



# LEGIONS OF PEACE

*UN Peacekeepers from  
the Global South*

PHILIP CUNLIFFE

# Legions Of Peace Un Peacekeepers From The Global South

**Philip Cunliffe**



## **Legions Of Peace Un Peacekeepers From The Global South:**

*Legions of Peace* Philip Cunliffe, 2013 A critical examination of the global power relations that underpin the unprecedented deployments of UN peacekeepers from poor and developing countries since **The Oxford Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect** Alex Bellamy, Tim Dunne, 2016-06-23 The Responsibility to Protect R2P is intended to provide an effective framework for responding to crimes of genocide ethnic cleansing war crimes and crimes against humanity It is a response to the many conscious shocking cases where atrocities on the worst scale have occurred even during the post 1945 period when the United Nations was built to save us all from the scourge of genocide The R2P concept accords to sovereign states and international institutions a responsibility to assist peoples who are at risk or experiencing the worst atrocities R2P maintains that collective action should be taken by members of the United Nations to prevent or halt such gross violations of basic human rights This Handbook containing contributions from leading theorists and practitioners including former foreign ministers and special advisors examines the progress that has been made in the last 10 years it also looks forward to likely developments in the next decade Police Peacekeeping Lou Pingeot, 2023-09-07 UN peace operations increasingly deploy police forces and engage in policing tasks The turn to police peacekeeping has generally been met with enthusiasm in both academic and policy circles and is often understood to provide a more civilian instrument of intervention better suited to mandates that increasingly emphasize protection Rebuilding local police forces along democratic liberal lines is seen as a prerequisite for a successful transition towards peace and stability In this book Lou Pingeot questions this optimistic reading of police peacekeeping and demonstrates that the logic of policing leads to the depoliticization of conflict and the criminalization of those who are deemed to threaten not just public order but social order authorizing violence against them in the name of law enforcement Police Peacekeeping proposes a new way of studying peace operations that focuses not on their success or failure but on how they allow people and ideas to circulate transnationally It shows that peace operations act as a point of cross fertilization for the creation and transmission of policing discourses and practices globally In so doing these missions contribute to re producing social orders that are based on the exclusion of often racialized socio economically marginalized populations both domestically in countries of intervention and internationally in troop contributing countries The book draws on and contributes to critical understandings of police power that show that police forces were never meant to protect all equally It also furthers our understanding of policing at a global level Drawing on interpretive feminist and postcolonial methodologies that emphasize relations processes and situatedness Lou Pingeot s in depth study of UN intervention in Haiti shows how a single site can help illuminate global processes Rather than starting from Haiti s supposed deviance from international expectations and norms she posits that Haiti can reveal a great deal about how policing functions globally **The Abongo Abroad** John V. Clune, 2017-07-19 Blending African social history with US foreign relations John V Clune documents how ordinary people experienced a major aspect of Cold War diplomacy The book describes how military

sponsored international travel especially military training abroad and United Nations peacekeeping deployments in the Sinai and Lebanon altered Ghanaian service members and their families during the three decades after independence in 1957 Military assistance to Ghana included sponsoring training and education in the United States and American policymakers imagined that national modernization would result from the personal relationships Ghanaian service members and their families would forge As an act of faith American military assistance policy with Ghana remained remarkably consistent despite little evidence that military education and training in the United States produced any measurable results Merging newly discovered documents from Ghana's armed forces and declassified sources on American military assistance to Africa this work argues that military sponsored travel made individual Ghanaians' outlooks on the world more international just as military assistance planners hoped they would but the Ghanaian state struggled to turn that new identity into political or economic progress

