 29, 35, 49 Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), Guatemala, 35-38, 40, 46. See also Guatemala

guerrilla movements, in Latin America, 34 guhagarara" phase of violence, Burundi, 69 "guhera" phase of violence, Burundi, 69 "gukara" phase of violence, Burundi, 68–69 Gusmão, Kay Rala Xanana, 96, 98-101 "gutangura" phase of violence, Burundi, 68 Habibie, B.J., 7 acceptance of peacekeeping assistance in East Timor, 107-13 dissent regarding East Timor, 110-12 Popular Consultation in East Timor, 96 reaction to economic pressure, 113 role of reformist agenda, 10 uncertainty during government of, 101-2 Haddad, Fanar, 5, 8-9, 21, 24 Hafner-Burton, Emilie, 22 Hale, Charles, 45 Hall, Jonathon, 13-15 Hambarine, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 164 Hamitic theory regarding Tutsis, 58 Harushingoro, Reverien, 64 Hashim, Ahmed, 185 al Hashimi, Tariq, 200 Hatta, Mohammad, 93 Hayden, Patrick, 51 Hegel, G.W.F., 58 Hima clan, Burundi, 59-60 Historical Clarification Commission (CEH), Guatemala, 29, 37, 44 historical-political change, and atrocity endings, 9, 12-15, 18-19 hit-and-run scenarios, in Burundi, 66 Hobbes, Thomas, 123 Hobbesian contests, in Sudan, 122-23, 137, 146 Holbrooke, Richard, 173-74 Howard, John Winston, 114 Hukanović, Rezak, 165 Hultman, Lisa, 20-21 Human Rights Watch World Report, 161 Hussein, Saddam, 11 el Husseini, Sayed Abdel Karim, 130 Hutus. See Burundi HVO (Hrvatsko vijeće obrane), 161, 165-67 Ibrahim, Khalil, 138 ICC (International Criminal Court), 125 identity politics in Iraq, 185-88, 198-99 in Sudan, 125-27 IDPs (internally displaced persons), Burundi, 61, 68, 70 IGC (Iraqi Governing Council), 185 Ilievski, Zoran, 158



Index 217

IMF (International Monetary Fund), 113 independence, of Burundi, 59	versus Sudans, 3 Suharto's rule, endings to atrocities during,
independence movement, in East Timor	92–101
active role of civil society, 108–15	institutionalist group, Guatemalan military, 40–41
fatalities between 1975 and 1979, 96–97	instrumentalist violence, in Guatemala, 31–32
mass atrocities against, 91–92, 96–97	insurgencies. See also counterinsurgency;
political shifts in 1980s and 1990s, 98–101	Guatemala; rebel groups
independence movement, in Papua, 93, 102–9.	Awakening movement in Iraq, 193–95
See also Papuan Freedom Organisation	during Cold War in Latin America, 34
indigenous communities, mass atrocities against	Hutu, in Burundi, 62–63
in Guatemala	renewal of in Iraq since 2013, 187–88
classification as internal enemy, 38-40	support of by Sunni Arab Iraqis, 187–88
dynamics of ending of violence against, 6-7	interethnic violence. See ethnic violence
onset of violence, 36-37	internal dissent
Operation Ashes, 38–40	in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 10
Operation Victory 82, 42–44	in Burundi endgame, 75–76
overview, 29–30	in Indonesia, 85–86, 110–12, 116
patterns of violence, 32-33	perpetrator logic, 10-11
peace process, 48–50	role in atrocity endings, 10, 25
political transition, 47-49	in Sudan, 140
population control, 44–45	internally displaced persons (IDPs), Burundi, 61,
post-conflict Guatemala, 50–52	68, 70
Ríos Montt's strategy, 41–42	International Commission on State Sovereignty
social base of insurgency, 35–36	and Intervention, 152
strategic defeat of guerrillas, 44–45	international community
individual agency, in Burundi's endgame, 72–74	and atrocity endings, 1–2, 9, 18–24
indoctrination, in Guatemala's counterinsurgency	Bosnia-Herzegovina, role in, 21, 150–51, 171,
campaign, 42–45	173–76
Indonesia. See also East Timor; Papua	Burundi, role in, 21, 76–77
Aceh conflict, 107	Darfur, role in, 21, 134–36, 146
armed conflict and atrocity ending, 16	East Timor, role in, 21, 86, 97, 99–101, 113–16
armed resistance and atrocity ending, 16	Guatemala, role in, 49, 51
balance of power as defining policy, 106–7	in historical-political change story, 12–15
during Cold War, 12	Indonesia, general role in, 21, 86, 116
counterinsurgency, 17	Iraq, role in, 192–93
democratization in, 18, 101–15	Papua, role in, 21, 86, 107–9, 116
documentation of atrocities, 6	rise of in post–Cold War period, 15
dynamics of ending of atrocities, 7	and South Slav conflicts, 158–59
episodes of violence, 5	South Sudan, role in, 21, 128, 144
fatalities in, 87–92	Sudan, general role in, 21, 128, 143, 145–46
general discussion, 115–16	International Criminal Court (ICC), 125
Habibie's reformist agenda, role of, 10	International Criminal Tribunal for the former
internal dissent, 85–86, 116	Yugoslavia, 159–60
international community, role of, 21, 86, 116	International Crisis Group, 186, 196
	International Monetary Fund (IMF), 113
leadership, role of, 86, 116 limits on liberal governance in, 22–23	International Parliamentarians for West Papua, 108
non-state actors, role in, 19	Iran, 185
Operation Lotus, 91	Iraq
	•
Operation Unity, 91–92 overview, 83–86	Anfal campaign, 182
	armed conflict and atrocity ending, 16
perpetrator logic story, 11	armed resistance and atrocity ending, 16
post-Suharto endings to mass atrocities,	ascendancy of state, 195–97
101–15	Awakening movement, 193–95 Ba'ath era, 182
state capacity, 18, 22	Da aui efa, 102



