



University  
of Victoria

Graduate Studies

Notice of the Final Oral Examination  
for the Degree of Master of Arts

of

**ALEXANDER (SASHA) KOVALCHUK**

BPAPM (Carleton University, 2012)

***“Civis Sacer: Peacekeeper Abuse and International Order”***

Department of Political Science

Monday, September 12, 2016

9:00 A.M.

Harry Hickman Building

Room 120

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Scott Watson, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria (Supervisor)

External Examiner:

Dr. Cindy Holder, Department of Philosophy, UVic

Chair of Oral Examination:

Dr. Richard van Oort, Department of English, UVic

## **Abstract**

Although United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO) are said to protect humanitarian rights, peacekeepers are found to commit sexual assault, war crimes, and gross negligence. International legal immunities grant peacekeepers and the UN from criminal liability and civil litigation. Whereas the literature on peacekeeper abuses conceptualizes the problem to be one of implementation of immunities, this thesis contends that such views are uncritical towards peacekeeping, immunity itself, and *international society* that organizes UNPKO. I theorize that the legal structures permitting such abuses (e.g. the UN Charter) render individuals expendable and hence *objectified* for the sake of international order. The argument presents a case study of the Srebrenica Massacre and ensuing legal cases to illustrate how immunities *objectify* individuals. Drawing on Agamben's theory of *homo sacer*, I introduce the term *civis sacer* to describe individuals excluded from international law with UNPKO immunities that *objectifies* them for the sake of maintaining international order.