



Understanding Compliance With UN Security Council Resolutions in Civil Wars

Guidelines for Assessing Compliance with Security Council Resolutions

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Introduction

The International Peace Institute (IPI) is undertaking a multi-year research project to improve our understanding of the role of the UN Security Council in the area of work where it has been most active since the end of the Cold War: resolving civil wars. The project involves a quantitative and qualitative review of compliance with all Security Council Resolutions passed between 1989 and 2003 in the context of civil wars. It combines a statistical analysis of compliance with more than 1,500 specific demands by the Security Council with detailed case studies. This project seeks to provide evidence-based answers to the question about the extent to which civil war parties comply with the broad range of demands issued by the Security Council, and whether the variance in the level of compliance can be explained by conflict settings, conflict management strategies and political dynamics in the Council.

The **qualitative** strand of this research project will primarily consist of case studies written by noted academics with a strong expertise on the United Nations' conflict management efforts in specific civil wars. These case studies will focus on a sample of civil wars in which the Security Council undertook peacemaking, peacekeeping, or peace building initiatives. Each of these case studies will provide a narrative explaining the pattern and dynamics of compliance and non-compliance. They will provide historical detail and further depth to the analysis of the hypothesized relationship between compliance, the conflict setting, and the Security Council's commitment and conflict management strategy.

The **quantitative** research will be conducted using various regression analyses. It will draw on the **IPI Security Council Compliance Database** which presently includes more than one million data points. The dataset is comprised of all operative clauses in Security Council Resolutions that specified a demand related to civil wars. It lists the demands, their addressees and values for more than 50 variables relating to:

- characteristics of the civil war addressed by the demand;
- United Nations activities in response to the civil war;
- circumstances of the drafting and adoption of the Resolution issuing the demand;
- substance of the Resolution and of the demand;
- characteristics of the demand addressees; and
- follow-up, monitoring and enforcement mechanisms.

The temporal scope of the database, and of the quantitative study, covers the first fifteen years after the Cold War (1989-2003). During this period, the Security Council adopted 367 Resolutions that contained 1,531 specific demands to warring factions in 25 civil wars. This project uses the following definition of the term civil war: A civil war consists in one or several simultaneous incompatibilities that concern government and/or territory in a state, and that are causally linked to the use of armed force, resulting in at least 500 battle-related deaths during a given year during the conflict, and that involve two or more parties, of which the primary warring parties are the government of the state where armed force is used, and one or several non-state opposition organizations. This definition is inspired by the terminology used by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program's (Wallensteen and Sollenberg 2001).

The core of our analysis is the concept of **compliance**. In short, compliance can be defined as the state of conformity between an actor's conduct and the conduct demanded by the Security Council within the timeframe when compliance was expected to occur (see Part II below). Related to compliance is the **depth of the demand** (see Part III below). Whether a demand requires a significant and risky deviation from the addressees' previous behavior will play an important role in the demand addressee's calculus of the expected utility of compliance and non-compliance. It can be expected to have a significant impact on the likelihood of compliance.

This is the first study that systematically examines compliance with UN Security Council Resolutions dealing with armed conflict. In addition to involving significant methodological innovations, this research project addresses a topic that touches on numerous political sensitivities. For those reasons we have adopted a research methodology that is transparent, robust and comprehensible. By relying on experts to code compliance, having them document the sources that form the basis of their assessment, and employing a detailed common methodology for all expert coders, we aim to maximize the utility of our data and the reliability of our analysis.

This paper provides detailed guidelines to the expert coders on how to evaluate compliance with and the depth of demands. The first part of the guidelines defines the unit of observation of this study: the demand by the Security Council. The second part explains the definition and evaluation of compliance, while the third part addresses the coding of the depth of demand variable. The final two parts of these guidelines suggest primary and secondary sources of information that may be relevant in formulating evaluations of compliance, and the format and procedure for submitting coding decisions. These comprehensive coding rules shall serve as a reference manual throughout the coding process. In most cases you will be able to stick to a limited number of basic rules that will allow you to 'know compliance when you see it'.

I. The unit of observation

A. Operative demands in Security Council Resolutions

- 1 In recent years, Security Council Resolutions have become very detailed, complex and increasingly lengthy documents. This study does not assess overall compliance with an entire Resolution, but with each of its operative paragraphs that contains an exhortation. Those unfamiliar with the Security Council's drafting techniques should note that operative paragraphs (OP) are the numbered paragraphs of Resolutions that start with an operative verb in present tense (e.g., "calls on", "reminds [...] of").
- 2 Demands in preambular paragraphs, which constitute the first part of a Resolution and start with a verb in gerund (e.g., "considering"), will not be taken into account. Preambles do not impose demands *per se*, but they may be informative to a contextual reading of a demand.
- 3 Factual or interpretative statements in Security Council Resolutions (e.g. "the Security Council appreciates/ condemns/ recognizes the importance of") do not qualify as demands.

B. Demands to civil war parties

- 4 The *IPI Security Council Compliance Database* lists all addressees of all demands in Security Council Resolutions adopted in the context of civil wars between 1989 and 2003. However, you will only be asked to evaluate compliance with those demands that address civil war parties.
- 5 IPI will provide you with a list of all demands addressed to civil war parties.
- 6 We compiled this list of all demands to civil war parties on the basis of the following definition of the term civil war party: Civil war parties are the government of the state on whose territory force is used, non-state opposition organizations or other states who use armed force to promote their position in the incompatibilities in which the civil war consists. Non-state organizations are non-governmental groups of people, who have announced a name for their group, use armed force and have at least very rudimentary forms of organization. Incompatibilities are the stated (in writing or verbally) generally incompatible positions of the civil war parties on the political system, the replacement of the central government or the change of its composition, or the status of a specified territory.
- 7 This research project analyzes compliance with Security Council demands issued during ongoing civil wars or addressing the post-conflict phase of peace processes after internal conflict. You will be asked to code compliance with demands addressing the following:
 - a) states or non-state opposition groups that were a warring faction at any point during the civil war, i.e. those who used force to promote their positions in the incompatibilities in which the civil war consisted; and
 - b) very occasionally, political parties resulting from a transformation of civil war parties.
- 8 Many operative paragraphs in Resolutions name specific addressees of demands. Others refer to the characteristics of the addressees to identify them (e.g., "all warring factions",

“all signatories of the peace agreement”). IPI will provide you with a tentative list of civil war parties addressed by all demands you are asked to code.

