An Agenda for International Action

Without purposive international action the incidence of civil war will remain high. Based on past trends, global growth will contribute little to a more peaceful world. The rationale for international action is that more widespread peace would confer global benefits. Civil wars inflict immense social costs, but these costs are largely incidental to the combatants and leaders who determine whether they start and end. For the countries directly affected, civil war is development in reverse. Hence a core part of the international constituency for action to reduce the incidence of civil war consists of those who support a reduction in global poverty; however, the potential coalition for action is far larger than this core group. Spillovers from civil wars adversely affect both the regions in which they occur and, through drugs, disease, and terrorism, high-income societies. Given these spillovers, the direct participants in a conflict do not have the moral right to exclude consideration of its effects on the regional and global communities. Yet when Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA rebel group in Angola, decided to go back to war in 1998, neither the adverse economic consequences for neighboring countries, nor the role of Angolan territory as a transit point for coca trafficking to Europe, is likely to have weighed heavily on his mind. Likewise, when President Laurent Gbagbo of Côte d’Ivoire decided to reject the peace settlement that had been agreed on between his government and rebels in January 2003, the likely health repercussions for neighboring countries and the potential for engendering a haven for global crime probably did not feature prominently in his calculations. But they should in ours.
The question is thus not whether the international community has the right to intervene, but whether interventions are available that are likely to be effective at a reasonable cost. Inaction is also expensive. Several civil wars reached the point at which international military intervention became unavoidable. For example, Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Haiti, Rwanda, and Somalia cost outside powers a total of US$85 billion (Brown and Rosecrance 1999). Other strategies do not need to be cheap to be more cost-effective than this military option. Chapter 5 reviewed both national and international policies organized around the different categories of countries that were at risk of conflict. This chapter assembles the most salient of the interventions that require some degree of international action.

**Precedents for International Action**

The background for considering international action is the UN’s Monterrey Conference on Development Finance held in 2002, which produced consensus around the principle of shared responsibilities. To substantially reduce the global incidence of conflict, policy changes are critical both in the OECD countries and in the marginalized, low-income, developing countries. Monterrey is not just crying in the wind: the international community has recently demonstrated an unprecedented capacity for collective action. The Kimberley process, begun in 2000, has introduced regulation into the diamonds trade, making it harder for rebel groups to obtain financing from the extortion of diamond producers, and so has helped to bring peace in Angola and Sierra Leone. The OECD-wide criminalization of bribery of government officials has reduced the corrupting effect of natural resource rents upon governments. At a military level, the international ban on antipersonnel landmines, adopted in 1997, has already more than halved the number of casualties.

These three international initiatives are each significant changes in the right direction. They demonstrate that international action is possible, and that it need not take an inordinate amount of time—for example, the Kimberley process took only two years. The task now is to identify a short list of feasible international actions that would cumulatively make a substantial difference. This chapter makes a start at such an agenda. No single “magic bullet” policy will deliver global peace, but
several policies are reasonably effective and mutually supporting. For example, policies to reduce the risk of postconflict reversals complement policies to shorten conflicts. Yet even though policies make sense as a complementary package, they do not need to be promoted as a package. Different groups are already promoting particular component reforms, and this is a realistic process of change. The rationale for presenting policies as a package is that it can be helpful for each group to see how its efforts can contribute to the bigger picture. As no one policy has magical effects, each individually is open to the charge that it will not address the core of the conflict problem. While the simulations in chapter 5 support the view that no single policy is decisive, this chapter simulates a policy package and finds that it would more than halve the global incidence of civil wars.

**International Policies for Peace**

We now focus on three opportunities for international collective action: aid, the governance of natural resources, and military interventions.

**Aid**

The World Bank is an aid agency, and so beginning our discussion of an international agenda with the role of aid is appropriate. From the perspective of reducing the global incidence of civil war, has the international community got aid right?

**Providing Aid in Postconflict Situations**  One important respect in which the international community has probably not got aid right is during the first postconflict decade. Historically, aid has come in a rush during the first couple of years of peace and then evaporated. Taking the postconflict decade as a whole, aid has usually been lower than in non-conflict situations. The latest evidence suggests that aid is particularly effective in raising growth during the postconflict decade, but that it is more effective in the middle of the decade than at the beginning. Aid in postconflict situations should be much larger than it has usually been,
but it should be phased in gradually. This would require significant, but not impossible, changes in donors’ practices. The most straightforward change would be to lengthen the period between the political commitment of postconflict aid and its disbursement.

