

NOTES

Chapter 1 Leadership in Foreign Policy

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3. Ralph Carter, *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy: From Terrorism to Trade* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2002): 3.
4. Quoted in Carter: 4.
5. Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979).
6. Margaret G. Hermann and Joe D. Hagan, "International Decision Making: Leadership Matters," *Foreign Policy* 100 (Spring 1998): 124–137.
7. Classic pieces in this area include Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, *Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* (Foreign Policy Analysis Project Series No. 3. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954); and Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Glenview: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1971).
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18. Levy, 1989; Joe D. Hagan, *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993).
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23. For a review, see Hermann, Preston, Korany, and Shaw, 2001.
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25. Moravcsik, 1993: 17.
26. Margaret G. Hermann, "Ingredients of Leadership," in *Political Psychology*, edited by Margaret G. Hermann (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1986): 167–192.
27. See n. 12. Also, Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A.M. Henderson and T. Parsons, (New York: Free Press, 1947); Thomas Carlyle,

- “The Hero As King,” in *The Leader's Companion: Insights on Leadership Throughout the Ages*, edited by J. Thomas Wren (New York: The Free Press, 1995): 53–54; Alexander L. George, “Woodrow Wilson’s Political Personality,” in *Political Leadership in Divided Societies*, edited by Anthony Mughan and Samuel Patterson (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1991): 29–71.
28. Martin Burch and Michael Moran, “The Changing British Political Elite,” in Mughan and Patterson, 1991: 123–135; Donald D. Searing, “The Socialization of British Political Leaders,” in Mughan and Patterson, 1991: 171–192.
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 31. Andrea Grove, “The Intra-National Struggle to Define ‘Us’: External Involvement as a Two-Way Street,” *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (2001): 357–388; Andrea Grove, “Theory, Perception, and Leadership Agency: A Multiple Processing Model of Nationalist Mobilization,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 7, no. 2 (2001): 1–32.
 32. Robert Tucker, “Politics as Leadership,” in Mughan and Patterson, 1991: 29–48.
 33. Hermann, 1986.
 34. James A. Baker, *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace, 1989–1992* (New York: Putnam, 1995).
 35. Baker, 1995: 331.
 36. For example, work by Finnemore and others argues that international norms can be an important variable. See Martha Finnemore, “Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology’s Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 50 (1996): 325–348.
 37. Juan Forero, “Chavez, Seeking Foreign Allies, Spends Billions,” *New York Times* (April 4, 2006): A1, A6.
 38. Richard Bernstein, “German Leader Nears the End of Her Political Honeymoon,” *New York Times* (March 23, 2006): A3.
 39. Forero, 2006: A1, A6.
 40. Michael Slackman, “A New Face in Iran Resurrects and Old Defiance,” *New York Times* (January 30, 2006): A1.
 41. For more discussion of this approach and another example, see Ryan K. Beasley, Juliet Kaarbo, Jeffrey S. Lantis, and Michael T. Snarr, eds., *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2002).
 42. Alexander L. George, “Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison,” in *Diplomacy: New Approaches to History, Theory, and Policy*, edited by Paul Lauren (New York: Free Press, 1969): 43–68.
 43. See James M. Goldgeier, *Leadership Style and Soviet Foreign Policy: Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
 44. A. Przeworski and H. Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry* (New York: Wiley, 1970); Tsbelis, 1990.
 45. Alexander L. George, *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1993).

Chapter 2 Forcing Peace: John Hume's "Long Struggle" in Northern Ireland, 1982–1998

