in the United Nations, 144 Lebanon, 302 n.13 UN Operation in the Congo, 23	Aall, Pamela Taming Intractable Conflicts, 8 Abdelaziz, Mohamed Framework Agreement on the Status of Western Sahara and, 181 Abdullaev, Kamoludin regional actors in the Tajikistan peace process, 342 n56 Abkhazia. See also Georgian-Abkhaz conflict Boden paper and, 150–154, 162 CIS economic blockade of, 138, 150 concern that Georgia would use its U.Strained forces against them, 345 n86 declaration of independence in 1999, 138 election issues, 158 emigration of young people from, 162–163 energy resources, 136, 138, 143–144, 338 n11 Enguri hydropower plant, 138, 338 n11 ethnic conflict in, 136–139, 144 Friends of Georgia's view of as a secessionist regime, 144, 341 n41 Geneva process (1997) and, 149–150, 154 Geneva process and, 156–157 historical background, 136–137	Quadripartite Agreement on the Return of Refugees and Displaced Persons and, 341 n38 request for secession from Georgia, 137, 338 n6 strategic importance of, 136 UN Military Observer Mission in Georgia and, 135 UN Needs Assessment mission, 150, 343 n65 vacation destination for Russians, 140 Abubakar, Gen. Abdusalami International Contact Group on Liberia role, 249 Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Guinea-Bisseau establishment and activities of, 251 Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Haiti formation and responsibilities, 122, 128 membership, 336 n101 Ad Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa groups of Friends and, 311 n104 recommendations of, 47–48, 244 Advisory committees on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, 301 n12 UN Emergency Force, 23–24, 302 n15 UN Observation Group in
	lack of diplomatic representation	Lebanon, 302 n.13

Afghanistan	Ahmed, Rafeeuddin
Bonn agreement and, 34, 231	Cambodian peace process and, 27
Group of 21 and, 229–230, 366	Ahtisaari, Martti
n24	Annan Plan and, 369 n57
informal "luncheon group" and,	efforts in Kosovo, 35
230, 257, 366 n25	peacemaking efforts in Aceh, 43,
regional environment and, 267	268, 308 n86
"six plus two" group and, 229–	AIETD. See All-Inclusive Intra-East
231, 256	Timorese Dialogue
Soviet Union invasion of, 21	Aimé, Jean-Claude
Taliban and, 228, 229, 231	assessment of the need for UN
Tashkent Declaration on the	assistance to Haiti, 111
Fundamental Principles for a	Ajello, Aldo
Peaceful Settlement of the	Mozambique peace process and,
Conflict in Afghanistan, 229	28–29, 46, 274, 304 n37
Track II talks and, 230, 367 n26	Akashi, Yasushi
UN Assistance Mission to	Cambodian peace process and,
Afghanistan and, 231	28
UN Good Offices Mission in	Alasania, Irakli
Afghanistan and Pakistan	appointment of, 160
and, 21	Alatas, Prime Minister Ali (Indo-
United Nations involvement,	nesia)
223, 225, 228–231	tripartite agreement and, 199,
United States' role, 228, 229–231	357 n33
withdrawal of Soviet troops from,	Albright, Madeleine
26, 56	contradictory messages on the
Africa. See also specific countries and	Indonesian militias, 359 n51
regions	Friends of Georgia and, 145, 342
Ad Hoc Working Group on	n46
Conflict Prevention and Res-	Friends of the Secretary-General
olution in Africa, 47–48, 244,	for Haiti and, 123
311 n104	U.S. involvement in Haiti and,
challenges of Groups in,	109, 113
243–246, 373 n86	views on the emergence of
Africa Action Plan, 46, 239,	groups, 309 n90
244–245, 310 n99	views on the United Nations, 36,
African Union	305 n61
Peace and Security Council, 41	Alexandre, President Boniface
regional conflicts and, 41	(Haiti)
role in Sudan, 253, 257, 260,	assumption of the presidency, 125
378 n2	Algeria
An Agenda for Peace (Boutros-	rivalry with Morocco, 168, 169,
Ghali), 29, 31–32	347 n10, 347 n11

Algeria (cont.)	Guatemalan peace process and, 94
role in UN process on Western	negotiations with Saddam Hus-
Sahara, 175–190, 350 n43	sein, 20
support for Polisario, 168	personality of, 34
Western Sahara's self-	Quartet and, 38–39, 238–239
determination and, 165,	
166–190	relationship with the U.S., 36–40
	role in Afghanistan, 228–231
Alkatiri, Prime Minister Mari	role in Angola, 232–234
(East Timor)	role in Colombia, 239–243
Fretilin leadership, 194	role in Cyprus, 224, 234–237,
letters to Annan and the Security	369 n54, 369 n57
Council, 211	role in East Timor, 194–195, 197,
resignation of, 217	199, 200, 205, 207, 211, 215,
All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese	217–218, 363 n97
Dialogue	role in El Salvador, 2
role of, 196	role in Middle East, 34, 38–39,
Angola. See also Core Group on	238–239
Angola; Friends of Angola	role in Somalia, 244
diamonds and, 232	role in the Democratic Republic
Lusaka Protocol and, 46	of the Congo, 246–247
Memorandum of Understanding,	role in the Western Saharan
234	conflict, 165, 178–182,
National Union for the Total	184–185, 186, 187
Independence of Angola and,	tripartite talks on East Timor and,
225, 232–234	194–195, 197, 198–199
nonstate actors and, 270	UN involvement in Haiti and,
oil resources and, 232	126, 130
role in the Democratic Republic	UN peacekeeping efforts and,
of the Congo, 246	34–40
Troika on Angola, 232, 233–234,	UN reform and, 34, 37–38
245	U.S. invasion of Iraq and, 36–40,
UN Mission in Angola, 234	306 n63, 306 n65
United Nations role, 225,	Antadze, Merab
232–234, 257	meeting with Putin and Shevard-
withdrawal of Cuban troops from,	nadze at Sochi, 157
27, 56	Antonenko, Oksana
Annan, Secretary-General Kofi	Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and,
Africa Action Plan and, 46, 239,	155
244–245, 310 n99	Arbenz, Jacobo
Boden paper and, 151	overthrow of, 80
defense of the impartiality of the	Ardzinba, "President" Vladislav
secretary-general, 21–22	(Abkhazia)
Geneva process and, 150	elections of 2004 and, 158

Ardzinba, "President" Vladislav	Armed Forces of National Liberation
(Abkhazia) (cont.)	role, 312 n4
meeting with Yeltsin, 147	Armenia
relationship with Russia, 146	Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and,
relationship with the United	140
Nations, 144	Arnault, Jean
ARENA. See Nationalist Republican	Friends of the Guatemalan Peace
Alliance	Process role, 82, 84–98, 102,
Argentina	322 n31, 324 n58
Friends of the Secretary-General	MINUGUA leadership, 96
for Haiti role, 118	personality of, 90
Western Saharan conflict and,	role in Afghanistan, 231
176, 350 n39	Arria, Diego
Arias, Oscar	Friends of the Secretary-General
Esquipulas agreement and, 55	for El Salvador and, 71
Aristide, President Jean-Bertrand	Friends of the Secretary-General
(Haiti)	for Haiti and, 113
amnesty for political crimes and,	Haitian elections and, 111
114, 330 n41	Arzú, President Alvaro (Guatemala)
biographical information, 107	military reforms, 93, 101, 323 n49
coup against, 107, 111, 132	political challenge from the
election of, 107, 132	Guatemalan Republican
exile of, 106, 125, 126	Front, 95
Governors Island Agreement	role in the Guatemalan peace pro-
and, 114–115	cess, 82–83, 91–93, 95, 97–98
Lavalas movement and, 107, 123	ASC. See Assembly of Civil Society
meeting with Cédras, 116	Aschjem, Halvor
personal attributes of , 1–6, 105,	role in Sudan, 253
110, 116	ASEAN. See Association of South-
promotion of those loyal to, 121	east Asian Nations
resignation of, 110, 125, 126,	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
131–132	East Timor and, 208
return to the presidency, 106,	Assembly of Civil Society
114–115, 118, 119, 124, 131	role in Guatemala, 82, 87–88, 92
UN efforts to restore to power,	Association of Southeast Asian
108	Nations
use of informal gangs, 335 n88	Myanmar and, 225, 227, 228
Armed Forces for the National	support for Indonesia, 195
Liberation of East Timor	Asturias, Rodrigo
meeting with the Indonesian	Guatemalan peace process and,
army, 193	93, 101, 321 n25, 323 n53
severing of connections with	Atoms for Peace Conference,
Fretilin, 193–194	advisory committee for, 301 n12

AU. See African Union	Peace Plan for Self-Determination
AUC. See United Self-Defense	for the People of Western
Forces of Colombia	Sahara, 183–185, 353 n81,
Australia	353 n82, 353 n87
contributions to the UN Mission	resignation of, 185 role in the Western Saharan
in East Timor, 204	conflict, 35, 165–166, 172,
relationship with Portugal, 212	
role in Cyprus, 236	178–186, 187, 351 n59, 352 n69
role in East Timor, 191, 192, 193,	
195, 198, 200, 201, 204, 206– 207, 212–213, 214–216, 217,	view of Aristide, 109
218, 220–221, 355 n6, 355 n8,	Balconi, Gen. Julio
356 n13, 356 n19	Guatemalan peace process and, 92–93
support for the United States on	Balkan states. See also specific coun-
Iraq, 212	tries; Contact Group on the
treaty with Indonesia concerning	former Yugoslavia
the Timor Gap region, 195	United Nations role, 7, 31, 36,
UN Mission of Support in East	208, 277
Timor and, 215, 362 n92	Baril, Maurice
withholding of intelligence on	special report on East Timor,
Indonesian militias, 204	214–215
Aznar, President José María (Spain)	Barnes, Catherine
Guatemalan peace process and,	regional actors in the Tajikistan
97	peace process, 342 n56
Spain's relations with Morocco	Bastagli, Francesco
and, 173	UN Mission for the Referendum
	in Western Sahara and, 187,
Baena Soares, João	188, 354 n96
Contadora group and, 55	Belgium
Guatemalan peace process and,	role in the Democratic Republic
321 n28	of the Congo, 246
Bagapsh, Sergei	Belo, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes
election of, 158	Nobel Peace Prize award, 194
letter to the Security Council,	Berger, President Oscar
159	(Guatemala)
Bailey, Sydney D.	government of, 99
Trygve Lie's invocation of article	Betancourt, Ingrid
99, 300 n3	kidnapping of, 242
Baker, James A., III	Bigombe, Betty
Framework Agreement on the	Core Group on Northern
Status of Western Sahara and,	Uganda and, 377 n1
181–183, 352 n73, 352 n77,	bin Laden, Osama
352 n78, 353 n79	Taliban and, 230

P. 1. P.	
Boden, Dieter	Guatemalan peace process and,
Friends of the Secretary-General	84
for Georgia role, 150–161, 164	ONUSAL expansion and, 73
Boden paper	personality of, 33
Abkhaz views on, 151–152	post-conflict peacebuilding and,
controversial "status" paragraph	29, 31–33, 304 n39
on Abkhazia and, 151	reelection battle, 32
doubts about utility of, 155–156,	role in East Timor, 196
345 n89	role in the Western Saharan
Friends of the Secretary-General	conflict, 170–171, 175, 177,
for Georgia and, 150–161,	179, 188, 348 n24
164, 343 n71	Supplement to the Agenda for
impasse created by, 154–157	Peace, 33
limited life span of, 154	Tajikistan peace process and,
Security Council and, 153, 154,	147
344 n80	UN involvement in Haiti and,
Bonn agreement on Afghanistan,	111–112, 117–118, 133
34, 231	Brahimi, Lakhdar
Bosnia	personal history and attributes,
massacres in the safe area of	230–231, 367 n28
Srebrenica, 32	relationship with Friends of the
Bota, Liviu	Secretary-General for Haiti,
Geneva process (1997) and, 149	119–120
Boukhari, Ahmed	report on UN peace operations,
Peace Plan for Self-Determination	34
for the People of Western	role in Afghanistan, 228,
Sahara and, 184, 353 n82	230–231, 366 n21, 367 n28
Bouteflika, President Abdelaziz	UN Mission in Haiti and,
(Algeria)	118–119, 332 n64
Framework Agreement on the	view of Aristide, 119
Status of Western Sahara	Brazil
and, 182	Friends of Haiti and, 126
referendum on Western Sahara	quest for a permanent seat on the
and, 180	Security Council, 128
Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General	role in Angola, 233
Boutros	role in East Timor, 218
An Agenda for Peace, 29, 31–32	role in Haiti, 128–129
Friends of the Secretary-General	troop contribution to Haiti, 128,
for El Salvador and, 29	336 n102
Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and,	Brunner, Edouard
142, 147	Friends of Georgia role, 142,
Governors Island Agreement	146–147
and, 114–115	Burma. See Myanmar

