THE EVOLUTION OF PEACE AND STABILITY OPERATIONS

Overview

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Canadian Forces College

Joint Command and Staff Programme 37
Elective

5 April 2011
"We Remember"
Gift of CSC 25
Canadian Peacekeeping Tradition
Peacekeeping / Peace Support / Stability Operation:

Many Definitions, Common Ideas
PEACEKEEPING
PEACE SUPPORT OPERATION
PEACE OPERATION
STABILITY OPERATION

PEACE-MAKING
PEACE-BUILDING  RECONSTRUCTION
PEACE ENFORCEMENT

TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING
COMPLEX PEACEKEEPING

Politicians and public
Military
Peace Support Operation (NATO Definition 2010)

An operation that impartially makes use of diplomatic, civil and military means, normally in pursuit of United Nations Charter purposes and principles, to restore or maintain peace.

– Such operations may include conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace enforcement, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and/or humanitarian operations.

Source: NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions, AAP-6 2010 (emphasis added)
Also in Canadian Defence Terminology Bank (DIN)
PSO Types (NATO doctrine)

Source: adapted from PSTC, EO 401.02
Peacekeeping: UN Definition

the deployment of international military and civilian personnel to a conflict area, with the consent of the parties to the conflict and/or national authorities, [acting impartially] in order to:

– stop or contain hostilities or
– supervise the carrying out of a peace agreement
– [assist with humanitarian relief, human rights compliance and nation-building.]

Source: www.un.org/Depts/dpko/DPKO1.HTM
Common Elements

• *international* forces and authority
• *civilian* participation/partnership
• create or maintain *peace*
• *consent* for deployment
  – Levels of consent (strategic)
• *impartially*
  – Established “rules” (peace agreement)
• *Minimum force*
  – Self-defence PLUS …
Types of Operations

- Over 60 ops under UN
- Over 30 ops by other orgs

Categorizing operations?

Which ops to include?
- Australia - Indonesia 1947
- Canada – Korea 1947
- UN – Palestine 1948
- Popular – Palestine 1956
Evolutionary Model: Functional & Historical Basis

Four Types/Generations:

1 – Observer
   • UNTSO (Israel/Arab neighbors), 1948-

2 – Interposition
   • UNEF (Suez), 1956-

3 – Multidimensional
   • UNTAG (Namibia), 1989-90

4 - Transitional administration
   • UNMIK (Kosovo), 1998-
   • UNTAET (East Timor), 1999-2002

• Expanding functions, new characteristics
FIRST TYPE/GENERATION:
OBSERVER MISSIONS
Observer Mission Functions

• Observe, monitor, verify
• Supervise
  – Codify/elaborate and interpret agreements
  – Implementation of peace agreements
• Conciliate

• Unarmed
• The “soldier diplomat”
Early Missions

Greek Border
- Commission of Investigation: 1946
- Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB): 1947

Indonesia
- Consular Commission: 1947
- Good Offices Commission: 1947
- Commission for Indonesia: 1949

Korea
- Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK): 1947
- Commission on Korea (UNCOK): 1948
Early Missions (Cont’d)

Palestine
- Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP): 1947
- Commission on Palestine (UNCP): 1947
- Truce Commission: 1948
- Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO): 1948
- Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC): 1948

Kashmir
- Commission in India and Pakistan (UNCIP): 1948
- Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP): 1948
- UN Representative: 1950
Early “Internationalization”

1. Composition
   - National reps (governmental body), private individuals or international officials
   - Selected by whom? Parties, nations, GA, SC, SG
   - Hiring & firing responsibility

2. Command & Control
   - Reporting route: to nations, to UN Organs, to SG
   - Voting in committees by delegations or senior officer makes policies and rules

3. Methods
   - Scope of monitoring and analysis
   - International body: degree of independence

4. Logistics & financial
   - International organization arranges/provides supplies
Under-Secretary-General
Ralph Bunche

Planning UNTSO deployment
SECOND TYPE/GENERATION:

INTERPOSED FORCES

- Separate combatants
- Uses peacekeeping forces in pre-formed units (battalions)
- Armed for self-defence
“Fathers of peacekeeping” or (more accurately) “Founders of peacekeeping forces”
The Canadians are Coming!

first contingent of Canadian troops to reach Egypt (Abu Suweir airport near Ismailia), 24 Nov 1956
Hammarskjöld inspecting UNEF troops with Force Commander Burns & COS Rikhye
UN Emergency Force
(later UNEF II)
UNEF on patrol
UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

- **Created 1964**
  - Enclaves & protected areas
  - “Green lines”

