

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

Canadian Peacekeeping Tradition



1988



1992



1994



1996

1957



1995



2000



2001



1993



2003



2007

**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)

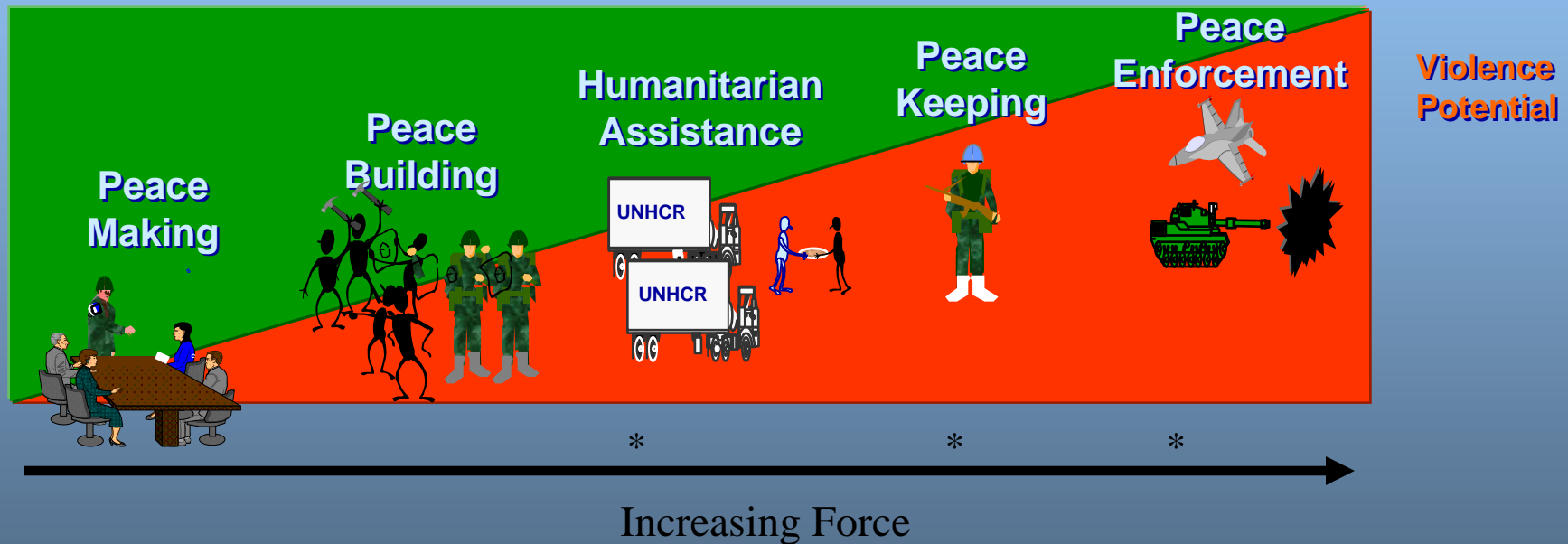
An operation that impartially makes use of diplomatic, civil and military means, normally in pursuit of United Nations Charter purposes and principles, to restore or maintain peace.

- 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)



Conflict
Prevention

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.]



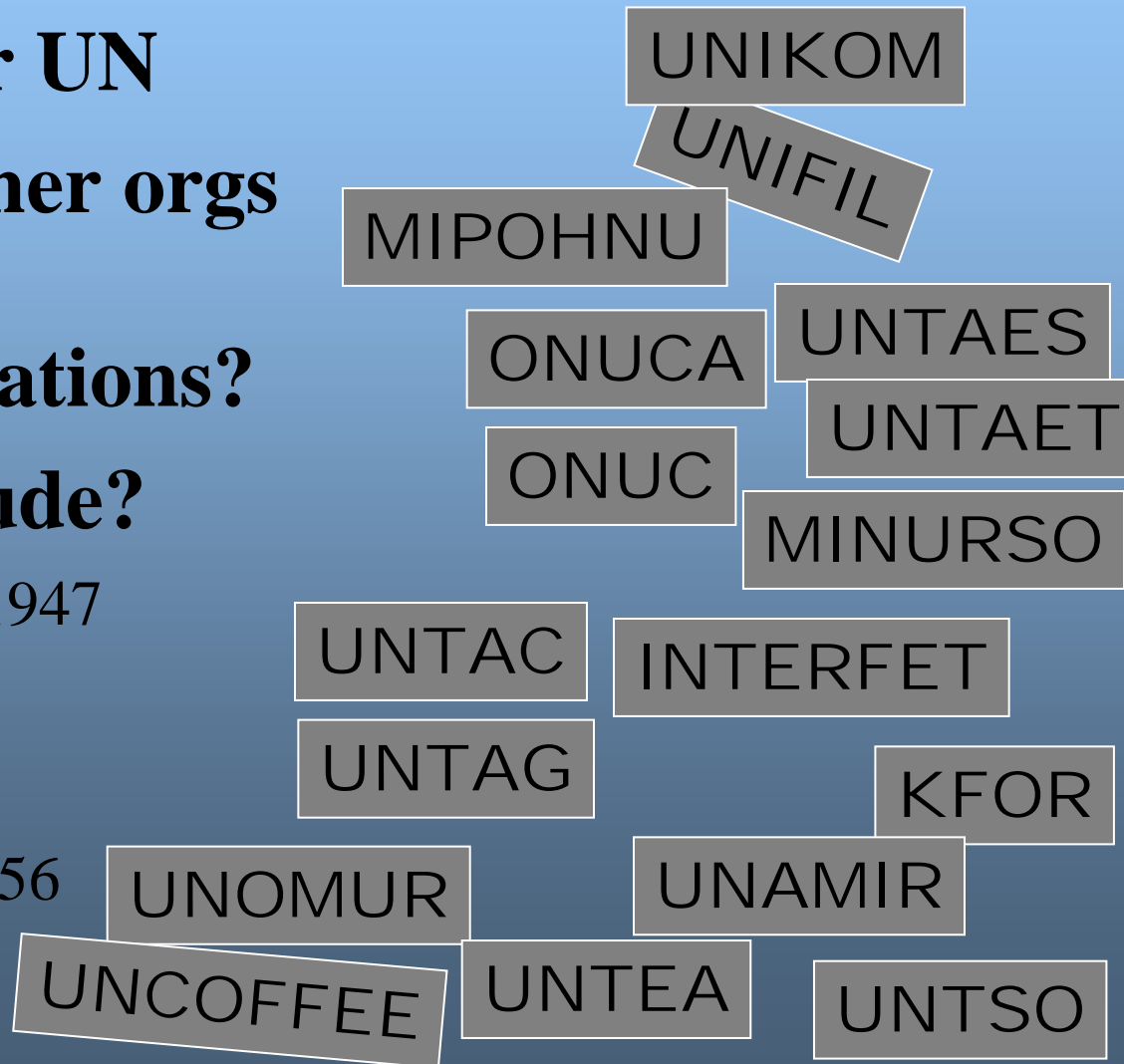
UN

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

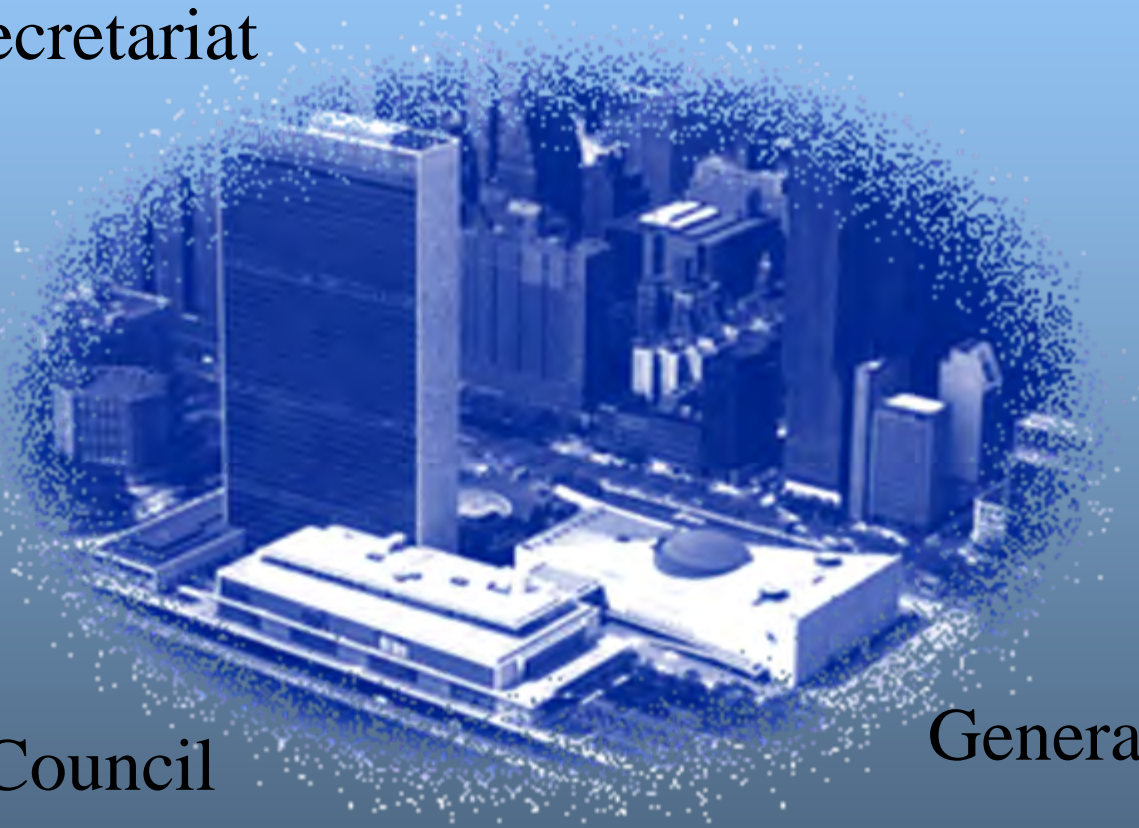
- Scope of monitoring and analysis
- International body: degree of independence

4. Logistics & financial

- International organization arranges/provides supplies

UN - NY

Secretariat



Security Council

General Assembly

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!