Burundi	deployment of the International
NGOs as Friends of, 46, 310 n100	Civilian Mission in Haiti and,
Burundi Partners Forum	113
formation of, 278, 298 n15	Friends of the Secretary-General
relationship with the Security	for Haiti and, 112, 113,
Council, 47	114–116
Bush, President George H.W.	Governors Island Agreement
meeting with Pérez de Cuéllar,	and, 115
68–69	relationship with the United
meeting with Salinas, 63	States, 114
U.S. involvement in Haiti and,	resignation of, 332 n58
109, 110	Caribbean Community
Bush, President George W.	accusation that the United
Middle East peace process and,	States had failed to respect the
370 n62	Inter-American Democratic
support for Saakashvili's plan for	Charter, 127
autonomy in Abkhazia, 346	Core Group and, 128
n115	Group of Six, 125
trade talks with Morocco, 172	role in Haiti, 124–125, 126,
visit to Georgia, 141, 339 n23	132
Bush administration. See also	CARICOM. See Caribbean
United States	Community
role in Sudan, 252, 377 n124	Carter, President Jimmy
	U.S. involvement in Haiti and,
Cambodia	332 n58
Core Group in, 28, 277	CAVR. See Commission on
secretary-general's good offices	Truth, Reception, and
and, 27–28, 35	Reconciliation
UN Transitional Authority in	Cédras, Gen. Raul
Cambodia, 28	demand for amnesty, 114
Vietnam's invasion of, 27	Governors Island Agreement
Canada	and, 114–115
Friends of the Secretary-General	meeting with Aristide, 116
for Haiti role, 105, 110–134,	refusal to meet with Caputo, 116
330 n32	Central America. See also specific
role in Angola, 233	countries
role in Colombia, 240, 371 n69	conflicts of the 1980s, 52
Cape Verde	Esquipulas agreement, 55
Friends of Western Sahara and,	Hurricane Mitch damage, 98
174	San José Forum, 315 n44
Caputo, Dante	Central American Revolutionary
criticism of, 330 n40	Workers' Party
departure from Haiti, 116	role, 312 n4

Central Intelligence Agency Chirac, President Jacques (France) involvement in Guatemala's civil friendship with Kings Hassan II war, 89 and Mohammed VI, 173 Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue Peace Plan for Self-Determination nongovernmental peacemaking for the People of Western Sahara and, 184 and, 42 Western Saharan conflict and, peacemaking in Aceh and, 42-43, 268 173 Tokyo Group of donors, 44 Chopra, Jarat Wise Men group of donors, 44, Joint Monitoring Committee for 310 n95 the Western Sahara and, 178 Cepeda, Fernando Chou En-Lai, Premier (China) Friends of the Secretary-General Hammarksjöld's "Peking formula" for negotiations with, 20-21 for El Salvador role, 64 Christopher, Ambassador Robin Cerezo, President Vinicio (Guatemala) role in East Timor, 203 Christopher, Secretary of State Esquipulas II agreements and, 83 Chambas, Mohamed Ibn Warren role in Guinea-Bisseau, 251 Governors Island Agreement Chávez, President Hugo and, 115 CIAT. See International Commission (Venezuela) Friends of the OAS Secretaryto Accompany the Transition General César Gaviria and, in the DRC 44, 309 n94 CICIACS. See Commission of Inves-Chile tigation of Illegal Groups and Clandestine Security Forces Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti role, 122, 124, 126, CIS. See Commonwealth of Inde-128, 130 pendent States opposition to the U.S. invasion Clerides, President Glafcos (Cyprus) of Iraq, 124 talks with Denktash, 234 Clinton, President Bill China Cambodian peace process and, appointment of Lawrence Pezzullo 28, 303 n35 as his special advisor for Haiti, criticism of the Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti, commitment to the restoration of 122 Aristide to power, 114 Hammarksjöld's "Peking formula" East Timor and, 208 Clinton administration. See also for negotiations with, 20–21 normalization of relations with United States Vietnam, 28 Friends of the Guatemalan Peace relations with Indonesia, 360 n69 Process and, 89 role in Myanmar, 225-226, 227, Friends of Western Sahara and, 366 n 15 171

Clinton administration (cont.)	significance of regional support
Plan Colombia and, 239, 370 n64	for, 256
role in Sudan, 252	United Nations involvement, 35
U.S. involvement in Haiti and,	223, 257
108, 109, 117, 119, 329 n13	United Nations role, 223,
U.S.S. Harlan County incident	239–243
and, 115	United Self-Defense Forces of
CNRM. See National Council of	Colombia, 242
Maubere Resistance	Commission of Investigation of
CNRT. See National Council of	Illegal Groups and Clandes-
Timorese Resistance	tine Security Forces
Cold War. See also Post–Cold War period	efforts to establish in Guatemala, 99, 100, 327 n85, 327 n87
Cyprus and, 234	Commission on Truth, Reception,
peacemaking efforts during, 24	and Reconciliation
Shevardnadze's role in ending, 143	estimate of conflict-related
Colombia	deaths in East Timor, 355 n3
"Brussels" Group, 240, 371 n69,	human rights violations and, 210
379 n12	Commonwealth of Independent
Contadora group and, 54	States
contribution to ONUSAL's	economic blockade of Abkhazia,
military division, 317 n71	138, 150
drug trafficking and, 239, 242,	peacekeeping operations and,
370 n64	135, 145
"Euro tour" for FARC and	Community of Sant'Egidio
government officials, 371 n70	Guatemalan peace process and, 92
experience of ambassadors with	Mozambique peace process and,
the peace process and, 240–241	29
facilitating commission,	nongovernmental peacemaking
241–242, 372 n78	and, 43
"friendly countries" group, 241,	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
258, 372 n75	provisions, 254, 377 n129
Friends of the Guatemalan Peace	Conference on Security and Cooper-
Process role, 79, 85, 91, 101	ation in Europe
Friends of the Secretary-General	Nagorno-Karabakh experience
for El Salvador role, 60, 64, 76	and, 143
National Liberation Army and,	Southern Caucasus role, 143
240–243	Congo. See also Democratic Republic
nonstate actors and, 270	of the Congo
paramilitary groups and,	UN Operation in the Congo, 23
242–243, 373 n82	Congressional Black Caucus
Revolutionary Armed Forces of	protests against U.S. activities in
Colombia and, 240–243	Haiti, 117

	6.1 1 6 200
Constant, Emanuel	confidentiality of meetings, 200
Haitian black market and, 331	consultation process, 203–206
n53	contributions of, 191–192, 219,
Consultative Group	277
Guatemalan peace process and,	differences among members of,
95, 96–98, 99, 326 n73, 327	221
n82	as donors to East Timor, 212,
Contact Group on Namibia	362 n83
description, 26–27	downsizing of troops in East Timor
formation of, 46	and, 214
Contact Group on Nepal	dynamics of, 211–213
consideration of forming, 259,	effectiveness of, 211–212,
378 n2	220–221
Contact Group on Sierra Leone	elections of 1999 and, 203–208,
establishment and activities, 248	359 n61, 360 n62
Contact Group on the former	formation of, 16, 200, 219
Yugoslavia	formed police unit and, 215, 363
Balkan conflict and, 7, 44, 309	n95
n91	France's role, 218
Quint and, 44, 309 n92	International Force for East
Security Council and, 45–46	Timor and, 207, 208, 220
Contadora group	Japan's role, 191, 202, 204, 218
formation of, 54	New Zealand's role, 191, 202, 218
proposals for achieving progress,	non-Council members of, 212
54	positive experience of, 260
secretary-general's role, 54–55	reconfigured mission for,
Support Group for, 54	215–216, 363 n97
Cooper, Robert	regional environment and, 266
peace as a foreign policy goal, 8	relationship with the secretary-
Core Group on Angola. See also	general, 192, 213, 221
Friends of Angola	UN Integrated Mission in Timor-
composition and activities of, 233	Leste and, 218, 221
Core Group on Cambodia	UN Mission in East Timor and,
contributions, 28, 277	201, 203–206
Core Group on East Timor	UN Mission of Support in East
Australia's role, 191, 200, 201,	Timor and, 208, 213–214, 215
204, 206–207, 212–213,	UN Office in East Timor and,
214–216, 218	218
compared to the Friends of West-	UN Transitional Administration
ern Sahara, 191	in East Timor and, 208,
composition of, 191–192, 200,	210–211
212, 219, 221	United Kingdom's role, 191, 201,
conditions for success, 264	202–203, 212

Core Group on East Timor (cont.) view of Friends of the Secretary-General for El Salvador, 73 United States' role, 191, 201–202, 204, 207, 208, Crocker, Chester 212-213, 214-216 Contact Group on Namibia Core Group on Haiti and, 5 Namibia settlement and, 27 composition of, 127–128 differences in political priorities Taming Intractable Conflicts, 8 CSCE. See Conference on Security within, 128 establishment of, 127 and Cooperation in Europe formality of consultations, 129, Cuba 130, 336 n106 Farabundo Martí Liberation size issue, 134 Front and, 52, 314 n24 Guatemalan National Revolutroop contributors, 128 Valdés' view of, 129 tionary Unity and, 319 n5 visit to Haiti for meeting relations with Mexico, 62 with presidential candidates, role in Colombian peace process, 241, 242, 372, n74 role in El Salvador peace process, Core Group on Lebanon composition of, 307, n72 58, 59, 61, 66 establishment of 38, 307, n72 withdrawal of troops from Angola, Core Group on Mozambique 27, 56 contributions, 28-29, 46, 277 Cyprus Core Group on Northern Uganda Annan Plan, 235–237, 260, composition of, 377 n1 369 n57 formation of, 259 election issues, 236-237 Côte d'Ivoire external actors and, 257 conflict in, 250-251 Security Council role, 234–235, International Working Group, 236, 368 n43, 368 n49 250, 375 n113 Turkish Republic of Northern CPA. See Comprehensive Peace Cyprus and, 234 Agreement UN Force in Cyprus and, 234 Cristiani, President Alfredo (El United Kingdom's role, 235, Salvador) election of, 56 United Nations role, 35, 223, Friends of the Secretary-General 224, 225, 234–237, 260 for El Salvador and, 60, 76 United States' role, 235, 236 interparty commission to interact Dahlgren, Hans with peace process negotiators, 320 n7 International Contact Group meeting with Pérez de Cuéllar in on Liberia role, 249 New York, 69 Dankwa, Nana Addo United Nations involvement International Contact Group on

Liberia role, 249

and, 60

Darfur Peace Agreement	Democratic Revolutionary Front
negotiations for, 254–255	joint FMLN-FDR Political-
Daws, Sam	Diplomatic Commission,
Trygve Lie's invocation of article	57, 76
99, 300 n3	role, 53
Dayton accords	Denktash, Rauf
negotiation of, 31	talks with Clerides, 234
de Soto, Alvaro	Turkey's support for, 237
Contadora group role, 54–55	Denmark
firsthand accounts of Friends	Friends of the Secretary-General
group activities, 5	for El Salvador and, 74–75
Friends of the Secretary-General	Diallo, Issa
for El Salvador and, 59–69,	Western Saharan conflict and,
73, 76, 274, 322 n35	169–170
Guatemalan peace process and,	Dialogue Group of donor states
84, 321 n22	Guatemalan peace process and,
meetings with FMLN in Montreal,	80, 95, 96–100, 103, 326 n77,
57, 58–59	326 n78
Middle East and, 187, 238–239,	limits of, 99, 327 n83
307 n73, 370 n63	membership, 326 n78
personality of, 65, 90	Dobbins, James
photograph of with Pérez de	RAND Corporation study on
Cuéllar, 1–2	nation building, 119
role in Cyprus, 235–236	Downs, George
role in Myanmar, 225, 226, 365	Ending Civil Wars: The Implemen-
n8	tation of Peace Agreements,
Western Saharan conflict and,	12–13
186–187	Doyle, Michael
Democratic Republic of the Congo	factors contributing to "sustain-
complexity of the conflict in,	able peace", 300 n29
244–245, 246	functional benefits of Friends
Great Lakes Conference and,	groups, 4
246	multilateralism and the United
Inter-Congolese Dialogue, 246	Nations, 30
International Commission to	DPA. See Darfur Peace Agreement
Accompany the Transition,	DPA. See UN Department of Politi-
47, 247, 374 n99	cal Affairs
regional environment and, 267,	DPKO. See UN Department of
278	Peacekeeping Operations
Third-Party Verification Mecha-	DRC. See Democratic Republic of
nism, 247, 374 n97	the Congo
United Nations role, 34,	Dumas, John Reginald
246–247, 257, 374 n100	appointment of, 126