- 9 Over time, state and non-state actors may become, or cease to be, civil war parties. The government of the state on whose territory force is used is considered a civil war party during the entire conflict, and demands to it always constitute demands to a civil war party.

C. Demands to multiple addressees

- 10 When a demand has multiple addressees (e.g., “all conflict parties”) you should evaluate compliance by all of them with a single level of compliance score, which they will all share. What is being evaluated is compliance with the demand, not compliance by each addressee with the demand. Of course, different addressees may comply to different extents, or with different degrees of rapidity, to a demand addressed to them. Below, in Part II Section J, we set out how you should formulate one single common score for compliance with that demand where multiple addressees are addressed.

D. Demands with multiple sub-demands

- 11 Some operative paragraphs contain two or more distinct sub-demands. We presume the Security Council’s choice to group them together to be meaningful. A disaggregation of operative paragraphs would risk breaking links between different prescriptive aspects of the Resolution which the Council has chosen to connect in specific ways. Therefore, compliance with sub-demands contained in a single operative paragraph will not be assessed separately.
 - *E.g., OP 6 of SC Res. 851: “immediately withdraw troops from locations occupied since the resumption of hostilities, and agree to return troops to UN-monitored areas”*
- 12 There are only two exceptions to this rule. First, when an operative paragraph in a Resolution lists several sub-demands as separate paragraphs each is considered a separate demand.
 - *E.g., an OP in a Resolution on Palestine from the 1940s “request[ed] the parties to:
(a) cease all hostilities;
(b) refrain from assisting [...] the entry into Palestine of armed bands [...];
(c) refrain from importing [...] weapons.”*
- 13 Second, when a single operative paragraph in a Resolution contains sub-demands directed at different addressees, each will be considered a separate demand.
 - *E.g., an OP in a Resolution “calls on the rebel group XY to desist from all acts of terrorism, and calls on the Government to ensure return of effective authority.”*
- 14 Below, in Part II Section K, we provide detailed guidelines on how you should assess compliance with demands with multiple sub-demands.

E. Demands repeating demands issued in prior Resolutions

- 15 If the same exhortation is issued repeatedly by the Security Council in separate Resolutions, every such statement of the demand is viewed as a separate demand. In other words, each demand, regardless of whether it repeats demands in other Resolutions, is viewed as a discreet demand. The IPI Security Council Compliance

Database includes two dummy variables that capture full and partial repetitions of prior demands.

- *E.g., OP 13 of SC Res. 1001 (1995), OP 13 of SC Res. 1014 (1995) and OP 14 of SC Res. 1020 (1995) all “demand that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, as well as organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law”. Each repetition of this demand is viewed as a separate demand. Also note that each constitutes a single demand, although it contains numerous sub-demands (see Section D above).*

16 Please refer to Part II Section L below on how to deal with belated compliance with demands repeating previous demands.

F. Demands addressing multiple civil wars

17 During the first fifteen years after the Cold War, the Security Council almost always adopted separate Resolutions on each of the civil wars on its active agenda. In three exceptional cases, the Security Council issued a small number of demands pertaining to two or more conflicts at once: in Central America, in the former Yugoslavia, and with regard to the International Criminal Tribunals in Rwanda and Yugoslavia. These demands will be multi-counted, once for each civil war they addressed, and compliance in each of these civil wars will be evaluated separately.

- *E.g., OP 3 of UNSC Res. 637 (1989) calls on the governments which signed the Guatemala City agreement on “Procedures for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America” of 7 August 1987 (S/19085) to “continue their efforts to achieve a firm and lasting peace in Central America through the implementation of the commitments in the Guatemala agreement as well as in the Joint Declaration of 14 February 1989.” This demand pertains to the resolution of the civil wars in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. Compliance with this demand will be assessed separately in the context of each of these three civil wars.*

18 The list of demands provided to you by IPI will specify to which civil war(s) each demand refers.

II. Evaluating compliance

A. Definition of compliance

- 19 The term compliance refers to all conduct (acts and omissions) by actors that conform to the requirements of behavioral prescriptions addressed to them. Conversely, noncompliance (or violation) is conduct that fails to conform to such requirements (Young 1979: 4-5).
- 20 The concept of compliance only deals with the degree of conformity between a norm and the norm addressee's conduct. It is agnostic as to the reasons why this conformity does, or does not, occur (Raustiala and Slaughter 2002: 539).
- 21 The concept of compliance is distinct from the concepts of impact and effectiveness. The assessment of the effectiveness of a Security Council Resolution is not merely a function of compliance, but it also depends on a normative assessment of the appropriateness of the response by the Security Council to the civil war situation it aimed to address. Measuring the impact of a Security Council Resolution would also involve answering the question as to whether, and to what extent, the Resolution caused civil war parties to engage in the conduct they undertook. Both questions go beyond the narrowly defined research question of this quantitative analysis.

