

negotiable *values* and *needs*.¹⁴ Illustrative of this, perhaps, are the conflicts in Central America. They have been described by more than one participant as having as their root cause issues of social and economic injustice.¹⁵ It is some measure of social and economic justice which humanitarian and human rights law seeks to restore and preserve. Ideally then, these laws should need no enforcement provisions because, whether they are aware of it or not, it is in the interest of parties to a conflict to uphold them. The burden for those quoting these laws is to make those parties cognizant of this fact.

Another factor compelling combatants to abide by the laws of war is the national and international opprobrium attached to any flagrant violation of them. There is evidence that for some combatants this is no small concern. During the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), for example, government forces were issued an "Operational Code of Conduct." The Nigerian Forces, the code stated, must show the whole world that they could follow the Geneva Conventions explicitly.¹⁶ Similarly, when asked about the reputed use of land mines to intentionally injure and kill civilians, Salvador Samayoa, an El Salvadoran rebel replied: "You have to understand, the day that we begin to use mines that really affect the population, we will be committing political and military suicide."¹⁷ Wars are often fought for the hearts and minds of the people. To flagrantly violate the rights of the people, and to be seen to be doing so, is not, in this regard, a particularly astute political tactic.

¹⁴ John Burton, "The Theory of Conflict Resolution," *Current Research on Peace and Violence*, 9:9, 1986, p. 128.

¹⁵ Salvador Samayoa, a leading member of the rebel Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador, refers to a consensus among the opposition not for peace but for peace with social justice. See: Terry Karl, "El Salvador: Negotiations or Total War. Interview with Salvador Samayoa," *World Policy Journal*, VI:2, Spring, 1989, p. 334. Similarly, the Contadora group found the underlying causes of conflict in Central America to be not political, nor ideological but the conditions of economic and social injustice. See: Mark L Schneider, "Health as a Bridge to Peace," *World Health*, October, 1987.

¹⁶ C. H. Mike Yarrow, *Quaker Experiences in International Conciliation*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978, p. 239.

¹⁷ Karl, *supra* note 15, p. 345.