Dunbar, Charles poverty of, 217, 220, 363 n103 role in the Western Saharan conreconciliation with Indonesia, flict, 350 n44 216 Duvalier, President François "Papa regional actors, 220 Doc" (Haiti) renewed violence in, 216-219 tontons macoutes and, 107 Support Group, 200, 220 Duvalier, President Jean-Claude Timor Sea Treaty, 213, 362 n85 "Baby Doc" (Haiti) tripartite talks on, 194–195, 197, 198-199, 219 government of, 107 UN role pre-1999, 191, 194-196 Eagleton, William World Bank organization of role in the Western Saharan donor meetings for, 209, 361 conflict, 350 n44 n71,362 n83 East Timor. See also Core Group on Economic and Social Council East Timor Ad Hoc Advisory Group on accountability issues, 210-211 Guinea-Bissau, 251 All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Dialogue and, 196 Haiti, 122, 128, 336 n101 Commission for Truth and Haiti and, 122, 334 n76 Friendship, 210–211 Economic Community of West compared with Western Sahara, Africa 165, 188–189, 354 n99 conflict mediation and resolution creation of Falintil—Defense role, 41, 248 Forces of Timor-Leste, 209 Implementation Monitoring decolonization, 191, 192-194 Committee in Liberia and, elections of 1999, 203–206, 250, 375 n111 359 n61 International Contact Group on estimate of conflict-related Liberia and, 249, 257 deaths in, 191, 355 n3 Monitoring Group in Liberia, fissures in Timorese society, 217 341 n43 geographic description, 192, 220, role in Côte d'Ivoire, 250 355 n5 role in Guinea-Bissau, 251 role in Liberia, 248-249 high-profile resignations of officials, 217 role in Sierra Leone, 248 historical background, 191–194, ECOSOC. See Economic and 219 Social Council independence of, 34, 208 ECOWAS. See Economic Com-Indonesia's annexation of, 194, munity of West Africa 355 n9 Ecuador participation in the Indonesian border dispute with Peru, 44 elections of 1987, 195 Egeland, Jan political imbalances and, Guatemalan peace process and, 216-217 87

Egeland, Jan (cont.) role in Colombia, 239–241, 371	post–Cold War period, 19, 24–33, 48
n65	proliferation of groups, 43–48,
Egypt	309 n90
role in Middle East peace process,	regional organizations, 40–41
238	secretary-general's good offices,
El Salvador. See also Friends of	20–24, 27–28, 34, 35, 302 n18
the Secretary-General for	subregional organizations, 40–41
El Salvador; Mission of the	Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation
United Nations in El Sal-	of Peace Agreements (Downs
vador; UN Observer Mission	and Stedman), 12–13
in El Salvador	Erdogan, Recep Tayyip
background of the conflict in,	Annan Plan for Cyprus and, 237
52–53	Eritrea
Contadora group, 54–55	consideration of Friends of
formal signing of the peace	Ethiopia-Eritrea, 259, 378 n2
agreement, 72	Friends of the UN Mission in
International Monetary Fund	Ethiopia and Eritrea, 47, 310
and, 92	n101
land transfer program, 72, 318 n78	UN peacekeeping operation in,
peace agreements ending the	34, 47, 310, n101
civil war, 1, 53, 64	ERP. See People's Revolutionary
peace process compared with Guatemala's, 81–82	Army
peace process outcomes, 311 n2	Erwa, Elfatih Muhamed meetings with Prendergast, 252
political-military organizations,	Escobar Galindo, David
52, 312 n4	"cushion" role of the Friends of
Reagan administration and, 56	the Secretary-General for El
request for help from the United	Salvador, 60, 69
Nations, 57	purpose of the Friends of the
Truth Commission, 90, 319 n86,	Secretary-General for El
322 n40	Salvador, 60
Eldon, Stewart	Esquipulas agreements
East Timor and, 200	impact on Guatemala, 83
ELN. See National Liberation Army	provisions, 55
Emergence of groups. See also	verification mechanism, 55,
Friends groups; specific groups	312 n15
and countries	Ethiopia
individual states as peacemakers,	consideration of Friends of
41–42	Ethiopia-Eritrea, 259, 378 n2
Kofi Annan's role, 34–40	Friends of the UN Mission in
nongovernmental organizations,	Ethiopia and Eritrea, 47, 310,
42–43	n101

Farabundo Martí Liberation Front Ethiopia (cont.) alliance of the Democratic Revo-UN peacekeeping operation in, 34, 47, 310 n101 lutionary Front with, 53 European Commission contacts with non-Marxist role in Cyprus, 236 countries, 270 European Union demands for dissolution of the assistance to Abkhazia, 338 n11 Salvadoran army, 65 contributions to the UN Mission demobilization of, 71–73, 319 in East Timor, 204 n86 fisheries agreement with formation of, 312 n4 Morocco, 174 Friends of the Secretary-General Georgia's request for membership for El Salvador and, 65–78 joint FMLN-FDR Politicalin, 141 International Contact Group on Diplomatic Commission, 57, Liberia role, 250 76 Middle East peace process and, meetings with de Soto in Montreal, 57, 58-59 meetings with the Nationalist regional security and, 41 role in Cyprus, 235, 236, 237 Republican Alliance, 56 military offensive of 1989, 56, 60, role in Liberia, 257 role in Sri Lanka, 378 n4 66, 67 Spain's standing within, 64, 102 Miraflores declaration and, 67 Evans, Gareth "nonpapers" sent to the U.S. Annan Plan and, 369 n57 State Department, 316 n57 post-Cold War shift in inter-F-FDTL, See Falintil—Defense national relations and, 58, Forces of Timor-Leste 76 Fafo secret arms caches in Nicaragua, Middle East Peace Process and, 72, 319 n86 320 n17 UN recognition of, 57 Falintil. See Armed Forces for FARC. See Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia the National Liberation of East Timor Fassier, Bernard Falintil—Defense Forces of Timor-Friends of Georgia role, 142 Leste Fatton, Robert, Jr. creation of, 209 "predatory democracy" in Haiti, dismissal of 40 percent of the soldiers in, 211, 216 FDR. See Democratic Revolutionary Fall, Sir Brian Boden paper and, 156, 345 n89 FMLN. See Farabundo Martí Liberation Front Geneva process (2003) and, 156 FALN. See Armed Forces of Ford, President Gerald National Liberation meeting with Suharto, 193

Former Yugoslavia. See Contact	categories of states for, 272–273
Group on the former	commonality of interests among
Yugoslavia	members and, 271–272
FPL. See Popular Liberation Forces	composition of, 6, 14, 262,
France	270–273
contributions to police assistance	conceptual design of, 259
in Haiti, 120	conditions for success, 262–279
early rule of Haiti, 106	conflict parties and, 6, 13–14,
Friends of Georgia role, 142	262, 268–270
Friends of the Secretary-General	Contact Groups, 10–11
for Haiti role, 105, 110–134	contributions of, 4, 260
Friends of Western Sahara role,	coordination of key states and,
166, 171, 172–173, 184	277
peace process in Cambodia and, 28	core factors or variables, 2–7, 262–279
relationship with Morocco,	country-specific meetings, 11,
172–173, 349 n30	299 n27
role in Angola, 233	creation of, 30–31, 33
role in Colombia, 241, 372 n78	decline in the number of civil
role in Côte d'Ivoire, 250	wars and, 4, 297 n4
role in East Timor, 214, 218	different locations and character-
role in the Democratic Republic	istics of a single group and, 275
of the Congo, 246	diversity of, 259, 262, 282
Franco, Gen. Francisco	ending participation of, 279
Western Sahara and, 166	external actors and, 261,
Franco-Mexican Declaration	276–278
provisions, 57, 62, 313 n21	factors in performance of,
Fréchette, Louise	261–262
Friends of the Secretary-General	flexibility of, 5, 275, 281
for Haiti and, 113	formation and function of, 280
Fretilin. See Revolutionary Front for	"Friend fatigue" and, 276
an Independent East Timor	Friends of a country, 10
FRG. See Guatemalan Republican	Friends of the Secretary-General,
Front	9–10, 16
Friends groups. See also Emergence	functional benefits of, 4
of groups; specific Friends	future of, 281–283
groups and countries	gatekeeping issues, 271
benefits of small size of, 280	geographic tendencies, 7–8, 298
benefits to the United Nations,	n16
281–282	Goulding's recommendations on
case selection and book organiza-	the future of, 33
tion, 15–17	growth in the number of, 3–4,
categories of, 9–11	259

standards for success of, 11–15, Friends groups (cont.) "helpful fixers" and, 271, 273 300 n29 as honest brokers, 280 support in peace efforts, 281 "systemic state bias" and, 269 implementation and monitoring groups, 11 thematic groups, 11, 299 n26 informal groups of states and, timing or phase of the process 259-260, 264-266, 379 n11 and, 6, 15, 262, 276–279 interests of individual state variables and the core case studies members and, 8-9, 298 n17 (tables), 263, 265 international engagement in a Friends of Albania peace process and, 279-280 peacemaking efforts, 44 lack of documentation of the Friends of Angola work of, 6 composition of, 233 leadership issues, 6, 14–15, 262, formation of, 233 264, 273-276 Friends of Ethiopia-Eritrea lessons to be learned from, consideration of forming, 259, 282-283 378 n2 Friends of Georgia. See also Friends members, initiatives, and phases of processes (table), of the Secretary-General for 285-294 Georgia mixed record of, 4-7, 260-261 bias of the Western members and, nonstate actors and, 269, 379 135-136, 144-145, 341 n39 n11 composition of, 135, 142 number of groups of friends and contradictory interests of the other mechanisms, 1946-2006 Western members, 143–144 (figure), 3 creation of, 135, 142, 162 peacekeeping efforts of the energy resources of the region United Nations and, 16-17 and, 143–144 political stalemate situations and, passivity of internal actors and, 278-279 purpose of, 259 resistance to calling itself Friends recommendations for, 17, of the Secretary-General for 279-281 Georgia, 143 regional environment and, 6, 13, Russia's role as peacekeeper and, 262, 264, 266–268, 272, 300 145–147 n30strategic importance of Georgia regional groups, 11, 299 n25 and, 135 Security Council and, 5–6 Friends of Guinea self-selection of members, 7–9, consideration of forming, 259, 262, 274, 379 n15 378 n2 Friends of Guinea-Bissau special representatives of the establishment and activities of, secretary-general and, 274, 277-278 251, 311 n102

Friends of the Guatemalan Peace Procompared with Friends of the cess. See also specific countries Guatemalan Peace Process, 79, 91–92, 100–101, 264 Assembly of Civil Society and, 82,87-88 conditions for success, 264 briefings and meetings in Mexico, contributions of, 1-2, 16, 29, 89-90 73-74, 77-78, 318 n79 compared with Friends of the credibility of the United Nations Secretary-General for El Salvaand, 2 dor, 79, 91–92, 100–101, 264 "cushion" role, 60, 69 conditions for success, 264 donor states and, 74–75 contributions, 100 El Salvador Peace Accord and. criticism of, 90-91, 322 n42 1.72 displacement of, 94-96 Farabundo Martí Liberation factors in the disappearance of, Front and, 1–2, 65–78, 268 96-97, 325 n65 formation of, 61-67, 76, 268, 315 Framework Agreement, 87–91, n48 325 n65 Iberoamerican Summit and, 67 Guatemalan National Revoluimplementation issues, 71–75, tionary Unity and, 79, 82–95, 317 n71, 318 n74 origins of, 57-60 "hidden" or "parallel" powers positive experience of, 260 and, 95, 325 n61 regional environment and, 266 implementation phase, 94-96 relations with the United levels of involvement, 89 Nations, 1-2, 65-67, 76 Madrid meeting, 93, 323 n52 Security Council and, 2, 73, 75, membership, 79–80, 101, 102 77, 268 positive experience of, 260 success of, 51-52 "post-peace" role, 93-94 United States' role, 67-71, 268 primary function of, 88 Friends of the Secretary-General for regional environment and, 266 Georgia. See also Friends of roles of the Friends, 88 Georgia and specific countries signing tour, 93–94 addition of Ukraine and. success of, 30, 32, 305 n52 153-154, 344 n79 United Nations role, 79-80, autonomy of, 153 83-103 Boden paper and, 151–161, 164, United States' role, 88–96, 102 344 n76, 344 n77, 344 n78 Friends of Myanmar composition of, 163, 346 n114 consideration of forming, 226, creation of, 135, 162 228, 259, 365 n14, 378 n2 definition of the status of, 149 Friends of the Secretary-General for designation of, 30, 304 n43 El Salvador. See also specific differences in perspective of the Western members, 153, 344 countries choice of states, 61-64, 75, 77 n76, 346 n112