1. Brendan O'Leary and John McGarry, *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: The Athlone Press, 1993): 161.
2. John Hume, "Commencement Address at the University of Massachusetts," *Congressional Record*, 131, no. 67 (May 21, 1985): 3.
3. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 1990).
4. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 160, 168.
5. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 170.
6. Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, *The Origins of the Present Troubles in Northern Ireland* (New York: Longman, 1997).
7. The name of the party at this point was Provisional Sinn Fein, having branched off in the North from the Sinn Fein party long based in the Republic. Later the "Provisional" was dropped. For the sake of consistency, SF is used here.
8. Kennedy-Pipe, 1997: 65.
9. Cynthia Irvin, *Paramilitary Politics in Parliamentary Democracies: Militant Nationalism in Ireland and Spain* (Dissertation, Duke University, 1993): 322; see also Kennedy-Pipe, 1997.
10. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 212.
11. Sydney Elliott and Richard A. Wilford, *The 1982 Northern Ireland Assembly Election, Studies in Public Policy* (Glasgow: University of Strathclyde [Center for the Study of Public Policy], 1983): 31.
12. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1981* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 6.
13. Elliott and Wilford, 1983: 32.
14. Bobby Sands was the political prisoner who was the first to die in the 1981 hunger strikes; he was elected in a by-election to replace a deceased member of Parliament, and then died a prisoner shortly after.
15. Quoted in Elliott and Wofford, 1983: 33.
16. To get around censorship issues, this newspaper was established by the republican movement and sold in Catholic neighborhoods.
17. Cynthia Irvin and Eddie Moxon-Browne, "Not Many Floating Voters Here," *Fortnight* (May 1989): 7–9.
18. Barry White, *John Hume, Statesman of the Troubles* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1984): 237.
19. White, 1984: 238.
20. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 213.
21. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 214.
22. Tim Pat Coogan, *The Troubles: Ireland's Ordeal 1966–1995 and the Search for Peace* (Boulder, CO: Roberts Reinhart Publishers, 1996): 90.
23. In the 1982 Assembly elections and 1983 Westminster elections, the Hume/SDLP percentages of the votes were 18.8 percent and 17.9 percent, respectively, compared to 10.1 percent and 13.4 percent for Adams/PSF. Looking at percentage of the nationalist vote, 65.1 percent and 57.2 percent voted for Hume/SDLP and 34.9 percent and 42.8 percent for Adams/PSF. These were monumental gains for SF. In contrast, by the 1986 Westminster by-elections and the 1987 Westminster elections show that Hume/SDLP turned things back around, receiving 12.1 percent and 21.1 percent, respectively, compared to Adams/PSF's 6.6 percent and 11.4 percent. The share of nationalist vote was 64.6 percent and 64.9 percent for Hume/SDLP and 35.4 percent and 35.1 percent for Adams/PSF (Grove, 2001a).

24. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1984* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 3–4.
25. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1985* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 2.
26. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1988* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 5–6.
27. Extensive press clippings from Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland, in author's possession.
28. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Conference, 1988* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 4–5.
29. Brendan O'Leary, "Beyond the Blocs," *Fortnight* (March 1990): 16.
30. Sidney Elliott, "A Post-Mortem on an Unprecedented Poll," *Fortnight* (February 10, 1986): 6–7.
31. Sidney Elliott, "And Then There Were Thirteen," *Fortnight* (July/August 1987): 11–13.
32. Elliott, 1987.
33. Rupert Taylor, "Running on Empty," *Fortnight* (February 1990): 10–11.
34. Kennedy-Pipe, 1997.
35. See Kennedy-Pipe, 1997.
36. Bill Rolston, "Alienation or Political Awareness? The Battle for the Hearts and Minds of Northern Nationalists," in *Beyond the Rhetoric: Politics, The Economy, and Social Policy in Northern Ireland*, edited by Paul Teague (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1987): 78; and William Graham, "Accord Advances Real Says Hume," *Irish News* (November 11, 1986).
37. Kennedy-Pipe, 1997.
38. Kennedy-Pipe, 1997.
39. Rolston, 1987.
40. Kennedy-Pipe, 1997: 161.
41. Kennedy-Pipe, 1997: 162.
42. John Hume, "Why Voters Must Turn Away From Sinn Fein," *Irish News* (February 20, 1997).
43. Jonathan Turner, "Hume 'Confident' of Yes Vote for Deal," *Irish News* (April 14, 1998); William Graham, "Learn from the Past, SDLP Chief Tells North," *Irish News* (April 24, 1998).
44. John Hume, *Address to the SDLP Annual Party Conference, 8 November 1980* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 3.
45. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 213–215.
46. Karen DeYoung, "Key Accord Signed on Northern Ireland: Pact with London Gives Dublin a Role in Troubled Ulster," *Washington Post* (November 16, 1985).
47. Coogan, 1996: 183.
48. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993.
49. Kennedy-Pipe, 1997: 106.
50. Thomas Hennessy, *The Northern Ireland Peace Process: Ending the Troubles?* (New York: Palgrave, 2001): 75.
51. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 228.
52. Hennessy, 2001: 47.
53. In 1974 a "forced" strike engineered by the Ulster Worker's Council to protest against a power-sharing arrangement with the Catholic minority resulted in some of the worst violence of the Troubles before the British government finally declared a state of emergency. Even then, the British soldiers and the RUC dragged their feet to dismantle barricades manned by the UDA (Ulster Defense Association) (Coogan, 1996: 170–171).