B. The scale for the level of compliance variable

- 22 Compliance with most types of norms cannot be conceptualized in binary terms. It is hardly ever a black-or-white issue: compliance may change over time, some demand addressees may comply while others do not, and any demand addressee may comply with parts of complex demand while ignoring others. We will use a four-point scale for the assessment of the level of compliance by civil war parties with demands issued to them by the Security Council. This coding scale does not allow the use of half-scores or fractional scores. Please bear in mind that compliance by all addressees with a single demand is captured by a single compliance score (see Part I Section C above).
- 23 Each point on the level of compliance scale is assessed by reference to either the *incidents* covered by the demand, or, where the demand involved multiple sub-demands, by reference to the *aspects* of the demand. By *incident* we mean events triggered by the demand addressees that fall within the substantive scope of the demand and that occurred within the time frame for assessing compliance. By *aspect* we mean sub-demands entailed within one demand (see Part I Section D above).
- (1) No or marginal compliance
- No compliance with the demand in all or almost all incidents covered by the demand; or
 - Compliance with no or almost no aspects of the demand of any significance to the achievement of the overall objectives of the demand.
- (2) Medium low compliance:
- Compliance in a minority of incidents covered by the demand; or
 - Compliance only with those aspects of the demand which were of a relatively low significance to the achievement of the objectives of the demand.
- (3) Medium high compliance:
- Compliance with a majority of incidents covered by the demand; or

- Compliance with those aspects of the demand which were of relatively high significance to the achievement of the objectives of the demand.
- (4) Full or almost full compliance:
- Compliance with all or almost all incidents covered by the demand; or
 - Compliance with all or almost all aspects of the demand significant for the achievement of the objectives of the demand.

C. Interpreting Security Council demands

- 24 Whether the conduct performed by the addressees of a Security Council demand is in compliance with the demand or not depends on the interpretation of the demand. This interpretation can be based on the rules for the interpretation of international treaties, which can be applied, by analogy, to Security Council Resolutions (Talmon 2005: 190).
- 25 The starting point for the interpretation of demands in Security Council Resolutions should be the natural and ordinary meaning of the terms used by the Security Council.
- 26 If the wording of a demand is obscure or ambiguous, it has to be interpreted in the light of its object and purpose, which can be derived from the Resolution as a whole, including its preamble. You should always ask yourself what the objective of the Security Council in issuing the demand was at the time of the adoption of the demand. What outcome did the Security Council seek to attain by issuing the demand, i.e. what outcome did it expect to occur in case of full compliance by all parties?
- 27 In exceptional cases, if the meaning of the demand cannot be derived from the Resolution issuing the demand, the meaning of the demand has to be derived from any available records analogous to *travaux préparatoires* of the Resolution, or from the Security Council's practice after the adoption of the Resolution. The *travaux préparatoires* include the records of the meeting at which the Resolution was adopted, and at which the proponents of the Resolution explained their intentions. The record for all Security Council meetings is available on the United Nations website (see Part IV below). The Security Council's practice after the adoption of the Resolution includes Resolutions, Presidential Statements, and other Security Council documents which are available on its website (see Part IV below). You should be extremely careful when you refer to the Security Council's practice after the adoption of the Resolution as an auxiliary means for the interpretation of an earlier demand, since the subsequent acts of the Security Council may reflect changes in its intentions and objectives that occurred after it adopted this demand. What matters is the Security Council's intention at the time when it issued the demand. While Reports from the Secretary-General to the Security Council preceding the adoption of the Resolution do not constitute *travaux préparatoires* they may clarify the rationale for Security Council demands that were adopted in response to such reports. Pertinent reports by the Secretary-General are usually referenced in the preamble of Resolutions. See Part IV below on how to access the full text of these reports.
- 28 When interpreting a Security Council demand, do not pay attention to the question whether the demand was issued in hortatory or mandatory terms (i.e., "invites" or "demands"). Your assessment should be based only on the conformity between the requested conduct and the conduct performed by the demand addressees. Independent variables will capture the differences between hortatory and mandatory demands.
- *E.g., a demand may "encourage all civil war parties to implement the peace agreement without further delays", or it may "decide that the parties shall implement the peace agreement without further delays". This difference in the normative strength of the demand should not have any impact on your assessment of compliance by the civil war parties.*

D. Demands for results and demands for continuous behavior

- 29 In general, we can distinguish two kinds of Security Council demands. Some demands ask for a result, while others only specify the behavior the demand addressee is supposed to adopt. This distinction has important implications for the assessment of compliance.
- 30 Often, a demand can be formulated as a demand for a result or as a demand for certain behavior, with vastly divergent outcomes. For instance, a Resolution can “demand that the decisions taken in the framework of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue are implemented”, thus clearly requesting a result. The only way for the civil war parties to comply with the demand is to implement the decisions taken in the framework of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue. However, the Security Council could also formulate the demand as a demand for certain behavior, requesting that the civil war parties “work toward the implementation of the decisions taken in the framework of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue.” In this case, the demand addressees can satisfy the demand by merely making serious and honest efforts to implement the decisions, irrespective of whether they are actually implemented or not.

E. Criteria for assessing compliance

- 31 In assessing the level of compliance with a specific demand you should consider the following criteria: completeness, timeliness, continuity and universality of compliance. You do not have to spell out your reasoning in writing.
- 32 *Completeness of compliance:* The completeness of compliance refers to the extent to which the conduct of the civil war parties conforms to the requirements of the Security Council demand addressed to them.
- *E.g., the Security Council issues a demand to a foreign state intervening in the civil war to immediately withdraw its troops from all occupied territory. The state withdraws from two thirds of the occupied territory, including all major occupied cities. Pending an assessment of the timeliness and continuity of this conduct (see below) we conclude that the completeness of compliance was medium high (3).*
- 33 *Timeliness of compliance:* The timeliness of compliance refers to the question whether compliance occurred at the time when a demand addressee was expected to undertake certain conduct, or whether it was delayed. Delays in compliance have a negative impact on the level of compliance score. Please refer to Section F below for further details.
- 34 *Continuity of compliance:* This criterion refers to the question whether the demand addressee discontinued compliance at any point during the period when compliance is recorded. Please refer to Section G below for further details.
- 35 *Universality of compliance:* This criterion needs to be considered only when a single demand addresses multiple civil war parties. It refers to the question whether all – or only some – demand addressees complied with the demand. Please refer to Section J below for more detailed rules on how to account for differences in the level of compliance displayed by multiple civil war parties addressed by a single demand.