**Retargeting Aid to Low-Income Countries** A second respect in which the international community has probably got aid wrong is in its allocation between countries. The risk of conflict is much higher in low-income countries than in middle-income countries, but historically the international community has allocated much aid to countries that are not particularly poor. The motivations for this have been partly commercial and geopolitical and partly an outcome of bureaucratic inertia. As chapter 5 showed, growth is far more effective in reducing the global incidence of civil war if it occurs in low-income countries. Here the concern for a more peaceful world leads to the same conclusion as a concern for more effective poverty reduction. The World Bank has led the way here: its allocation of concessional development assistance (through International Development Association funds) is much better targeted on low-income countries than most bilateral programs. Fortunately, bilateral programs are improving; for example, the new American Millennium Challenge Account promises to be far more poverty-focused than past U.S. Agency for International Development allocations.

**Providing Aid in Environments of Poor Policies and Weak Governance** A third respect in which the international community has probably got aid wrong is in its composition. The countries most at risk of civil war are those with both extremely low incomes and poor policies, institutions, and governance. In these environments conventional aid programs have historically not been very successful. While policies, institutions, and governance must be improved, the attempt to induce reform through conditionality has largely failed to overcome the powerful forces of inertia.

The World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, and the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD are currently piloting an alternative approach, LICUS, which emphasizes a more
informed approach to the political economy of reform (World Bank 2002b). This approach initially targets aid for capacity building at a few relatively uncontroversial reforms with quick payoffs, so that the latent constituency for reform can gradually be built. Whereas in most situations donor coordination means that donors should each do different things, in LICUS situations donors should do the same thing, that is, reinforce efforts to break out of low-level equilibrium traps.

In postconflict situations, the LICUS approach is different. Postconflict situations are often politically ripe for rapid and extensive reforms, but what is acutely lacking is the technical capacity to design and implement them. Hence part of the donor response should be to strengthen technical capacity, for example, by financing the return of skilled members of the diaspora.

**Expanding Aid** A fourth respect in which the international community has probably not got aid right is in its overall scale. Even accepting the argument that aid is relatively ineffective in environments of poor policies, institutions, and governance, in many low-income countries facing significant risks of conflict additional aid would significantly raise growth and cumulatively make them safer societies.

**Using Aid to Reinforce Existing Democratic Institutions** A final respect in which the international community has probably not got aid right is its treatment of political change. Recall that in low-income countries democracy is typically quite fragile, and that the very fragility of political institutions is an important source of conflict risk. Historically, to the extent that bilateral donors have included political institutions in their conditions, the focus has been on encouraging political change. Understandable as this is, it may also be quite dangerous, as well as being highly intrusive. An alternative approach is to attempt to reinforce existing democratic institutions, where they exist, by conditioning aid upon adherence to the country’s constitution. Conditioning aid upon constitutionality is potentially stabilizing and is nonintrusive. It mirrors attempts by some regional organizations to discourage unconstitutional political change by withholding membership.
**International Governance of Natural Resources**

Natural resource endowments offer the potential for poverty reduction, but historically have often been associated with conflict, poor governance, and economic decline. The adverse effects of natural resource endowments flow through several channels, and so several distinct global interventions could all be helpful. The options discussed here are explored more fully in World Bank (2003).

**Shutting Rebel Organizations Out of Markets**  The Kimberley process is designed to shut rebel organizations out of the global market for rough diamonds. It will have been effective even if rebels are still able to sell the diamonds they extort from local producers, as long as the price the rebels can get on the illicit market is driven to a deep discount. It is too early to judge whether the Kimberley process will be a sustainable success. If it proves ineffective, intergovernmental legislation will have to reinforce the current private, voluntary agreement. Nevertheless, the existence of such a private agreement demonstrates that all parties have recognized the need for effective action. If, however, the Kimberley process succeeds, then it could provide a model for the governance of other commodities that inadvertently fund conflict, notably timber and coltan. In this respect key international actions that will be needed over the next year are to monitor and evaluate the Kimberley process. Parallel to this, certification and tracking procedures can be prepared for timber and coltan (Crossin, Hayman and Taylor 2003; Sherman 2002).