*Taking Sides in Peacekeeping* Emily Paddon Rhoads, 2016-04-29 United Nations peacekeeping has undergone radical transformation in the new millennium Where it once was limited in scope and based firmly on consent of all parties contemporary operations are now charged with penalizing spoilers of peace and protecting civilians from peril Despite its more aggressive posture practitioners and academics continue to affirm the vital importance of impartiality whilst stating that it no longer means what it once did *Taking Sides in Peacekeeping* explores this transformation and its implications in what is the first conceptual and empirical study of impartiality in UN peacekeeping The book challenges dominant scholarly approaches that conceive of norms as linear and static conceptualizing impartiality as a composite norm one that is not free standing but an aggregate of other principles each of which can change and is open to contestation Drawing on a large body of primary evidence it uses the composite norm to trace the evolution of impartiality and to illuminate the macro level politics surrounding its institutionalization at the UN as well as the micro level politics surrounding its implementation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo site of the largest and costliest peacekeeping mission in UN history *Taking Sides in Peacekeeping* reveals that despite a veneer of consensus impartiality is in fact highly contested As the collection of principles it refers to has expanded to include human rights and civilian protection deep disagreements have arisen over what keeping peace impartially actually means Beyond the semantics the book shows how this contestation together with the varying expectations and incentives created by the norm has resulted in perverse and unintended consequences that have politicized peacekeeping and in some cases effectively converted UN forces into one warring party among many *Taking Sides in Peacekeeping* assesses the implications of this radical transformation for the future of peacekeeping and for the UN's role as guarantor of international peace and security

*Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security* David R. Mares, Arie M. Kacowicz, 2015-07-16 This new Handbook is a comprehensive collection of cutting edge essays on all aspects of Latin American Security by a mix of established and emerging scholars The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security identifies the key contemporary topics of research and debate taking into account that

the study of Latin America's comparative and international politics has undergone dramatic changes since the end of the Cold War the return of democracy and the re-legitimization and re-armament of the military against the background of low level uses of force short of war Latin America's security issues have become an important topic in international relations and Latin American studies This Handbook sets a rigorous agenda for future research and is organised into five key parts The Evolution of Security in Latin America Theoretical Approaches to Security in Latin America Different Securities Contemporary Regional Security Challenges Latin America and Contemporary International Security Challenges With a focus on contemporary challenges and the failures of regional institutions to eliminate the threat of the use of force among Latin Americans this Handbook will be of great interest to students of Latin American politics security studies war and conflict studies and International Relations in general

**United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order** Cedric de Coning, Mateja Peter, 2018-10-11 I have seen the UN perform on a changing global stage in many UN missions This book examines how the UN must continue to evolve amongst changing state actors differing regional organisations and a constant global paradigm shift It is essential material for enhancing one's understanding of the nature of international conflict and for the continued relevance of the UN as a key stakeholder and participant in world affairs Maj Gen Kristin Lund Head of Mission and Chief of Staff UN peacekeeping mission in the Middle East UNTSO This outstanding collection is a must read for anyone interested in the central challenges of peacekeeping today From big ideas about changes in global order to more focused analyses of policing and the protection of civilians this book provides a comprehensive overview of where peacekeeping is now and what we may expect in the future Lise Morj Howard Associate Professor Georgetown University The book analyses recent developments in UN peacekeeping in the context of the historic changes underway in the global order I would recommend it to policy makers peacekeepers and scholars who wish to understand optimise and improve the effectiveness of modern peacekeeping Lt Gen Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz former Force Commander in the UN missions in the DRC MONUSCO and Haiti MINUSTAH Peacekeeping has been the most visible UN activity in its primary mandate to maintain international peace and security In a world in disarray as security threats mutate and the world order shifts away from US primacy and fresh challenges arise the UN must respond with nimbleness and flexibility to stay relevant This exceptional collection of analyses by experts from both the global North and South will be of interest to practitioners and scholars alike highly recommended Ramesh Thakur Professor Australian National University Peacekeeping is not what it was even a decade ago global power is shifting new types of conflicts are emerging and demands on the United Nations and regional organizations are growing Anyone interested in contemporary conflict resolution and the changing character of international peace operations should read this excellent book Roland Paris Professor of International Affairs University of Ottawa This book is an insightful and forward looking scholarly contribution to debates within the United Nations It shows how profound the recent changes affecting peace operations are and pushes us all to rethink our assumptions about conflict

peace and the role of international organizations It could not come at a better moment Jean Marie Guehenno UN High level Advisory Board on Mediation former UN Under Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations div This open access book explores how UN peace operations are adapting to four transformational trends in the changing global order 1 the rebalancing of relations between states of the global North and the global South 2 the rise of regional organisations as providers of peace 3 the rise of violent extremism and fundamentalist non state actors and 4 increasing demands from non state actors for greater emphasis on human security It identifies emerging conflict and peace trends robustness of responses rise of non state threats cross state conflicts and puts them in the context of tectonic shifts in the global order rise of emerging powers North South rebalancing emergence of regional organisations as providers of peace The volume stimulates a discussion between practitioners and academics from the global North and South and offers an analysis of how the international community collectively makes sense of the changing global order and its implications for UN peace operations div