F. Timeliness of compliance

- 36 Security Council Resolutions issuing demands often do not specify when the Security Council expects the demand addressee to undertake the requested conduct. Occasionally, specific deadlines are set, in particular with regard to demands for a cease-fire (e.g., “cease fire tomorrow at 12:00 CET”). In other cases, the Security Council demands that a civil war party “immediately” adopts a course of conduct. When the Security Council attaches a deadline to its demand, or when it demands that a conduct be undertaken immediately, it signals a particularly strong concern for timely compliance with the demand. In these cases, you should attach particular weight to delays in the demand addressee’s compliance.
- 37 When the Security Council does not specify when the demand addressee has to undertake the requested conduct we can assume that the Council wants the action or omission to occur “without undue delay, that is to say, as soon as reasonably practicable, in the light of individual circumstances” (Talmon 2005: 191). The earliest possible moment for compliance can only be determined by reference to the characteristics of the demand, the circumstances of the situation and those of the demand addressee. Undoubtedly, the demand “to publicly dissociate yourselves from militant rhetoric” can be fulfilled faster than the demand “to revitalize the peace process”. The evaluation of the demand addressee(s)’ compliance should be made on the basis of the assessment when a duly diligent addressee could have been expected to display the requested conduct – as soon as reasonably practicable.
- 38 It is impossible to indicate in general terms which lapse of time constitutes a slight or big delay. If a Resolution demands “the immediate cessation of hostilities” the continuation of hostilities for a few more days could already constitute a major delay. In contrast, compliance with a demand calling for the organization of a referendum may not occur within several months without being considered belated.
- 39 The degree to which belated compliance impacts on the level of compliance score depends on how much time elapsed before compliance occurred and on the extent to which incomplete compliance made it impossible to reach the outcome sought by the Security Council. You should analyze the extent to which the delay rendered it impossible for the Security Council to reach the outcome sought by the demand. To do so, you should ask what the objective of the Security Council in adopting this demand was. What outcome did the Security Council expect to occur in case of full compliance by all parties?
- *E.g., the rationale of a given demand for an immediate cease-fire is, first, to stop ongoing fighting and, second, to prevent future outbreaks of belligerent violence. After the demand was issued, the addressees continued large-scale military operations and fighting for six weeks. Subsequently they ceased fire and did not resume fighting. Even though the period of non-compliance was very short as compared to the years of subsequent compliance the initial non-compliance made it impossible to reach the first outcome sought by the Security Council, an immediate end to hostilities. On the other hand, the addressee’s conduct did not impair the second part of the objective of the Security Council, which is to prevent future outbreaks of belligerent violence. Depending on the assessment of the relative importance of both sub-demands, which may vary from case to case, the level of compliance should be assessed with a relatively low score (2).*
- 40 In the same vein, phased compliance (i.e., partial compliance at first, then full compliance) impacts on the assessment of the level of compliance. The compliance score depends on the extent to which phased compliance made it impossible to reach the outcome sought by the Security Council by issuing the demand.

- *E.g., a Security Council Resolution demands a rebel group to withdraw its forces from two cities. The demand neither specifies a timeline nor extreme urgency (e.g., by demanding an ‘immediate withdrawal’). Within days, the militia withdraws from the bigger and strategically more important town. It then takes six weeks to withdraw from the second town. Depending on the circumstances of the case, the rebel group could have been expected to complete the entire withdrawal within one or two weeks. Please note that, all else being equal, the military withdrawal from an area can be expected to take longer than the cessation of ongoing fighting, given the logistic challenges even a duly diligent demand addressee will have to confront. The rebel group’s withdrawal from the second town occurred after an undue delay. Given the withdrawal from the bigger and strategically more important town occurred in a timely manner, the level of compliance should be assessed with a relatively high score (3).*

G. Continuity of compliance

- 41 If a demand addressee generally complies with a demand, but seriously disrespects it for a limited period of time, such temporary non-compliance can greatly impair the general outcome sought by the Security Council in issuing the demand. Therefore, qualified temporary non-compliance has a negative impact on the level of compliance score. Temporary partial non-compliance impacts less on the level of compliance score than temporary non-compliance.
- *E.g., a demand calls on civil war parties to cease fire. All warring factions complied with the demand within few days, i.e. without undue delay. After five months, one of them launched a large one-month military operation in contravention of the cease-fire demand. The cease-fire is restored a month later. The rationale of the cease-fire demand was to end fighting and to maintain an absence of belligerent violence thereafter. The one-month military intervention did not frustrate the former objective of the Security Council’s. However, it seriously impaired the second one. In the absence of indications of the contrary, we can also assume that by issuing a cease-fire demand at a given point in time, the Security Council aimed to terminate hostilities along the frontlines where they existed when the demand was issued. If the one-month military operation led to significant territorial gains and losses this objective of the Security Council was also frustrated. Thus, the level of compliance with this demand should be assessed at a relatively low score (1-2).*

H. Time frames for assessing compliance

- 42 You will be asked to conduct two separate assessments of the level of compliance: ‘short-term compliance’ and ‘medium-term compliance’. The two variables differ in their cut-off points after which the addressee(s)’ behavior will not have an impact on the assessment of compliance any more.
- 43 In assessing ‘short-term compliance’ you should only take into account the conduct of the demand addressee(s) that occurred within six months after the date of adoption of the Resolution issuing the demand.
- 44 In assessing ‘medium-term compliance’ you should only consider the conduct displayed by the demand addressee(s) within two years after the date of adoption of the Resolution in which the demand figured.
- 45 We believe that demands by the Security Council cannot be considered obsolete after a certain period of time. However, the passage of time is the enemy of inference. It creates the equivalent of noise, i.e. a growing number of motives for civil war parties to undertake a conduct demanded by the Security Council irrespective of the Council’s demand

(Downs and Stedman in Stedman, Rothchild, Cousens 2002: 48-49). Hypothesized correlations between compliance, the civil war setting, the Security Council's commitment and its conflict resolution strategy would become spurious if extremely belated compliance or non-compliance were taken into account.

