



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The imperative of success: United Nations Peacekeeping in Cambodia (1991-1993)

Stam, W.

Citation

Stam, W. (2023, October 18). *The imperative of success: United Nations Peacekeeping in Cambodia (1991-1993)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3645875>

Version: Publisher's Version

[Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

License: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3645875>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Bibliography

Archival sources

United Nations Archives, New York (UNA)

AG-014 – United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) (1991–1992)

AG-007 – United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) (1992–1993)

AG-050 Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), Office of the Under-Secretary-General (OUSG) (1992–present)

Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes (ADN)

PHNOM PENH AMBASSADE 1991–1999

521PO/2/93

521PO/2/31

521PO/2/155

521PO/2/27

521 PO/2/31

NEW YORK RP ONU

10POI/1 1255

10POI/1 1308

10POI/1 1309

10POI/1 1310

10POI/1 1311

10POI/1 1312

10POI/1 1313

10POI/1 1314

10POI/1 1315

Service Historique de la Défense, Vincennes (SHD)

GR 2000 Z 114 5

Archief Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, The Hague (AMBZ)

BZ-00391

BZ-00168

BZ-00167

BZ-DPV/ARA /00173

BZ-DOA-01729

BZ-DOA-463

UNTAC Politieke Zaken 990

Établissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de la Défense, Ivry-sur-Seine (ECPAD)
APRONUC-MIPRENUC, 92.9.014

Semi Statisch Informatiebeheer, Ministerie van Defensie, Rijswijk (SIB)
MARNSTAF UNTAC Cambodja
Tijdelijke Commissie Besluitvorming Uitzendingen (TCBU) Cambodja Vredesmissies

Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie, The Hague (NIMH)
UNTAC-099

United States Department of State Records, Freedom of Information Act (DSRFOIA)
6268
626c
626d

Australian Defence Force Academy Library, Canberra (ADFA)
Papers of Lieutenant General John Sanderson, Reference number MS 359.¹

Private Archives Michel Loridon

Private Archives Robert Rideau

Interviews

Author's interviews

Patrick Cammaert, 18 December 2018, New York, United States.

Philippe Coste, 1 February 2019, France.

Herman Dukers, 27 August 2018, The Netherlands.

Willem A. Huijssoon, 3 December 2013, The Netherlands.

Fred Hoogeland, 19 December 2016, The Netherlands.

Michel Loridon, 22–23 July 2018, France.

Jeff Mac Mootry, 28 September 2017, The Netherlands.

Fabien Motmans and Eric Debontridder, 14 December 2019, Belgium.

Robert Rideau, 10 May 2019, France.

James A. Schear, 5 December 2018, Washington, DC, United States.

Benny Widyono, 6 December 2018, Stamford, United States.

Interviews Yale-UN Oral History Project

Hugh Smith with Lieutenant General John M. Sanderson, 10 July 1998, Canberra.

James S. Sutterlin with Sir Marrack Goulding, 30 June 1998, Oxford.

¹ I thank Thijs Brocades Zaalberg for giving me access to his private collection containing copies from this archive.

James S. Sutterlin with Yasushi Akashi Session I (31 October 1997) and Session II (28 November 1997), New York.

James S. Sutterlin with Hédi Annabi, 1995, New York.

James S. Sutterlin with Rafeeuddin Ahmed, date unknown, New York.

James S. Sutterlin with Dennis McNamara, 16 February 1998, New York.

Jean Krasno with Gareth Evans, 10 December 1997, New York.

Interviews Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training

Charles Stuart Kennedy with Ambassador Timothy Michael Carney, 24 June 2002.

Charles Stuart Kennedy with Ambassador Charles H. Twining, 26 May 2004.

Interviews Combat Studies Institute U.S. Army Command and General Staff College Kansas

Interview by Jerold E. Brown with Major George Steuber, 25 September 1992.

Author's correspondences

Correspondence with Herman Dukers, 5 December 2019.

Correspondence with John Sanderson, 26 February 2020.

Correspondence with Michel Loridon, 1 July 2019.

Periodicals

Agence France Presse (AFP), 1991, 1992, 1993

Armée & Défense, 1991, 1992

ARMEX, 1992

Asian Political News Kyodo News International, 1993

Australian, 1993

Asian Political News Kyodo News International, 1992

Bangkok Post, 1992, 1993

Business Times Singapore, 1993

Elsevier, 1992, 1993

Far Eastern Economic Review, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993

Financial Review, 1991

Financial Times, 1992, 1993

HP De Tijd, 1992

Independent, 1993

International Herald Tribune, 1993

Jane's Defence Weekly, 1992

Japan Times, 1992

L'Humanité, 1992

Le Figaro, 1992, 1993

Le Journal du Dimanche, 1992

Leidsch Dagblad, 1992

Le Monde, 1991, 1992, 2021, 2022
Le Monde Diplomatique, 1991
Le Nouvel Observateur, 1992, 1993
Le Soir, 1992
Le Quotidien de Paris, 1992
Libération, 1992
Los Angeles Times, 1988, 1992
NRC Handelsblad, 1993
RAIDS – Le mensuel des hommes de terrain, 1992
Reformatorisch Dagblad, 1992
Reuters, 1992
Saudi Gazette, 1992
Sydney Morning Herald, 1991, 1992
The Asian Wall Street Journal, 1993
The Age, 1992
The Australian, 1992
The Canberra Times, 1989, 1992
The Cambodia Times, 1992.
The Nation, 1992
The New York Times, 1992, 1993, 1994, 2017
The Phnom Penh Post, 1991, 1992, 1993
The Straits Times, 1992, 1993
The Washington Post, 1992, 1993, 2021
Time, 1992
Valeurs Actuelles, 1992

Books and articles

- Adebajo, Adekeye. “Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 1992–1996.” In *The UN Secretary-General and the Security Council: A Dynamic Relationship*, edited by Manuel Fröhlich and Abiodun Williams, 138–59. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Ancel, Guillaume. *Un casque bleu chez les Khmers Rouges: Journal d'un soldat de paix*, Cambodge 1992. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2021.
- Andersen, Louise Riis. “The HIPPO in the room: the pragmatic push-back from the UN peace bureaucracy against the militarization of UN peacekeeping.” *International Affairs* 94, no.2 (2018): 343–61.
- Angstrom, Jan and Duyvesteyn, Isabelle. “War, what is it good for?” In *Modern War and the Utility of Force: Challenges, Methods, and Strategy*, edited by Jan Angstrom and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, 1–15. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Akashi, Yasushi. “An assessment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).” In *Cambodia: progress and challenges since 1991*, edited by Mark Hong, Geoff Wade and Pou Sothirak, 153–65. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012.