Gardam, The Canadian Peacekeeper (1992)

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)



UN



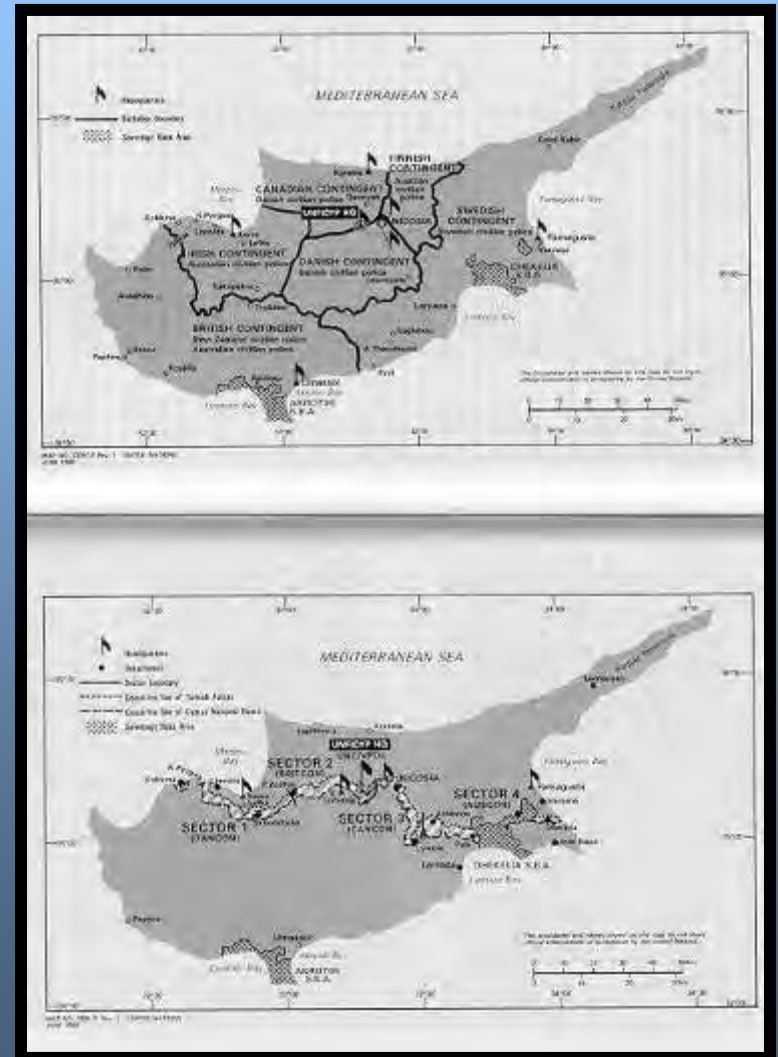
UN

UNEF on patrol



UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

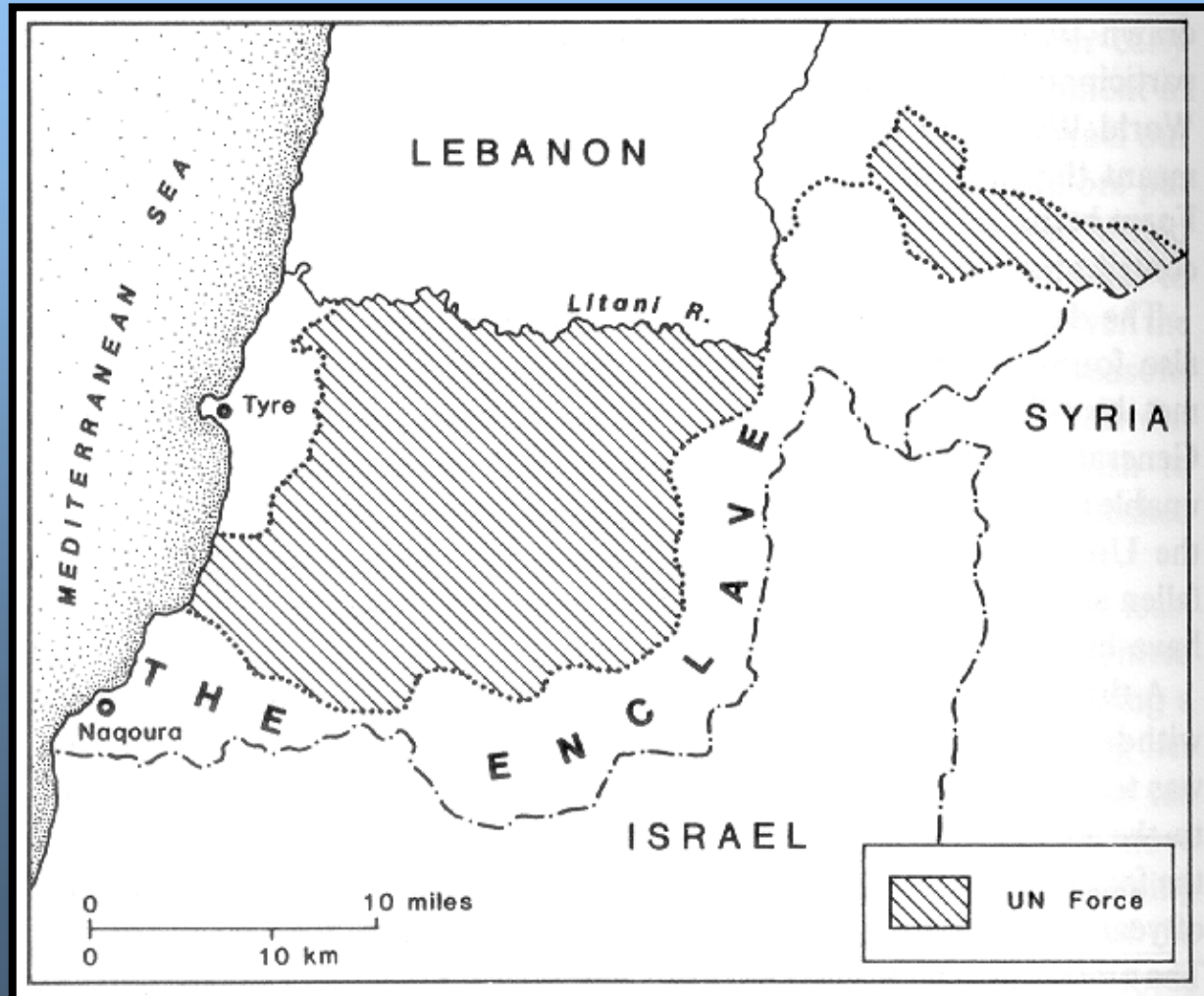
- **Created 1964**
 - Enclaves & protected areas
 - “Green lines”
- **Turkish invasion 1974**
 - Division of island into two
 - “Green line”