Friends of the Secretary-General for U.S.S. Harlan County incident Georgia (cont.) and, 116-118 Geneva process and, 149–150, Friends of Tajikistan 154-161, 162, 164 formation and role of, 148 Kosovo precedent and, 159 success of, 30 presidential statement of the Friends of the Secretary-General of Security Council and, 161 the Organization of American reconstitution of the Friends of States (Haiti) Core Group and, 128 Georgia as, 149 reconvening of after the Decemdifferences with the Friends of ber 2004 meeting, 158–159 the Secretary-General for Security Council authorization Haiti, 128-129 of. 149 establishment of, 124, 131 success of, 16, 30, 33, 277 membership of, 334 n84 UNOMIG mandate renewal and, Friends of the Secretary-General of 159, 160, 161 the Organization of American Western Friends as an entity, States (Venezuela) 152-153, 344 n77, 344 n78 formation and crisis resolution Friends of the Secretary-General for efforts, 44, 309 n94 Haiti. See also specific countries Friends of the UN Mission in composition of, 105, 126, 131, 133 Ethiopia and Eritrea contributions of, 132, 277 peacekeeping efforts, 47, 310 n101 designation of, 30, 304 n44 Friends of Venezuela formation, 44, 309 n.94 donor coordination and, 121 elections and, 120, 121, 124, Friends of Western Sahara 332 n67 compared to the Core Group on formation of, 110-113 East Timor, 191 Governors Island Agreement divisions among members, and, 113, 114-116, 131 182-183, 188 International Civilian Support exclusion of regional actors and, Mission in Haiti and, 123–124 189 long-term influence of, 122–124 flawed mechanism of, 188 political process and, 113-116 formation of, 30,165–166, 171, reactivation of, 125-126, 131 188, 189 regional environment and, 266 France's role, 166, 172-173 resignation of Aristide and, 132 limited utility of, 165, 166, resilience of, 133-134 189-190 UN peacekeeping missions and, low-profile adopted by, 176–178, 350 n45 119-121 United Nations role, 110-134, Peace Plan for Self-Determination for the People of Western 328 n6 United States' role, 30, 105–106, Sahara and, 183–186 110-134, 260-261 procedural contributions, 190

Friends of Western Sahara (cont.)
relationship with the secretarygeneral, 189–190
release of prisoners of war and,
177–178, 187
Russia's role, 166, 174, 187
Security Council and, 174, 175–
176, 189
shift in membership, 174
Spain's role, 166, 173–174, 187
status quo and, 175–178, 350 n45
temporary members, 350 n39
United Kingdom's role, 166
United States' role, 166,
171–172, 175, 181, 187

G-8. See Group of 8 Gagulia, Gennady meeting with Putin, 156 Gama, Jaime role in East Timor, 199 Gambari, Ibrahim role in Angola, 233, 234, 368 role in Myanmar, 228, 366 n15 Gambia role in forming Friends of Guinea-Bissau, 309 n101 Gamsakhurdia, President Zviad (Georgia) nationalist policies and coup against, 137 Garang, John Sudan peace process and, 254 Geneva agreement provisions, 60, 68 Geneva process (1997) frustration with progress of, 150 launching of, 149 Geneva process (2003) launching of, 156 reaction of Russia to, 156

meetings under, 156, 157, 159

recommendation for the establishment of task forces, 156 Western Friends of the Secretary-General for Georgia and, 156–157

Georgia. See also Friends of Georgia; Friends of the Secretary-General for Georgia; Georgian-Abkhaz conflict; UN Military Observer Mission in Georgia arrest of Russian military intelligence officers on espionage charges, 160-161 Baku-Supsa pipeline and, 141 Boden paper and, 151 energy resources, 141, 143 increase in defense spending, 141, 340 n25 independence of, 137 New Friends of Georgia, 141, 339 n18 relationship with Russia, 138, 140, 141, 154–155, 159, 339 n23, 344 n85 request for membership in NATO, 141, 155 request for membership in the European Union, 141 strategic importance of, 135, Sustainment and Stability Oper-

U.S. support for, 141
Georgia Train and Equip Program,
141, 339 n19, 345 n86
Georgian-Abkhaz conflict
Boden paper and, 150–161, 164
Chechnya and, 137, 155, 338
n7
displacement of Georgians and

ations Program, 339 n19

displacement of Georgians and, 137, 156, 160, 341 n38 distrust between the parties and, 138

Georgian-Abkhaz conflict (cont.)	González, Prime Minister Felipe
dual characterization of, 161	(Spain)
ethnic conflict in Abkhazia,	Friends of the Secretary-General
136–139	for El Salvador role, 63, 315
Friends of Georgia role, 135,	n44
142–147, 149, 161–162	Guatemalan peace process and, 97
Friends of the Secretary-General	Good offices concept
for Georgia role, 135, 149-	confidentiality and, 22
161, 162, 163–164	description, 20–21
Geneva process (1997) and,	impartiality of the secretary-
149–150	general and, 21–22
Geneva process (2003) and,	peacemaking efforts and, 22-24,
154–161, 164	34, 35, 302 n18
Georgia's suspension of peace-	Goulding, Marrack
keeping operations in Abk-	Friends of Georgia and, 142
hazia, 160	Governors Island Agreement
lack of tangible results, 164	and, 115
Moscow Agreement on a	Guatemalan peace process and,
Cease-fire and Separation of	84, 87, 91, 324 n58
Forces, 137	phased demobilization of the
Quadripartite Agreement on	FMLN, 71–72
the Return of Refugees and	purposes of the UN Observer
Displaced Persons, 341 n38	Group in Central America,
Russia's role, 135, 137–138,	313 n17
139–141, 145–147, 150–163	recommendations on the future
Germany	of Friends groups, 33
Friends of Georgia role, 142, 146	success of UN peacekeeping
n114	missions, 30
role in Afghanistan, 230, 231,	UN Observer Mission in El
367 n26	Salvador and, 73
role in Haiti, 123–124	UN peacemaking in Africa, 373
Western Saharan conflict and,	n86
176	United States' insistence on
Ggagbo, President Laurent (Côte	deadlines for the El Salvador
d'Ivoire)	peace process and, 68
failed attempt to oust, 250	Western Saharan conflict and,
Ghani, Ashraf	170, 176, 179, 351 n59
view of Brahimi's leadership, 231,	Goulty, Alan
367 n31	role in Sudan, 252, 376 n120
Goldstone, Anthony	Governors Island Agreement
assessment of the UN Transi-	collapse of, 113, 115, 116, 131
tional Administration in East	human rights violations and,
Timor, 361 n72	115

Governors Island Agreement (cont.)	Arzú's military reforms, 93, 101,
importance of the U.S. role, 115,	323 n49
331 n44	background of the conflict in,
negotiations for, 114–115	80–81, 100
provisions, 115, 331 n47	Civil Guard, 97, 325 n69
signing of, 113	Commission of Investigation of
Granderson, Colin	Illegal Groups and Clandestine
U.S. role in Haiti, 120–121, 332 n67	Security Forces, 99, 100, 327 n85, 327 n87
Gray, William	Consultative Group and, 95,
appointment of, 117	96–98, 99, 326 n73, 327 n82
Greece	Dialogue Group of donor states,
	80, 95, 96–100, 103, 326 n77,
Cyprus and, 234, 237 Green, Rosario	326 n78, 327 n83
Friends of the Guatemalan	economic issues, 79, 92
Peace Process and, 85–86,	ethnic issues, 80, 325 n63
321 n23	paramilitary "civilian self-defense
Greenstock, Sir Jeremy	patrols," 81, 319 n6, 323 n49
Core Group on East Timor and,	peace process compared with El
2.15	Salvador's, 81–82
Framework Agreement on the	peace process outcomes, 311 n2
Status of Western Sahara	rejection of constitutional
and, 183	reforms, 96, 325 n63
reform of the Troika on Angola	rejection of U.S. military assis-
and, 245	tance, 81
Griffiths, Martin	Guatemalan Friends. See Friends
peace processes' "peculiar cock-	of the Guatemalan Peace
tail" and, 282, 379, n20	Process
Group of 8	Guatemalan National Revolutionary
formation of, 44	Unity
Group of Latin American and	demobilization of, 81, 323 n46
Caribbean States	kidnapping involvement, 93–94,
UN involvement in Haiti and,	323 n54
111, 332 n57	meeting with Serrano, 83
GRULAC. See Group of Latin	political strength of, 82
American and Caribbean	relationship with the Soviet bloc
States	and Cuba, 319 n5
GTEP. See Georgia Train and Equip	relationships with Mexico,
Program	Venezuela, and Spain, 86
Guatemala. See also Friends of the	role in the peace process, 79,
Guatemalan Peace Process;	82–95, 101
UN Verification Mission in	Spain's attempted meeting with,
Guatemala	320 n12

Guatemalan National Revolutionary Gyanendra, King (Nepal), 39 Unity (cont.) unification of the guerrilla move-Habibie, President B.J. (Indonesia) ment in, 81 deployment of a multinational Guatemalan Republican Front force and, 207, 208 challenge to Arzú, 95 East Timor's autonomy and, Guéhenno, Jean-Marie 197-198, 199, 200, 201 Hague Convention for the Pacific Boden paper and, 156, 157 Core Group on East Timor and, Settlement of International 215 Disputes good offices concept, 21, 301 n6 Geneva process and, 159–160 Guinea Haiti. See also Core Group on Haiti; consideration of Friends of Friends of the Secretary-Guinea, 259, 378 n2 General for Haiti; Interna-International Contact Group on tional Civilian Mission in Mano River Basin and, 250 Haiti; International Civilian Guinea-Bissau Support Mission in Haiti; Friends of Guinea-Bissau, 47, 251 Operation Uphold Democracy; UN Mission in Haiti, UN International Contact Group, 250-251 Stabilization Mission in Haiti UN peacebuilding, 47, 311 n101 background of the conflict in, Gusmão, President Xanana (East 106-108 Timor) Council of Wise Men transitional address to the UN General government, 126-127 Assembly, 191 degeneration into "mob rule," establishment of the National 125, 335 n88 Council of Maubere Resisdeployment of a multinational tance, 193 force to, 125 deterioration of the Haitian initiation of dialogue with Indonesia, 356 n11 National Police, 108 Economic and Social Council letters to Annan and the Security Council, 211 and, 122, 334 n76 meeting with Gen. Wiranto and economic issues, 116–117, 127, Ramos-Horta, 359 n59 129, 335 n96 meeting with Vendrell, 196 election issues, 120, 121, 124, release from prison, 203 129, 130, 332 n67 severing of Falintil's connections factors in the failure to stabilize, with Fretilin, 193-194 127 UN Transitional Administration floods in, 127 in East Timor and, 209 fragility of the transitional gov-Gutteres, José Luis ernment, 129 comparison of the Western illegal drug trafficking, 108–109, Sahara with East Timor, 195 121, 329 n13, 329 n14

Haiti (cont.)	Hassan II, King (Morocco)
kidnappings in, 129	Baker's initial meeting with, 179
security situation in, 129	bid to reclaim the Western
strategic importance of, 106	Sahara, 166–167, 169
UN naval blockade of, 116	commitment to grant autonomy
UN sanctions against, 105, 108,	to Western Sahara, 179, 352
114, 116–117, 331 n54	n60
U.S. interests and, 108–110, 329	friendship with Chirac, 173
n13	"Green March" and, 167
Halo Trust	OAU's guidelines on the Western
role as employer in Abkhazia,	Saharan conflict and, 169,
338 n10	170, 348 n20
Hamilton, John	Holbrooke, Richard
Friends of the Guatemalan Peace	August 2003 attack on UN in
Process and, 89, 232 n53	Iraq, 306 n.65
Hammarksjöld, Secretary-General	role in East Timor, 208
Dag	Holiday, David
advisory committees and, 23–24,	speed of the Guatemalan Peace
302 n12, 302 n13	Process, 323 n51
article 99 and, 300 n3	Houston Accords
defense of the impartiality of the	Western Saharan conflict and, 179
secretary-general, 21	Howard, Prime Minister John (Australia)
forms of interaction with states, 22–23	
	letter to Pres. Habibie, 198, 357 n29
"Peking formula" for negotiations with China, 20–21	role in East Timor, 207
Thailand-Cambodia border dis-	Human Rights Watch
pute and, 24	criticism of Saakashvili, 339 n22
Hampson, Fen Osler	Hume, Cameron
Taming Intractable Conflicts, 8	Iran-Iraq war and, 25
Handal, Schafik	Hun Sen regime in Cambodia, 27
letters to Mikhail Gorbachev, 58	Hurricane Mitch
Hannay, David	damage to Central America, 98
Friends of Western Sahara and,	damage to General I micrica, 50
350 n45	Iberoamerican Summit, 67
role in Cyprus, 236, 369 n50	ICGL. See International Contact
Harston, Julian	Group on Liberia
relationship with Friends of the	ICGM. See Informal Consultation
Secretary-General for Haiti, 120	Group on Myanmar
UN Mission in Haiti and, 332 n64	ICGMRB. See International Contact
Hasegawa, Sukehiro	Group on the Mano River
role in East Timor, 202, 217, 218,	Basin
364 n105, 364 n106	ICJ. See International Court of Justice
	•