54. Hennessy, 2001: 52.
55. Coogan, 1996: 344.
56. Coogan, 1996: 345.
57. Coogan, 1996: 345.
58. Coogan, 1996.
59. Coogan, 1996: 347.
60. Coogan, 1996: 194.
61. White, 1984: 232.
62. The 1988 talks foundered because the focus was on differences in policies, strategies, and goals between SF and the SDLP; perhaps the largest obstacle was Adams's refusal to agree with Hume that Britain was "neutral" and would support unity by consent. In 1993, the talks were more productive because interparty differences were set aside to focus on the issue of an IRA cease-fire and how to get SF into inclusive negotiations. Hume's talks with Adams caused a major rift within the SDLP because SF was at low ebb; dissenters argued that Hume's actions brought SF back from their near-defeat. One SDLP councilor stated, "We helped Sinn Fein and now they are standing on our fingers" (SDLP councilor (anonymous), interview with author, Belfast, September 1997). The joint statements issued by Hume and Adams during this period were especially objectionable to some SDLP members, especially because these statements were faxed to newspapers on SF paper. Further, the fact that Adams and Hume decided not to publish the details of the agreement reached in 1993 created great debate in all circles (Marie-Therese Fay, *The Battle for Control of the Nationalist Agenda: S.D.L.P. and S.F. Competition, 1982-1996* [Dissertation, Queen's University, 1996]).
63. Hennessy, 2001: 72.
64. Coogan, 1996: 364-365.
65. James Goodman, *Nationalism and Transnationalism: The National Conflict in Ireland and European Union Integration* (Brookfield, VT: Avebury, 1996): 114.
66. Kennedy-Pipe, 1997: 168.
67. John Hume, "SDLP Analysis of Nature of Problem," submission to Brooke talks (June 17, 1991, Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 10.
68. John Hume, *Address to the SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1985* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland).
69. For example, see Robert Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
70. See Gene M. Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Beyond Westphalia: State Sovereignty and International Intervention* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
71. O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 332.
72. Coogan, 1996: 364-373.
73. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1996* <<http://www.sdlp.ie>> (1996): 19.
74. Coogan, 1996: 407.
75. Coogan, 1996: 409.
76. Coogan, 1996: 411-412.
77. William Graham, "IRA Ceasefire Still Possible Hume Tells the Loyalists," *Irish News* (December 20, 1996).
78. Jim Fitzpatrick, "SDLP Clarifies Forum Position," *Irish News* (May 21, 1996).
79. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1998* <<http://www.sdlp.ie>> (1998).

80. John Hume, "Time for Rethink All Around," *Irish News* (July 11, 1984).
81. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Fifteenth Anniversary Party Conference, 1985* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 2.
82. John Hume, *Address to the SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1981* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 1–2.
83. Reports of Hume/SDLP success at the European level were covered in the newspapers. For example, "Hume's Rural Fight Victory," *Irish News* (September 10, 1986).
84. Goodman, 1996.
85. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1994* <<http://www.sdpl.ie>> (1994): 5–7.
86. DeYoung, 1985.
87. Paul Bew and Gordon Gillespie, *Northern Ireland: A Chronology of the Troubles, 1968–1993* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1993): 204.
88. Terry McLaughlin, "Hume Secures New U.S. Jobs Initiative," *Irish News* (March 27, 1987).
89. Coogan, 1996: 384. For additional examples of Clinton's "commercial diplomacy," see Conor O'Clery, *The Greening of the White House: The Inside Story of How America Tried to Bring Peace to Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1996).
90. John Hume, *Address to SDLP Annual Party Conference, 1980* (Linen Hall Library Political Collection, Belfast, Northern Ireland): 8.
91. "Hume's Appeal to the I.R.A.," *Irish News* (June 3, 1996).
92. William Graham, "I.R.A. Ceasefire Still Possible Hume Tells the Loyalists," *Irish News* (December 20, 1996).