Separate Forces

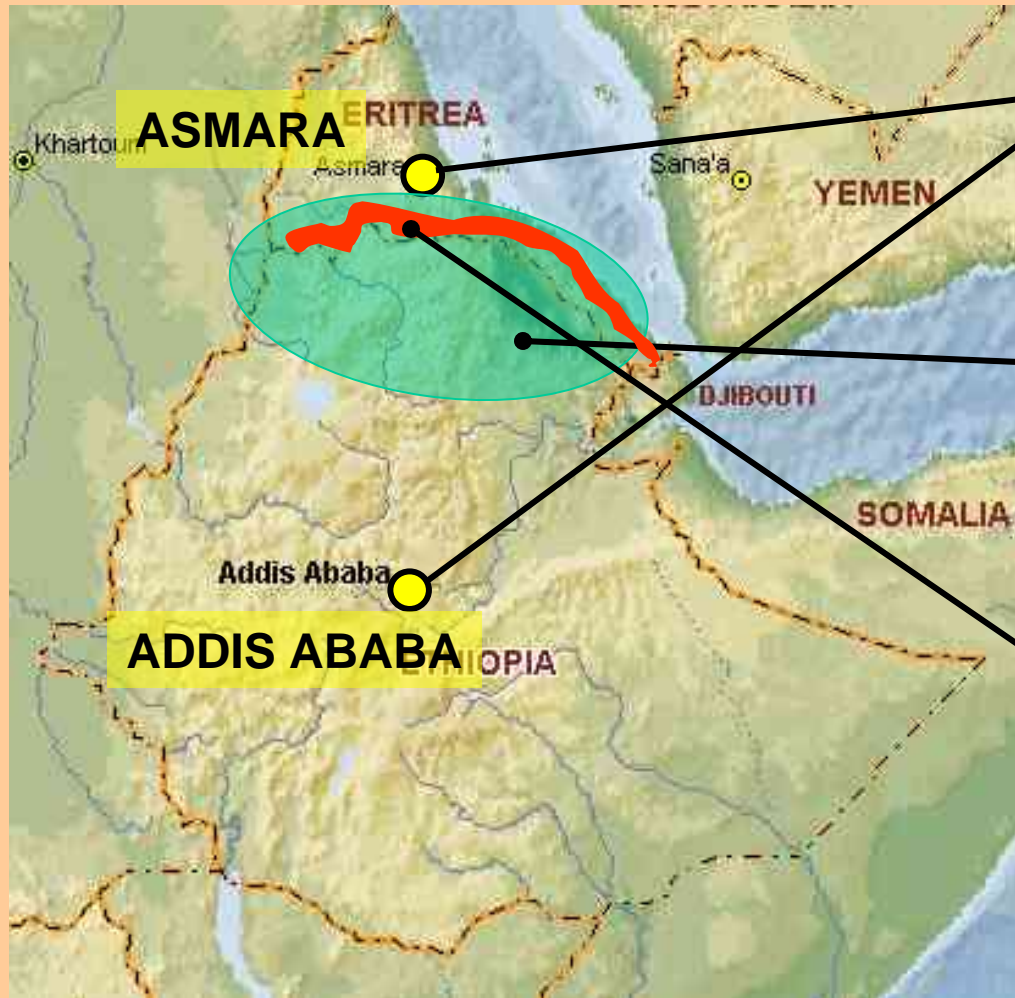


UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-





UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (2000-2008)



Liaison officers

Military observers

Peacekeeping
Force

**THIRD
TYPE/GENERATION:
MULTIDIMENSIONAL
OPERATIONS**

CHANGING CONFLICT / CHANGING PEACEKEEPING

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

Naval Peacekeeping



Air Force Contributions



UN Photo/C.Herwig

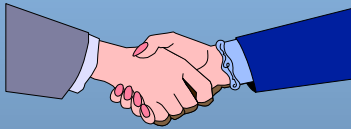
TRANSPORT (“Lifeline”); INTELLIGENCE (ISR);
COMBAT (Show of force & Use of force)

CIMIC

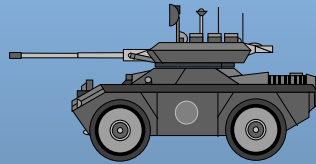


MULTIDIMENSIONAL PEACEKEEPING

Political



Military



Humanitarian



Police



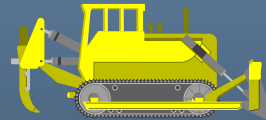
Judicial



Social



Reconstruction



Economic



Tasks: Observe



Separate Forces



Protect Strategic Sites

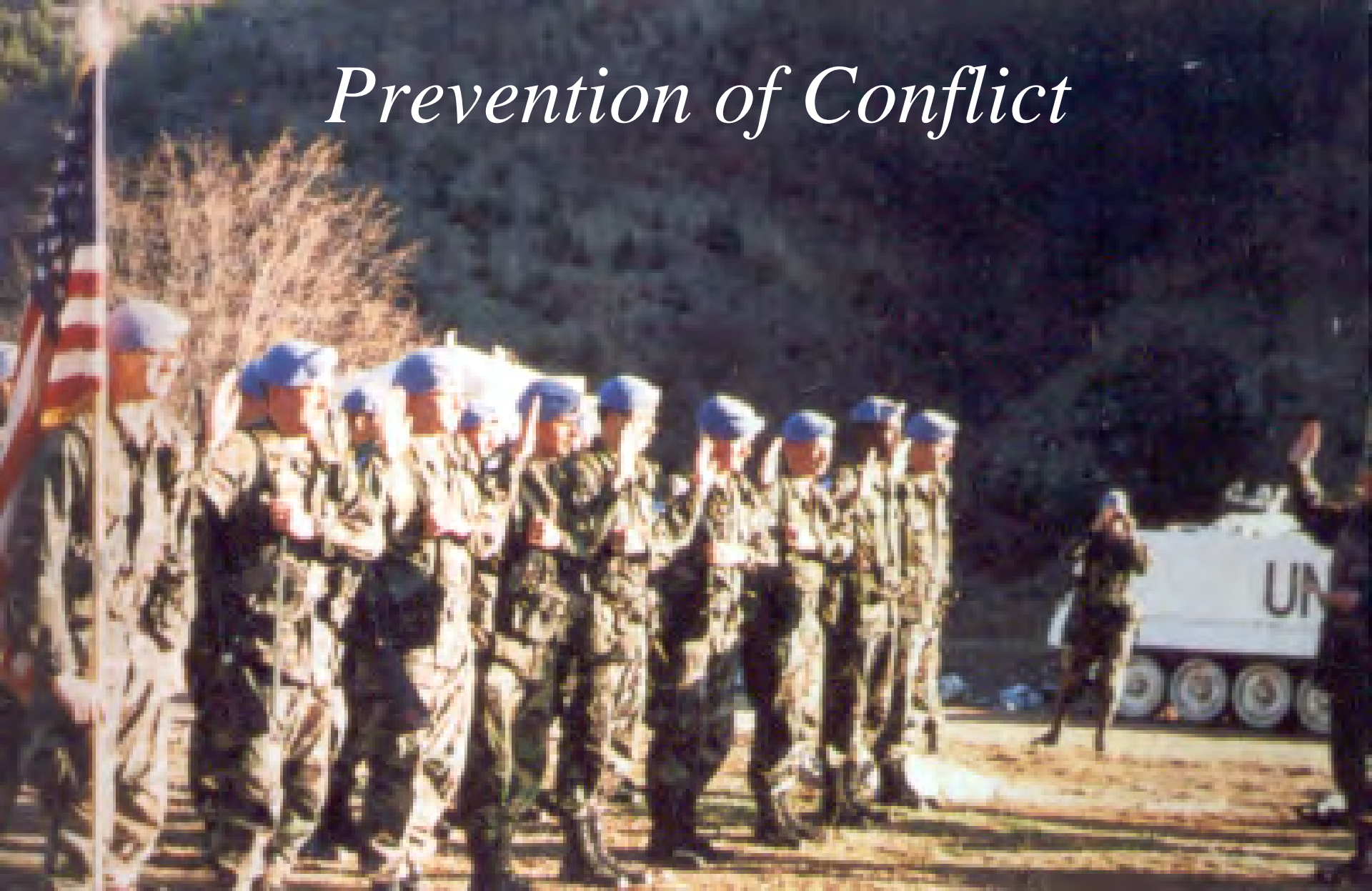


Self-Protection



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





Road-building in Cambodia

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

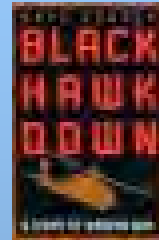
- Summer 1999
- Preparations for the referendum
- Prior to the reign of terror



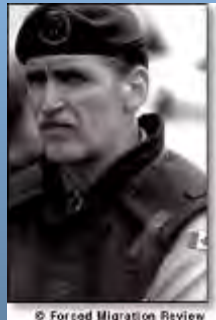
Enforcement in Peacekeeping

- 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



© Forced Migration Review



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



www.jda.go.jp



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 Slavonia /
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 membership