46 You should not measure an average of compliance during the six-months and two-year periods but you should discount the level of compliance when compliance occurs after an undue delay, i.e. not as soon as reasonably practicable. Please refer to Section F above on how to account for belated compliance. The cut-off points merely signify that any conduct by the addressee(s) that occurs thereafter will not be taken into account in assessing compliance.

- *E.g., all parties comply with a demand to cease fire three weeks after the adoption of the Resolution issuing the demand. Thereafter, full compliance is maintained until new fighting breaks out after seven years. A three week delay in ceasing hostilities constitutes an undue delay since duly diligent addressees of a cease-fire demand can be reasonably expected to cease fire within several days under most circumstances. Given the civil war parties did not comply with the demand as soon as reasonably practicable the level of their short-term and medium-term compliance should be assessed at a medium high level (3) despite the fact that they were in compliance with the demand during most of the timeframe for evaluating compliance. The fact that the parties resumed fighting after seven years should not be taken into account in assessing short-term or medium-term compliance, since this very late non-compliance occurred after the cut-off point for assessing compliance.*
- *E.g., a demand "asks all warring factions to cooperate fully with a UN peace operation". All parties fully cooperate with the UN peace operation during the first sixteen months after the adoption of the demand, and fail to do so thereafter when they engage in a new three-year-long round of fighting. In assessing short-term compliance you should not take into account late non-compliance that occurred after the six-month cut-off point. Thus, short-term compliance should be assessed at a high score (4). However, non-compliance occurred within the two-year timeframe for evaluating medium-term compliance. Since full compliance lasted sixteen months before it turned into non-compliance for the next eight months, medium-term compliance should be assessed at a medium high score (3).*

I. Compliance by civil war parties

47 When evaluating compliance with the Security Council's demands, you should only take into account the conduct of civil war parties, and not by any other actors who may also be addressed by the demand.

- *E.g., OP 8 of SC Res. 1376 (2001) "demands that the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo cease." This demand addresses a wide range of private and public actors in the DRC and beyond. In assessing compliance with the demand, only the conduct of civil war parties will be taken into account.*

48 IPI will provide you with a tentative list of civil war parties addressed by all demands you are asked to code.

J. Assessing compliance with demands to multiple civil war parties

49 When a demand has multiple addressees (e.g., "all conflict parties") you should evaluate compliance by all of them with a single level of compliance score, which they will all share

(see Part I Section C above). When a demand is addressed to two or more civil war parties equal weight should be attached to each party's conduct in the determination of the compliance score.

- *E.g., OP 4 of SC Res. 797 (1992) calls upon the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO to cooperate fully with the United Nations and to respect the cease-fire and the peace agreement. When assessing compliance with this demand, equal weight should be attached to the conduct of both parties.*

50 However, there is an important exception to the rule spelled out in the preceding paragraph. If one or several addressees of a demand qualify as primary addressees you should attach greater weight to their conduct than to the conduct of other parties. You may also distinguish between more than two layers of demand addressees (i.e., primary, secondary, and tertiary addressees). Three factors help you determine whether any demand addressees as primary addressees. You do not need to make this determination in writing.

51 First, when a demand is issued to multiple civil war parties in a multi-party civil war, attaining the overall objectives the demand seeks to promote may sometimes depend on the behavior of some major civil war parties more than on the behavior of some minor factions. In that case, it would be problematic to attach equal weight to each party's conduct. In assessing compliance with such demands, you should take into account that some conflict parties have a higher capability to impact the achievement of the objectives pursued in a demand. Please note that you should consider the parties' capabilities to influence the outcome sought by the Security Council, rather than their actual use of these capabilities. Otherwise, you would risk attaching greater weight to the conduct of spoilers who actually used their capacity to disrupt peace processes while discounting compliance by those civil war parties who did not do so. In case of doubt, equal weight should be attached to each addressee's conduct.

- *E.g., almost a dozen civil war parties were involved in a given civil war at the same point. Some of them were highly localized both in terms of their means, constituency and objectives, and they had very minor capabilities to influence the war outcome and to spoil the peace process. When a demand "calls on all warring factions to cease fire" the compliance/ non-compliance of these local civil war parties is less significant than the behavior of the main. In assessing compliance, equal weight should be attached to the conduct by all major factions but less weight should be attached to the conduct of the local minor factions.*

52 Second, some demands which are addressed to multiple addressees request a course of conduct only some of them can adopt. In that case, you should focus entirely on the conduct of those civil war parties when determining compliance. Some other demands request a course of conduct some addressees are more able to adopt than others. You should attach heavier weight to the conduct of the former addressees, as appropriate, given the precise conduct requested by the Security Council.

- *E.g., OP 4 of SC Res. 1417 (2002) "demands the demilitarization of Kisangani". Historical evidence reveals that Kisangani was occupied by RCD-Goma at the time when the demand was issued. In assessing compliance with this demand you should focus entirely on the conduct by RCD-Goma even though this civil war party was not identified as the demand addressee.*

53 Third, sometimes the Security Council addresses a demand to several civil war parties, but also singles out one of them as a primary addressee. In that case, you should attach roughly twice as much weight to the conduct of the civil war party singled out by the Security Council than you would otherwise do.

- *E.g., a demand "calls on all civil war parties, especially the rebel group XY, to stop delaying the implementation the peace agreement." If there are three parties with*

equal capabilities, the conduct of rebel group XY weighs twice as heavy as the conduct of each of the other parties. If the Security Council had not singled out rebel group XY as primary addressee of the demand, equal weight would have been attached to the conduct of each civil war party.

- 54 In order to arrive at a compliance score, compliance with each of these sub-demands should be examined separately, if sufficient information is available. This analysis should be synthesized to a single compliance score, other than in case of the two exceptions listed above.