- **Turkish invasion 1974**
  - Division of island into two
  - “Green line”
Separate Forces
UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-
THIRD TYPE/GENERATION:
MULTIDIMENSIONAL OPERATIONS
## CHANGING CONFLICT / CHANGING PEACEKEEPING

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<th>Predominant conflicts</th>
<th>Cold War</th>
<th>Post Cold War</th>
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<td>Origins</td>
<td>Interstate, interalliance</td>
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<td>Ideology; power bloc rivalry</td>
<td>Ethnic/tribal/religious animosities, secessionism</td>
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<th>Main Threats</th>
<th>Cold War</th>
<th>Post Cold War</th>
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<td>Armed attack or invasion</td>
<td>Civil war, human rights violations (including genocide, torture), terrorism</td>
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<th>Goals</th>
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<td>National and international stably; conflict management: ceasefire</td>
<td>Conflict resolution: Comprehensive (multidimensional) peace agreements. Conflict prevention</td>
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<th>Means</th>
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<td>Deterrence; negotiation of ceasefire; traditional peacekeeping</td>
<td>Cooperation, mediation, modern peace-keeping</td>
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<th>Peacekeeping Locations</th>
<th>Cold War</th>
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<td>State boundaries</td>
<td>Throughout a nation or region</td>
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<th>Peacekeepers</th>
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<td>Soldiers (non-P5)</td>
<td>Soldiers, police, civilian monitors (elections, human rights); incl. P5</td>
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Naval Peacekeeping
Air Force Contributions

TRANSPORT ("Lifeline"); INTELLIGENCE (ISR); COMBAT (Show of force & Use of force)
Tasks: Observe
Separate Forces
Protect Strategic Sites
Self-Protection

Hezbollah hostage-takers in Lebanon, after their surrender
Prevention of Conflict

US/UN peacekeepers in Macedonia
Civil Authority Assistance

• Military and civilian peacekeepers
• From engineers to bureaucrats
Many other tasks …

- *Humanitarian Assistance*
- *Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration*
- *Police*
- *Human Rights*
- *Elections*
Spectrum of Electoral Ops

• Election monitoring
  – selected polling sites to all sites
  – balloting and counting
  – campaigning and implementation

• Electoral Assistance
  – Provision of supplies
  – People provided

• Electoral supervision
  – Decision-making powers
  – Part of Electoral Commission

• Electoral organization
  – All aspects of conduct of election
  – Monitoring the campaign period

INCREASING RESPONSIBILITIES
Nation-building:
Inauguration of First Namibian President
East Timor Electoral Experience

• Summer 1999
• Preparations for the referendum
• Prior to the reign of terror
Enforcement in Peacekeeping

• Chapter VII mandates

• Need for more robust peacekeeping
  – Aerial and naval enforcement
  – Protection
    • Snipers (e.g., Sarajevo)
  – Intelligence, advanced monitoring
  – Engineering
  – Rapid reaction
Difficult Situations 1993-95

Somalia

Rwanda

Bosnia
Canadian Force Commanders (1990s)

MGen Roméo Dallaire
UNAMIR
1994

LGen Maurice Baril
MNF (Eastern Zaire)
1996

BGen Robin Gagnon
UNTMIH
1997

BGen Cam Ross
UNDOF
1998

...None in first decade of 21st century
Protection of People: East Timor

“Unsettling the Adversary”
Source: LtCol. Blaxland
Robust UN Peacekeeping in the Congo & Cote d’Ivoire

Mi-25 Combat Helicopters
FOURTH TYPE/GENERATION:

TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION
A BIG STEP …

• Governing a territory during a transitional period

• Goal: turn over power to a peaceful, stable country power governed by a local, democratically-elected leadership

• The “comprehensive approach”
Security Sector Reform

- Military
- Police
- Corrections
- Judicial & Legal
- Customs & Border Control
- Intelligence
- General population
  - Disarmament
Cases

- **Eastern Salvonia / Bosnia, 1996-98**
- **Kosovo, 1998-**
- **East Timor, 1999-2002**

Precursors:
- **West Papua, 1962-63**
- **Cambodia, 1992-93**
UN Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK)

- Unprecedented in both scope and structural complexity
- Government services, incl.
  - Health and education
  - Banking and finance
  - Post and telecommunications
  - Law and order
- Other multilateral organizations full partners under United Nations leadership

Source: www.unmikonline.org
East Timor: UNTAET

UN Photo, 27 Sep. 2002

UN membership

... UNMISET
UN Rebuilding …

"The first thing they want us to build is a bomb shelter!"
Issues: Transitional Administrations

• Future cases?
• Fourth “generation” of peacekeeping?