**Constructing Allied Cooperation** Marina E. Henke, 2019-10-15 How do states overcome problems of collective action in the face of human atrocities terrorism and the threat of weapons of mass destruction How does international burden sharing in this context look like between the rich and the poor the big and the small These are the questions Marina E Henke addresses in her new book *Constructing Allied Cooperation* Through qualitative and quantitative analysis of 80 multilateral military coalitions Henke demonstrates that coalitions do not emerge naturally Rather pivotal states deliberately build them They develop operational plans and bargain suitable third parties into the coalition purposefully using their bilateral and multilateral diplomatic connections what Henke terms diplomatic embeddedness as a resource As *Constructing Allied Cooperation* shows these ties constitute an invaluable state capability to engage others in collective action they are tools to construct cooperation Pulling apart the strategy behind multilateral military coalition building Henke looks at the ramifications and side effects as well As she notes via these ties pivotal states have access to private information on the deployment preferences of potential coalition participants Moreover they facilitate issue linkages and side payments and allow states to overcome problems of credible commitments Finally pivotal states can use common institutional contacts IO officials as cooperation brokers and they can convert common institutional venues into fora for negotiating coalitions The theory and evidence presented by Henke force us to revisit the conventional wisdom on how cooperation in multilateral military operations comes about The author generates new insights with respect to who is most likely to join a given multilateral intervention what factors influence the strength and capacity of individual coalitions and what diplomacy and diplomatic ties are good for Moreover as the Trump administration promotes an America First policy and withdraws from international agreements and the United Kingdom completes Brexit *Constructing Allied Cooperation* is an important reminder that international security cannot be delinked from more mundane forms of cooperation multilateral military coalitions thrive or fail depending on the breadth and depth of existing social and diplomatic networks The Oxford

Handbook of Peacebuilding, Statebuilding, and Peace Formation Oliver P. Richmond, Gëzim Visoka, 2021 Peacebuilding and statebuilding is one of the main approaches for preventing managing and mitigating global insecurities dealing with the humanitarian consequences of civil wars and expanding democracy and neoliberal economic regimes Peace formation is a relatively new concept addressing how local actors attempt to shape or work in parallel to international and national projects The Oxford Handbook of Peacebuilding Statebuilding and Peace Formation serves as an essential guide to this vast intellectual landscape It offers a systematic overview of conceptual foundations political implications and tensions at the global regional and local levels as well as key policies practices examples and discourses underlining all segments of peacebuilding and statebuilding

*The End of Peacekeeping* Marsha Henry, 2024-03-12 In *The End of Peacekeeping* Marsha Henry makes use of feminist postcolonial and anti militarist frameworks to expose peacekeeping as an epistemic power project in need of abolition Drawing on critical concepts from Black feminist thought and from postcolonial and critical race theories Henry shows how contemporary peacekeeping produces gender and racial inequalities through increasingly militarized strategies The book's intersectional analysis of peacekeeping is based on data amassed through more than fifteen years of ethnographic fieldwork on peacekeeping missions and training centers around the world including interviews with UN peacekeepers humanitarian aid personnel and local populations Henry demonstrates how focus on the policy and practice of peacekeeping has obscured the geopolitical knowledge project at peacekeeping's root allowing its harms to persist unquestioned by mainstream scholarship Arguing that we must recover critical theoretical contributions that have been sidelined within the field she brings the insights of feminist and postcolonial scholarship to bear on peacekeeping studies whose production of empirical data and evidence continues to provide the justification and foundation for policy and global governance actions Revealing that peacekeeping is not the benign apolitical project it is often purported to be this book encourages readers to imagine and enact alternative futures to peacekeeping