218 Index

JNA (Yugoslav National Army), 162-63 Iraq (cont.) Battle for Baghdad, 193 Jonah, James, 76 versus Bosnia, 3 Jonglei, South Sudan, 142-43 Charge of the Knights operations, 196-97 Joseph, Gilbert, 33 Juba Agreement, Sudan, 142–43, 145 Coalition Provisional Authority, 186 during Cold War, 12 juntas, military conflict resolution, problems within, 183 in Burundi, 61-62 conventional conflicts, 17 coup d'etat by in Guatemala, 40-41 de-Ba'athification, 187 Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), Sudan, decline in violence in 2007, 191-97 133, 137-39 democratization in, 18 demographics, 187, 201-3 Kalyvas, Stathis, 17, 33, 37, 39, 122 division in, drivers of, 183-88 Kaplan, Robert, 155 Karadžić, Radovan, 153-73 documentation of atrocities, 6 dynamics of ending of atrocities, 8-9 Kathman, Jacob, 20-21 episodes of violence, 5 Kemp, Susan, 43 fatalities in, 15, 191 Khamis, Ahmed, 130 fragmentation in, 190-91 Khmer Rouge, Cambodia, 14 general discussion, 204-5 Kiir, Salva, 142-43, 145 identity politics, 185-88, 198-99 King, P., 94 international intervention, effect of, 21, 192-93 Kinigi, Sylvie, 73 Mahdi Army, 195-97 Konaré, Alpha Oumar, 134 non-state actors, 19 Kong, Gordon, 141 overview, 181-83 Konjić, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 165-67 parliamentary elections of 2010, 198-99 Kordofan jihad, Sudan, 129–32 Kosovo patterns of violence from 2003-07, 191-99 perpetrator logic story, 11 ending in, 158 reasons for continued violence in, 197-204 expectations for effective collective action, 152 recurrence of violence, 24 fatalities in, 154-58 regime change of 2003, 181-88 lessons learned from Bosnia, 172 renewal of insurgency since 2013, 187-88 and liberal state rules, 23 sectarian violence in, 8-9, 184-88, 197-204 post-conflict murders, 174 state capacity, 17-18, 24, 181-83 Kozarac, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 164 state legitimacy, 183-88, 197-204 Krain, Matthew, 11, 20 suppression of rebellions of 1991, 182 Krajišnik, Momčilo, 171 Surge strategy in, 192-95 Kraus, Keith, 6 Iraq Study Group Report, 198 Kreidie, Lina Haddad, 199 Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), 185 Kuanyin, Kerubino, 129 Kurdish regions, Iraq, 182, 184 Irian Barat/Irian Jaya. See Papua irregular conflicts, 4-17 Kurspahić, Kemal, 169 Islamic sectarian violence, in Iraq, 8-9, 184-88, Kuwa Mekki, Yousif, 131 "kwimonogoza" phase of violence, Burundi, 69 197–204. See also Shi'a Arab Iraqis; Sunni Arab Iraqis Islamic State (IS), 187-88, 199-200, 203 Lake, David A., 51 Latin America, Cold War experience of, 33-35 Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq, 190 Islamist "Civilization Project," Sudan, 129-32 leadership, in Indonesia, 86, 110-12, 116 al Issawi, Rafi'i, 200 Lebanese civil war, 199 Iwabo-nabasigaye (home for the survivors) bar, Lee, Bruce, 150 Burundi, 68 legitimacy of state, in Iraq, 183-88, 197-204 Ixcán region, Guatemala, 46-47 Leiby, Michele, 37 Ixil region, Guatemala, 44, 46-47 Lemke, Douglas, 4 Lemkin, Raphael, 4, 32, 129 janjawiid, in Darfur, 133, 136-37 Leonardi, Cherry, 140 jihad in Nuba Mountains, Sudan, 129-32 Lerner, Max, 78