- Akashi, Yasushi. "The Challenge of Peacekeeping in Cambodia." *International Peacekeeping* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 204–15.
- Anderson, Gary. "UNOSOM II: Not Failure, Not Success." In *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, edited by Donald C.F. Daniel and Bradd C Hayes, 267–81. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Asselin, Pierre. *A bitter peace: Washington, Hanoi, and the making of the Paris agreement*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Aron, Raymond. *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire: Essai sur les limites de l'objectivité historique*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1938, new annotated edition by Sylvie Mesure 1986.
- Aron, Raymond. *Paix et guerre entre les nations*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1962, 1984 edition.
- Autesserre, Séverinne. "The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't End Wars." *Foreign Affairs*, 98, no. 1 (January/February 2019): 101–16.
- Bais, Karolien. *Het mijnenveld van een vredesmacht Nederlandse blauwhelmen in Cambodja*. The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij Koninginnegracht, 1994.
- Barko, Ivan. "L'Australie face à la politique française dans le Pacifique de 1981 à 1988." In *François Mitterrand et les territoires français du Pacifique (1981–1988)*, edited by Jean-Marc Regnault, 507–17. Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2003.
- Barbier, Sandrine. *Cambodge (1991–1993) MIPRENUC, APRONUC*. Paris: Éditions Montchrétien, 1999.
- Beazley, Kim C. *The Defence of Australia 1987*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1987.
- Becker, Elizabeth. "The Progress of Peace in Cambodia." *Current History* 88, no. 537 (April 1989): 169–201.
- Becker, Elizabeth. *When the War Was Over: Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge Revolution*. New York: Public Affairs, 1998.
- Bellamy Alex J. and Williams, Paul. *Understanding Peacekeeping*. Cambridge, Polity Press, 2011.
- Benvenuti, Andrea and David Martin Jones. "Myth and Misrepresentation in Australian Foreign Policy: Menzies and Engagement with Asia." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 13, no. 4 (2011): 57–78.
- Berdal, Mats. "Lessons not learned: the use of force in 'peace operations' in the 1990s." *International Peacekeeping* 7, no. 4 (winter 2000): 68–70.
- Berdal, Mats. "Peacekeeping in Europe." *The Adelphi Papers European Security After the Cold War: Part I Papers from the IISS 35th Annual Conference*. 34, no 284 (1994): 60–78.
- Berdal, Mats. "The Security Council and Peacekeeping." In *The United Nations Security Council and war: the evolution of thought and practice since 1945*, edited by Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh, and Dominik Zaum, 175–202. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Berdal, Mats. "United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)." In *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, eds. Joachim A. Koops et al, 416–28. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

- Berdal, Mats. "What are the Limits to the Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping." In *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order*, edited by Cedric de Coning and Mateja Peter, 113–32. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- Berdal, Mats and David H. Ucko. "The United Nations and the Use of Force: Between Promise and Peril." *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, no.5 (2014): 665–73.
- Berdal, Mats and David H. Ucko. "The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Problems and Prospects." *The RUSI Journal* 160, no.1 (February/March 2015): 6–12.
- Berdal, Mats and Michael Leifer. "Cambodia." In *The new interventionism, 1991–1994: United Nations experience in Cambodia, former Yugoslavia, and Somalia*, edited by James Mayall, 25–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Berry, Ken. *Cambodia – From Red to Blue: Australia's initiative for peace*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin in association with the Dept. of International Relations, Australian National University, 1997.
- Betts, Richard K. "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention." *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 6 (November–December 1994): 20–33.
- Beuls, Lucienne. *Determinants of peacekeeping policy in Cambodia: keeping up with interests?* Leuven: Centrum voor Vredesonderzoek, 1995.
- Bloch, Marc. *L'étrange défaite: témoignage écrit en 1940*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1957.
- Bootsma, Esther. *Kijk niet weg: De missie van generaal Patrick Cammaert*. Amersfoort: Atlas Contact, 2019.
- Boulden, Jane. *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia*. Westport: Praeger, 2001.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *An Agenda for Democratization*. New York: United Nations Publications, 1996.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping*. New York: United Nations, 1992.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. "The United Nations and democratization." In *The African Yearbook of International Law*, edited by A.A. Yusuf, 11–16. The Hague: Kluwer International Law, 1996.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *Unvanquished: a U.S.-U.N. Saga*. New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1999.
- Bratt, Duane. "Assessing the Success of UN Peacekeeping Operations." In *The UN, Peace and Force*, edited by Michael Pugh, 64–81. London: Frank Cass, 2001.
- Bratt, Duane. "Explaining peacekeeping performance: The UN in internal conflicts," *International Peacekeeping* 4, no. 3 (1997): 45–70.
- Bratt, Duane. "Defining Peacekeeping Success: The Experience of UNTAC." *Peacekeeping & International Relations* 25, no. 4 (July/August 1996): 3–5.
- Brocades Zaalberg, Thijs. "Counterinsurgency and peace operations." In *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*, Paul B. Rich and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, 80–97. New York: Routledge, 2014.

- Brocades Zaalberg, Thijs W. *Soldiers and Civil Power: Supporting and Substituting Civil Authorities in Modern Peace Operations*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- Brown, Frederick Z. "Cambodia in 1991: An Uncertain Peace." *Asian Survey* 32, no. 1 (January 1992): 88–96.
- Brown, MacAlister and Joseph J. Zasloff, *Cambodia Confounds the Peacemakers, 1979–1998*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Brinkley, Joel. *Cambodia's Curse: The Modern History of a Troubled Land*. New York: Public Affairs, 2012.
- Cambacérès, Jean-Marie. *Norodom Sihanouk: le roi insubmersible*. Paris: le cherche midi, 2013.
- Cassidy, Robert M. *Peacekeeping in the Abyss British and American Doctrine and Practice after the Cold War*. Westport: Praeger Security International, 2004.
- Cate., ten, Arthur, Sven Maaskant, Jaus Müller and Quirijn van der Vegt, eds. *Qua patet orbis: the Netherlands Marine Corps in an age of conflict*. The Hague: Boom, 2017.
- Chamberlin, Paul Thomas. *The Cold War's Killing Fields: Rethinking the Long Peace*. New York: Harper Collins, 2018.
- Chanda, Nyan. *Brother Enemy: The War after the War*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986.
- Chandler, David P. *Brother Number One: A political Biography of Pol Pot*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.
- Chandler, David P. *A History of Cambodia*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2008.
- Cheunboran, Chanborey. *Cambodia's China Strategy: Security Dilemmas of Embracing the Dragon*. New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Chopra, Jarat. *United Nations Authority in Cambodia*, The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Occasional Paper 15, 1994.
- Chopra Jarat., John Mackinlay and Lary Minear. *Report on the Cambodian Peace Process*, Research Report no. 165. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, February 1993.
- Clymer, Kenton. *The United States and Cambodia, 1969–2000: A troubled relationship*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Coning, de., Cedric. "Is Stabilization the new normal? Implications of stabilization mandates for the use of force in UN peacekeeping operations." In *The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping*, ed. Peter Nadin, 85–99. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Coning, de., Cedric, Chiyuki Aoi and John Karslrud. *UN Peacekeeping Doctrine in a New Era Adapting to Stabilisation, Protection and New Threats*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Cotton, James and John Ravenhill eds. *Seeking Asian Engagement: Australia in World Affairs 1991–1995*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Coulon, Jocelyn. *Soldiers of Diplomacy: The United Nations, Peacekeeping, and the New World Order*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Dandeker, Christopher. "From Victory to Success: The Changing Mission of Western Armed Forces." In *Modern War and the Utility of Force: Challenges, Methods, and Strategy*, edited by Jan Angstrom and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, 16–38. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Daniel, Donald C. F. and Bradd C. Hayes. "Securing observance of UN mandates through the