Each commodity transaction has a financial counterpart. Just as at some point in the chain of physical transactions a conflict diamond switches from being illicit to licit, so at some point in the chain of financial transactions money is laundered. Monitoring and investigating the financial transactions may often be easier than tracking the physical transactions. Requiring official scrutiny of physical transactions at some points, notably customs, in relation to information about counterpart financial transactions may also be useful. Left to its own devices, the international banking system is unlikely to provide the necessary degree of scrutiny, as the pressures of competition encourage secrecy and complicity rather than active scrutiny. By the early 1990s UNITA reputedly held some US$4 billion on the New York financial market.
In the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States significant moves are under way to require banks to know their clients and to report doubtful transactions. The weakest links in this effort are the offshore havens, which often lack both the will and the capacity to police the banks that they register. Such havens are analogous to territory outside the control of a recognized government, but they are easily dealt with by the withdrawal of recognition as banking authorities. Thus a key global action is to place an enforceable requirement of client knowledge and reporting upon banks, coupled with a de-recognition process for banks and banking authorities that do not comply (Winer and Roule 2003).

One practice that financed several rebel organizations during the 1990s was the sale of “war booty futures,” whereby a rebel organization received finance up front in return for an entitlement to natural resource extraction in the future if the rebel organization succeeded in securing territory (Ross 2002a, 2003). Reputable companies rightly view this practice as unacceptable, but it nevertheless occurs on the fringes of the corporate world. There is a strong case for making such transactions criminal in the country in which the company is registered, analogous to the OECD agreement criminalizing international bribery.

A further way in which rebel organizations gain access to revenues from natural resources is to threaten the companies involved in extraction with extortion and kidnapping. The financial flows from companies to rebel movements from these activities are considerable, and both governments and civil society should discourage companies from operating in such conditions. The insurance industry has recently developed products offering ransom insurance. The overall effect will obviously be to increase the ransom payments demanded, and thus there is a good case for banning ransom insurance. OECD governments should also put their own house in order: they could undertake that they would not use public money to pay ransoms to rebel movements, and correspondingly, they could mandate that companies could not treat extortion payments as tax deductible costs of doing business.

A final important source of rebel finance is from illicit primary commodities, notably opium and coca. As discussed earlier, the current regulatory environment makes territory outside the control of a recognized government hugely profitable to the rebel group that controls it. Just as the participants in civil wars have ignored the spillover effects on
other societies, so have national drug policies in OECD societies. Antidrug policies could be redesigned in a number of ways that would reduce financial flows to rebel groups. For example, a combination of increased penalties for illegal consumption and the creation of a legalized supply for registered addicts would reduce the profitability of illegal production.

Reducing Countries’ Exposure to Price Shocks  A distinct reason why countries dependent on natural resources and other primary commodities for their exports tend to have a record of conflict and poverty is that they are exposed to shocks. The prices of primary commodities are highly volatile, and periodically such countries face a crash in export prices. Such large declines in export income in turn tend to produce a contraction in aggregate output and severe pressure on the budget. Episodes of rapid economic decline increase the risk of conflict, and some evidence indicates that the output losses are persistent.

Governments of low-income, shock-prone countries face macroeconomic management problems of a scale that the governments of industrial countries have not seen since the 1930s, yet they have basically been left to cope on their own. “Photogenic” shocks, such as earthquakes or droughts, typically result in a massive donor response that is sometimes even larger than the cost of the shock itself. Yet even though price shocks are often much more devastating, they have not tended to trigger any significant donor response. Until recently, the international community had two instruments to address the problem: the Compensatory Financing Facility of the IMF and the Stabex Facility of the EU. For different reasons neither of these worked well, and both are currently in abeyance. The Compensatory Financing Facility was a nonconcessional borrowing facility, but for a country to borrow commercially at the onset of a severe negative shock is usually unwise. Meanwhile Stabex disbursements were so slow that they tended to arrive during the subsequent price upturn.