Index 219

lethality of mass atrocities. See fatalities in mass military coups atrocities in Burundi, 61, 65 Levene, Mark, 158 in Guatemala, 40-41, 47 Levi, Margaret, 77 military force. See also specific military atrocities "Liberal Peace" paradigm, 49 by country liberal state building, and atrocity endings, 18-19, counterrevolutionary violence in Latin America, 34-35 liberalizing agendas, role in atrocity endings, in historical-political change story, 12-13 in perpetrator logic story, 11 10 Licklider, Roy, 13 Military Intelligence Section (G-2), Guatemala, Lindemann, Stefan, 200 36 Little, Alan, 167 military juntas local alliances in Burundi, 61-62 role in ending war in Bosnia, 172-73 coup d'etat by in Guatemala, 40-41 in South Slav conflicts, 155-58 military stalemate, Burundi, 75 Locust Division, SPLA, 141 militias, in Iraq, 181 logic, perpetrator. See perpetrator logic militias, in Sudan Arab, 127-28, 136-37 Lopez, George, 20 Lucas García, Romeo conflict with armed forces, 136-37 coup d'etat ousting, 40-41 use by Sudanese in Darfur, 133 violence in Jonglei, 142-43 limits of mass violence, 37-40 onset of counterinsurgency, 35-37 wars of north-south borderlands, 127-29 overview, 30-31 Milošević, Slobodan, 10, 162, 170-72 Milroy, Nicholas, 62 Mac Ginty, Roger, 49 Minawi, Minni, 135-36 Macedonia, 154-58 Ministry of the Interior, Iraq, 190 Machar, Riek, 141 Minorities at Risk project, 13-19 macro-level violence, in Guatemala, 32-33, 39 Mirerekano, Paul, 59 Mahdi Army, Iraq, 195-97 mission accomplished scenarios, in Burundi, major power interventions in mass atrocities, 66 Mladić, Ratko, 157-61 Maldonado Schaad, Horacio Egberto, 41 Mobile Military Police (PMA), Guatemala, 36 Maliki, Nuri al, 196-98, 200, 203-4 model villages, Guatemala, 44-45, 47 Mandela, Nelson, 72-74, 100-1 Monroe, Kristen Renwick, 199 martial law, in East Timor, 96-112 MONROVIA faction, Burundi, 59 mass atrocities. See also atrocity endings; specific Montenegro, 154-58 atrocities by country or region Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 166 decline in after Cold War, 13-15 Mostar Urban Movement, 150 MPRI firm, role in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 169 definitions of, 2, 87 international norm against, 20, 22 Mucić, Zdravko "Pavo," 166 Muhirwa, André, 59 non-state actors, role in, 18 Matiep, Paulino, 145 multiethnic visions, Bosnian, 157-58, 169-70 maximalist national plans, South Slav, 157-58, 172 murahaliin (Arab militias), in Sudan, 127-28 Maya population, Guatemala. See indigenous Muramvya pogrom, Burundi, 62 communities, mass atrocities against in Murle people, Sudan, 143 Guatemala Mayerson, Deborah, 25-26 Nasir Faction, SPLA, 141 McLoughlin, Stephen, 25-26 National Constituent Assembly (ANC), Mejía Víctores, Óscar Humberto, 47-48 Guatemala, 48 Melander, Erik, 13-14 National Plan for Security and Development, Micombero, Michel, 59, 61-63 Guatemala, 41 micro-level violence, in Guatemala, 33, 39 National Security Doctrine (NSD), 34, 36 Midlarsky, Manus, 32, 38 nationalist movements. See specific independence Military Commissioner figure, Guatemala, 39 movements