K. Assessing compliance with demands containing multiple sub-demands

- 55 Compliance with sub-demands contained in a single operative paragraph will be assessed with a single score (see Part I Section D above). When you assess a single compliance score for the demand you should take into consideration that not all sub-demands may have the same relative importance. You should evaluate the relative importance of sub-demands by considering the objective of the Security Council in adopting this demand. In case of doubt as to which sub-demand had a higher relative importance, similar weight should be attached to each. You do not need to make this determination in writing.

- *E.g., OP 3 of SC Res. 766 (1992): “cease all hostilities forthwith, cooperate fully with [UNTAC] in the marking of all minefields [...]” Reading this demand in the context of the entire Resolution shows that the demand is preceded by expressions of concern about continuing violations of the cease-fire, both in OP 3 and in OP 1. This indicates that the Security Council attached greater importance to the cessation of hostilities than on cooperation with UNTAC on marking the mine-fields. In assessing the compliance score, greater weight should be attached to the conflict parties’ response to the former sub-demand.*

L. Belated compliance with demands repeating demands issued in earlier Resolutions

- 56 If a demand is made repeatedly in separate Resolutions, every such statement of the demand is viewed as a separate demand (see Part 1 Section L). If the addressee(s) of such demands only complied after the demand was issued several times, their delay in compliance has a different effect on the level of compliance score for each of the demands. In assessing the level of compliance score for each of these demands you should take into consideration how much time elapsed between the adoption of each Resolution reiterating the demand and the time when compliance occurred.

- *E.g., two Security Council Resolutions demand a rebel group to withdraw its troops from a valley. The second Resolution is issued two months after the first one. Within ten to twelve days after the adoption of the second Resolution the faction withdraws from the valley. In assessing compliance with the earlier demand you do not need to take into account the fact that it was later repeated in a second Resolution. In light of the lapse of time between the adoption of the earlier Resolution and the withdrawal of the troops, the level of compliance with the earlier demand should be assessed at a medium high score (3). Given the civil war party fully complied with the second demand without undue delay, compliance with the second demand should be assessed at a high score (4).*

III. Evaluating depth of demand

- 57 Security Council demands to civil war parties address a broad variety of issues. Some request a civil war party to disarm, others ask for the suppression of racist propaganda on the radio, yet others require the warring factions to guarantee the security of a UN peace operation, or they merely impose a reporting obligation. The greatly varying degree of the demands' intrusiveness explains why the costs associated with compliance with some demands create high incentives for non-compliance while compliance with others does not raise any significant cost, thus making compliance more attractive and more likely. In previous qualitative research the depth of a demand was conceptualized as "the extent to which a demand requires the addressee to depart from what he would have done in the absence of the demand" (Downs, Rocke and Barsoom 1996: 383).
- 58 To understand compliance with Security Council Resolutions, we need to control for the variance in the depth of demands. We define the depth of a Security Council demand to a civil war party as the *potential hazard for the addressee that is associated with engaging in the demanded conduct*. Specifically, the hazard associated with performing the requested conduct consists either in a risk to the demand addressee's survival or in a negative impact on its ability to attain victory in the civil war or win power in its aftermath. This hazard will materialize particularly if other civil war parties do not comply with Security Council demands addressed to them. In other words, the depth of a demand is the potential harm incurred by the demand addressee if it is the only civil war party that complies with its obligations.
- 59 The depth of demand variable only captures the potential *hazard* for the addressee that is associated with engaging in the demanded conduct. In assessing compliance *you should not weigh this hazard against potential benefits* the addressee could gain from compliance. Evaluating both the potential hazard and gains from compliance and the likelihood that they will materialize would replicate the calculations rational civil war parties perform when they decide whether to comply or not to do so. Thus, such an understanding of the depth of demand would be endogenous to the level of compliance.
- 60 We use a three-point scale to assess the depth of demand. This scale does not allow the use of half-scores or fractional scores.
- (1) Low depth of demand
Compliance with this demand (in isolation from other demands) does not put the survival of the demand addressee as an organized group, or even the life of its senior members, at a significant risk. Nor does it significantly impact the addressee's chances to attain victory in the civil war or to win power in its aftermath. If the addressee complies, it does not face either hazard even if other civil war parties fail to comply with demands of the Security Council addressed to them and renege on their commitments in the peace process.
 - (2) Medium depth of demand
Compliance with this demand (in isolation from other demands) makes it significantly more difficult for the demand addressee to attain victory in the civil war or to win power in its aftermath, particularly if other civil war parties fail to comply with demands of the Security Council addressed to them and renege on their commitments in the peace process. At the same time, compliance with the demand does not put the survival of the demand addressee as an organized group, or even the life of its senior members, at a significant risk, even if other civil war parties fail to comply with demands of the Security Council addressed to them and renege on their commitments in the peace process.
 - (3) High depth of demand

Compliance with this demand (in isolation from other demands) puts the survival of the demand addressee as an organized group, or even the life of its senior members, at a significant risk, particularly if other civil war parties fail to comply with demands of the Security Council addressed to them and renege on their commitments in the peace process.

- *E.g., compliance with a demand to receive a certain document clearly does not pose a hazard to the survival of civil war parties nor does it impact on their chances to attain victory in the civil war. Thus, the depth of such demands should be qualified as low (1).*
- *E.g., compliance with a demand to UNITA to assign a liaison officer to the Headquarters of the UNAVEM III peacekeeping mission does not impose any significant risk on a UNITA, nor does it impact on its chances to attain victory in the civil war. Thus, the depth of such demands should be qualified as low (1).*
- *E.g., compliance with demands to cooperate with a UN peace operation deployed to the civil war theatre makes it more difficult to pursue a military strategy in the conflict and attain military victory. A UN peace operation conducts inquiries into claims of infractions put forth by other conflict parties and monitors the warring factions' conduct (see Fortna 2008: chapter 4). However, compliance with such a demand does not pose a threat to the survival of the demand addressees. Even spoilers typically could undergo a transformation, comply with these demands and join the peace process. The depth of such demands should normally be qualified as medium (2).*
- *E.g., by fully complying with the demand to undergo disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) a rebel group foregoes its ability to defend itself against the government if it reneges on its commitments in the peace process and resorts to renewed warfare (see Walter 1997, 2001). Thus, the depth of such demands should be qualified as high (3).*

61 When assessing the depth of a demand you should only account for the potential hazard associated with engaging in the conduct requested in that specific demand, in isolation from the other demands to the same addressee.