IDB. See Inter-American Develop- ment Bank	Inter-American Democratic Charter accusation by CARICOM that
IGAD. See Intergovernmental Authority on Development	the United States had failed to respect the charter, 127
IGAD Partners Forum activities of, 251, 376 n117	Inter-American Development Bank Core Group and, 128
IMF. See International Monetary Fund	Guatemalan peace process and, 92, 98, 99
India	INTERFET. See International Force
role in Afghanistan, 231	for East Timor
role in Myanmar, 365 n12	Intergovernmental Authority on
role in Nepal, 39, 267	Development
role in Sri Lanka, 268, 378 n4	conflict mediation and resolution
Indonesia	role, 41
accountability issues, 210–211	role in Sudan, 251–252
Act of Free Choice, 196, 356	International Civilian Mission in
n22	Haiti
All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese	deployment of, 113
Dialogue and, 196	evactuations of, 116, 117
annexation of East Timor, 194,	funding issues, 334 n78
355 n9	human rights monitoring and
Commission for Truth and	institution building responsi-
Friendship, 210–211	bilities, 118, 119
elections of 1999, 203–206, 359	success of, 330 n38
n61	International Civilian Support
human rights violations, 194,	Mission in Haiti
210	closure of, 124
Jakarta Informal Meetings on	extension of the mandate for, 123
Cambodia, 27–28	Friends of the Secretary-General
peace agreement in Aceh and,	for Haiti role, 123
42–43, 308 n86	funding issues, 122, 123
Peoples' Consultative Assembly,	replacement of MIPONUH, 332
199	n60
role in East Timor, 191, 193, 194,	International Commission to Accom-
198–199, 203–204, 205–206,	pany the Transition in the DRC
210–211, 219	establishment and activities of,
treaty with Australia concerning	247, 374 n99
the Timor Gap, 195	relationship with the Security
Informal Consultation Group on	Council, 47
Myanmar	International Contact Group on
composition of, 226, 227	Guinea-Bissau
formats for, 227	establishment and activities of,
utility of, 227	250–251

International Contact Group on Liberia establishment and activities of, 248, 249–251, 257, 264, 266 leadership of, 46–47 International Contact Group on the Mano River Basin establishment and activities of, 250	Ireland Framework Agreement on the Status of Western Sahara and, 183 Friends of Western Sahara and, 352 n73, 352 n77 Ismail, Razali role in Myanmar, 226–228 Italy
International Contact Group on Somalia composition of, 374 n89	role in Afghanistan, 230, 231, 367 n26
formation of, 244, 373 n88, 374	Jamaica
n89	invitation to join the Friends of
International Court of Justice	the Secretary-General for
self-determination of Western	Haiti, 122, 271, 334 n77
Sahara, 165, 167	Japan
International Force for East Timor	contributions to the UN Mission
Australian contribution to, 207	in East Timor, 204, 358 n44
authorization for, 207, 208	financial assistance to Indonesia,
Core Group on East Timor role,	202
220	peacekeeping operations and,
International Monetary Fund	202
economic bailout of Indonesia and, 360 n68	role in East Timor, 191, 202, 204, 215, 218, 220, 364 n113
economic condition of Haiti	role in Sri Lanka, 378 n4
and, 129	Jensen, Eric
El Salvador's commitments to, 92	role in the Western Saharan conflict, 175, 350 n44
Guatemalan peace process and,	Johnson, Hilde
92, 98, 326 n76	role in Sudan, 252
IPF. See IGAD Partners Forum	Jones, Bruce D.
Iran	coordination of peace implemen-
role in Afghanistan, 229, 230,	tation, 277
231, 366 n21, 367 n26	Jordan
Iran-Iraq war	role in Middle East peace process,
Security Council and, 25, 26,	238
303 n26	200
Iraq	Kagame, President Paul (Rwanda)
attack on UN staff, 37, 306 n65	support for the Democratic
invasion of Kuwait, 25	Republic of the Congo, 246
U.S. invasion of, 36–38, 306 n63,	Kakabadze, Malkhaz
306 n65, 307 n68	Boden paper and, 151, 343 n71
500 HO5, 507 HO0	171, 272 II/1

Kenya role in Sudan, 224, 252	Latortue, Prime Minister Gérard (Haiti)
Kerr-McGee	meeting with the Core Group, 130
contract with Morocco to explore	Lavrov, Sergei
the waters off Western Saĥara,	Bush's visit to Georgia and, 339
172–173, 349 n31	n23
Khajimba, Raul	Lebanon
Abkhazia elections and, 158	Core Group on Lebanon, 38, 307
Khare, Atul	n72
appointment of, 218, 364 n113	UN role, 38–39, 307 n72
Ki-Moon, Secretary-General Ban	U.S. role, 38–39, 307 n72
takes office, 282	Leissner, Maria
King, Charles	Dialogue Group of donor states
nature of the Georgian-Abkhaz	role, 98
conflict, 138	LeMoyne, James
Kissinger, Henry	role in Colombia, 241–243, 372
Indonesian annexation of East	n81
Timor and, 355 n9	León de Carpio, President Ramiro
meeting with Suharto, 193	(Guatemala)
Kosovo	caretaker government of, 82, 87
Contact Group on the former	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
Yugoslavia and, 44, 309 n92	international conferences on
NATO role, 36, 208	Sri Lanka and, 378 n6
Quint and, 44, 309 n92	Liberia
UN role, 34, 35–36	Comprehensive Peace Agree-
Kozyrev, Foreign Minister Andrei	ment, 249–250, 375 n111
(Russia)	Economic Community of West
Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and,	Africa Monitoring Group in
139, 147	Liberia, 341 n43
Krasno, Jean	International Contact Group on
Carnegie Commission on Pre-	Liberia, 248, 249–251, 257
venting Deadly Conflict	sanctions against, 248
and, 5	UN Mission in Liberia, 250
Kuwait	UN Observer Mission in Liberia,
	341 n43
Iraq's invasion of, 25 U.S. involvement in, 172	
U.S. involvement in, 172	UN Peacebuilding Support
I - 1 II	Office in Liberia, 248–249,
Ladsous, Hervé	375 n104
Friends of the Secretary-General	UN peacekeeping operation in, 34
for Haiti and, 112, 113	Libya
Laheurte, Louise	military assistance to Polisario, 168
Western Saharan conflict and,	responsibility for the Lockerbie
176	bombing, 35

Lie, Secretary-General Trygve	Malaysia
Berlin Crisis and, 24	role in East Timor, 217, 218
invocation of article 99, 300 n3	Malone, David
Lobato, Rogerio	Friends of the Secretary-General
East Timor police force and, 214,	for Haiti and, 113, 332 n57
216	Malval, Prime Minister Robert
resignation of, 217	(Haiti)
Longchamp, Fritz	appointment of, 116
lobbying by Haiti for support from	Mansur, Omar
the Security Council and, 114	Polisario and, 171
Lopes Cabral, Alfredo	Marker, Jamsheed
International Civilian Support	role in East Timor, 197, 199, 200,
Mission in Haiti and, 123,	201, 205, 357 n24, 357 n27
334 n81	Martin, Ian
relationship with Friends of the	role in Nepal, 39, 217
Secretary-General for Haiti,	role in East Timor, 205, 207,
120	217–218, 364 n107
UN Mission in Haiti and, 332 n64	Mauritania
Loshchinin, Valery	decolonization of Western
meetings on the Boden paper	Sahara and, 165, 166
and, 156	Madrid Accords and, 167
LTTE. See Liberation Tigers of Tamil	Western Saharan conflict and,
Eelam	350 n39, 350 n43
Lusaka Protocol, 46	McWilliams, Edmund
Lutheran World Federation	Alatas and the tripartite agree-
Guatemalan peace process and,	ment, 357 n33
84, 85, 321 n20	shift in U.S. policy on Indonesia,
Lynch, Dov	358 n42
nature of the Georgian-Abkhaz	Menkerios, Haile
conflict, 138	role in the Democratic Republic
	of the Congo, 246–247
Macfarlane, S. Neil	Mérimée, Jean-Bertrand
"statist" nature of the United	Friends of Georgia and, 142
Nations effect on aid to	Merrem, Gerd
Abkhazia, 341 n39	MINUGUA leadership, 98
Machakos Protocol	Mexico
provisions, 253	Contadora group and, 54, 62
Madrid Accords	contribution to ONUSAL's
provisions, 167	military division, 317 n71
Major, Prime Minister John (Great	Dialogue Group and, 99
Britain)	facilitation of the return of
UN role in peace and security	refugees to Guatemala, 321
and, 29	n26

Friends of the Guatemalan Peace Mitterand, President François Process role, 79, 85–87, (France) 89-96, 101, 102 meeting with Pres. Pérez of Friends of the Secretary-General Venezuela on Haiti, 110 for El Salvador role, 60, Mohammed VI, King (Morocco) 62-63, 76, 77 economic and political reforms, relations with the United States, friendship with Chirac, 173 role in Colombia, 240, 242, 371 referendum on Western Sahara n69, 372 n76 and, 180 URNG's relationship with, 86 Moi, President Daniel arap (Sudan) Western Saharan conflict and, role in Sudan, 252 183 Monroe Doctrine U.S. involvement in Haiti and, MICAH. See International Civilian Support Mission in Haiti 108 MICIVIH. See International Civil-Montaño, Jorge ian Mission in Haiti confidential meetings between the United States and the Middle East peace process Quartet role, 7, 38-39, 238-239, **FMLN**, 70 370 n63 meeting between Salinas and road map, 238-239, 370 n62 Bush, 63 Miles, Richard Pérez de Cuéllar and, 71, 317 n69 U.S. role in the Georgian-Abkhaz personality of de Soto, 65 conflict, 155 United States' role in the Friends Minsk Group of the Secretary-General for composition of, 340 n32 El Salvador, 316 n61 establishment of, 143 Venezuela's rivalry with Mexico, peacemaking efforts, 44 63 MINUGUA. See UN Verification Montobbio, Manuel contribution of the Friends of Mission in Guatemala MINURSO. See UN Mission for the Secretary-General for El the Referendum in Western Salvador, 318 n79 Sahara Morocco MINUSAL. See Mission of the as "administrative power" in United Nations in El Salvador Western Sahara, 177, 351 n52 MINUSTAH. See UN Stabilization decolonization of Western Mission in Haiti Sahara and, 165, 166–167 MIPONUH. See UN Civilian Police expenditures in Western Sahara. Mission in Haiti 168, 348 n13 Miraflores declaration, 66-67 fisheries agreement with the Mission of the United Nations in European Union, 167, 174, 350 n38 El Salvador formation of, 317 n72 Madrid Accords and, 167

Morocco (cont.) "roadmap to democracy," 227 occupation of the island of Perejil, sanctions against, 228 173, 349 n36 United Nations role, 225–228, Peace Plan for Self-Determination 256, 257 for the People of Western Sahara and, 185-186 Namibia. See also Contact Group relationship with Spain, 173-174 on Namibia; UN Transition rivalry with Algeria, 168, 347 Assistance Group n10,347 n11 role in Angola, 233 support for the U.S. involvement role in the Democratic Republic in Kuwait, 172 of the Congo, 246 trade talks with the United States, self-determination of, 26-27 National Council of Maubere 172 Treaty of Friendship, Good Resistance Neighborliness, and Cooperaestablishment of, 193 tion with Spain, 173 National Council of Timorese United States support for, 168, 172 Resistance Western Sahara's self-determinaopposition to elections, 205 tion and, 165, 166-190 proindependence movement and, Moses, Alfred 198, 199 role in Cyprus, 236, 369 n50 National League for Democracy Myanmar elections and, 225 Mozambique Core Group on, 28–29, 46, 277 rearrest of Suu Kyi and, 227 Supervision and Monitoring National Liberation Army Commission, 29 demobilization of paramilitary Mulroney, Prime Minister (Canada) groups and, 242–243 Pérez's request for support for talks with the government, 241 Haiti and, 110 UN role in Colombia and, 240 Museveni, President Yoweri National Reconciliation Com-(Uganda) mission support for the Democratic creation and leadership of, 83 Republic of the Congo, 246 secret talks in Oslo with Guatemalan National Revo-Myanmar ASEAN membership, 225 lutionary Unity, 83, 320 n13 China's role, 225–226 National Resistance geographic location, 225 role in El Salvador, 312 n4 Informal Consultation Group on National Resistance of Mozambique Myanmar, 226–228 peace process and, 29 National Union for the Total Inde-National League for Democracy and, 225 pendence of Angola possibility of creating a group of diamonds as a funding source for, Friends for, 226, 228, 259, 365 232 n14,378 n2 Savimbi's death and, 225