The international community might consider three approaches to cushioning shocks. First, the IMF could consider the case for a more concessional facility triggered at times of severe price crashes. Second, once the IMF had a system in place that signaled eligibility for such a facility, it could function as a guide to the provision of grant finance by bilateral donors, grants probably being the most appropriate cushion
for large adverse shocks. Third, the World Bank could develop both risk-pooling and risk-bearing facilities. For example, pooling the risks oil exporters and oil importers face might be possible, because their price risk is precisely offsetting. The Bank might also be able to act as an intermediary between low-income governments and the derivatives markets, basically taking on the burden of staff supervision to avoid the maverick trader problem, which could otherwise be ruinous (Guillaumont 2003).

In addition to these means of cushioning shocks, the OECD countries should eliminate those features of their commercial policies that inadvertently accentuate global price crashes. When domestic farmers receive increased price subsidies in response to a crash in world prices—such as the recent increase in the subsidy to American cotton farmers—this depresses the price to cotton farmers in low-income countries. Nobody wants this to happen, and low-income farmers in OECD countries do not wish to feel that they are profiting at the expense of their even poorer counterparts. It is simply the consequence of a lazy and incompetently designed approach to social protection. Similarly, tariff escalation is typical of the barriers that developing countries’ exports face. Tariffs on processed commodities are higher than on raw materials, tending to lock exports into undiversified resource extraction. President Jacques Chirac has recently taken up the theme of reducing exposure to price shocks, urging the international financial institutions to devise effective price cushioning instruments and proposing a moratorium on commercial policies such as agricultural subsidies that increase price volatility.

**Increasing the Transparency of Natural Resource Revenues** The governments of low-income, resource-abundant countries have a strong interest in the various proposals for international action. They are often under threat from rebel organizations that receive finance from natural resources and would be helped if such financing were curtailed, and they are periodically hit by export price crashes and would benefit from instruments that reduced and cushioned these shocks. As in the Monterrey consensus, however, they have counterpart responsibilities to demonstrate that their revenues from natural resources are well used. As seen earlier, one of the major threats such governments face is from the violent secession of resource-rich regions, and the best defense against this
is likely to be credible scrutiny of how revenues are used. In addition, for
resources to be well used is not enough in the many situations where the
government is not fully trusted, and so it will need to convince doubters
by establishing a credible, independent process of verification.

In essence, what is required is an international template for the ac-
ceptable governance of natural resource revenues to which a govern-
ment with significant revenues could chose to subscribe (Lunde and
Swanson 2003). Such a template would have five elements. First, host
governments should require international companies in the extractive
industries operating in the country to report payments in sufficient
detail to permit internationally comparable accounting of natural re-
source revenue payments to governments. Such reporting could be
either to the general public, as envisaged in the “publish what you pay”
campaign launched by Global Witness and George Soros, or to a
trusted independent authority such as the international financial insti-
tutions. Second, the government should require that national resource
extraction companies, whether private or government owned, should
report on the same basis. Third, the government should undertake to
report its receipts from all the foregoing sources. Fourth, an indepen-
dent authority, such as the international financial institutions, should
collate the reported information, attempt to reconcile payments and
receipts, integrate the net government revenue figure with standard
budget information on revenues and expenditures, and publish the re-
sults on an annual basis. A possible division of labor here would be for
the World Bank to collate, reconcile, and aggregate the data from com-
panies, while the IMF would integrate the net revenue figure into the
budget data it already scrutinizes under its routine annual consultations
with governments as mandated under its Article IV. Fifth, the govern-
ment should designate, and if necessary establish, credible domestic in-
itutions of scrutiny, such as parliamentary committees, or ad hoc en-
tities that include civil society as in Chad, to which the international
financial institutions could report the information. Such reports should
avoid obscurantist, technocratic jargon. Prime Minister Tony Blair has
launched an initiative along these lines.

Attracting More Reputable Resource Extraction Companies  Some
low-income countries are facing severe difficulties in attracting re-
putable resource extraction companies. If the effect of greater interna-
ential public scrutiny on resource extraction was that reputable companies withdrew from difficult environments to be replaced by fly-by-night operations, then global efforts would have been counterproductive. Survey evidence suggests that the two main impediments deterring good companies are the risk to their reputations and the political risk of unreasonable treatment. The template concept described earlier has the potential to address both these risks (Bray 2003).