220 Index

pacification, in Guatemala's counterinsurgency NATO, failure to protect Srebrenica safe haven, 167-68 campaign, 42-45 NATO bombing of Bosnia PACs (Civil Defence Patrols), Guatemala, 39 change in policy toward Bosnia, 152, 170 Pagès, Alexandre, 58 misrecognition of the role played by, 150-51, 159 Pakistani offensives in Bangladesh, 2–12 reasons for attributing Bosnian endings to, Palić, Avdo, 169 PALIPEHUTU group, Burundi, 75-76 175-76 role in ending war, 173-74 Panzós massacre, Guatemala, 36-37 Natsios, Andrew, 135 Рарца Ndadaye, Melchior, 60, 64-65, 72-73, 76 armed conflict and atrocity ending, 16 Ndahindurwa, Kigeri, 61 balance of power as defining Indonesian policy, Ndizeye, Ntare III, 62 N'djamena Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement, data on mass atrocities, 6, 87-89 Darfur, 134-35, 146 dynamics of ending of violence, 7 negative peace, in Guatemala, 50 endings to atrocities during Suharto's rule, neutral interventions, effect on atrocities, 20-21 New Order regime. See Suharto general discussion, 115-16 Ngendandumwe, Pierre, 59 governance reforms in post-Suharto period, Nicaragua, 34 87-105, 100 Nkurunziza, Pierre, 63-66, 73 internal dissent, 85-86, 116 non-state actors, role in mass atrocities, 18 international community, role of, 21, 86, 107-9, NSD (National Security Doctrine), 34, 36 Nuba Mountains, Sudan, jihad in, 129-32 leadership, role of, 86, 116 Nuer people, Sudan, 141-43. See also White Army, overview, 83-86 in Sudan Papuan Spring, 103-4, 107 al Nujaifi, Osama, 188 phases of mass violence in, 87 Nyamoya, Albert, 63-64 post-Suharto period in, 102-9 Nyangoma, Leonard, 65, 76 resistance movements in, 94, 102-9 Nyerere, Julius, 72-74 state capacity, 22 Papuan Freedom Organisation (OPM), 94 Öberg, Magnus, 13-14 Papuan Peoples' Congress, 103 Office of the High Representative, Bosnia-Papuan Spring, 103-4, 107 Herzegovina, 174 parliamentary elections of 2010, Iraq, 198-99 oilfields, clearance of in Sudan, 125-29 Partisans, in Yugoslavia, 157 Ollivant, Douglas A., 194 Patriarch Papers, Bosnian Serb, 173 Omarksa detention camp, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 164 PDF (Popular Defence Forces), Sudan, 128 Operation Ashes, Guatemala, 38-40 peace agreements, Sudan, 145 Operation Deliberate Force. See NATO bombing peace process, Guatemala, 48-50 of Bosnia peacekeeping interventions Operation Jadar, VRS, 167-68 in East Timor, 112-14 Operation Krivaja 95, VRS, 168 effect on atrocities, 20-21 Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), 128 UNAMID in Darfur, 134, 139 Operation Lotus (Operasi Seroja), East Timor, UNPROFOR in Bosnia, 167–69 peasant uprising, Burundi, 64-65 Operation Unity (Operasi Persatuan), East Timor, perpetrator logic as governing atrocity endings, 9–11 Operation Victory 82, Guatemala, 42-47 in Guatemala, 37 in Sudan, 143-44 Operational Directive 7, VRS, 167 OPM (Papuan Freedom Organisation), 94 Petraeus, David, 192 ORPA (Revolutionary Organisation of People in Plan Firmness 1983, Guatemala, 45-46 Arms), Guatemala, 35, 37–38 Plan Sofía, Guatemala, 43-44 Oslo Accord, 49 PMA (Mobile Military Police), Guatemala, 36 Ould-Abdullah, Ahmedou, 76-77 pogroms, in Burundi, 61-63 Owen, Robert, 174 policy mechanisms, anti-atrocity toolbox, 19-24