- employment of military force.” *International Peacekeeping* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 105–25.
- Daniel, Donald C. F. and Bradd C. Hayes. “Problems and Progress: The Future of UN Peacekeeping.” In *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, edited by Donald C.F. Daniel and Bradd C Hayes, 303–7. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995.
- Daniel, Donald C. F. and Bradd C. Hayes. “Wandering Out of the Void? Conceptualizing Practicable Peace Enforcement.” In *Peacekeeping with muscle: the use of force in international conflict resolution*, edited by Alex Morrison, Douglas A. Fraser and James D. Kiras, 1–15. Clementsport: Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1997.
- Davies, Robin. “Civic action in Cambodia: the role of UNTAC.” *Forced Migration Review* 23 (January–April 1997).
- Diehl, Paul F. and Druckman, Daniel. “Evaluating Peace Operations.” In *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, edited by Joachim A. Koops et all , 93–108. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Diehl, Paul F. and Druckman Daniel, “Revisiting the Framework: Extensions and Refinements.” In *Peace Operation Success A Comparative Analysis*, edited by Daniel Druckman and Paul F. Diehl, 149–159. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013.
- Dixon, Paul. “Hearts and Minds? British Counter-Insurgency from Malaya to Iraq.” *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 32, no.3 (June 2009): 353–81.
- Doyle, Michael W. “Authority and elections in Cambodia.” In *Keeping the peace: Multidimensional UN operations in Cambodia and El Salvador*, edited by Michael W. Doyle, Ian Johnstone and Robert C. Orr, 134–64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Doyle. Michael W. “The John W. Holmes Lecture: Building Peace.” *Global Governance* 13 (2007): 1–15.
- Doyle, Michael W. *UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: UNTAC's Civil Mandate*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.
- Doyle, Michael W. “UNTAC – Sources of Success and Failure.” In *International peacekeeping: building on the Cambodian experience*, edited by Hugh Smith, 79–97. Canberra: Australian Defence Studies Centre, 1994.
- Doyle, Michael W. and Ayaka Suzuki. “Transitional Authority in Cambodia.” In *The United Nations and Civil Wars*, edited by Thomas G. Weis, 127–49. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995.
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Downie, Sue. “Cambodia’s 1998 Election: Understanding Why it Was Not a ‘Miracle on the Mekong’.” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 54, no.1 (2000): 41–61.
- Dukers, Herman. “Peace-keeping in Cambodja: Nederlandse mariniers in UNTAC.” *Mars in Cathedra* 94 (July 1993): 2845–61.
- Dumas, Roland. *Le fil et la pelote: mémoires*. Paris: Plon, 1996.

- Evans, Gareth. "The Comprehensive political Settlement to the Cambodia Conflict: An Exercise in Cooperating for Peace." In *International Peacekeeping: Building on the Cambodian Experience*, edited by Hugh Smith, 1–13. Canberra: Australian Defence Studies Centre, 1994.
- Evans, Gareth. *Cooperating for peace: the global agenda for the 1990s and beyond*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993.
- Evans, Gareth. *Incorrigible Optimist: A Political Memoir*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2017.
- Ferris, Karl. "UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: On Balance, A Success." *Parameters*, 24, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 38–50.
- Finch, Michael P. M. *A Progressive Occupation?: The Gallieni-Lyautey Method and Colonial Pacification in Tonkin and Madagascar, 1885–1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Findlay, Trevor. *Cambodia: The legacy and lessons from UNTAC*, SIPRI Research Report No. 9. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Findlay, Trevor. *The Blue Helmets' First War?: Use of Force by the UN in the Congo 1960–64*. Clemensport: The Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1999.
- Findlay, Trevor. *The Use of Force in Peace Operations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press-SIPRI, 2002.
- Findlay, Trevor. "The Use of Force in Self-Defence: Theory and Practice." In *Peacekeeping with muscle: the use of force in international conflict resolution*, edited by Alex Morrison, Douglas A. Fraser and James D. Kiras, 51–75. Clemensport: Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1997.
- Fleitz, Frederick H. *Peacekeeping fiascoes of the 1990s: causes, solutions, and U.S. interests*. Westport: Praeger, 2002.
- Freedman, Lawrence. *Command: The Politics of Military Operations from Korea to Ukraine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Friis, Karsten. "Peacekeeping and Counter-insurgency – Two of a Kind?," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 1 (2010): 49–66.
- Frost, Frank. *Engaging the neighbours: Australia and ASEAN since 1974*. Acton: ANU Press, 2016.
- Frost, Frank. *The Peace Process in Cambodia: Issues and Prospects*, Australia-Asia Papers No. 69 (Queensland: Griffith University, Faculty of Asian and international studies, Centre for the study of Australia-Asia relations, 1993).
- Goh, Gillian. "The 'ASEAN Way' Non-Intervention and ASEAN's Role in Conflict Management." *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 113–18.
- Goscha, Christopher E. "La Géopolitique Vietnamienne vue de l'Eurasie: quelles leçons de la troisième guerre d'Indochine pour aujourd'hui?" *Hérodote* 2, no. 157 (2015): 23–38.
- Goulding, Marrack. *Peacemonger*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Gow, James. *Triumph of the Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War*. London: Hurst & Company, 1997.
- Gowan, Richard. "Le Conseil de sécurité et les pays contributeurs de troupes." In *Le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies: entre impuissance et toute puissance*, edited by Alexandra Novosseloff, 153–75. Paris: CNRS, 2016.