- *E.g., a demand asks a rebel group to withdraw its forces from the area surrounding the capital. A separate demand asks the same group to participate in the DDR process thereafter. When assessing the depth of the former demand you should not take into account the potential hazard for the rebel group that is associated with participating in the DDR process once it has repositioned its forces as requested. Withdrawing the forces from the area surrounding the capital typically makes it significantly more difficult for a rebel group to attain a military victory in the civil war. Assuming the rebel group retains the ability to defend itself against attacks by the government or other rebel groups after redeploying to different parts of the country the withdrawal does not put the survival of the rebel group at a significant risk. Thus, the depth of the demand to withdraw from the area surrounding the capital should be qualified as medium (2).*

62 Your assessment of the depth of a demand should be based on your analysis of the situation in the earliest possible moment when compliance was supposed to occur, i.e. when it became reasonably practicable. Thus you should not take into account later developments that might have impacted on the hazards associated with very belated compliance, even if compliance actually occurred after a long delay. Please refer to Part II Section F for details on the timeliness of compliance.

- *E.g., a demand asks the government to immediately disband all pro-government militias. The demand is issued at a time when security sector reform has not yet led to the establishment of a national army that could protect the government against attacks from rebel groups. Some sixteen months later the new national army gains*

the capability to fulfill this task. Given the Security Council expected the government to immediately disband its proxy militias, you should base your assessment of the depth of the demand on an analysis of the situation right after the demand was issued. At that point, dissolving the pro-government militias would pose a threat to the survival of the government in case of rebel attacks. Thus, the depth of the demand should be qualified as high (3) despite the fact that very belated compliance (after eighteen months) would be associated with a smaller hazard to the government.

- 63 Civil war parties operate in 'a fog of war'. Lack of information may lead them to take bad decisions on cooperation or non-cooperation with their enemies and the Security Council. However, it would be very difficult, and sometimes almost impossible, to quantify the actual perceptions of the depth of demand by civil war parties at a given point in time. This is particularly true when members of the civil war party's leadership fundamentally differ in their assessments, when they frequently revise them or remain very uncertain about them. For instance, some leaders of a rebel group may believe that the government's commitment to the peace process is genuine while others remain deeply suspicious. In each case, it would be very difficult to base the assessment of the depth of demand on the addressee's subjective perception. Thus, your assessment of the depth of demand should not be based on the perception or misperception of the hazard of compliance by the demand addressee. Even when a demand addressee was confident about cooperation by its opponent you should base your assessment on the *potential hazard associated with engaging in the demanded conduct if other civil war parties fail to comply with demands of the Security Council addressed to them and renege on their commitments in the peace process.*
- 64 Like compliance, the depth of a demand will be assessed with a single score shared by all addressees of a demand. Of course, compliance with a specific demand can impose more significant hazards on some civil war parties than on others. For instance, compliance with a demand to all civil war parties to cooperate in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of all non-state armed groups imposes a great hazard on rebel groups, but not necessarily on the government. *When a demand has multiple addressees and the depth of demand varies for each of them, you should assess the depth of the demand at the highest level observed for any of the addressee.* This is due to the fact that non-compliance by one civil war party often triggers non-compliance by all. Many demands, such as requests to cease fighting or conduct negotiations, cannot be implemented by just one side in the conflict. Even when it is possible for one civil war party to comply in the absence of compliance by others non-compliance by one side often leads to a reciprocal response by the other side. Thus, the 'highest hurdle' for compliance needs to be taken for compliance to become likely. By assessing the depth of the demand at the highest level for any of them you account for this dilemma of compliance.
- 65 The depth of the demand will be assessed separately for each demand. While you are asked to assess the level of compliance with a demand in the short term and in the medium term separately, you only need to make one assessment of the depth of the demand.

IV. Sources of information for assessing compliance

- 66 There is no exhaustive list or ranking of sources on which you should base your assessments. Your expertise will allow you to identify the most credible accounts as the basis of your assessments.
- 67 You may find the following sources of information useful:
- Publications in the fields of international relations, history, and area studies
 - Reports and data bases of policy research institutions
 - *E.g., International Crisis Group reports*
 - *E.g., Armed Conflict Database of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (<http://www.iiss.org/publications/armed-conflict-database/>): This formidable resource offers daily timelines and annual summaries of political, military and humanitarian developments in all ongoing armed conflicts. If your university does not offer you a subscription to this database please contact Christoph.*
 - News reports
 - Statements by the political actors themselves (at press conferences, in autobiographies, etc.)
 - Reports by the UN Secretary-General to the UN Security Council: In most recent civil wars the Secretary-General prepared detailed semi-annual (or even monthly) reports for the Security Council. The full text of all reports after 1994 can be accessed on the website of the UN Security Council at <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/>. Previous reports can be accessed through the United Nations Bibliographic Information System (UNBISNET), using the UN Document number (e.g., S/2000/89) at <http://unbisnet.un.org:8080/ipac20/ipac.jsp?profile=bib&menu=search&submenu=alpha#focus>. Reports received by the Security Council prior to the adoption of a Resolution are usually referenced in the Resolution with their UN Document number.
 - Reports on missions of the Security Council: Since 1992, the Security Council has undertaken 38 missions to countries undergoing security crises. Most of these were civil war countries. After each mission, the Security Council issues a report describing its discussions with conflict parties and the factions' conduct in the civil war. The reports can be accessed on the website of the Security Council at <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/missionreports.html>.
 - Repertoire of the Security Council: The repertoire is a comprehensive summary, by agenda item, of the Security Council's peace and security activities. Please refer to Chapter VIII of the repertoire for a summary of the Council's work on specific civil wars. The repertoire is written by the Security Council Affairs Division of the United Nations Department of Political Affairs, and it can be accessed at <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/repertoire/index.html>.
 - Reports by Groups of Experts established by the Security Council: In recent years, Groups of Experts provided invaluable analyses on compliance with certain demands in civil wars in Angola, the DRC, and elsewhere. You can find a link to the reports pertaining to specific civil wars *at the bottom* of the website of the Sanctions Committee established by the Security Council for this civil war. The website of the Security Council contains a list of all Sanctions Committees at <http://www.un.org/sc/committees/>.