UN Photo, 27 Sep. 2002

... UNMISET

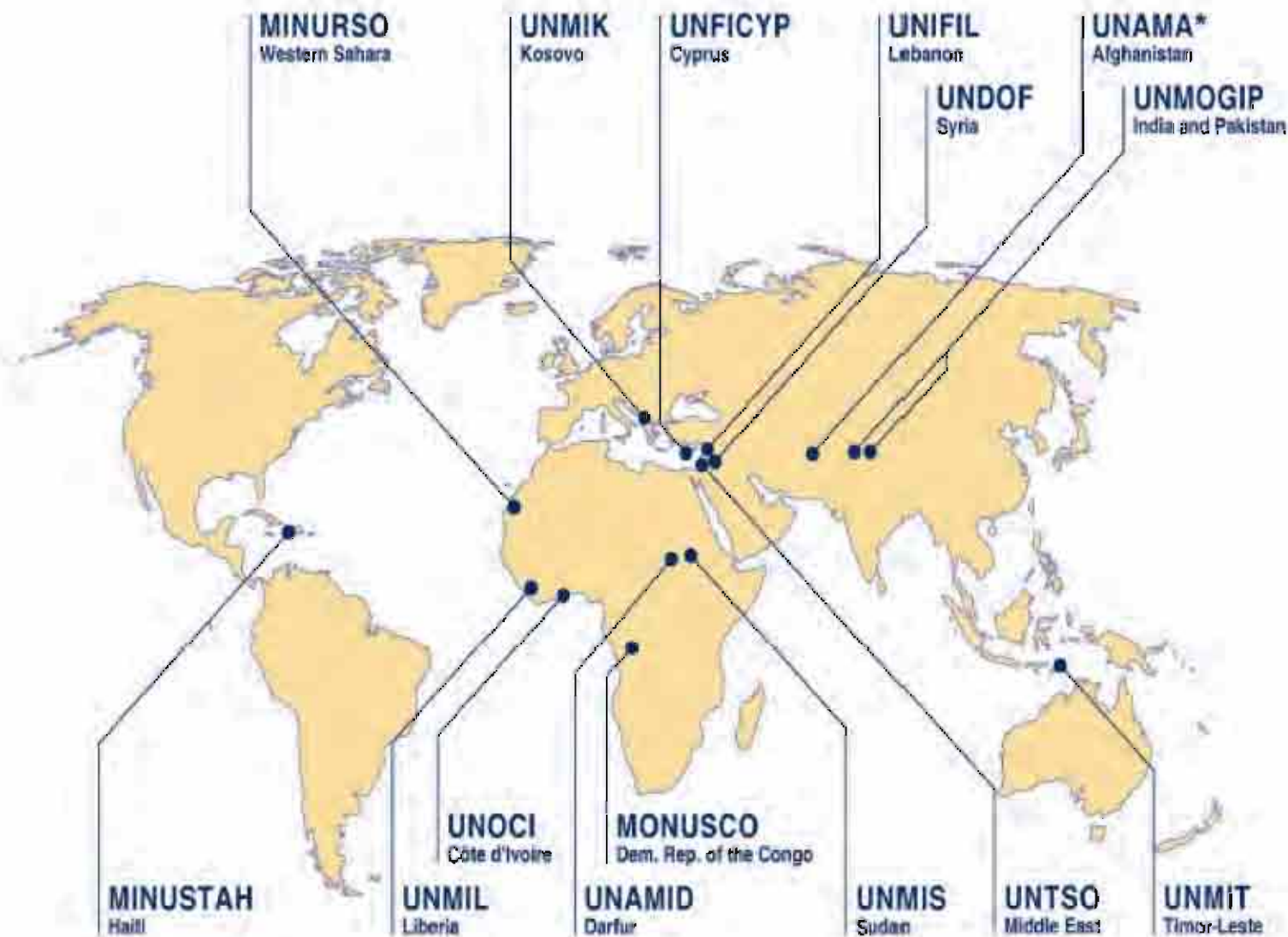
UN Rebuilding ...



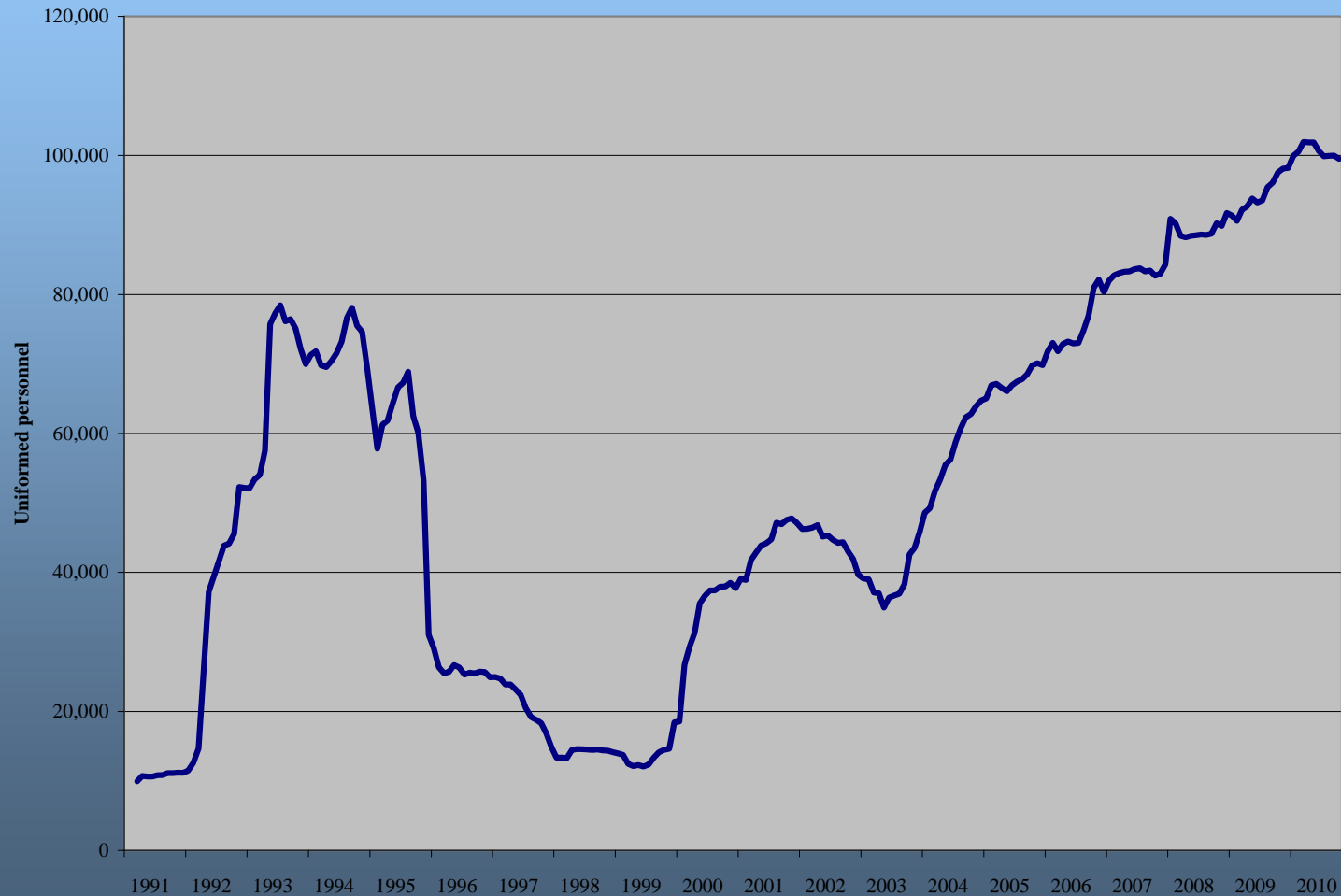
Issues: Transitional Administrations

- 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?

MISSIONS ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS



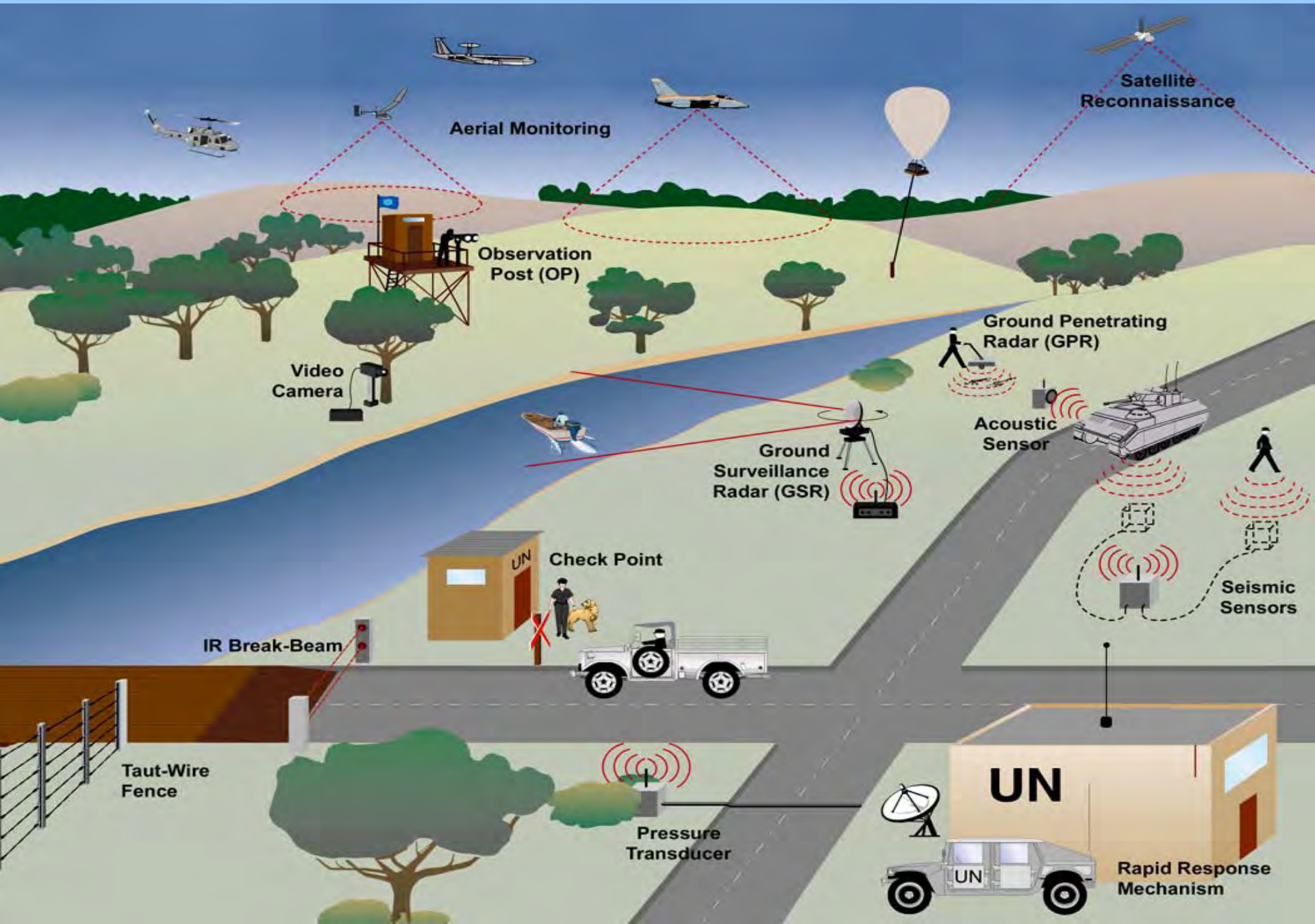
Surpassing 100,000 uniformed personnel



Technologically equipped for peacekeeping?