**Chapter 3 From the Outside In:
George H.W. Bush and the Persian Gulf War,
August 1990–January 1991**

1. Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and Roger K. Smith, *After the Storm: Lessons from the Gulf War* (Lanham, M.D.: Madison Books, 1992): 181.
2. Strobe Talbott, "Status Quo Ante: The United States and Its Allies," in *After the Storm: Lessons from the Gulf War*, edited by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and Roger K. Smith: 22.
3. George H.W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998): 303.
4. Larry Berman and Bruce Jentleson, "Bush and the Post-Cold-War World: New Challenges for American Leadership," in *The Bush Presidency: First Appraisals*, edited by Colin Campbell and Bert A. Rockman (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1991): 120.
5. Lawrence Freedman and Ephraim Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict, 1990–1991: Diplomacy and War in the New World Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993): 25–26.
6. Berman and Jentleson in Campbell and Rockman, 1991: 121.
7. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 23–24.
8. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 37.
9. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 81.
10. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 304.
11. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 79.
12. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 309.
13. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 57–58.
14. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 69.

15. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 313.
16. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 319, 323.
17. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 331, 339, 340.
18. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 324–325.
19. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 323.
20. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 325. After the Iranian revolution, the United States offered to send F-15s to Saudi Arabia to warn the radicals in Iran and show support for the kingdom. Washington announced that the planes were unarmed once they were already on their way.
21. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 353.
22. Talbott in Nye and Smith, 1992: 9.
23. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 82.
24. Jeanne Butterfield, “U.S. Aid to Israel: Funding Occupation in the Aftermath of the Gulf War,” in *Beyond the Storm: A Gulf Crisis Reader*, edited by Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck (New York: Olive Branch Press, 1991): 103–104.
25. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 346.
26. James A. Baker, III with Thomas M. DeFrank, *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace, 1989–1992* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1995): 331.
27. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 359.
28. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 398.
29. Baker, 1995: 331.
30. Bob Woodward, *The Commanders* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991): 36.
31. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 224.
32. Steve A. Yetiv, *The Persian Gulf Crisis* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997): 65.
33. Yetiv, 1997: 19, and Woodward, 1991: 337.
34. Joao Resende-Santos. “The Persian Gulf Crisis: A Chronology of Events,” in *After the Storm: Lessons from the Gulf War*, edited by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and Roger K. Smith: 328.
35. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 413–414.
36. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 345–346.
37. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 346.
38. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998.
39. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 349–352.
40. Talbott in Nye and Smith, 1992: 10.
41. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 354–355.
42. Talbott in Nye and Smith, 1992: 4.
43. David R. Gergen. “The Unfettered Presidency,” in *After the Storm: Lessons from the Gulf War*, edited by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and Roger K. Smith: 177.
44. Gergen in Nye and Smith, 1992: 180.
45. Woodward, 1991: 323.
46. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 303.
47. Yetiv, 1997: xix.
48. Woodward, 1991: 285.
49. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 336.
50. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 363.
51. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 379.
52. Woodward, 1991: 333.
53. Baker, 1995: 331.
54. Woodward, 1991: 338.