- Gowan, Richard. "Review," *Political Science Quarterly* 124, no. 2 (2009): 352–354.
- Gregory, Shaun. "France and missions de paix." *The RUSI Journal* 145, no. 4 (August 2000): 58–63.
- Grosser, Pierre. *L'histoire du monde se fait en Asie: une autre vision du XXe siècle*. Paris: Odile Jacob, 2017.
- Guéhenno, Jean-Marie. *The Fog of Peace: A Memoir of International Peacekeeping in the 21st Century*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2015.
- Gurry, Meg. "Identifying Australia's 'Region': From Evatt to Evans." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 49, no. 1 (May 1995): 17–31.
- Haas, Michael. *The Asian Way to Peace: A Story of Regional Cooperation*. Westport: Praeger, 1989.
- Haas, Michael. *Cambodia, Pol Pot, and the United States: The Faustian Pact*. New York: Praeger 1991.
- Haas, Michael. *Modern Cambodia's Emergence from the Killing Fields: What happened in the critical years?*. Los Angeles: Publishing House for Scholars, 2012.
- Haas, Michael. "The Paris conference on Cambodia, 1989." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 23, no. 2 (1991): 42–53.
- Hack, Karl. "The Malayan Emergency as Counter-Insurgency Paradigm." *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 32, no. 3 (June 2009): 383–414.
- Hampson, Fen Osler. "The Pursuit of Human Rights: The United Nations in El Salvador." In *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s*, edited by William J. Durch, 69–102. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997.
- Hatto, Ronald. "From peacekeeping to peacebuilding: the evolution of the role of the United Nations in peace operations." *International Review of the Red Cross* 95 (2013): 495–515.
- Hatto, Ronald. *Le maintien de la paix: l'ONU en action*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2015.
- Hazdra, Peter. *Die UNO-Friedensoperation in Kambodscha Vorgeschichte, Konzept, Verlauf und kritische Evaluierung des internationalen Engagements*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 1997.
- Healy, Damien. "Contrepoin." In *Opérations des Nations unies, leçons de terrain: Cambodge, Somalie, Rwanda, ex-Yougoslavie*, edited by Jean Cot and Franck Debié, 69–72. Paris: la fondation diffusion documentation française, 1995.
- Heder, Stephen. "The Resumption of Armed Struggle by the Party of Democratic Kampuchea: Evidence from National Army of Democratic Kampuchea 'Self-Demobilizers'." In *Propaganda, Politics, and Violence in Cambodia: Democratic Transition under United Nations Peace-keeping*, edited by Stephen Heder and Judy Ledgerwood, 73–113. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1996.
- Heder, Stephen. *Pol Pot and Khieu Samphan*, Working Paper 70, published by the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia (1991).
- Heininger, Janet E. *Peacekeeping in Transition: the United Nations in Cambodia*. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1994.
- Hillen, John. *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations*. Washington: Brassey's, 1998.
- Hoffmann, Stanley. *World Disorders: Troubled Peace in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

- Hoffmann, Stanley. "The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism." *Foreign Policy*, no. 98 (Spring 1995): 159–77.
- Horner, David and John Connor. *The Good International Citizen: Australian Peacekeeping in Asia, Africa and Europe, 1991–1993*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Hourn, Kao Kim. "Background paper." In *The Nexus between Peacekeeping and Peace-building debriefing and lessons, report of the 1999 Singapore Conference*, edited by Nassrine Azimi and Chang Li Lin. London: Kluwer Law International, 2000.
- Huijssoon, W. A. "United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia: een succes, met kanttekeningen." *Marineblad* (December 1995): 332–38.
- Hunt, Charles T. "All necessary means to what ends? The unintended consequences of the 'robust turn' in UN peace operations." *International Peacekeeping* 24, no.1 (August 2016): 108–131.
- Ishizuka, Katsumi. "Japan's policy towards UN peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 12, no. 1 (2005): 67–86.
- James, Alan. "Is there a second generation of peacekeeping?" *International Peacekeeping* 1, no. 4 (September/November 1994): 110–13.
- Jeldres, Julio A. "Cambodia's Fading Hopes." *Journal of Democracy* 7, no.1 (1996): 148–57.
- Jeldres, Julio A. "Cambodia's relations with China a steadfast friendship." In *Cambodia: progress and challenges since 1991*, edited by Pou Sothirak, Geoff Wade and Mark Hong, 81–95. Singapore; Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012.
- Jeldres, Julio A. *Norodom Sihanouk & Zhou Enlai: an extraordinary friendship on the fringes of the Cold War*. Phnom Penh: Sleuk Rith Institute, 2021.
- Jennar, Raoul M. "Cambodge: l'entreprise inachevée." In *L'ONU et la guerre: La diplomatie en kaki*, edited by Marie-Claude Smouts, 52–75. Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1994.
- Jennar, Raoul M. *Chroniques Cambodgiennes 1990–1994: Rapports au Forum International des ONG au Cambodge*. Paris: Éditions l'Harmattan, 1995.
- Jennar, Raoul M. "Democratization in Cambodia: Hopes and Limits." In *Democracy in Asia*, edited by Michèle Schmiegelow, 507–30. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1997.
- Jennar, Raoul M. "L'ONU au Cambodge: Les leçons de l'APRONUC." *Études internationales* 26, no. 2 (1995): 291–314.
- Jennar, Raoul M. "UNTAC: 'International Triumph' in Cambodia?." *Security Dialogue* 25, no. 2 (June 1994): 145–56.
- Jordans, Jay. "Persecution of Cambodia's Ethnic Vietnamese Communities During and Since the UNTAC Period." In *Propaganda, Politics, and Violence in Cambodia: Democratic Transition under United Nations Peace-keeping*, edited by Steve Heder and Judy Ledgerwoold, 134–58. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1996.
- Joyaux, François. *Nouvelle histoire de l'Indochine française*. Paris: Perrin, 2022.
- Karlsrud, John. *Norm Change in International Relations: Linked ecologies in UN peacekeeping operations*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Karlsrud, John. "The UN at war: examining the consequences of peace-enforcement mandates for the UN peacekeeping peacekeeping operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali." *Third World Quarterly* 31, no.1 (2015): 40–54.