• Extent of international involvement?
  – UN in Iraq?
• Reasonable transition period?
• New trusteeship or neocolonialism?
• International versus Local Rule
• Transitional laws?
  – Whose? What system? How enforced?
• Creating capacity or dependency?
Surpassing 100,000 uniformed personnel
Technologically equipped for peacekeeping?
Special Committee on Peacekeeping

March 2007 Briefing

UN Photo/P.Filgueiras
ANALYSIS & CONCLUSIONS

Evolution of Peacekeeping
Two, three or four “generations”?

1. Traditional peacekeeping
   • 1. Observer missions
   • 2. Interpositional forces

2. Modern peacekeeping (“Second Generation”/Complex)
   • 3. Complex peacekeeping
   • 4. Transitional administration

Other problems??
Critique of 4G Model

• Important exceptions to the “generational model” in 1960s:
  – Congo operation (ONUC)
  – West Papua (UNTEA & UNSF)
  – UNFICYP (first decade)
• Some recent operations are classical peacekeeping (“first/second generation”)
  – UNMEE
• Functions are only one indicator of peacekeeping
  – Other are size, contributors, success, duration, timing (preventative), etc
  – Mandate vs activities on ground may differ
  – Chapter VI and VII ops (and in between)
ROLE FRAMEWORK: TIMELINE OF CONFLICT
(WITH INTERNATIONAL GOALS)

“Generalized Timeline”
GOALS & ROLES

UN Goals: Prevention

UN Roles:
- Early Warning
- Humanitarian Relief
- Trad. Peacekeeping
- Peacebuilding
- Peace-making & Preventive Action
- Reconciliation & Justice

Conflict Intensity vs Time

Mitigation
Termination
Recovery

Source: adapted from “Conceptual Framework of Peacekeeping”, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre W.Dorn, April 2002
New Sponsors (Regional Organizations)

- **NATO**
  - Collective defence organization
  - Robust peace support operations; expensive; Western interests; Eurocentric; US dominated

- **OSCE**
  - Elections and conflict resolution

- **EU**
  - Bunia (rapid deployment, French-led)

- **AU**
  - Capacity
  - What future?

- **ECOWAS**
  - Bias? Capacity?

Source: Global Peace Operations 2008 Briefing Note
Canada: 10th

Source: Global Peace Operations 2008 Briefing Note
Financial Contributions

Top contributors to UN peacekeeping budget 2009/9

Strategic Trends 2010 (Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich)
Source: UN DPKO
Figure 7. Gross National Income (GNI) Share and PK Rate 2006 for the Top 10 Contributors.
Uniformed UN Peacekeepers
(Military and Police, 1991–2007)

Jul 1993: 78,444 (largest missions: UNPROFOR, UNOSOM, UNTAC)

Nov 2001: 47,778 (UNAMSIL, UNTAET)

Nov 2007: 83,006 (MONUC, UNMIL, UNMIS)
UN: surpassing 100,000 uniformed personnel
UN Operations

Ops since 1948: 64
Current Ops: 15

Mil. + Civpol: 98,863
Countries contrib: 114
Int. civ. Personnel: 5,521
Local civ personnel: 13,688
Fatalities: 2,865

Source: www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm

28 Feb 2011
Canadians View Peacekeeping as …

- Only 3% cite support of allies in military campaigns, including war on terror
  - Telling result given current role in Afghanistan

- Peacekeeping emphasis declined since 2006 (35%)

- Survey in January 2008

URL: www.igloo.org/canadasworld/learnmor/quizzes/pollresults
Canadian Contributors to UN PKOs (1948-1997)

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Canadian Uniformed Personnel in UN PKO
(Total Military and Police, 1990-2007)
Myths and Realities

• Myth: Peacekeeping isn’t real soldiering
  – 90% of Cdn international operations are PSOs
  – Dangerous assignments
  – Requires skill, tact, courage
  – Requires combat capability
  – Wide range of tasks
    • Protection of civilians since 2000
  – Military has a vital role
Draft US DoD Directive

• “Stability operations are a core military mission … [with] priority comparable to combat operations”

• “Many stability operations tasks are best performed by indigenous, foreign or US civilian professionals”
  – NYT, 20 November 2005
“BUILD ON THAT FOUNDATION”

“We made at least a beginning then. If, on that foundation, we do not build something more permanent and stronger, we will once again have ignored realities, rejected opportunities and betrayed out trust.”

– Lester B. Pearson

Nobel Prize acceptance speech
Oslo, Dec. 11, 1957
Peace Support Operations:
A Continuing Adventure
THE END …

of the Beginning
QUESTIONS?