PROPOSED OBSERVATION TECHNOLOGIES



Special Committee on Peacekeeping



March 2007 Briefing

ANALYSIS & CONCLUSIONS

Evolution of Peacekeeping

Two, three or four “generations”?

1. Traditional peacekeeping

- 1. Observer missions
- 2. Interpositional forces

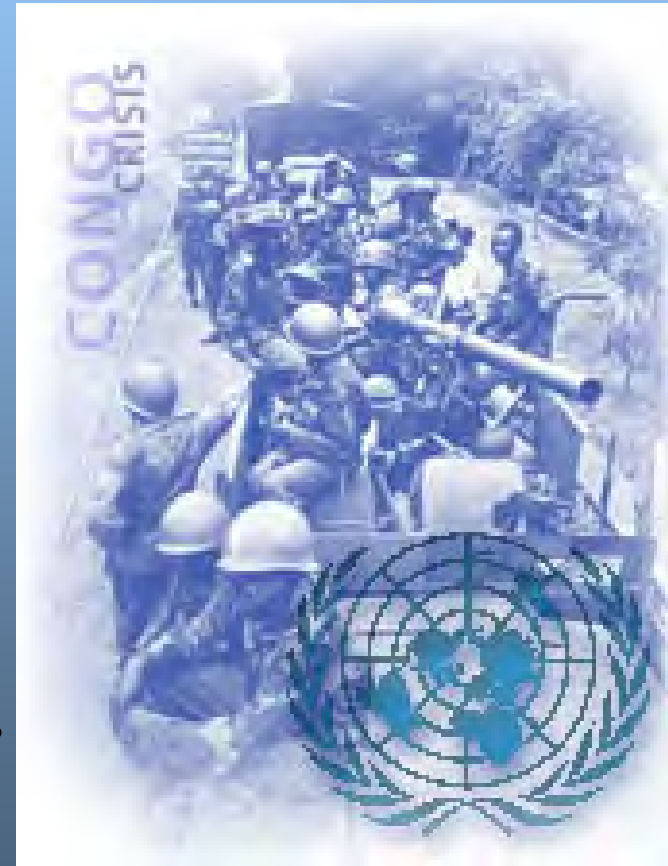
2. Modern peacekeeping (“Second Generation”/Complex)

- 3. Complex peacekeeping
- 4. Transitional administration

Other problems??

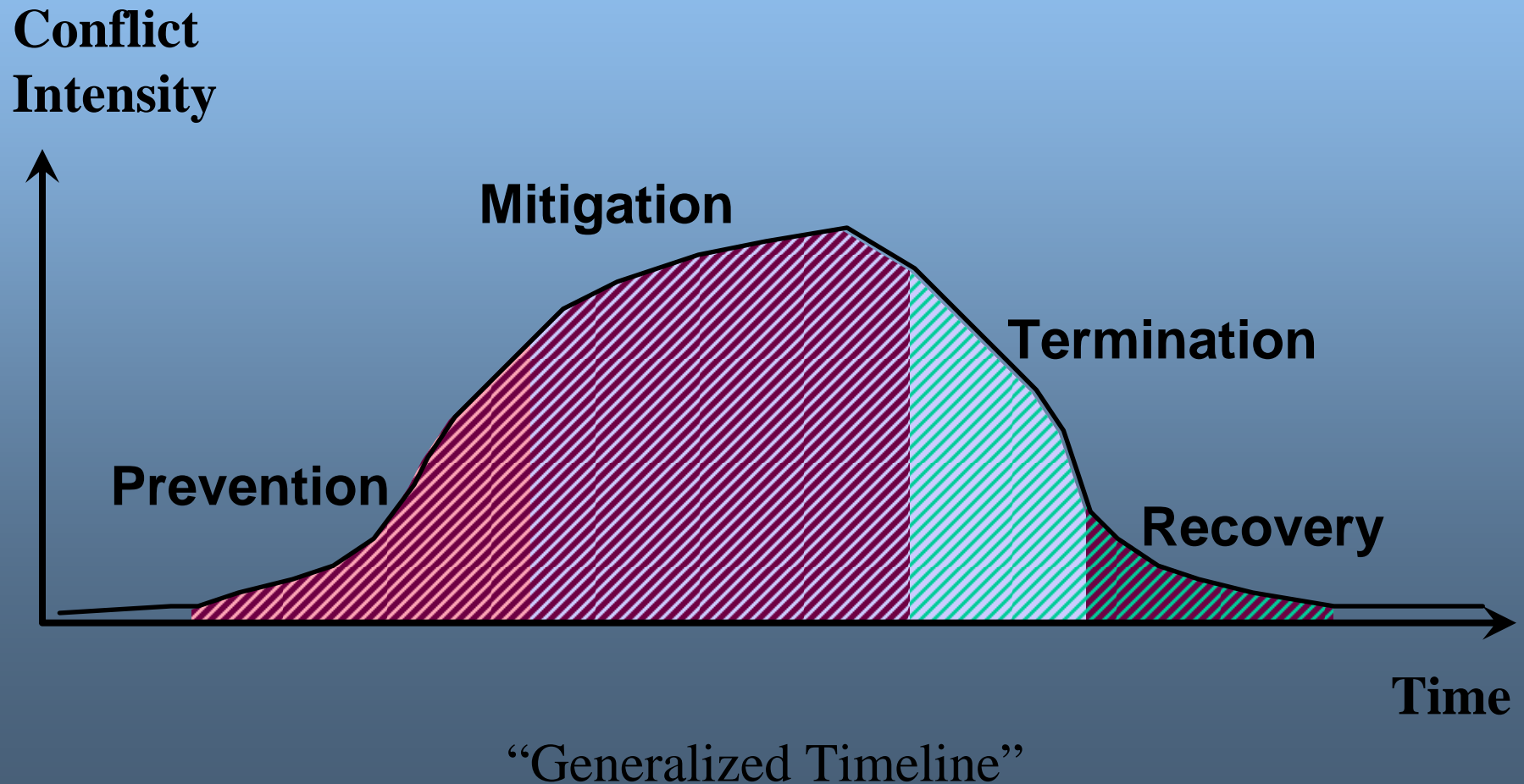
Critique of 4G Model

- 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)



GOALS & ROLES

*Conflict
Intensity
vs Time*

Mitigation

Termination

Recovery

Prevention

UN Goals:

UN Roles:

Early Warning

**Humanitarian
Relief**

**Trad.
Peace-
keeping**

**Peace-
building**

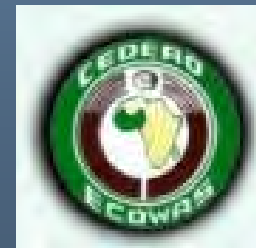
Peace-making & Preventive Action

**Peace
Enforcement**

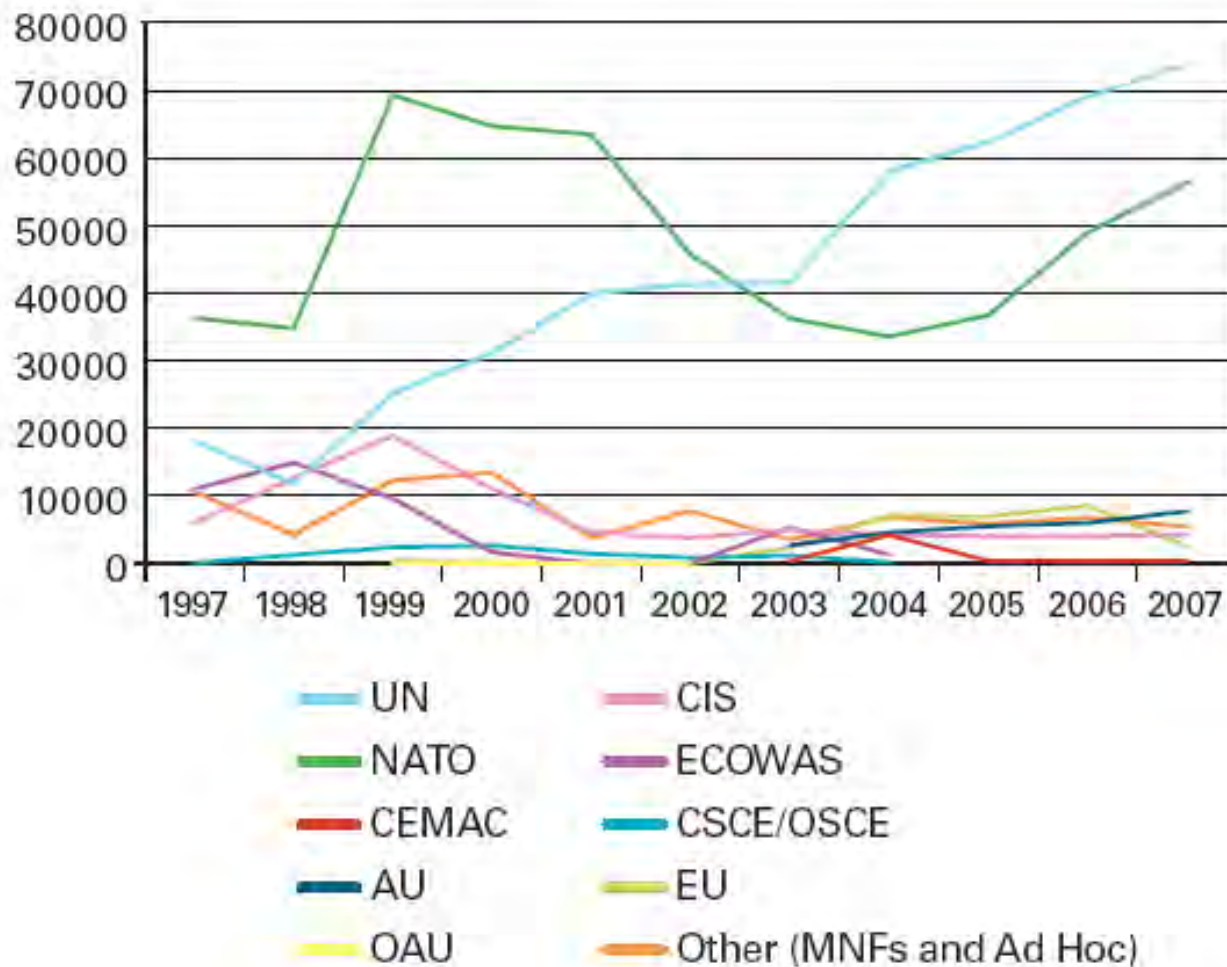
**Reconciliation
& Justice**

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?



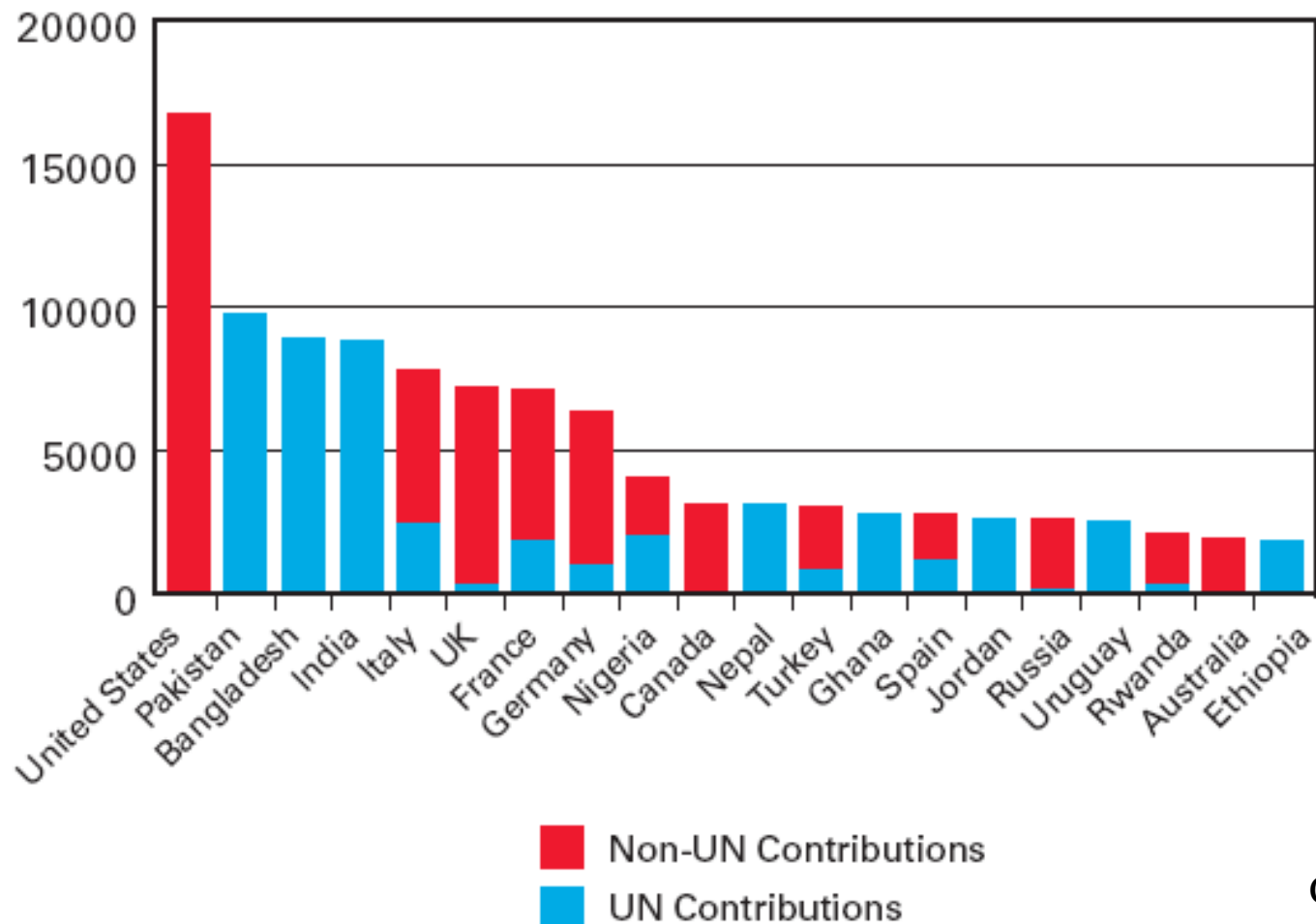
Military Deployments (Troops + Military Observers) in Global Peace Operations (1997-2007)



UN

NATO

Top Twenty Troop Contributors to UN and Non-UN Peace Operations: 31 October 2007



Canada: 10th

Financial Contributions

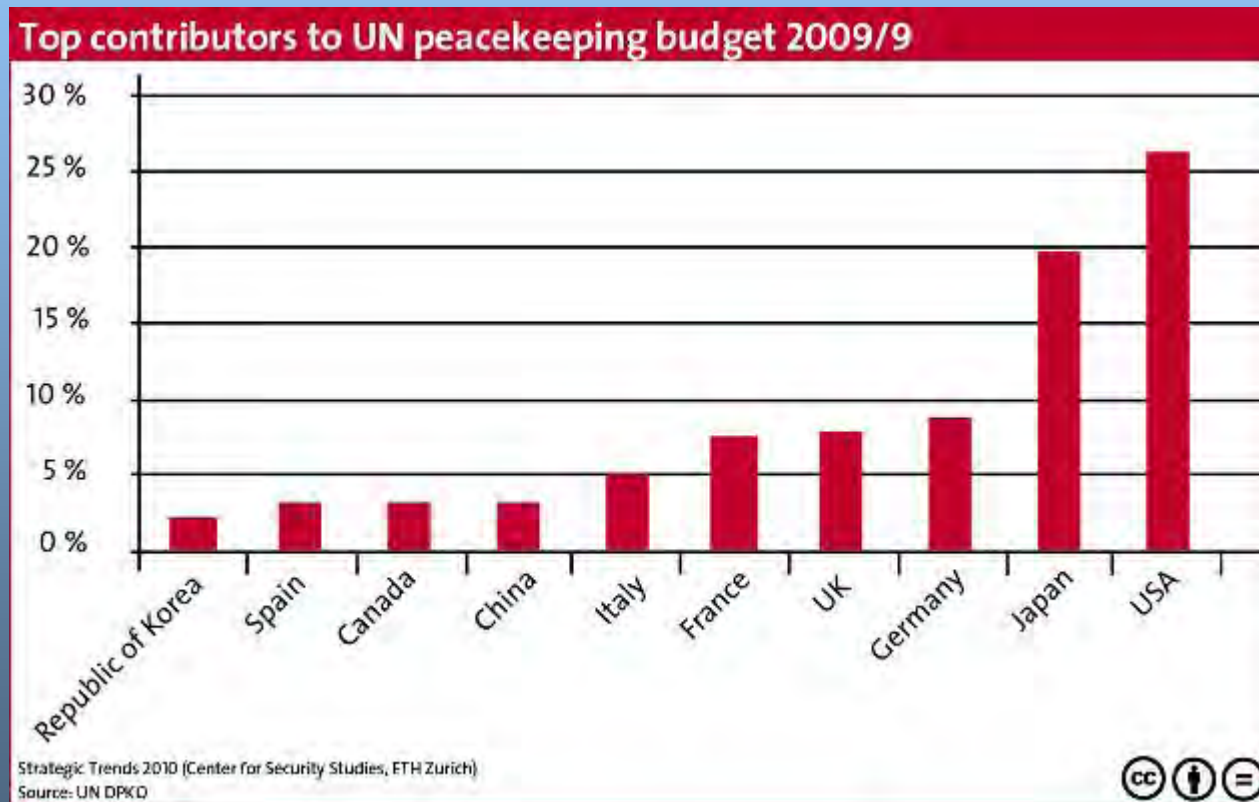
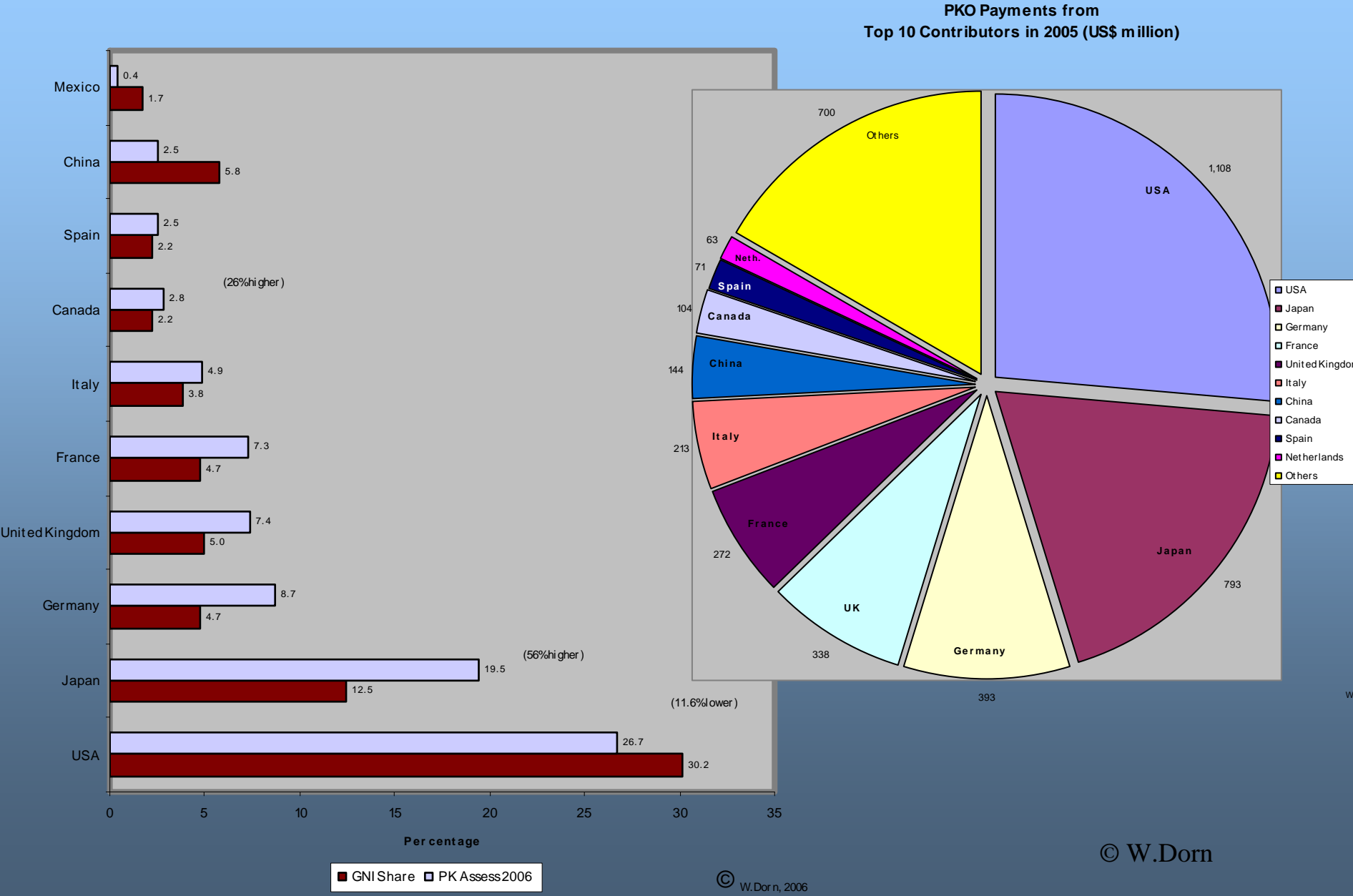