- Karlsrud, John. *The UN at War: Peace Operations in a New Era*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Karnow, Stanley. *Vietnam: A History*. New York: Penguin Book, 1983 (1997 edition).
- Kertcher, Chen. "From Cold War to a System of Peacekeeping Operations: The Discussions on Peacekeeping Operations in the UN During the 1980s up to 1992." *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, no. 3 (2012): 611–37.
- Kiernan, Ben. "The Cambodian crisis, 1990–1992: The UN plan, the Khmer Rouge, and the State of Cambodia." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 24, no. 3 (June 1992): 3–23.
- Kiernan, Ben. "The Failure of the Paris Agreement on Cambodia." In *The Challenge of Indochina: An Examination of the U.S. Role*, edited by Dick Clark, 7–19. Congressional Staff Conference April 30–May 2, 1993 Conference Report, The Aspen Institute 8, no. 4 (1993).
- Kiernan, Ben. "The Inclusion of the Khmer Rouge in the Cambodian Peace Process: Causes and Consequences." In *Genocide and democracy in Cambodia: the Khmer Rouge, the United Nations and the International Community*, edited by Ben Kiernan, 191–272. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1993.
- Klintworth, Gary. "Cambodia 1992: Hopes Fading." *Southeast Asian Affairs* (1993): 113–29.
- Koops, Joachim A., Norrie MacQueen, Thierry Tardy and Paul D. Williams, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Lizée, Pierre. "Peacekeeping, Peace-building and the Challenge of Conflict Resolution in Cambodia." In *Peacekeeping and the Challenge of Conflict Resolution*, edited by David A. Charters. Fredericton: Centre for Conflict Studies University of New Brunswick, 1993.
- Lizée, Pierre. *Peace, power and resistance in Cambodia: global governance and the failure of international conflict resolution*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.
- Logevall, Fredrik. *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam*. New York: Random House, 2012.
- Loridon, Michel. "Cambodge, les raisons d'un échec." In *Opérations des Nations unies, leçons de terrain: Cambodge, Somalie, Rwanda, ex-Yougoslavie*, edited by Jean Cot and Franck Debié, 107–10. Paris: la fondation diffusion documentation française, 1995.
- Loridon, Michel. "La fermeté: un droit et un devoir pour l'ONU." In *Les interventions extérieures de l'armée française*, edited by Pierre Pascallon, 241–48. Brussels: Bruylant, 1997.
- Loridon, Michel. "Le rôle des casques bleus." *Le Casoar*, 130 (July 1993): 86–88.
- Loridon, Michel. "Maintien ou rétablissement de la paix: La phase cruciale du désarmement des belligérants." In *Opérations des Nations unies, leçons de terrain: Cambodge, Somalie, Rwanda, ex-Yougoslavie*, edited by Jean Cot and Franck Debié, 363–66. Paris: la fondation diffusion documentation française, 1995.
- Loridon, Michel. "Une bataille pour la paix," *Armées d'Aujourd'hui* 167 (November 1991): 16–19.
- Mackinlay, John. "Improving Multifunctional Forces." *Survival* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 149–73.
- Mackinlay, John. "A Role for the Peacekeeper in Cambodia." *RUSI Journal* (Autumn 1990): 26–30.
- Maley, William. "Introduction: Peace Operations and Their Evaluation." *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 16 (2012): 199–207.

- Martin, Claude. *La diplomatie n'est pas un dîner de gala*. Paris: Éditions de l'Aube, 2018.
- Mazower, Mark. *Governing the World: the History of an Idea*. New York: Penguin Group, 2012.
- McGregor, Charles. "China, Vietnam, and the Cambodian Conflict: Beijing's End Game Strategy." *Asian Survey* 30, no. 3 (March 1990): 266–283.
- Meisler, Stanley. *United Nations: A History*. New York: Grove Press, 2011.
- Meng, Ng Shui. "Vietnam in 1983: Keeping a Delicate Balance." *Southeast Asian Affairs* (1984): 343–68.
- Mersiades, Michael. "Peacekeeping and legitimacy: lessons from Cambodia and Somalia." *International peacekeeping* 12, no. 2 (2005): 205–21.
- Morjé Howard, Lise. *Power in Peacekeeping*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Morjé Howard, Lise. *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Morjé Howard, Lise. "Peacekeeping, Peace Enforcement and UN Reform," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 16, no. 2 (2015): 6–13.
- Morjé Howard, Lise. "United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador." In *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, edited by Joachim A. Koops et al, 351–62. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Morillon, Philippe. *Croire et oser: Chronique de Sarajevo*. Paris: Grasset, 1993.
- Morillon, Philippe. "The military aspects of field operations." In *United Nations peace-keeping operations: a guide to French policies*, edited by Brigitte Stern, Yves Daudet, Philippe Morillon and Marie-Claude Smouts, 83–106. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1998.
- Murphy, Ray. "UN Peacekeeping in Lebanon and the Use of Force." *International Peacekeeping* 6, no. 2 (Frank Cass London, Summer 1999): 28–63.
- Nadin, Peter. *The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping*. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Nadin, Peter. Patrick Cammaert and Vesselin Popovski. *Spoiler groups and UN peacekeeping*. London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2015.
- Nguyen, Lien-Hang T. *Hanoi's War: An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Nhem, Boraden. *A continuation of politics by other means: the "politics" of a peacekeeping mission in Cambodia (1992–93)*. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2011.
- O'Keeffe, Padraig and Riegel, Ralph. *Hidden soldier: An Irish Legionnaire's Wars from Bosnia to Iraq*. New York: The O'Brien Press, 2013.
- Oltra, Stéphanie. "Les Nations Unies et le Cambodge de 1979 à 1992: la genèse de l'engagement de l'ONU." In *Opérations des nations unies leçons de terrain : Cambodge, Somalie, Rwanda, ex-Yougoslavie*, edited by Jean Cot and Franck Debié, 39–50. Paris: Fondation pour les études de défense, 1995.
- O'Meara, Sean. "Keeping the peace: a Cambodian diary Dec. 1991–June 1993," *An Cosantóir – The Defence Forces Magazine* 52, no. 10 (October 1992): 34–36.
- O'Neill, Daniel C. "Who Wins in China's 'Win-Win' Relations with Cambodia," in *The Deer and the Dragon: Southeast Asia and China in the 21st Century*, edited by Donald K. Emmerson, 249–261. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020.