National Vanguard Party	Niasse, Mustapha
role in the Guatemalan peace	role in the Democratic Republic
process, 82, 95	of the Congo, 246–247
Nationalist Republican Alliance	Nicaragua
election of Cristiani and, 56,	explosion of FMLN arms' caches
72	in, 72, 319 n86
macroeconomic policy, 91	victory of the Sandinista Front
meetings with FMLN, 56, 95	for National Liberation over
NATO. See North Atlantic Treaty	the Somoza dynasty, 52
Organization	Nigeria
Negroponte, John	role in Angola, 233
reactivation of the Friends of the	Nikken, Pedro
Secretary-General for Haiti	Miraflores declaration and, 67
and, 125–126	NLD. See National League for
NEPAD. See New Partnership for	Democracy
Africa's Development	Nodia, Ghia
Nepal	Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and,
consideration of formation of	138
Contact Group on, 259–260,	Nongovernmental organizations.
378 n2	See also specific organizations
UN role in, 39–40	as Friends of Burundi, 46, 310
The Netherlands	n100
Core Group on Northern	mediation and conflict resolution,
Uganda and, 377 n1	42–43
East Timor and, 192	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Friends of the Secretary-	Cyprus and, 234
General for El Salvador	Georgia's request for membership
and, 74–75	in, 141
Friends of the UN Mission in	peacekeeping efforts, 277
Ethiopia and Eritrea and, 47,	role in Kosovo, 36, 208
310 n101	Norway
New Friends of Georgia	Core Group on Northern
composition of, 339 n18	Uganda and, 377 n1
creation of, 141	Friends of the Guatemalan Peace
New Partnership for Africa's	Process and, 79, 83, 84–96,
Development	101, 320 n13, 321 n20
Africa Action Plan and, 245	Friends of the Secretary-General
Friends groups and, 244	for El Salvador and, 74–75
New Zealand	peacemaking efforts, 42, 84, 299
role in East Timor, 191, 202, 215,	n22, 320 n17, 320 n19, 321
217, 218, 220	n20
NGOs. See Nongovernmental	role in Angola, 233
organizations	role in Colombia, 240, 241, 242

Norway (cont.) High Commissioner for National role in Middle East, 42 Minorities, 40 peacekeeping efforts, 40, 277 role in Somalia, 244, 373 n88 Russian military bases in Georgia role in Sri Lanka, 268, 378 n4 role in Sudan, 223-224, 251-255 and, 141 Troika role in Sudan, 223–224 Tajikistan peace process and, 148 Organization of American States. Norwegian Church Aid Guatemalan peace process and, See also Friends of the Secretary-84-85, 320 n19 General of the Organization Sudan and, 320 n17 of American States Nuccio, Richard agreement between the Lavalas Friends of the Guatemalan Peace movement and opposition Process and, 89 parties and, 124 Nyunt, Prime Minister Khin Core Group and, 128 (Myanmar) Esquipulas agreement and, 55, removal from office, 228 312 n15 Guatemalan peace process and, 87, 321 n28 OAS. See Organization of American regional conflicts and, 41 States OAU. See Organisation of African role in Haiti, 106, 107, 111, Unity 112, 124, 125, 126, 127, Oil-for-food program, 37 130-131, 132 ONUC. See UN Operation in the role in Venezuela, 44 Santiago Declaration and, 109 Congo ONUCA. See UN Observer Group U.S. domination of, 53-54 in Central America Orr, Robert ONUSAL. See UN Observer Mission Core Group on East Timor comin El Salvador position, 213 ONUV. See UN Verification Office OSCE. See Organization for Security Operation Lifeline Sudan and Cooperation in Europe implementation of, 251, 376 Ould-Abdallah, Ahmedou NGO Friends of Burundi and, 46, n116 Operation Uphold Democracy 310 n100 return of Aristide to power, 118 Organisation of African Unity. See PACE. See Parliamentary Assembly also African Union of the Council of Europe respect for state sovereignty, 41 Pakistan role in Liberia, 248 role in Afghanistan, 229–231, Western Sahara's self-366 n21, 367 n27, 367 n30 determination and, 165, UN Good Offices Mission in 168-169, 170-171, 347 n11 Afghanistan and Pakistan Organization for Security and Coopand, 21 eration in Europe PAN. See National Vanguard Party

Panama Contadora group and, 54 Papadopoulos, President Tassos (Cyprus) Annan Plan for Cyprus and, 237, 370 n58 Paris Peace Conference peace process for Cambodia,	effectiveness of, 51 end of the term of, 71 Friends of the Secretary-General for El Salvador role, 66–67, 69–71, 317 n63 Iran-Iraq war and, 25 meeting with President Bush, 68–69
28	nonpaper soliciting views on
Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe criticism of Saakashvili, 339	mechanism to support dia- logue on El Salvador, 59 peacemaking efforts and, 24–25
Pastrana, President Andrés	personality of, 33
(Colombia)	photograph of, 1–2
peace process and, 239, 242,	Pilgrimage for Peace, 1
256	UN assistance to Haiti and,
Pastukhov, Boris	110–111
Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and,	Western Sahara's self-
140	determination and, 165,
Patten, Chris	169–170, 171, 190, 352 n60
Quartet and, 370 n63	Perina, Rudolph
PCS. See Salvadoran Communist	meetings on the Boden paper
Party	and, 156
People's Revolutionary Army	Peru
role, 312 n4	Rio de Janeiro Protocol and, 44
Pérez, President Carlos Andrés	Pezzullo, Lawrence
(Venezuela)	appointment of, 114
Friends of the Guatemalan Peace	Governors Island Agreement
Process and, 85, 321 n24	and, 115
meeting with Pres. Mitterand of	resignation of, 117
France on Haiti, 110	Philipson, Liz
Miraflores declaration and,	international conferences on Sri
66–67, 316 n53	Lanka, 378 n6
request to the OAS for support	"systemic state bias" and conflict
for Haiti, 111	resolution, 269
Salvadoran peace process and,	Pickering, Ambassador Thomas
63, 66–67, 316 n53	Friends of the Secretary-General
support for UN intervention in	for El Salvador role, 70
Haiti, 110, 111	Pico de Coaña, Ambassador Yago
Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General	role in Colombia, 371 n72
Javier	Pilgrimage for Peace (Pérez de
Contadora group role, 54–55	Cuéllar), 1

Polisario	Cyprus and, 234
compared with the Revolutionary	emergence of groups and, 3, 19,
Front for an Independent East	24–33, 48, 281
Timor, 195	transformation of the United
declaration of Western Sahara's	Nations and, 19
independence, 167	Powell, Colin
guerrilla actions, 166, 168	views on U.S. involvement in
incursions into Western Sahara, 168	Haiti, 109–110 Powles, Michael
military assistance to, 168	role in East Timor, 202
antagonism to Boutros-Ghali,	Prantl, Jochen
170–171, 349 n26	The UN Security Council and
opposition to de Soto, 186	Informal Groups of States,
relationship with Baker, 186	5–6
support from the United States,	Prendergast, Kieran
350 n44	Guatemalan peace process and,
ties with Spain, 173, 349 n35	96, 324 n62
Western Saharan self-	Quartet and, 370 n59
determination and, 168–172,	role on Afghanistan, 366 n24
176–179, 181–182, 184,	role on East Timor, 200, 205–206,
186–188, 189, 353 n81, 353	207, 357 n34, 359 n60
n82, 353 n87	role on Sudan, 251–252, 376
Popular Front for the Liberation of	n118
Saguia el Hamra and Rio de	UN role in Kosovo, 36
Oro. See Polisario	Préval, President René (Haiti)
Popular Liberation Forces	Aristide's influence over, 119
role, 312 n4	Brahimi's meetings with, 120
Porras, Gustavo	election of, 130
Guatemalan peace process and, 92	popular support for, 130
Portillo, President Alfonso	relationship with the United
(Guatemala)	Nations, 120, 129
government of, 98, 99, 326 n80	Primakov, Yevgeny (Russia)
Guatemalan peace process and,	Russian role in Georgia and,
95, 98	139, 147
Portugal	PRTC. See Central American Revo-
contributions to the UN Mission	lutionary Workers' Party
in East Timor, 204	Putin, President Vladimir (Russia)
role in Angola, 232, 233–234	meeting with Shevardnadze at
role in East Timor, 192, 194, 195,	Sochi, 156, 157
198, 199, 204, 205, 212, 215,	Geneva process and, 156, 157
217, 218, 219, 361 n81	relationship with Georgia, 159
Post–Cold War period. See also	role in the Georgian-Abkhaz
Cold War	conflict, 136, 337 n2
	, , ,

Quadripartite Agreement on the Reagan administration Return of Refugees and Disrelations with Mexico and, 62 placed Persons role in El Salvador, 56 provisions, 341 n38 Regional organizations. See also Quartet specific organizations composition of, 7, 238, 370 n59 peacekeeping efforts, 39-40 Revolutionary Armed Forces of creation of, 238 de Soto views of, 238-239, 370 Colombia n63 agreement with the Colombian dynamics within, 239, 370 n63 government on a "friendly functions of, 7, 238–239 countries" group, 372 n75 road map on the Middle East and, demobilization of paramilitary 238-239, 370 n62 groups and, 242-243 "Euro tour" for, 371 n70 Rød-Larsen and, 238-239 role in the Middle East peace international opinion of, 372 n79 process, 38–39, 238–239, 370 kidnappings by, 241, 242, 372 n62, 370 n63 United Nations role in Colombia Quezada Toruño, Bishop Rodolfo and, 240, 371 n71 Assembly of Civil Society and, 87 Friends of the Guatemalan Peace Revolutionary Front for an Indepen-Process and, 86 dent East Timor National Reconciliation Comcompared with Polisario, 195 mission leadership, 83 control of the territory, 192 Quint political imbalances and, 216 formation of, 44, 309, n92 severing of connections with Falintil, 193–194 Rio de Janeiro Protocol, 44 Ramírez Ocampo, Augusto UN Observer Mission in El Riza, Igbal Salvador and, 74 UN Observer Mission in El Sal-Ramos Horta, José vador and, 66, 74 self-generating nature of Friends letters to Annan and the Security Council, 211 groups, 379 n15 meeting with Gen. Wiranto and RN. See National Resistance Gusmão, 359 n59 Robinson, Randall Nobel Peace Prize award, 194 hunger strike protesting U.S. request for military aid from activities in Haiti, 117 Australia, 218, 364 n110 Rød-Larsen, Terje resignation as Foreign Minister, Middle East peace process and, 217 238–239, 320 n17 United States' position shift on Quartet role, 238-239 East Timor and, 363 n94 Roman Catholic Church RAND Corporation Assembly of Civil Society, 82 study of nation building, 118–119 Guatemalan peace process and, 81 Roman Catholic Church (cont.) meetings between the Nationalist Republican Alliance and FMLN, 56 opposition to "Baby Doc" Duvalier, 107 role in Colombia, 242 Romero, Archbishop Oscar assassination of, 53 Rosenthal, Gert MINUGUA role and, 99, 327 n84 Roth, Stanley role in East Timor, 201 Roy, Stapleton contradictory messages on the Indonesian militias, 359 n51 Russia, See also Soviet Union criticism of the Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti, 122 Friends of Georgia role, 142, 145-147, 161-162, 342 n51 Friends of Western Sahara role, 16, 166, 174, 183, 184, 187, 350 n39 Georgian-Abkhaz conflict role, 135, 137–138, 139–141, 145-147, 150-163, 267, 342 n46, 342 n49, 342 n51 Georgia's arrest of Russian military intelligence officers on espionage charges and, 160-161 Middle East peace process and, multinational force for Indonesia and, 360 n69 relationship with Georgia, 138, 140, 141, 154–155, 159, 267, 339 n23, 344 n85 role in Afghanistan, 229–231, 267 n30 role in Angola, 232, 233-234

role in Cyprus, 236, 237, 369 n51 role in Tajikistan, 267 Rwanda role in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 246 United Nations role, 32

Saakashvili, President Mikheil (Georgia) accusation that Russia had blown up Georgia's gas pipeline, 159 appeal to the United Nations, 141 Bush's comments on, 141 commitment to Georgia's territorial integrity, 139, 158 criticisms of, 141, 339 n22 leadership of, 138-139 relationship with Western leaders, 140-141 SADC. See Southern African Development Community Saddam Hussein Annan's negotiations with, 20 SADR. See Saharan Arab Democratic Republic Saharan Arab Democratic Republic admission to the OAU, 169 Boutros-Ghali's opposition to entrance of SADR to the OAU, 170-171 as the independent state of Western Sahara, 167 Sahnoun, Mohamed role in Sudan, 252, 253 Salinas de Gortari, President Carlos (Mexico) Friends of the Secretary-General for El Salvador and, 62–63 Guatemalan peace process and, 86 meeting with George H.W. Bush, 63