One success of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline model of improved governance of natural resource revenues was that it provided international companies with a degree of reputational protection. The international financial institutions in effect certified the governance structure as acceptable. The introduction of a more standardized template for appropriate governance, and its adoption by governments interested in attracting reputable companies, would provide a much higher degree of reputational cover. Such a template also has the potential to address political risk. At present, the insurance entities that supply cover for political risks, notably the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), which is part of the World Bank Group, have to assess each governance situation on an ad hoc basis. If governments subscribed to the good governance template, this would be pertinent information for MIGA and other insurers. MIGA might be able to provide a formal undertaking that proposals for investment in signatory countries would receive more favorable treatment in relation to risk assessment than proposals for investment in other countries.

**Tightening Scrutiny of Illicit Payments**  The proposed template is intended to provide convincing evidence that legitimate payments from companies to governments are properly used. Illicit payments by natural resource extraction companies to bribe people of influence are a different problem. The OECD agreement to criminalize such payments is a start toward curbing them; however, bribes to officials can be disguised as “facilitation payments” to companies controlled by their relatives, and so complementary efforts are required. Some resource extraction companies have now unilaterally undertaken not to make such facilitation payments.

For the industry to determine the precise boundary between legitimate and illegitimate payments and embed this in corporate rules of behavior is surely desirable; however, the international banking system
also has an important role. The family of President Sani Abacha was able to deposit sums absurdly in excess of his presidential salary, evidently corruptly siphoned off from Nigerian oil revenues, in reputable international banks. Banks now have somewhat greater responsibility to know their clients and to report suspect receipts. Cooperation is also beginning to increase in repatriating corrupt money. Nevertheless, there is scope for much tighter reinforcement of antibribery legislation on the part of the international banking system.

In some cases increased scrutiny will reveal information about incumbent officials and politicians. In a few cases such politicians may be so elevated as to be above their own national law. Consider, for example, the limited options available to Nigerian society had the scale of President Abacha’s corruption been publicly exposed while he was still in power. In such cases the international community has some responsibility to impose penalties that inconvenience the guilty party without inflicting suffering upon the society. The UN has been developing sanctions that offer some scope for such a targeted approach toward penalties (Cortright and Lopez 2002; Le Billon 2003).

**Military Expenditures and Interventions**

**Coordinating Reductions in Military Spending** One of the important routes by which a conflict in one country adversely affects neighboring countries is through neighborhood arms races. In response to the risk of civil war, and even more in response to its actual occurrence, the concerned government sharply increases its military expenditure. Neighbors tend to copy this increase for various reasons. Postconflict, countries tend to get locked into this high level of expenditure for many years. The research underlying this report has found that high military expenditure is normally ineffective in deterring rebellion, and that in postconflict situations it is significantly counterproductive and actually increases the risk of renewed conflict. Hence all concerned parties have an interest in curtailing military spending; however, because one motive for military spending is protection from neighbors, reducing spending in an uncoordinated way is difficult.

A possible solution to this coordination problem is for regional political organizations to join forces with the international financial institutions to offer their services as honest brokers. The regional organizations
Sequencing Military Interventions with Aid and Reform  This report has placed considerable emphasis upon the conflict trap: postconflict situations carry high risks of further conflict. In the first few years after conflict the risks are often so high, and the scope for accelerated economic recovery so modest, that external military peacekeeping is probably essential. International relations experts emphasize that such interventions are most credible if they are by parties that have a direct and long-term interest in sustaining peace in the country.

The most challenging task is to sequence such military intervention with development strategies in a way that avoids gap periods of exceptionally high risk. Obviously each situation must be evaluated individually, but as an approximate guide, even a large and well-timed aid program will not produce a substantial growth spurt until around the fifth postconflict year. Rapid policy and institutional reform should be started immediately after peace has been established, and capacity-building aid will probably be needed for this. However, given the typical poor starting point, reform is unlikely to deliver an environment that can sustain rapid growth without aid until around the end of the postconflict decade. In particular, evidence indicates that democratic institutions are fragile in low-income countries and that this fragility increases the risk of conflict. This suggests that the international community should be wary of imposing an apparently “appropriate” constitutional design during a peace settlement, sending in troops and big aid for the first two years of peace, and then withdrawing militarily and financially and hoping for the best. The military commitment should be for longer. The aid commitment should be later and larger and conditioned upon the maintenance of political institutions. A critical post-conflict stage is the first election, typically in the fourth or fifth year of peace. This is a further reason why aid should be peaking around this
time, rather than being in steep decline as has often been the case. The emphasis on policy reform should be continuous over the decade and give priority to policies for social inclusion.