- Paddon Rhoads, Emily. *Taking Sides in Peacekeeping: Impartiality and the Future of the United Nations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016.
- Page Fortna, Virginia. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of peace After Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 269–92.
- Page Fortna, Virginia. *Does Peacekeeping Work?: Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Page Fortna, Virginia. "Peacekeeping and democratization." In *From War to Democracy Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*, edited by Anna K. Jarstad and Timothy D. Sisk, 39–79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008.
- Paris, Roland. *At war's end: building peace after civil conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009.
- Paris, Roland. "Peacekeeping and the Constraints of Global Culture." *European Journal of international Relations* 9, no. 3 (2003): 441–73.
- Paris, Roland. "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism." *International Security* 22, no.2 (Fall 1997): 54–89.
- Path, Kosal. *Vietnam's strategic thinking during the Third Indochina War*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2020.
- Peang-Meth, Abdulgaffar. "The United Nations Peace Plan, the Cambodian Conflict, and the Future of Cambodia." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 14, no.1 (June 1992): 33–46.
- Peter, Mateja. "Between Doctrine and Practice: The UN Peacekeeping Dilemma." *Global Governance* 21 (2015): 351–70.
- Peou, Sorpong. "Cambodia in 1997: Back to Square One?" *Asian Survey* 38, no.1 (January 1998): 69–74.
- Peou, Sorpong. "Cambodia in 1998, from despair to hope?" *Asian Survey* 39, no.1 (January/ February 1999): 20–26.
- Peou, Sorpong. *Conflict Neutralization in the Cambodia War From Battlefield to Ballot-box*. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Peou, Sorpong. "Hun Sen's pre-emptive coup: Causes and Consequences." *Southeast Asian Affairs* (1998): 86–102.
- Peou, Sorpong. "Implementing Cambodia's Peace Agreement." In *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, edited by Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth M. Cousens, 499–524. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- Peou, Sorpong. "The UN's modest impact on Cambodia's democracy." In *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy – Between Ideals and Reality*, edited by Edward Newman and Roland Rich, 258–81. Tokyo: United Nations University Press 2004.
- Peou, Sorpong. "Re-examining liberal peacebuilding in light of realism and pragmatism: The Cambodian experience." In *New perspectives on liberal peacebuilding*, edited by Edward Newman, Roland Paris and Oliver P. Richmond, 316–335. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2009.
- Pérez de Cuéllar, Javier. *Pilgrimage for Peace: A Secretary-General's Memoir*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997.

- Peschoux, Christophe. *Les « nouveaux » Khmers rouges: enquête (1979–1990) reconstruction du mouvement et reconquête des villages*. Paris: l'Harmattan, 1992.
- Pois, Robert and Philip Langer. *Command Failure in War: Psychology and Leadership*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Pons, Frédéric. *Les Casques bleus français: 50 ans au service de la paix dans le monde*. Rennes: Éditions Italiques, 1995.
- Pons, Xavier. “L’Australie, le nucléaire et la présence française en Nouvelle-Calédonie.” *Politique Étrangère*, 52, no. 1 (1987): 47–60.
- Powell, Jan. *A Long Road to Peace UNV in Cambodia 1992/93*. UNDP: Geneva, 1995.
- Pouligny, Béatrice. *Ils nous avaient promis la paix: Opérations de l'ONU et populations locales*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2004.
- Power, Samantha. *Chasing the flame: One Man's Fight to Save the World*. New York: Penguin, 2008.
- Prasso, Sheridan. “Cambodia: A \$3 Billion Boondoggle.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 51, no. 2 (March/April 1995): 36–40.
- Puchala, Donald. “The Secretary-General and His Special Representatives.” In *The Challenging Role of the UN Secretary-General: Making “the Most Impossible Job in the World” Possible*, edited by Benjamin Rivlin and Leon Gordenker, 81–97. Westport: Praeger 1993.
- Quinn-Judge, Sophie. “Victory on the battlefield; isolation in Asia: Vietnam’s Cambodia decade, 1979–1989.” In *The Third Indochina War: Conflict between China, Vietnam and Cambodia, 1972–79*, edited by Odd Arne Westad and Sophie Quin-Judge, 207–30. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Ratner, Steven R. *The New UN peacekeeping: building peace in lands of conflict after the Cold War*. Basingstoke: Macmillan press, 1997.
- Reed, Pamela L. “The Politics of Reconciliation: The United Nations Operation in Mozambique.” In *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s*, edited by William J. Durch, 275–310. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997.
- Rich, Paul B. and Duyvesteyn, Isabelle. “The study of insurgency and counterinsurgency.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*, edited by Paul B. Rich and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, 1–19. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Richmond, Oliver P. and Jason Franks, “Liberal Hubris? Virtual Peace in Cambodia.” *Security Dialogue* 38, no.1 (March 2007): 28–48.
- Roberts, Adam. “The crisis in UN Peacekeeping.” *Survival* 36, no. 3 (1994): 93–120.
- Roberts, David W. “A dangerous game: Managing consent in the Cambodian UN peacekeeping operation.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 21, no. 1 (1998): 29–57.
- Roberts, David W. “More honoured in the breech: Consent and impartiality in the Cambodian peacekeeping operations.” *International Peacekeeping* 4, no. 1(1997): 1–25.
- Roberts, David W. *Political Transition in Cambodia, 1991–99: Power, Elitism and Democracy*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001.
- Ross, Robert S. “China and the Cambodian Peace Process: The Value of Coercive Diplomacy.” *Asian Survey* 31, no. 12 (December 1991): 1170–85.
- Rudolf, Peter. “UN Peace Operations and the Use of Military Force.” *Survival* 59, no. 3 (2017): 161–182.

- Ruffa, Chiara. *Military cultures in peace and stability operations Afghanistan and Lebanon*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. "The UN and the collective Use of Force: Whither or Whether?" In *The UN, peace and force*, edited by Michael Pugh, 1–20. London: Frank Cass, 1996.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. "Wandering in the Void: Charting the U.N.'s New Strategic Role." *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 5 (November/December 1993): 26–31.
- Ryan, Stephen. "United Nations peacekeeping: A matter of principles." *International Peacekeeping* 7, no.1 (2000): 27–47.
- Salton, Herman T. *Dangerous Diplomacy: Bureaucracy, Power Politics, and the Role of the UN Secretariat in Rwanda*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Sanderson, John M. "Dabbling into War: The Dilemma of the Use of Force in United Nations Intervention." In *Peacemaking and peacekeeping for the new century*, edited by Olara A. Atunnu and Michael W. Doyle, 145–68, Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998.
- Sanderson, John M. "The Incalculable Dynamic of Force." In *UN Peacekeeping in Trouble: Lessons Learned from the Former Yugoslavia Peacekeeper's Views on the Limits and Possibilities of the United Nations in a Civil War-like Conflict*, edited by Wolfgang Biermann, and Martin Vadset, 203–17. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1998.
- Sanderson, John M. "Peacekeeping operations in Cambodia." *The RUSI Journal* 139, no. 6 (December 1994): 20–26.
- Sanderson, John M. "Peacekeeping or Peace Enforcement? Global Flux and the Dilemmas of UN Intervention." In *The United Nations at Fifty: Retrospect and Prospect*, edited by Ramesh Thakur, 179–200. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1996.
- Sanderson, John M. "The UNTAC Military Component." In *Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain: The United Nations at Fifty*, edited by Ramesh Thakur, 112–34. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Sanderson, John M. "UNTAC: The military Component View." In *The United Nations transitional authority in Cambodia (UNTAC): debriefing and lessons, International Conference, Singapore – 3 August 1994*, edited by Nassrine Azimi, 125–38. London: Kluwer Law International, 1995.
- Sanderson, John M. "UNTAC: Successes and Failures." In *International peacekeeping seminar; building on the Cambodian experience*, edited by Hugh Smith, 15–32. Canberra: Australian Defence Studies Centre, 1994.
- Sartre, Patrice. "La robustesse du maintien de la paix des Nations Unies: Ni contraindre ni céder mais protéger pour convaincre." In *La paix par la force?: Pour une approche réaliste du maintien de la paix « robuste »*, edited by Jocelyn Coulon and Alexandre Novosseloff, 55–117. Outremont: Athéna éditions, 2011.
- Schear, James A. "Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping: The Case of Cambodia." In *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, edited by Donald C. F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes, 248–66. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