55. Woodward, 1991: 338–339.
56. Yetiv, 1997: 25–26.
57. Woodward, 1991: 336.
58. Baker, 1995: 360.
59. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 343.
60. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 405.
61. Baker, 1995: 316.
62. Phyllis Bennis, “False Consensus: George Bush’s United Nations,” *Beyond the Storm: A Gulf Crisis Reader*, edited by Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck (New York: Olive Branch Press, 1991): 119.
63. Baker, 1995: 323.
64. Bennis in Bennis and Moushabeck, 1991: 120.
65. Baker, 1995: 324–325.
66. Baker, 1995: 295.
67. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 348.
68. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 352.
69. Baker, 1995: 284–285.
70. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 352.
71. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 373.
72. Butterfield in Bennis and Moushabeck, 1991: 104.
73. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 347.
74. Butterfield in Bennis and Moushabeck, 1991: 105 (based on articles in the *Washington Post*, October 3 and 16, 1990).
75. Butterfield in Bennis and Moushabeck, 1991: 106 (based on an article in the *New York Times*, January 21, 1991).
76. Woodward, 1991: 363.
77. Baker, 1995: 288.
78. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 216.
79. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 216.
80. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 120.
81. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 123.
82. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 358.
83. Gergen in Nye and Smith, 1992: 181.
84. Gergen (quoting Krauthammer) in Nye and Smith, 1992: 181.
85. Woodward, 1991: 260.
86. Woodward, 1991: 260.
87. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 358.
88. Gergen in Nye and Smith, 1992: 178–179.
89. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 385.
90. Baker, 1995: 303.
91. Gergen in Nye and Smith, 1992: 174.
92. John Mueller, “American Public Opinion and the Gulf War,” in *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War: Leaders, Publics, and the Process of Conflict*, edited by Stanley Renshon (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993): 206.
93. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 415.
94. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 421.
95. Gergen in Nye and Smith, 1992: 177.
96. See Chapter 18 in Freedman and Karsh, 1993.
97. Woodward, 1991: 341.
98. Woodward, 1991: 356.

99. Bush, "Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Persian Gulf Crisis," January 8, 1991, <<http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/papers>>: 1.
100. Baker, 1995: 333.
101. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 318.
102. Berman and Jentleson in Campbell and Rockman, 1991: 116.
103. George H.W. Bush's speeches and statements are all available and freely accessible on the Internet, at the website for the George Bush Presidential Library and Museum (<<http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/papers>>). The references made in this section are repeated in almost all the speeches.
104. On October 8, there were demonstrations at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem that led to violence; Israeli soldiers fired into the crowd, killing 21 Palestinians and wounding over 150. In an effort to head off a more harsh reaction in the United Nations, the United States cosponsored a resolution condemning Israel (Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 378–379).
105. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 389.
106. Bush and Scowcroft. 1998: 374.
107. Bush, "Remarks at a Republican Campaign Rally in Manchester, New Hampshire," October 23, 1990, <<http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/papers>>: 4.
108. Bush, "Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Breakfast in Burlington, Vermont," October 23, 1990, <<http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/papers>>: 4.
109. Woodward, 1991: 316–317.
110. Woodward, 1991: 343.
111. Jarol B. Mannheim, "The War of Images: Strategic Communication in the Gulf Conflict," in *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War: Leaders, Publics, and the Process of Conflict*, edited by Stanley Renshon: 169.
112. Naseer Aruri, "Human Rights and the Gulf Crisis: The Verbal Strategy of George Bush," in *Beyond the Storm: A Gulf Crisis Reader*, edited by Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck: 305–324.
113. Mannheim in Renshon, 1993: 168–169, Yetiv, 1997: 19.
114. Aruri in Bennis and Moushabeck, 1991: 317.
115. Bush and Scowcroft, 1998: 398.
116. Baker, 1995: 336.
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118. Freedman and Karsh, 1993: 227.
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Chapter 4 Resisting Change: Mugabe against the People's Struggle in Zimbabwe, 1998–2005

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Chapter 5 The South African "Miracle": Mandela's Struggle in a Globalized Transition, 1985–1994

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 36. Waldmeir, 1997: 165–166.
 37. Barber, 2004: 1999.
 38. A federal system was a desire the NP shared with the IFP; the NP envisioned a state with a white majority and the IFP would hold power in KwaZulu.
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 40. Note that this was not truly a vote for changing much: the NP slogan was "vote yes if you are scared of majority rule" (Waldmeir, 1997: 198).
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81. Black, 1999: 97.
82. Guelke, 2005: 188.
83. Sampson, 1999: 459–460.
84. Black, 1999: 102.
85. Sampson, 1999: 459.
86. *Mayibuye* 2, 10 (November 1991): 8.
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88. Barber, 2004: 76.
89. Lyman, 2002: 103.
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124. Waldmeir, 1997: 240.
125. Waldmeir, 1997: 247, 250.
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