**Peacekeeping in Africa** Marco Jowell, 2018-02-21 In recent decades African states have developed an impressive infrastructure for training their peacekeepers In addition peacekeeping peacebuilding and associated areas of conflict resolution have become significant areas of employment Marco Jowell has spent a decade working in peacekeeping training in East Africa initially as one of the foreign Technical Advisers at the Peace Support Operations PSO training centre in Kenya the International Peace Support Training Centre IPSTC and subsequently as a strategic adviser to the Rwanda Peace Academy Using first hand experience he considers how military forces from a variety of African states with great differences in history language and political systems and with militaries with different cultures and capabilities can conduct complicated multinational peacekeeping operations He shows how regional peacekeeping training centres provide an environment for African elites predominately military to interact with each other through shared training and experiences This process of interaction or socialisation improves skills but also encourages cohesion so that future African led missions will be managed by well trained officers who are

comfortable and willing to work within a regional or Pan African framework Jowell shows that part of the aim of peacekeeping training centres is to foster a Pan African outward looking ideology or disposition as well as improving technical ability This book will be essential reading for all involved with African military and security studies and analysts of peacekeeping training and operations      *The Cosmopolitan Military* Jonathan Gilmore,2015-07-28 What role should national militaries play in an increasingly globalised and interdependent world This book examines the often difficult transition they have made toward missions aimed at protecting civilians and promoting human security and asks whether we might expect the emergence of armed forces that exist to serve the wider human community      **Challenging Ideas** Maren Lytje,Torben K. Nielsen,2016-01-14 Challenging Ideas is a selection of articles which address the intersections between theory and empirical research In general the contributions to the volume focus on how imaginations of the temporal relationship between past and present might inform theory as well as empirical research It is divided into two parts the first of which Memory looks at the memory turn in the discipline of history and includes investigations into the relationship between past and present in the working through of trauma and reflections on the relationship between media memory collective memory and trauma The second part of the volume History looks at the intersections between social science political theory and the writing of history This section includes reflections on how the historian s archival work might inform the construction of social and political theory and explorations of the temporal relationship between past and present at work in the archives The contributions to this volume encourage historically oriented scholars to approach their work with an active interest in disciplines close to their topic and a reflexive attentiveness to the broader power relations within which they work They offer different perspectives on the intrinsic relationship between past and present at work in the interactions between theory and empirical research and thereby give impetus to challenging ideas and to the challenging of ideas in the social sciences and in the humanities      The New Twenty Years' Crisis Philip Cunliffe,2020-09-01 The liberal order is decaying Will it survive and if not what will replace it On the eightieth anniversary of the publication of E H Carr s The Twenty Years Crisis 1919 1939 Philip Cunliffe revisits this classic text juxtaposing its claims with contemporary debates on the rise and fall of the liberal international order The New Twenty Years Crisis reveals that the liberal international order experienced a twenty year cycle of decline from 1999 to 2019 In contrast to claims that the order has been undermined by authoritarian challengers Cunliffe argues that the primary drivers of the crisis are internal He shows that the heavily ideological international relations theory that has developed since the end of the Cold War is clouded by utopianism replacing analysis with aspiration and expressing the interests of power rather than explaining its functioning As a result a growing tendency to discount political alternatives has made us less able to adapt to political change In search of a solution this book argues that breaking through the current impasse will require not only dissolving the new forms of utopianism but also pushing past the fear that the twenty first century will repeat the mistakes of the twentieth Only then can we finally escape the twenty years crisis By reflecting on Carr



s foundational work *The New Twenty Years Crisis* offers an opportunity to take stock of the current state of international order and international relations theory **From Bullies to Officers and Gentlemen** Humphrey Asamoah

Agyekum, 2019-07-16 Based on unprecedented access to the Ghanaian military barracks and inspired by the recent resurgence of coups in West Africa Agyekum assesses why and how the Ghana Armed Forces were transformed from an organization that actively orchestrated coups into an institution that accepts the authority of the democratically elected civilian government Focusing on the process of professionalization of the Ghanaian military this ethnography based monograph examines both historical and contemporary themes and assesses the shift in military personnel from Buga Buga soldiers uneducated lower class soldiers human rights abusers to a more modern fighting force **Brazil as a Rising**