- Schear, James A. "Riding the Tiger: The UN and Cambodia." In *UN Peacekeeping, American politics, and the uncivil wars of the 1990s*, edited by William J. Durch, 135–91. London: Macmillan, 1997.
- Schmidl, Erwin A. "Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick: The Use of Force in Peace Operations, Past and Present." In *Peacekeeping with muscle: the use of force in international conflict resolution*, edited by Alex Morrison, Douglas A. Fraser and James D. Kiras, 83–90. Clementsport: Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1997.
- Schoonoord, D. C. L. *De Koninklijke Marine in actie voor de Verenigde Naties: mariniers in Cambodja 1992–1993*. Leeuwarden: Eisma, 1993.
- Shaw, Martin. *The new Western way of war: risk-transfer war and its crisis in Iraq*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008.
- Shawcross, William. *Deliver Us from Evil: Warlords & Peacekeepers in a World of Endless Conflict*. London: Bloomsbury, 2002.
- Shawcross, William. *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon, and the Destruction of Cambodia*. New York: Cooper Square Press, 1987.
- Sitkowski, Andrzej. *UN Peacekeeping Myth and Reality*. Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006.
- Sitkowski, Andrzej. "Reflections on The Peacekeeping Doctrine." *International Peacekeeping. The Yearbook of International Peace Operations* 7 (2001): 181–96.
- Smith, Hugh. "Australia." In *The Politics of Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era*, edited by David S. Sorenson and Pia Christina Wood, 10–28. London: Frank Cass, 2005.
- Smith, Simon. "General Templer and Counter-Insurgency in Malaya: Hearts and Minds, Intelligence, and Propaganda." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, no.3 (2001): 60–78.
- Smouts Marie-Claude, ed. *L'ONU et la guerre: la diplomatie en kaki*. Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1994.
- Solarz, Stephen J. "Cambodia and the international community." *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1990): 99–115.
- Solomon, Richard H. *Exiting Indochina: U.S. Leadership of the Cambodia Settlement & Normalization with Vietnam*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2000.
- Stedman, Stephen John. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." *International Security* 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 5–53.
- Stedman, Stephen John. "UN Intervention in Civil Wars: Imperatives of Choice and Strategy." In *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, edited by Donald C.F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes, 40–63. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Stern, Brigitte. "Introduction." In *United Nations Peace-keeping operations: a guide to French policies*, edited by Yves Daudet, Philippe Morillon, Marie-Claude Smouts and Brigitte Stern, 1–6. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1998.
- Strangio, Sebastian. *Cambodia: From Pol Pot to Hun Sen and Beyond*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.
- Strangio, Sebastian. *In the Dragon's Shadow: Southeast Asia in the Chinese century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.

- Szalontai, Balázs. "From battlefield into marketplace: The end of the Cold War in Indochina, 1985–1989." In *The End of the Cold War and the Third World: New perspectives on regional conflict*, edited by Artemy M. Kalinovsky and Sergey Radchenko, 155–72. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Takeda, Yasuhiro. "Japan's Role in the Cambodian Peace Process: Diplomacy, Manpower, and Finance" *Asian Survey* 38, no. 6 (June 1998): 553–68.
- Tardy, Thierry. "A critique of robust peacekeeping in contemporary peace operation." *International Peacekeeping* 18, no. 2 (2011): 152–67.
- Tardy, Thierry. "France" In *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, edited by Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013: 115–38.
- Tardy, Thierry. "French Policy Towards Peace Support Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 6, no. 1 (1999): 55–78.
- Tardy, Thierry. *La France et la gestion des conflits Yougoslaves (1991–1995): enjeux et leçons d'une opération de maintien de la paix de l'ONU*. Brussels: Bruylant, 1999.
- Tardy, Thierry. "Quel maintien de la paix « robuste » pour quel maintien de la paix efficace ? vers une approche réaliste de la robustesse." In *La paix par la force?: Pour une approche réaliste du maintien de la paix « robuste »*, edited by Jocelyn Coulon and Alexandre Novosselloff, 21–53. Outremont: Athéna éditions, 2011.
- Tardy, Thierry. "The Reluctant Peacekeeper: France and the Use of Force in Peace Operations." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, no. 5 (2014): 770–92.
- Tavernier, Paul. *Les casques bleus*. Paris: presses universitaires de France, 1996.
- Teo, Eric. "The New French Socialist Foreign Policy and Indochina." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 6, no. 3 (December 1984): 221–30.
- Ter Beek, Relus. *Manoeuvreren: herinneringen aan Plein 4*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 1996.
- Tharoor, Shashi. "Should United Nations Peacekeeping Go 'Back to Basics'?" *Survival* 37, no. 4 (1995): 52–60.
- Toft, Monica Duffy. "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34, no. 4 (Spring 2010): 7–36.
- Tsagourias, Nicholas. "Consent, Neutrality/Impartiality and the Use of Force in Peacekeeping: Their Constitutional Dimension." *Journal of Conflict & Security Law* 11, no. 3 (2006): 465–82.
- Turley, William S. "The Khmer war: Cambodia after Paris." *Survival* 32, no. 5 (September/October 1990): 437–53.
- United Nations. *The Blue Helmets: a review of United Nations peace-keeping*. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 3rd edition, 1996.
- Utley, Rachel. "A means to Wider Ends? France, Germany and Peacekeeping." In *Major Powers and Peacekeeping: Perspectives, Priorities and the Challenges of Military Intervention*, edited by Rachel E. Utley, 63–80. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Vertzberger, Yaakov Y.I. *Risk taking and Decisionmaking: Foreign Military Intervention Decisions*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