**Conclusion: A New Goal for 2015?**

The proposed agenda for international action has three building blocks: better use of aid, improved governance of natural resources, and enhanced coordination of military and developmental strategies during the postconflict period. This is by no means an exhaustive agenda, and chapter 5 discussed several other policies; however, being comprehensive and being focused involves a trade-off.

If the proposed package were implemented, how would it help to reduce the global incidence of civil war? First, fewer of the low-income, weak policy countries that we have referred to as marginalized would fall into conflict. These are a minority of the developing world, and account for only around 1.1 billion people, but they are an important part of the conflict problem. Providing a larger amount of aid, focusing more strongly on policy reform, cushioning large external shocks, reducing military spending, and increasing the transparency of natural resource revenues would all raise growth. Faster growth, combined with more credible scrutiny of how revenue is used, would reduce disaffection. Other measures to improve the governance of global markets in natural resources would make acquiring finance more difficult for rebel movements.

Second, conflicts would be shorter. Rebel organizations would be weaker because of reduced finance, and socially inclusive policies would have a similar effect: more equal societies tend to have shorter conflicts.

Third, once out of a conflict, countries would be less likely to relapse. Better aid, better coordination with military intervention, and faster policy reform would improve opportunities for reconstruction during the first postconflict decade. Greater attention would be paid to the stability of political institutions, to the transparent governance of natural resource revenues, and to the regional de-escalation of military spending.

Between them these three consequences of the proposed package would probably have a major impact on the global incidence of civil war. Around 85 percent of new civil wars are either the marginalized
countries falling into conflict or postconflict countries relapsing. This is why global growth alone is insufficient to tackle the problem: these are the countries that have largely missed out on global growth. How big an effect could we hope for? Any estimates are speculative, but the simulations in chapter 5 started from a baseline incidence of civil war of 10.7 percent: at any one time, roughly 1 country in 10 is embroiled in a civil war. The analysis of the effect of an additional and sustained 3 percent growth in the marginalized countries predicted a reduction in the incidence of war by 4.7 percentage points. During the 1990s the aggregate per capita GDP of this group declined by around 1 percent per year, so that an additional 3 percent would be a dramatic turnaround, but would not imply growth rates that are spectacularly high in absolute terms. If the duration of conflict could be shortened by about a year, the incidence would fall by around 1.7 percentage points. If the risk of postconflict relapse could be halved, this would reduce the incidence by 2.4 percentage points. As a package the three effects would more than halve the global incidence of civil war (Figure 6.1).

As with most developmental policies, realizing their full effects takes time; however, by 2015—the timetable for the Millennium Development Goals—the global incidence of conflict could at least be halved, ..

**Figure 6.1 The contribution of the policy package to peace**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicted incidence (percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Baseline**: 10.7%  
- **Faster growth in stagnant countries, shorter conflicts, lower conflict recurrence**: 4.6%

*Note:* The simulation is based on the model presented in figure 4.12. See appendix 1 for details.  
*Source:* Based on a revised version of Collier and Hoeffler (2002c).
analogous to the overarching Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty. Peace is not officially included as a Millennium Development Goal, yet at the minimum it is important as an instrument for attaining these goals. More reasonably, and in view of the spillover effects of conflict, peace can be seen as a core objective of the international community. Potentially, the international community could adopt the same approach to reducing the incidence of civil war as it has to the objective of reducing world poverty. It could set a target, such as halving the incidence of civil war by 2015; adopt a strategy; and monitor the outcomes. Monitoring the incidence of civil war is easier than monitoring global poverty. Feasible strategies are available that if implemented are likely to make the target attainable.

International cooperation is always difficult, but since the mid-1990s the international community has achieved cooperation for related policies. Given the terrible global cost of civil war we may wish that it had pursued such efforts more vigorously.