**Power** Kai Michael Kenkel, Philip Cunliffe, 2016-01-08 This book examines the normative tensions inherent in upward mobility within the international system focusing particularly on the clash between sovereign self interest and the putatively universal norms associated with international interventions It provides extensive detail and deep analysis of Brazil's nature as a rising power and that nature's implications for how the country crafts its international profile on issues such as intervention In addition the book proposes innovative ways of re-organising thematic conceptual and empirical research on the normative behaviour of emergent powers with regard to institutions of global governance and questions of intervention In analysing what distinguishes Brazil as a rising power the contributors begin from the assumption that participation in intervention is an increasingly crucial element in demonstrating the capacity and responsibility for which demand accrues as a state seeks increased international profile As such the debates around intervention serve as an indicative locus for examining the clash of norms that accompanies emergence as a global player The book's approach is to organise the analysis around thematic rather than chronological or praxis based lines using the Brazilian case as an illustrative example capable of extrapolation to other emerging powers such as Turkey India and others This work draws together rich empirical detail with sophisticated and varied conceptual analysis and will be of interest to scholars of international relations Latin American politics and global governance **The Universal Enemy** Darryl Li, 2023-05-25 Winner of the 2021 William A Douglass Prize A new perspective

on the concept of international jihad and its connection to the 1990s Balkans crisis No contemporary figure is more demonized than the Islamist foreign fighter who wages jihad around the world Spreading violence disregarding national borders and rejecting secular norms so called jihadists seem opposed to universalism itself In a radical departure from conventional wisdom on the topic *The Universal Enemy* argues that transnational jihadists are engaged in their own form of universalism These fighters struggle to realize an Islamist vision directed at all of humanity transcending racial and cultural difference Anthropologist and attorney Darryl Li reconceptualizes jihad as armed transnational solidarity under conditions of American empire revisiting a pivotal moment after the Cold War when ethnic cleansing in the Balkans dominated global headlines Muslim volunteers came from distant lands to fight in Bosnia Herzegovina alongside their co religionists offering

themselves as an alternative to the US led international community Li highlights the parallels and overlaps between transnational jihads and other universalisms such as the War on Terror United Nations peacekeeping and socialist Non Alignment Developed from more than a decade of research with former fighters in a half dozen countries The Universal Enemy explores the relationship between jihad and American empire to shed critical light on both Li effectively confronts the demonization of jihadists in the aftermath of 9 11 particularly in the US The author s linguistic skills and the depth of the interviews are impressive and the case selection is intriguing Recommended Choice This important book offers many insights for scholars and students of political thought anthropology and law Li s breadth and acumen in navigating these different fields of study is impressive Political Theory **African Military Politics in the Sahel** Katharina P. W. Döring,2023-11-16 Analyzes the politics around military deployments in the Sahel since 2012 from a critical geopolitics perspective

**Cosmopolitan dystopia** Philip Cunliffe,2020-01-31 Cosmopolitan Dystopia shows that rather than populists or authoritarian great powers it is cosmopolitan liberals who have done the most to subvert the liberal international order Cosmopolitan Dystopia explains how liberal cosmopolitanism has led us to treat new humanitarian crises as unprecedented demands for military action thereby trapping us in a loop of endless war Attempts to normalize humanitarian emergency through the doctrine of the responsibility to protect has made for a paternalist understanding of state power that undercuts the representative functions of state sovereignty The legacy of liberal intervention is a cosmopolitan dystopia of permanent war insurrection by cosmopolitan jihadis and a new authoritarian vision of sovereignty in which states are responsible for their peoples rather than responsible to them This book will be of vital interest to scholars and students of international relations IR theory and human rights *Ethiopian Yearbook of International Law 2017* Zeray Yihdego,Melaku Geboye Desta,Martha Belete Hailu,Fikremarkos Merso,2018-08-02 The second volume of EtYIL brings together a number of articles and other contributions that collectively take EtYIL s original mission of helping rebalance the narrative of international law another step forward Like the first volume this book presents scholarly contributions on cutting edge issues of international law that are of particular interest to Ethiopia and its sub region as well as Africa and developing countries more generally The major issues tackled include the interplay between national and international in the promotion and regulation of foreign direct investment in Ethiopia the regulatory framework for the exploitation and development of petroleum resources and relevant arbitral jurisprudence in the field the role of international law in ensuring the equitable sharing of transboundary resources such as the waters of the River Nile or in the delimitation of the continental shelf in the region the efforts to establish the Continental Free Trade Area in Africa and the lessons that can be learnt from prior experiments Africa s policy towards the International Criminal Court and the feasibility of alternative means of serving justice in the case of grave crimes and the UN s peace keeping operations in their North South context The issues addressed in the various contributions are mostly at the heart of live political diplomatic and judicial activities today and as such promise to shape the future of

international law in the region and beyond This volume not only takes a significant step further towards EtYIL s mission but also enriches it with fresh insights from perspectives that are not common in international law scholarship to this day

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