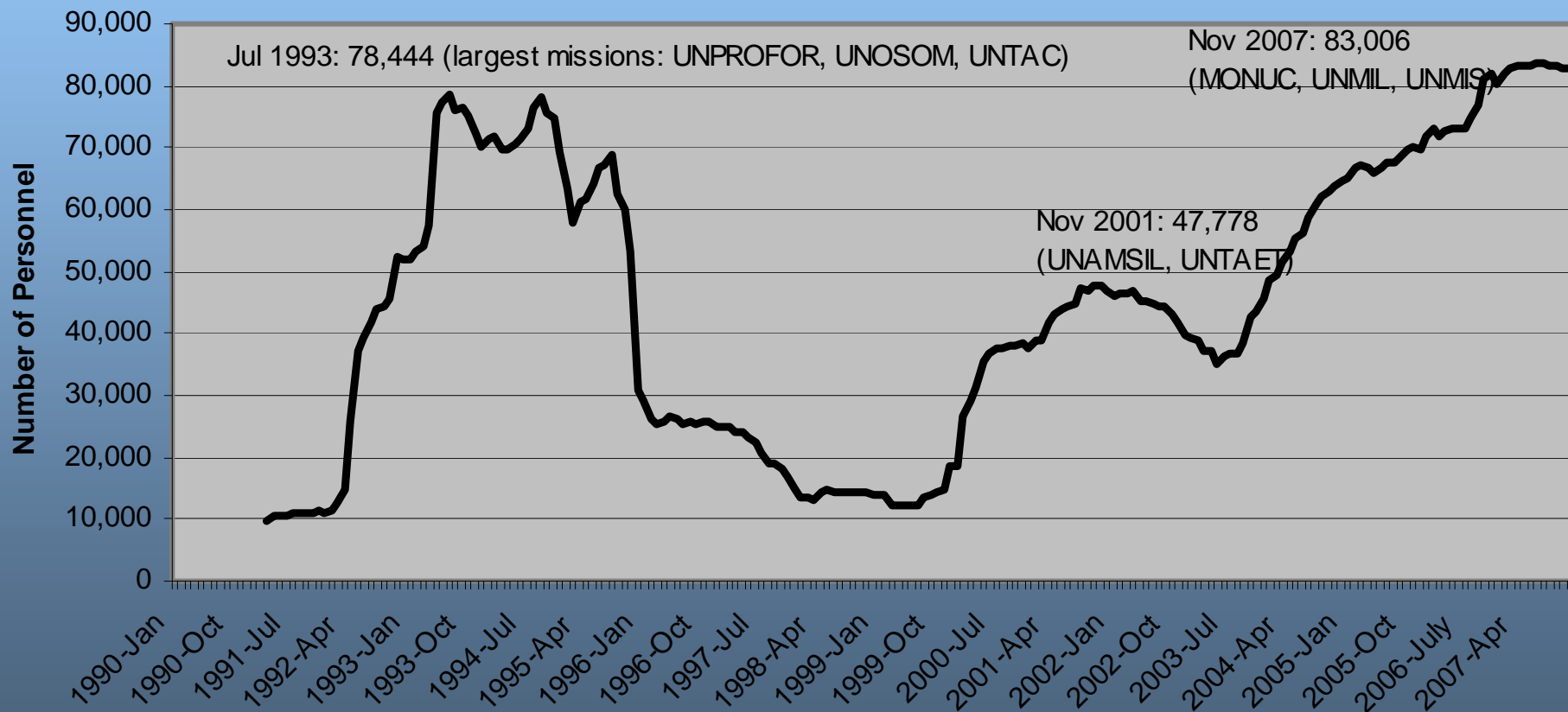
Figure 7. Gross National Income (GNI) Share and PK Rate 2006 for the Top 10 Contributors.