Index 221

politics Ríos Montt, Efraín, 31 behind decision to use mass violence, 10-11 amnesty provided by, 41 context of Guatemala's internal armed conflict, counterinsurgency strategy of, 41-42 coup d'etat deposing, 47 as institutionalist, 40 in East Timor, shifts in 1980s and 1990s, 98-101 military junta, 41 Guatemalan transition, 47-49 historical-political change story, 9, 12-15 Operation Victory 82, 42-44 proportionality in fractionalized societies, 202-3 population control under, 44-45 realignment of, in Burundi endgame, 75-76 strategic defeat of guerrillas, 45-47 role in ending war in Bosnia, 172-73 trial of, 50-51 in South Slav conflicts, 155-58 Roessler, Philip, 137 Rosada, Hector, 39 Popular Consultation in East Timor, 96, 109-11 Popular Defence Forces (PDF), Sudan, 128 Roseires Dam, Sudan, 132 population control, in Guatemala, 42-45 Rosen, Nir, 193 post-9/11 international security context, 108-9 Rothchild, Donald, 51 power, balance of in Indonesian policy, 106-7 RtoP (Responsibility to Protect) principle, 3-20 Power, Samantha, 150 Rwagasore, Louis, 59, 73 Rwanda, 74–75, 152 prevention studies, 25-26 Prijedor, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 163–65 proportionality, in fractionalized societies, 202-3 S-5 (Department of Civil Affairs), Guatemala, 36, psychological operations, in Guatemala, 42-45 42-43, 45 al Sadr, Muqtada, 196 Sadrists, in Iraq, 195-97 Quiché department, Guatemala, 46-47 salvation narrative, atrocity endings in, 1-2 Ramet, Sabrina, 170 sanctions, effect on atrocities, 20 Ramos-Horta, Jose, 99-100, 115 Sandinista victory, Nicaragua, 34 Sanford, Victoria, 31, 42 Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), Guatemala, 46 Santa Cruz massacre, East Timor, 92, 95, 100 rebel groups. See also counterinsurgency; insurgencies; specific rebel groups Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 169-71 Schirmer, J., 31, 43 atrocity endings and, 16 Hutu, in Burundi, 65-66 Schmittian contests, in Sudan, 122, 137, 146 in Iraq, suppression of in 1991, 182 scorched earth campaigns reconciliation Darfur, 133-34 in identity-based conflict narratives, 127 Guatemala, 38-40 SDS political party, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 162, 164 relation to atrocity endings, 5 reform, role in atrocity endings, 10 secessionist campaigns. See East Timor; Papua refugees, Burundi, 60-61, 70 Second Papuan Peoples' Congress, 103 REMHI project (Recuperación de la Memoria sectarian violence in Iraq, 8-9, 184-88, 197-204 Histórica), Guatemala, 44 Renetil, 99, 114-15 relation to atrocity endings, 5 rent-seeking rebellions, Sudan, 136-37 security, international, 108-9 Research and Documentation Center of Sarajevo security dilemma, in Iraq, 189 separatists. See specific separatist movements by (RDC), 159-79 name or region resistance movements. See also insurgencies; rebel groups; specific resistance movements September 11, 2001, effect on support for