- Vickery, Michael. *Cambodia: A Political Survey, Regime Change and Regime Maintenance in Asia and the Pacific, Discussion Paper No. 14*. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1994.
- Vollmuth, Ralff. "UNTAC 1992/93 Der deutsche Sanitätsdienst in Kambodscha." *Zeitschrift für historische Bildung* 2 (2018): 18–21.
- Walter, Barbara F., Lise Morjé Howard and Virginia Page Fortna. "The Astonishing Success of Peacekeeping: The UN Program Deserves More Support—and Less Scorn—From America." *Foreign Affairs* 29 November (2021).
- Walter, Barbara F., Lise Morjé Howard and Virginia Page Fortna. "The Extraordinary Relationship between Peacekeeping and Peace." *British Journal of Political Science* 51 (2021): 1705–1722.
- Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World interventions and the making of our times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Westad, Odd Arne. "Introduction: From war to peace to war in Indochina." In *The Third Indochina War: Conflict between China, Vietnam and Cambodia, 1972–79*, edited by Odd Arne Westad and Sophie Quin-Judge, 1–11. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Whalan, Jeni. *How Peace Operations Work: Power, Legitimacy, and Effectiveness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Whalan, Jeni. "Evaluating Peace Operations: The Case of Cambodia." In *Peace Operation Success A Comparative Analysis*, edited by Daniel Druckman and Paul F. Diehl (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013), 29–54.
- Whalan, Jeni. "The Local Legitimacy of Peacekeepers." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 11, no. 3 (2017): 306–320.
- Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism, and UN peacekeeping: a gendered analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004.
- Widyono, Benny. *Dancing in shadows, Sihanouk, the Khmer Rouge, and the United Nations in Cambodia*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008.
- Widyono, Benny. "United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC)." In *The Oxford handbook of United Nations peacekeeping operations*, edited by Joachim A. Koops, Norrie MacQueen, Thierry Tardy and Paul D. Williams, 363–70. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Widyono, Benny. "United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)." In *The Oxford handbook of United Nations peacekeeping operations*, edited by Joachim A. Koops, Norrie MacQueen, Thierry Tardy and Paul D. Williams, 395–407. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Wood, Pia Christina. "France." In *The Politics of Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era*, edited by David S. Sorenson and Pia Christina Wood, 68–93. London: Frank Cass, 2005.

Reports, lectures, speeches and unpublished papers

- Bettencourt, André, Claude Estier, Paul Caron and Paul d'Ornano, *Rapport d'information fait au nom de la commission des affaires étrangères, de la défense et des forces armées à la suite d'une mission effectuée au Cambodge et au Vietnam du 26 février au 9 mars 1993*, Rapport du Sénat français, no. 268 (21 April 1993).
- Betts, Richard K., John Bresnan, Frederick Z. Brown, James W. Morley and Donald Zagoria. *Time Is Running Out in Cambodia*. New York: Institute Reports East Asian Institute, Columbia University, October 1992.
- Commandement de la doctrine et de l'entraînement, *L'Intervention française au Cambodge aspects militaires (novembre 1991–décembre 1993)*. Paris: Ministère de la Défense, 18 March 1997.
- Evans, Gareth. *Australia's Asian future*, Address by Senator Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade to launch the Institute for Contemporary Asian Studies, Monash University (19 July 1990).
- Goulding, Marrack. *The United Nations and Peace since the Cold War: success, failure or neither?*, Europaeum Lecture delivered at the Graduate Institute of International Studies Geneva on 8 April 2003.
- International Crisis Group. "Cambodia's Elections Turn Sour Cambodia Report" 10 September 1998. *Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*, March 2008 Peacekeeping Best Practices Section. Division of Policy, Evaluation and Training, DPKO.
- International Crisis Group. *Cambodia's Flawed Elections: Why Cambodia will not be Ready for Free and Fair Elections on 26 July 1998*, ICG Report No2 16 June 1998
- Jennar, Raoul M. "Quand les compromis diplomatiques ignorent les réalités du terrain." discours à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire des Accords de Paris sur le Cambodge, Phnom Penh, 20 October 2016.
- Loridon, Michel. *The U.N. intervention in Cambodia 1991/1993*, unpublished paper given at the RUSI-Swedish War College seminar 23 and 24 April 1996.
- Oltra, Stéphanie. *L'intervention des Nations Unies au Cambodge mars 1992 – septembre 1993*, unpublished MA thesis (DEA de Relations Internationales de Paris-I Sorbonne, June 1995).
- Rideau, Robert. "APRONUC: Une mission originale à plus d'un titre." *Les Cahiers du Retex*. nr. 3.
- Santos Cruz, dos., Carlos Alberto. *Improving security of United Nations peacekeepers*, 19 December 2017.
- Sanderson, John. *Command at the operational level*, unpublished paper given at the Australian Command and Staff College Queensclif, 26 June 2000.
- Sanderson, John. *Intervening for Peace: The Question of Standing Forces for the United Nations*. paper tabled at the Governor's Forum Government House, Melbourne, 23 March 1995.
- Sanderson, John M. *Preparations for, deployment and conduct of peacekeeping operations: a Cambodia snapshot*, paper presented at the conference on UN Peacekeeping at the Crossroads, Canberra, 21–24 March 1993.
- Schoenmaker, Ben. *Vredesoperaties en de terugkeer van de oorlog*, inaugural lecture, Leiden University, 29 October 2012.

- Trucy, François. *Rapport au Premier Ministre: Participation de la France aux Opérations de Maintien de la Paix* (1994).
- Wang, Jianwei. *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Cambodia: Disarmament and Conflict Resolution Project*. Geneva, UNIDIR United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 1996.

United Nations documents

- A/55/305 S/2000/809: *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* United Nations
- A/50/60 S/1995/1: Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations, UN document, 25 January 1995.
- S/PV.3046, 1992: Provisional verbatim record of the three thousand and forty-sixth meeting, held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 31 January 1992.
- S/PV.3057: Provisional verbatim record of the 3057th meeting, held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 28 February 1992.
- S/23097: Report of the Secretary-General on Cambodia, 30 September 1991;
- S/23613: Report of the Secretary-General on Cambodia, 19 February 1992.
- S/24090: Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, 12 June 1992.
- S/24286: Second Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, 14 July 1992.
- S/26095: Letter dated 14 July 1993 from the Secretary-General to the United Nations Security Council.
- S/25289: Report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 792 (1992), 13 February 1993.
- S/RES/717 (1991): UN Security Council Resolution 717 1991, 16 October 1991.
- S/RES/745 (1992): UN Security Council Resolution 745, 28 February 1992.
- S/RES/810 (1993): UN Security Council Resolution 810 (1993), 8 March 1993.
- S/RES/880 (1993): UN Security Council Resolution 880, 4 November 1993.

Digital sources

- Akashi, Yasushi. Speech at UNTAC headquarters (1992), accessed on YouTube, URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ikgSjYa-0N4>.
- Television interview with Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, 17 November, 1991, URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NDdFbMcMkS0>.
- World Chronicle 473: Yasushi Akashi, UNTAC, 8 May 1992, URL: <https://www.unmultimedia.org/avlibrary/asset/2113/2113010/>.