- Full text of peace agreements: The UN Department of Political Affairs maintains a searchable list of peace agreements (sorted by civil war). You have to register (for free) to access the database at <http://peacemaker.unlb.org/index1.php>. To get a list of peace agreements concluded in a civil war you should open link "peace agreements" and conduct a "peace agreements advanced search". The Uppsala Conflict Data Program has also included the full texts of some peace agreements in their database. You can access them at <http://www.pcr.uu.se/gpdatabase/search.php> by selecting a conflict and opening the link "peace agreement".

- Finally, we would like to draw your attention to a few recent books most of you will already know. They may, or may not, be useful for understanding specific Security Council demands and the civil war parties' response to them.

- *Lowe, Roberts, Walsh and Zaum 2008: chapters on the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Afghanistan and West Africa*
- *Howard 2008: chapters on El Salvador, Cambodia, Mozambique, Croatia, and a comparative chapter on Somalia, Rwanda, Angola and Bosnia*
- *Berdal and Economides 2007: chapters on Cambodia, former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Kosovo and Sierra Leone*
- *Gharekhan 2006: chapters on the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Haiti and Rwanda*
- *Durch 2006: chapters on Bosnia, Sierra Leone, DRC, Kosovo and Afghanistan*
- *Malone 2004: chapters on El Salvador, Mozambique, Bosnia, Haiti, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Kosovo.*
- *Krasno, Hayes and Daniel 2004: El Salvador and Central America, Mozambique and Croatia*
- *Stedman, Rothchild and Cousens 2002: chapters on Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Rwanda, Cambodia, Bosnia and Liberia*
- *Crocker, Hampson, Aall 1999: 3 chapters on Angola, two chapters on Mozambique, Bosnia and Haiti, and one chapter on Cambodia and El Salvador*

V. Format and procedure for submitting compliance assessments

1. The need to document assessments of compliance

68 Any assessment of compliance is based on personal judgment. We seek to make assessments of compliance transparent and comprehensible for the audience for our research project. “The point is to compile objective evidence of subjective socially-based interpretations of behavior” (Simmons, quoted by Zürn in Zürn and Joerges 2005: 8). The best way to do so is to base all assessments on primary and secondary sources, and to document what these documents tell us about compliance. Therefore you will be asked to document the sources that formed the basis of your coding decisions on the compliance variables. You do not need to provide source references for your coding decisions on the depth of demand variable. The final coding decisions and the source references will eventually be published online, thereby becoming scrutinizable by the public.

2. The format for submitting coding decisions

69 Please use the form attached to these guidelines to submit your compliance assessments.

70 Please copy the title of the demand from the list supplied to you by IPI under the heading “wording of demand”. Please list the civil war parties who were addressed by the demand under the heading “addressees of the demand”. IPI will provide you with a tentative list of addressees for each demand. You do not need to identify primary addressees (if any).

71 Under the heading “description of the addressee(s)’ conduct” you should insert quotations from primary and secondary sources that describe the demand addressee’s behavior with appropriate citations. Citing primary and secondary sources that formed the basis of your coding decision will render your assessments of compliance transparent and comprehensible. You do not need to provide such source references for your coding of the depth of demand variable.

72 Under the heading “Assessment” you should tick one of the boxes that reflect the scales for assessing compliance and the depth of demand, respectively.

73 Under the heading “Considerations underlying the assessment” you should very briefly, in no more than 2-3 sentences, indicate your reasons for the assessment.

74 Under the heading “Level of confidence about coding decision” you should specify how confident you are about your coding decisions. Please make an honest assessment by checking one of three boxes: very high, high, or moderate. We will keep this assessment confidential. We understand that such an assessment is highly subjective, and that different coders may feel different base levels of confidence about their coding decisions. This self-assessment will, however, help provide us at IPI some guidance, in working with your coding decisions, about those decisions that may need most careful review.

75 At the end of the form, you may add any comments related to the coding you wish to convey to IPI. In this section you could also include any interesting observations on compliance that could be more carefully analyzed through case studies. The team

working on the Understanding Compliance with Security Council Resolutions project will not share these comments with others without your permission.

3. Timelines for submitting coding decisions

76 Under the terms of your contract, you are expected to submit your coding decisions by end of business on Monday, 31 August 2009. Please submit your coding decisions in the format specified in Section B above. Please send all coding decisions pertaining to the same civil war at once. If you code compliance with demands pertaining to several civil wars you may submit the coding decisions for each conflict separately. Please submit invoices for time worked at the same time when you submit your coding decisions.

77 IPI reserves the right to review scores and source references before finally publishing them into the *IPI Security Council Compliance Database*. You will be credited for assessing compliance with and the depth of demands.

4. Questions regarding the coding methodology

78 While working on the coding, please direct all questions regarding the coding methodology to Christoph Mikulaschek (at mikulaschek@ipinst.org) and Chris Perry (perry@ipinst.org). We will try to respond quickly. If there is a need to clarify the coding methodology we will send out an email to all coders.

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