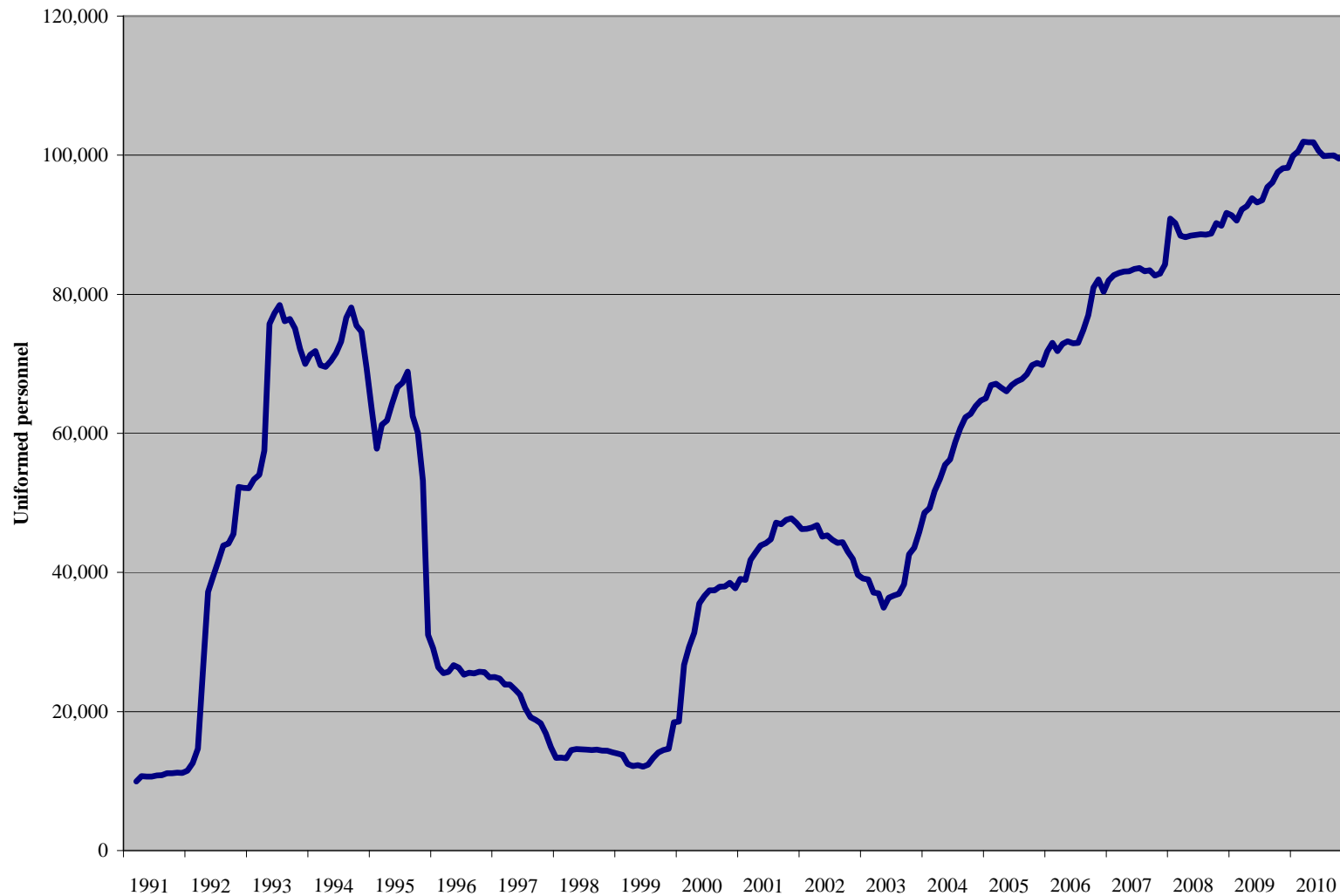


Uniformed UN Peacekeepers

(Military and Police, 1991–2007)



UN: surpassing 100,000 uniformed personnel



UN Operations

Ops since 1948: 64

Current Ops: 15



Mil. + Civpol: 98,863

Countries contrib: 114

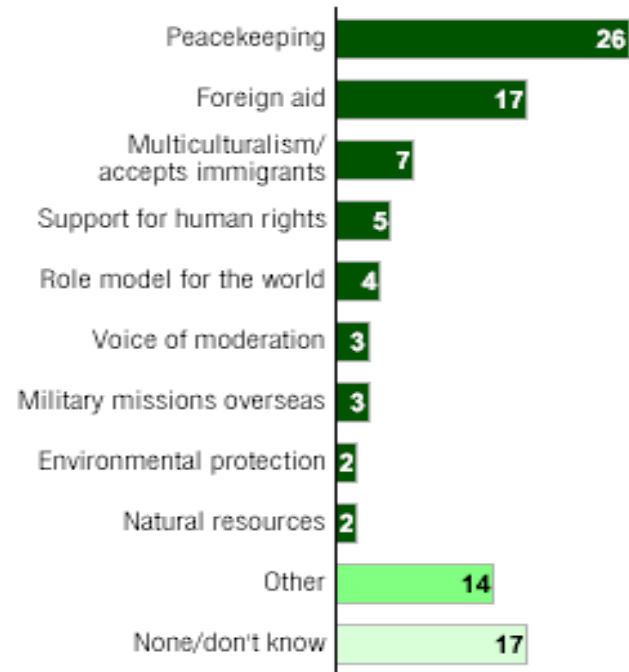
Int. civ. Personnel: 5,521

Local civ personnel: 13,688

Fatalities: 2,865

Canadians View Peacekeeping as ...

Canada's most positive contribution to the world



Q.27

In your opinion, what is the most positive contribution that Canada, as a country, makes to the world?

- 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

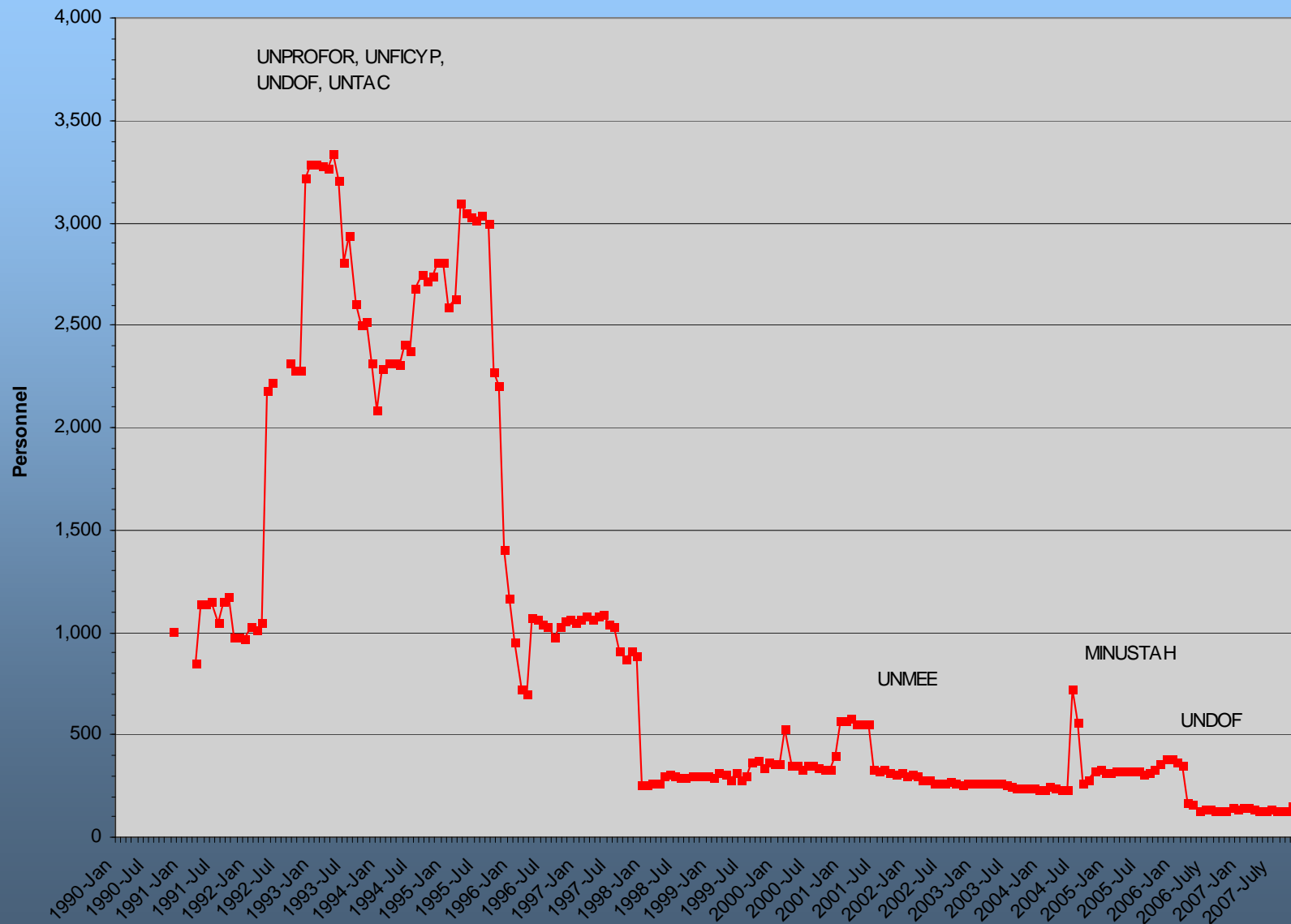
Canadian Contributors to UN PKOs (1948-1997)

	UNTSO	UNMOGIP	UNEF I	UNOGIL	CNUC	UNSF	UNYOM	UNFICYP	DOMREP	UNIPOM	UNEF II	UNDOF	UNIFIL	UNGOMAP	UNIMOG	UNAVEM I	UNTAG	ONUCA	MINURSO	UNIKOM	UNAVEM II	ONUSAL	UNAMIC	UNPROFOR	UNTAC	UNOSOM I	ONUMOZ	UNOSOM II	UNOMUR	UNOMIG	UNOMIL	UNMIH	UNAMIR	UNASOG	UNMOT	UNAVEM III	UNCRO	UNPREDEP	UNMIBH	UNTAES	UNMOP	MONUA	UNTMH						
Afghanistan				x																																													
Albania																													x																				
Algeria																x				x		x	x	x							x			x															
Antigua and Barbuda																																x																	
Argentina	x			x	x			x							x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x							
Australia	x	x					x	x		x	x				x		x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x																
Austria	x			x			x				x	x		x	x		x		x	x		x	x		x	x	x			x	x	x	x		x				x										
Bahamas																																	x																
Bangladesh															x		x		x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
Barbados																	x																x																
Belgium	x	x								x							x		x				x	x	x	x		x				x		x			x	x			x	x							
Belize																																		x															
Benin																																		x														x	
Bolivia																												x																					
Botswana																												x	x	x																			
Brazil			x		x	x			x	x						x		x			x	x		x			x		x		x		x			x	x	x			x	x	x						
Brunei																										x																							
Bulgaria																										x										x	x			x									
Burma	x			x	x					x																																							
Cameroon																										x																							
Canada	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x				x	x			x	x				x			
Cape Verde																												x																					
Chad																																																	
Chile	x	x		x						x										x		x		x																									
China	x																x		x	x		x		x		x						x																	



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?