Saltford, John

UN role in West Papua, 356 n22

article 99 of the UN charter and, Salvadoran Communist Party role, 312 n4 20, 300 n3 article 100 (2) of the UN charter Samayoa, Salvador on the FMLN's problem with and, 301 n11 the Central American peace creation of Friends groups, 30-31, 33 process, 313 n22 views of Friends of the Secretaryenvoys' roles, 35 good offices concept, 20-24, General for El Salvador, 65 27-28, 34, 35, 61, 302 n18 Sambanis, Nicolas factors contributing to "sustainimpartiality of, 21–22 able peace," 300 n29 peacemaking efforts during the Samuel, Tamrat Cold War, 24 role of, 20-24 role in East Timor, 195–196, 197, "tools" for, 22-23 357 n28, 364 n107 role in Nepal, 39 Security Council San José Forum Ad Hoc Working Group on ties between Central America Conflict Prevention and and Europe and, 315 Resolution in Africa, 47–48, n44 244-245, 311 n104 Sandinista Front for National Contadora group and, 55 Liberation Economic and Social Council, victory over the Somoza govern-122, 334 n76 ment in Nicaragua, 52 Extended P-5 group in Cambodia, view of the OAS, 53-54 28 Santamaria, Oscar Friends groups and, 45-46 Friends of the Guatemalan view of Friends of the Secretary-General for El Salvador, 73 Peace Process and, 91, 95, 324 Santiago Declaration n58 provisions, 109 Friends of the Secretary-General Saudi Arabia for El Salvador and, 73, 75, 77 role in Middle East peace process, 238 Friends of the Secretary-General Savimbi, Jonas for Georgia and, 149, 153, death of, 225, 233, 264 154, 161, 344 n80 elections of 1992 and, 232 Friends of the Secretary-Schori, Pierre General for Haiti and, 106, role in Côte d'Ivoire, 250, 375 111, 114, 116, 117–118, n113 122, 125, 127, 133, 332 Secretary-general of the United n57 Nations. See also Friends of funding for operations, 323 n45 the Secretary-General for Georgian-Abkhaz conflict specific countries; specific and, 135–136, 142, 145, secretaries-general 150, 153,

Security Council (cont.)	changes in the international
154, 338 n7, 341 n37, 341 n38,	environment after, 225, 269
341 n39	Sudan's collaboration on the war
growth in the number of resolu-	on terrorism, 252
tions passed by, 30	Serrano Elías, President Jorge
Iran-Iraq war and, 25, 26, 303	(Guatemala)
n25	autogolpe of, 82, 87, 321 n28
Note by the President of the	meeting with Guatemalan
Council on groups of Friends,	National Revolutionary
45–46	Unity, 83
ONUSAL expansion and, 73	peace process and, 83, 84–87
peacekeeping operation in	Sharma, Karmalesh
Lebanon, 39	role in East Timor, 210
perceived bias of, 36, 144	Shelley, Toby
"permanent five" members, 25–	voter identification in Morocco
26, 45	and, 180
post–Cold War transformation	Shevardnadze, President Eduard
of, 19	(Georgia)
role in Afghanistan, 230	becomes president of Georgia, 137
role in Cyprus, 234–235, 236,	Cuba's support for FMLN,
368 n43, 368 n49	314 n24
role in East Timor, 191–192, 192,	meeting with Annan, 150
203–207, 208–211, 213–219,	meeting with Putin at
220, 221–222, 359 n60	Sochi,156–157
role in Myanmar, 225–226, 366	meeting with Yeltsin, 147
n15	ouster of, 138
role in Sierra Leone, 248	proposed meeting with the
role in Somalia, 244	FMLN, 58
role in the Democratic Republic	relationship with Western
of the Congo, 246	leaders, 140–141
role in the Western Saharan	role in ending the Cold War, 143
conflict, 165–166, 167, 170,	role in the Georgian-Abkhaz
174–186, 187, 188, 189	conflict, 136, 137, 140, 142,
sanctions against Liberia, 248	146, 342 n50
transparency issues, 45	Shwe, Gen. Than
two-tiered structure of, 45	removal of Prime Minister Khin
UN Observer Group in Central	Nyunt from office and, 228
America and, 55	Sierra Leone
vetoes by permanent members,	Contact Group on, 248
25, 302 n25	Core Group on, 248, 375 n103
workshop on the Mano River	UN peacekeeping operation in,
Union, 249	34
September 11 terrorist attacks	Sihanouk, Prince (Cambodia), 27

Singapore	Cambodian peace process and,
Friends of Western Sahara and,	28, 303 n35
352 n73, 352 n78	dissolution of, 70–71
Skauen, Peter	Farabundo Martí Liberation
Guatemalan peace process and,	Front and, 58
84–85	Guatemalan National Revolu-
Soderberg, Nancy	tionary Unity and, 319 n5
role in East Timor, 202	invasion of Afghanistan and, 21,
Solomon, Richard	26, 56
Cambodian peace process and,	Namibia and, 26–27
27	post–Cold War relationship with
Somalia	the United States, 19
Committee of Friends of , 244,	support for Vietnam, 27
373 n87	Spain
Council of Somali Islamic	attempted meeting with the
Courts, 244	Guatemalan National Revo-
death of U.S. Army Rangers in,	lutionary Unity, 320 n12
32, 115	contribution to ONUCA, 64
Meetings of External Actors on,	contribution to ONUSAL's
244, 373 n88	military division, 317 n71
International Contact Group on,	decolonization of Western
244, 373 n88, 374 n89	Sahara, 165, 166–167, 173,
Transitional Federal Government,	188
244	Dialogue Group in Guatemala
Somoza, Anastacio	and, 99
Sandinista Front for National	fishing agreement with Morocco,
Liberation and, 52	167, 174
South Africa	Friends of the Guatemalan Peace
Namibia and, 26–27, 57–58	Process role, 79, 89–96, 97,
role in Angola, 233	102, 323 n52, 325 n69, 328
role in Côte d'Ivoire, 250	n90
role in the Democratic Republic	Friends of the Secretary-General
of the Congo, 246, 247, 374	for El Salvador role, 60, 61,
n97	63–64, 70, 77, 102
South Korea	Friends of Western Sahara role,
role in Myanmar, 227	166, 171, 173–174, 183, 187
Southern African Development	Madrid Accords and, 167
Community	relationship with Morocco,
conflict mediation and resolution	173–174
role, 41	role in Colombia, 241, 242, 371
Soviet Union. See also Common-	n72
wealth of Independent States;	role in Haiti, 123–124
Russia; specific republics	ties with Polisario, 173, 349 n35

Spain (cont.) Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness, and Cooperation with Morocco, 173	competing levels of interest and commitment from the international community and, 255, 377 n132
URNG's relationship with, 86 SPLA. See Sudan People's Liberation Army	Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 254, 377 n129 consideration of forming Friends
SPLM/A. See Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army	of Darfur, 259, 378 n2 Contact Group on, 254
Sri Lanka Norway's role in, 320 n17	Darfur crisis, 253–255 Darfur Peace Agreement,
Sri Lanka Donor Cochairs Group composition of, 268, 378 n4	254–255 IGAD Partners Forum, 251
Stälsett, Gunnar	Intergovernmental Authority on
Oslo meeting on Guatemala role, 85, 320 n19	Development, 251–252, 256 Islamic fundamentalism and, 252
Stanley, William	Machakos Protocol, 253
speed of the Guatemalan Peace	Operation Lifeline Sudan, 251
Process, 323 n51	regional environment and,
Stedman, Stephen John	266–267
Ending Civil Wars: The Implementa- tion of Peace Agreements, 12–13	Sudan People's Liberation Army, 253, 254
Stein, Eduardo	Sudanese People's Liberation
Friends of the Guatemalan Peace	Movement/Army and, 251,
Process and, 93	256
Stein, Ricardo donor coordination in	Troika role, 223–224, 251–255, 256, 264
Guatemala views, 97–98	UN Mission in Sudan, 254, 378
Stephanopoulos, George	n2
U.S.S. Harlan County incident	United Nations role, 223, 251–255
and, 115	Sudan People's Liberation
Suanzes Pardo, Brig. Gen. Victor	Army/Movement
contribution to ONUSAL's	peace process and, 251, 253, 254
military division, 317 n71	Suharto, President
Subregional organizations. See also	fall of, 197
specific organizations	Indonesia's annexation of East
Conflict management and,	Timor and, 194
39–40, 41	meeting with Pres. Ford and
Sudan	Kissinger, 193
Assessment and Evaluation	"New Order" regime, 193
Commission, 254	relationship with the United
Cease-fire Political Commission, 254	States, 358 n41
4J †	rise to power, 193

Sukarnoputri, Megawati rivalry with Habibie, 199	Tajikistan. See also UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan
Sumbeiywo, Gen. Lazaro role in Sudan, 252, 253, 257	informal group of Friends of , 30, 48–149
Supplement to the Agenda for Peace	Inter-Tajik negotiations, 148
(Boutros-Ghali), 33	regional actors and, 147, 267,
Support Groups	342 n56
Contadora group, 54	United Nations involvement in
East Timor and, 200, 220	the peace process, 32, 147–149
U.S. military Support Group in	Takasu, Yukio
Haiti, 332 n65	interest in East Timor, 202
Sustainment and Stability Opera-	Taming Intractable Conflicts (Crocker,
tions Program	Hampson, and Aall), 8
Georgia and, 141	Taylor, President Charles (Liberia)
Suu Kyi, Aung San	departure of, 249, 250, 264, 266
detention of, 225	election of, 248
rearrest of, 227	peace process and, 249
release of, 227, 366 n15	ter Horst, Enrique
Sweden	Friends of the Secretary-General
Dialogue Group of donor states	for El Salvador role, 74
and, 98, 326 n77, 326 n78	relationship with Friends of the
Friends of the Guatemalan Peace	Secretary-General for Haiti,
Process and, 90, 322 n41	119–120, 121
Friends of the Secretary-General	UN Mission in Haiti and, 332
for El Salvador and, 74–75	n64
opinion of the FARC, 372 n79	UN Observer Mission in El
support for United Nations	Salvador and, 74
efforts in Central America, 61,	Thailand
314 n36	role in Myanmar, 228
Swing, William	Thant, Secretary-General U
role in the Western Saharan	article 99 and, 300 n3
conflict, 350 n44	Cuban missile crisis and, 24
U.S. role in Haiti and, 121	Theofilopoulou, Anna
Switzerland	Western Saharan conflict and,
conflict resolution efforts, 42,	176
308 n85	Third-Party Verification Mechanism
role in Colombia, 241, 242	Democratic Republic of the
role in Sudan, 253	Congo and, 247
	Timor-Leste. See East Timor
Tagliavini, Heidi	Timor Sea Treaty
Boden paper and, 151, 153, 154	signing of, 213, 362 n85
Geneva process (2003) and,	Tokatlian, Gabriel
157	troop contributors to Haiti, 128

TotalFinaElf	UN Department of Peacekeeping
contract with Morocco to	Operations
explore the waters off West-	Core Group on East Timor and,
ern Sahara, 172–173, 349	211, 214
n31	East Timor elections of 1999 and,
TPVM. See Third-Party Verification	359 n61
Mechanism	Lessons Learned Unit, 298 n12
Traub, James	mandates for operations in
	Haiti, 122
role of the UN secretary-general, 20	
_ ·	UN Department of Political Affairs
TRNC. See Turkish Republic of	Core Group on East Timor and,
Northern Cyprus	200
Türk, Danilo	East Timor elections of 1999 and,
role in Myanmar, 227	359 n61
Turkey	Mediation Support Unit, 298 n12
Cyprus and, 234, 237	role in East Timor, 196
Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and,	role in Nepal, 39
140, 163	UN Development Programme
relationship with the United	Guatemalan peace process and,
States, 235	98–99
Turkish Republic of Northern	Needs Assessment mission in
Cyprus	Abkhazia, 150, 343 n65
declaration of independence	UN Emergency Force
for, 234	establishment of, 23,
	advisory committee for, 23-24,
Uganda	302 n15
Core Group on Northern	UN Force in Cyprus
Uganda, 259, 377 n1	long-term presence of, 234
role in the Democratic Republic	UN Good Offices Mission in
of the Congo, 246	Afghanistan and Pakistan, 21
Ukraine	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
Friends of the Secretary-General	murder of staff members in West
for Georgia and, 153–154, 163,	Timor, 213
344 n79	UN Integrated Mission in Timor-
UN Assistance Mission to	Leste
Afghanistan	police component, 218, 221
Brahimi's leadership, 231	UN Legal Counsel
UN Civilian Police Mission in	January 2002 letter to the Security
Haiti	Council on Western Sahara,
Argentina's rapid reaction force	174, 349 n31, 350 n38
and, 120, 332 n66	UN Military Observer Mission in
replacement of UNTMIH, 332	Georgia
n6()	role of, 135

UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	UN Mission of Support in East
	Timor
establishment, 165, 190	commitment to the independence
extension of the mandate for,	of East Timor, 209
183	Core Group on East Timor and,
Friends of Western Sahara and,	208
175	extension of, 215
Identification Commission, 177,	mandate for, 213–214
351 n53	UN Observer Group in Central
isolated location of, 175	America
limitations imposed on, 188	Esquipulas agreement and, 55,
Moroccan control of, 171	313 n16
proposed termination of, 185	Security Council authorization
proposed withdrawal of, 182	for, 55
unanimous votes taken by the	Spain's contribution to, 64
Security Council and, 176	UN Observer Mission in El Salvador
UN Mission in Angola	Colombia, Venezuela, and
establishment and leadership	Spain's contribution to, 64,
of, 234	317 n71
UN Mission in East Timor	end of, 317 n72
attack on, 205	expansion of, 73
Australian contributions, 204	mediation role, 73
Core Group on East Timor and,	UN Observer Mission in Georgia
201	authorization of, 142
detailed plans for, 203	mandate renewals for, 154, 159,
funding for, 203, 204–205, 358	160, 161
n37	monitoring of the cease-fire with
Timorese refugees and, 207	Abkhazia, 135, 138, 346 n111
UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea	role as employer in Abkhazia,
Friends of, 47, 310 n101	338 n10
UN Mission in Haiti	UN Observer Mission in Liberia
Canada's role, 120	authorization of, 341 n43
mandate for, 118, 332 n59	UN Office in East Timor
replacement by subsequent UN	establishment of, 210
missions, 332 n60	mandate for, 216
UN Mission in Liberia	support for, 211
establishment and activities of,	UN Operation in the Congo
250, 375 n110	Hammarksjöld's creation of, 23
UN Mission in Sudan	UN Peacebuilding Commission
responsibilities of, 254	creation of, 6, 38, 259
UN Mission of Observers in	Organizational Committee's
Tajikistan	country-specific meetings, 11,
monitoring role, 148, 149	299 n27

UN Peacebuilding Support Office in UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, 28 Liberia UN Verification Mission in establishment and activities of, 248-249, 375 n104 Guatemala The UN Security Council and Informal demobilization of the URNG, Groups of States (Prantl), 5–6 323 n46 UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti mandate for, 94, 102-103 peace process role, 95–96, coordination and liaison mecha-98-100, 102-103 nisms, 127–128 Core Group, 127–131 successful deployment of, 92 criticism of, 129 **UN Verification Office** damage to the reputation of, El Salvador role, 317 n72 129-130, 337 n110 UNAMA. See UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan establishment of, 127 funding issues, 130 UNAMET. See UN Mission in East resistance of Haiti to recommen-Timor UNDP. See UN Development dations by, 129 troop contributors, 128, 130, 336 Programme UNEF. See UN Emergency Force n102 working relationships with inter-UNFICYP. See UN Force in Cyprus national partners, 130 UNITA. See National Union for UN Support Mission in Haiti the Total Independence of replacement of UNMIH, 332 Angola United Kingdom UN Transition Assistance Group Core Group on Northern Namibia settlement and, 27 Uganda and, 377 n1 UN Transition Mission in Haiti Friends of Georgia role, 142, 155, replacement of UNSMIH, 332 156, 345, n89 n60 Friends of Western Sahara role, UN Transitional Administration in 166, 182–183 East Timor role in Afghanistan, 231 role in Angola, 233 assessments of, 361 n72 Core Group on East Timor and, role in Cyprus, 225, 235, 236, 237 208, 210-211, 221 role in East Timor, 191, 201, extension of mandate for, 210 202–203, 212, 215, 355 n8, planning for, 208, 209, 360 n70 363 n95 role in Sierra Leone, 248 relationship with Gusmão and, 209 role in Sudan, 223–224, 251–255 relationship with the Security role in the Democratic Republic Council, 209-210 of the Congo, 246 timeframe for East Timor's indesuspension of the sale of Hawk pendence and, 210, 361 n74 fighters to Indonesia, 360 n68 Timorese resistance to, 209 Troika role in Sudan, 223–224

United Nations. See also Secretarydeath of U.S. Army Rangers in General of the United Somalia, 32, 115 Farabundo Martí Liberation Nations; Peacebuilding Commission, Security Council; Front and, 89, 322 n35 specific agencies, countries, de-Friends of Georgia role, 142 partments, offices, and operations Friends of the Guatemalan Peace achievements of the 1990s, 51 Process role, 79, 88–96, 102 Friends of the Secretary-General Africa Action Plan, 46, 239, for El Salvador role, 67-71, 244-245, 310 n98 challenges of Groups in Africa, 74, 318 n80 243-246, 373 n86 Friends of the Secretary-General Contact Groups, 44, 45, 310 n98 for Haiti role, 105-106, expansion of peacekeeping oper-110-134 ations, 29-30, 38 Friends of Western Sahara role, multilateralism and, 30 166, 170, 171–172, 175, 179, oil-for-food program, 37, 306 181, 187, 347 n8, 352 n69 Georgia Train and Equip Program, peacekeeping budget, 30 141, 339 n19, 345 n86 invasion of Iraq, 36–38, 306 n63, post-Cold War conflicts in weak, new states and, 31-33 306 n65, 307 n67 post-Cold War transformation involvement in regional peace of. 19 processes, 267 reform efforts, 37–38 Miraflores declaration and, 67, United Nations charter 316 n53 article 99, 20, 300 n3 Plan Colombia, 239, 240, 370 n64 article 100 (2), 22, 301 n11 post-Cold War relationship with Chapter VII provisions, 31 the Soviet Union, 19 United Self-Defense Forces of preemptive action doctrine, 37, Colombia 306 n63 drug trafficking and, 242 Presidential Decision Directive United States. See also specific leaders 25, 32, 305 n50 and administrations relationship with de Soto, 68–69 accusation by CARICOM of relationship with Indonesia, failure to respect the Inter-201-202, 204, 358 n41 American Democratic relationship with Turkey, 235 Charter, 127 role in Afghanistan, 228, Congressional Black Caucus 229 - 231protests against U.S. policy in role in Angola, 232–234 Haiti, 117 role in Colombia, 240, 371 n69, contributions to the UN Mission 379 n12 in East Timor, 204 role in Cyprus, 225, 235, 236, 237 Core Group on Northern role in the Democratic Republic Uganda and, 377 n1 of the Congo, 246

United States (cont.) UNOMIL, See UN Observer Mission role in East Timor, 191, 193, 195, in Liberia 199, 201–202, 204, 207, UNOTIL. See UN Office in East 212-213, 214-216, 221, 355 n9, 356 n19, 357 n32, 357 UNSMIH. See UN Support Mission n33, 363 n95 in Haiti UNTAC. See UN Transitional role in El Salvador, 2, 53, 67–71, 267, 268, 318 n80 Authority in Cambodia role in Georgia, 141, 155, 161, UNTAET. See UN Transitional 339 n18, 345 n86 Administration in East Timor role in Guatemala, 81, 267 UNTMIH. See UN Transition role in Haiti, 16, 105-134, Mission in Haiti 260-261, 267 Uribe Vélez, President Alvaro role in Middle East, 38-39, 238-(Colombia) 239, 370 n62 election of, 242 role in Myanmar, 226, 227, 366 request for UN assistance, 242 URNG. See Guatemalan National role in Somalia, 244, 374 n89 Revolutionary Unity role in Sri Lanka, 378 n4 Urquhart, Brian role in Sudan, 223-224, 251functioning of the Security 255, 377 n132 Council, 25 support for Morocco, 168, 172 UN oil-for-food program and, support for peace negotiations in 37, 306 n67 El Salvador, 67, 316 n55 U.S. Coast Guard Support Group in Haiti, 332 n65 interception of Haitian refugees, trade talks with Morocco, 172 107-108, 328 n9 Troika role in Sudan, 223–224 U.S. Department of State UN Mission of Support in East contradictory messages on the Timor and, 215, 362 n92 Indonesian militias, 204, UNMEE. See UN Mission in 359 n51 U.S. Navv Ethiopia and Eritrea UNMIH. See UN Mission in Haiti interception of Haitian refugees, UNMIL. See UN Mission in Liberia 107-108, 328 n9 UNMISET. See UN Mission of U.S.S. Harlan County Support in East Timor Haitian protests against the landing of troops on, 115 UNMIT. See UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste UNMOT. See UN Mission of Valdés, Iuan Gabriel Observers in Tajikistan role in Haiti, 124, 129, 130 UNOL. See UN Peacebuilding Van Walsum, Peter Support Office in Liberia role in East Timor, 206, 359 n60 UNOMIG. See UN Observer Western Saharan conflict role, Mission in Georgia 187 - 188

Index 427

Vendrell, Francesc	Vraalsen,Tom
Friends of the Secretary-General	role in Sudan, 376 n116
for Haiti and, 112	
Guatemalan peace process and,	Walker, Ambassador Edward
83–84, 320 n16	description of U.S. involvement
idea for including Jamaica in	in Haiti, 112
the Friends of the Secretary-	Friends of the Secretary-General
General for Haiti, 334 n77	for Haiti and, 113
opposition to the Governors	Friends of Western Sahara and,
Island Agreement, 331, n47	171
role in Afghanistan, 230, 257	Walter, Barbara F.
role in Central America, 55	characteristics of "credible"
role in East Timor, 196, 197, 200,	security guarantees, 317 n70
202, 203, 219	Walters, Gen. Vernon
role in Myanmar, 225, 226	Polisario's opposition to, 349
Venezuela	n26
Contadora group and, 54	Wensley, Penny
contribution to ONUSAL's	role in East Timor, 201, 206, 207
military division, 317 n71	West Africa
Friends of the Guatemalan Peace	Economic Community of West
Process role, 80, 85, 101	Africa role, 248, 249–251
Friends of the Secretary-General	International Contact Group on
for El Salvador role, 60, 63, 76	the Mano River Basin, 250
Friends of the Secretary-General	International Contact Groups,
for Haiti role, 105, 110–116,	248–251
132	Security Council workshop on
Friends of Western Sahara and,	the Mano River Union, 249
174	Western Saharan conflict
URNG's relationship with, 86	Algeria's role, 165, 166–190
Vieira de Mello, Sergio	background of, 166–168
assessment of the UN Transitional	compared with East Timor, 165,
Administration in East Timor,	188–189, 354 n99
361 n72	Framework Agreement on the
death of, 37	Status of Western Sahara,
role in East Timor, 209, 211	181–183, 352 n73, 352 n77,
Vietnam	352 n78, 353 n79
invasion of Cambodia, 27	Friends of the Western Sahara,
normalization of relations with	165–166, 171–175, 189–190
China, 28	Houston Accords and, 179
Villalobos, Joaquín	identification of the electorate,
contacts between FMLN and	169, 170, 171, 177, 179–180,
non-Marxist countries, 270	183–184, 348 n16, 348 n22,
FMLN's use of force and, 57	351 n53

Western Saharan conflict (cont.) Joint Monitoring Committee and, 178 Morocco's role, 165, 166-190 Peace Plan for Self-Determination for the People of Western Sahara, 183–185, 353 n81, 353 n82, 353 n87 phosphate deposits and, 168 Polisario's role, 168–172, 176-179, 181-182, 184, 186-188, 189 pursuit of a "third way" to resolve, 179, 190 referendum after the cease-fire, 170, 348 n21 Spain's decolonization and, 165, 188 UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara, 165, 170, 175, 176, 177, 179–180, 183, 185, 187–188, 190 Weston, Thomas role in Cyprus, 236, 369 n50 Wiranto, General control over Indonesian militias, 205 meeting with Gusmão and Ramos-Horta, 359 n59 Wood, Elisabeth Jean political mobilization in El Salvador, 53 ending civil conflicts, 261 Woolcott, Richard annexation of East Timor and. 355 n8

World Bank
Core Group and, 128
Guatemalan peace process and,
92, 98
loan to Indonesia suspended over
East Timor, 360 n68
donor meetings for East Timor,
209, 361 n71, 362 n83

Yañéz-Barnuevo, Juan Antonio
Friends of the Secretary-General
for El Salvador role, 63, 315
n43
Iberoamerican Summit and, 67
Yaqub-Khan, Sahabzada
role in the Western Saharan
conflict, 171, 175
Yeltsin, President Boris (Russia)
meeting with Shevardnadze and
Ardzinba, 147

Zapatero, Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez (Spain) Spain's relations with Morocco and, 173–174, 354 n93 Zartman, William interests of individual states, 298 n17 "ripeness" concept, 56–57 Zhirinovsky, Vladimir Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and, 155 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe role in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 246