Indonesia, 108-9

Serbs, Bosnian. See Bosnian Serbs

Shi'a Arab Iraqis. See also Iraq

and dynamics of ending of atrocities, 8-9

Serbia, 23, 154-58, 172

Serukwavu, Antoine, 62

Shannon, Megan, 20-21

demographics, 202

Shaw, Martin, 31-32

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

atrocity endings and, 16

in Papua, 94, 102-9

Richmond, Oliver, 49

Rifai'i, Rafi'i al, 188

in East Timor, 91–92, 96–101, 108–15

(ORPA), Guatemala, 35, 37-38

Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) principle, 20

revolutionary movements, in Latin America, 34

Revolutionary Organisation of People in Arms

www.cambridge.org



222 Index

Shi'a Arab Iragis. (cont.) strategic logic, role in atrocity endings, 9-11. See and Mahdi Army, 195-97 also perpetrator logic reasons for continued violence in Iraq, 198-204 Straus, Scott, 5, 13, 25-26, 32 and regime change of 2003, 184-88 Subianto Djojohadikusumo, Prabowo, 111 Silber, Laura, 167 Sudan, 3. See also Darfur, Sudan; South Sudan Simons, Geoff, 94 armed conflict and atrocity endings, 16 Sistani, Ali, 203-4 armed resistance and atrocity endings, 16 SLA (Sudan Liberation Army), 133, 138-39 atrocities against southern Sudanese by SPLA, slavery, in Sudan, 128 140-43 atrocity endings in, 7, 122 Slovenia, 154-58 Smith, Claire, 7, 21, 23 Blue Nile conflict, 132-33 social control, in Guatemala, 29-30, 42-45 clearance of oilfields, 125-29 Sofía Plan, Guatemala, 43-44 during Cold War, 12 Somalia, 152 counterinsurgency, 17 South Slav conflicts, 23, 151-59 democratization in, 18 South Sudan dissent by national and provincial elites, 10 armed conflict and atrocity ending, 16 documentation of atrocities, 6 atrocities by SPLA, 140-43 episodes of violence, 5 clearance of oilfields, 125-29 fatalities in, 14, 123-25, 133-34 democratization in, 18 general discussion, 143–46 general discussion, 144 Hobbesian contests, 122-23, 137, 146 independence of, 2, 145 identity politics, 125-27 international acceptability of, 24 international acceptability of, 24 international community, role of, 21, 128, 144 international community, role of, 21, 128, 143, Jonglei, violence in, 142-43 militia wars of north-south borderlands, 127-29 *jihad* in Nuba Mountains, 129–32 1983-91 atrocities, 140-41 Jonglei, violence in, 142–43 1991-94 internecine killings, 141-42 levels of violent contestation, 122-23 non-state actors, role in, 19 militia wars of north-south borderlands, patterns of violence, 122 127-29 recurrence of violence, 24 non-state actors, role in, 18 state capacity, 17, 24 overview, 121-23 war-related deaths in, 125 patterns of violence, 123-25 South Sudan Defence Force, 142-43 peace agreements, 145 Spanish Embassy, Guatemalan military's attack perpetrator logic, 11, 143-44 on, 37 recurrence of violence, 24 Speke, John Hanning, 58 Schmittian contests, 122, 137, 146 SPLA. See Sudan People's Liberation Army state capacity, 17-18, 24 SPLM (Sudan People's Liberation Movement), state role in atrocities, 18-19 Sudan Liberation Army (SLA), 133, 138-39 135, 142, 145 Srebrenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 167-69 Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) Sri Lanka, 18-19 atrocities by from 1983 to 1991, 140-41 Stahl, Max, 100 atrocities by in southern Sudan, 140-43 Blue Nile conflict, 132-33 Stakić, Milomor, 164 stalemate scenarios, in Burundi, 66-67, 75 and clearance of oilfields, 129 Stanisland, Paul, 201 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 135, 145 state. See also specific countries by name Darfur incursion of 1991, 137-38 help provided to SLA by, 133 capacity, atrocity endings as related to, 15, 17-18, 22-24 and international community, 144 ideas of, and South Slav conflicts, 155-58 internecine killings of 1991-94, 141-42 legitimacy of, in Iraq, 183-88, 197-204 Jonglei, violence in, 142–43 liberal state building, and atrocity endings, militia wars, 127–28 Nuba Mountains jihad, 129–32 18-10, 21-24 patterns of violence, 122, 144 terrorism by, 34



Index 223

political function of violence by, 141	United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur
Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM),	(UNAMID), 134, 139
135, 142, 145	United States
Suharto	diplomatic leadership on Bosnia, 173
endings to atrocities during rule of,	National Security Doctrine, 34
92–101	position on Guatemala's human rights record,
resignation of, 83	36
Xanana's meeting with Nelson Mandela and,	position on Sudan, 145
100–1	role in Burundi endgame, 77
Sukarno, 93	role in Darfur conflict, 136
Sunni Arab Iraqis. See also Iraq	Surge strategy in Iraq, 192–95
Awakening movement, 193–95	UPRONA (Union pour le Progres National),
demographics, 187, 201–3	Burundi, 59, 75
distinction between antistate violence and	urban counterinsurgency strategy, Guatemala,
terrorism by, 188	37–38
·	URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary
and dynamics of ending of atrocities, 8–9	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
reasons for continued violence in Iraq, 198–204	Unity), 29, 35, 49. See also Guatemala
and regime change of 2003, 185–88	USAID, in Darfur, 134–35
superpower interventions in mass atrocities, 12, 14	Walantina Danianina and
Surge strategy in Iraq, 192–95	Valentino, Benjamin, 3–13, 42
Syahnakri, Kiki, 110–13	Vance-Owen peace plan, Bosnia-Herzegovina,
symmetrical nonconventional conflicts,	167
17	Vanuatu, 108
Syria, 14	victimhood
	relation to conflict, 204
Tabeau, Ewa, 164	in salvation narrative, 1–2
Taha, Ali Osman, 138	victor's peace, peace in Guatemala as, 50
Taleski, Dane, 158	Victory 1982 operation, Guatemala, 42–47
Tamil Tigers, 19	Vietnam, 14
Tarrow, Sydney, 122	violence against civilians. See atrocity endings;
terrorism	specific atrocities by country or region
global war on, 15	Visser, Reidar, 198
state, 34	VRS (Vojska Republika Srpska). See Bosnian
Sunni Iraqi distinction between antistate	Serbs
violence and, 188	
Tilly, Charles, 32	Wahid, Abdurrahman, 84–104, 107
Timor Leste, 2. See also East Timor	Wamena incident, Papua, 103, 105
Tito, Josip Broz, 157	wars. See also specific sites of atrocities; specific
Torit Faction, SPLA, 141	wars
transformational ending, in Burundi, 6, 67, 71-77	atrocity endings and, 9, 15-17
Tripp, Charles, 191, 203	as defined by number of fatalities, 14
Tudjman, Franjo, 166	Washington Agreement, Bosnia-Herzegovina,
al Turabi, Hassan, 131	167
turbulence, and state capacity, 17	West New Guinea/West Papua. See Papua
Tutsis. See Burundi	White Army, in Sudan, 141, 143
Twagiramungu, Noel, 6, 21, 23	Wing, J., 94
	Winter, Roger, 135
United Nations	Wiranto, 111–14
concessions to Bosnian Serb VRS by, 170	Wolpe, Howard, 73
peacekeeping assistance in East Timor, 112–14	Wood, Reed M., 20
Popular Consultation in East Timor, 96, 109–11	Woodward, Susan, 158–59
role in Burundi endgame, 76–77	World Bank, 113
United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR),	World War I, 154–58
Bosnia, 167–69	World War II, 154–58
	······································



224

Yauyau, David, 143 Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 107 Yugoslav National Army (JNA), 162–63 Yugoslavia. See also Bosnia-Herzegovina during Cold War, 12 Communist, 156–59 democratization in, 6 dissolution of, 154–58 episodes of violence in, 5 limits on liberal governance in, 23

Index

non-state actors, role in conflict, 19 perpetrator logic story, 11 South Slav conflicts, 23, 151–59 state capacity, 18 Yugoslavism, 155–57

Zaghawa people, Sudan, 137, 139 al Zain, Ismat, 134–35, 138 Zartman, William I., 57 Žepa, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 169