

THE EVOLUTION OF PEACEKEEPING:

EARLY UN OBSERVER MISSIONS (1946-56)

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EARLY MISSIONS: OVERVIEW

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

CASE: KOREA

- Historically, caught between Larger Powers
 - Chinese tributary
 - Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)
 - Fight over Korea
 - Japanese “trusteeship”
 - Russo-Japanese War (1904-5)
 - Russians accept Japanese dominance in Korea
 - Japanese annexation/colonization (1910-45)
- US/USSR accept Japanese surrender after WW II
 - Beginning of Korean division

“Whales fight, shrimp crushed.”

– Korean sokdam (proverb)

POST-WW II SITUATION

- Temporary zones:
 - Soviet zone (North of 38th parallel) and
 - American zone (South)
- Superpowers can't agree on means of reunification
- Issue passed to UN by US



UN CHRONOLOGY

1947

Nov 14 GA establishes UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) to facilitate a National Government, election observation and the withdrawal of Soviet & American forces

1948

May 10 UNTCOK observes elections in South Korea only (refused in North) as “expression of free will.” GA approves

July Establishment of Republic of Korea (ROK) (claiming all of Korea) with Syngman Rhee as President

ELECTIONS 1948 (S. KOREA)



Chongiu. “Although voting was voluntary, between eighty and ninety per cent of the eligible population participated.” - Australian War Monument (www.awm.gov.au)

UNTCOK Election Observation

- Meeting officials and candidates
 - 90% of potential voters registered
- Random sampling on small scale
- UNTCOK reported “free atmosphere” existed in S.Korea

“The results of the ballot of May 10, 1948 are a *valid expression of the free will* of the electorate in those parts of Korea which were accessible to the Commission.”

- UNTCOK Report

Source: Wainhouse, p.330 (emphasis added)

Criticism of UNTCOK's Election Monitoring Methods

“[UNTCOK] received no worthwhile information on public opinion in Korea as a result of its consultations and relied solely on published materials such as the election returns and the National Assembly debates.”

– Wainhouse, *International Peace Observation*, p. 330

CHRONOLOGY CONT'D

Dec 12 GA declares ROK only legitimate government in Korea; replaces UNTCOK with UN Commission on Korea (UNCOK) to continue reunification efforts and observe withdrawal of forces, observe & consult on developments towards democracy

1949

Oct 21 GA adds mandate UNCOK: “observe and report any development which might lead to or otherwise involve military conflict in Korea”

Composition of the Missions

- UN Temporary Commission in Korea (UNTCOK)
 - Australia, Canada (limited), China, El Salvador, France, India, the Philippines, Syria, Ukr. SSR (declined to serve)
 - 18 persons in delegations, 12 in Secretariat
 - Rep. of SG
- UN Commission on Korea (UNCOK)
 - Australia, China, El Salvador, France, India, Philippines and Syria
 - Requests military observers (March 1950)
 - 2 Australian officers first to arrive (supplied by SG)

UNCOK Information-Gathering

- N. Korean propaganda leaflets and Pyongyang radio broadcasts (“war of words”)
- Published materials & interviews (formal and informal)
 - Officials from ROK and US military group; but Rhee gov. started imprisoning individuals contacting UNCOK
 - Reports of military buildup (May 10) from S. Korea (interrogation of captured NK soldiers, agents working in NK, defectors)
- Visits, including along 38th parallel
- Reports from ROK on “extent of guerrilla activities”
- Military observers travel (June)

UNCOK (1950)

- Military observers patrol
 - Two Australians (Rankin and Peach)
 - Field trip June 9-23
 - Rankin-Peach report
- Not allowed into N. Korea, which refused meditation



UNCOK Headquarters, Seoul, 1950



Patrolling along 38th

S. KOREA, JUNE 1950



Two [South] Korean soldiers near Kaesong on the 38th parallel.

Source: AWM P0716/113/010 [Site incorrectly identifies soldiers as N. Koreans.]

UNCOK: UN FLAG



UN flag Flown at UNCOK headquarters
at Australian War Memorial (AWM)
Carried to Indonesia by Major Stuart Peach.
[Source: www.awm.gov.au]

Report of June 24, 1950



UNCOK observers tour 38th parallel (L-R):
Mr Charles Coates,
Squadron Leader Ronald Rankin, and
Major Stuart Peach

- South Korea “organized entirely for defence”
- Unusual levels of military activity in North
- UNCOK report used by Trygve Lie in Security Council
- “Demonstrated that N.Korea was aggressor and N.Korean claims that it was responding to attack by S.Korea false.”
- AWM

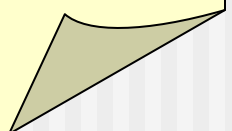
FROM PEACEKEEPING TO WAR



UNCOK Cables NY, 25 JUNE 1950

“The Northern regime is carrying out a well-planned concerted and full-scale invasion of South Korea ... South Korean forces were taken completely by surprise ... The invasion ... presupposes a long-premeditated, well-prepared and well-timed plan of aggression ... The objective ... was to secure by force what could not be gained by any other means.”

– Quoted in Wainhouse, *International Peace Observation*, p. 337




TRYGVE LIE TO THE SC

“At midnight I was informed that a conflict appeared to have broken out in Korea. I immediately dispatched telegrams to [UNCOK] asking for a report [circulated] ...

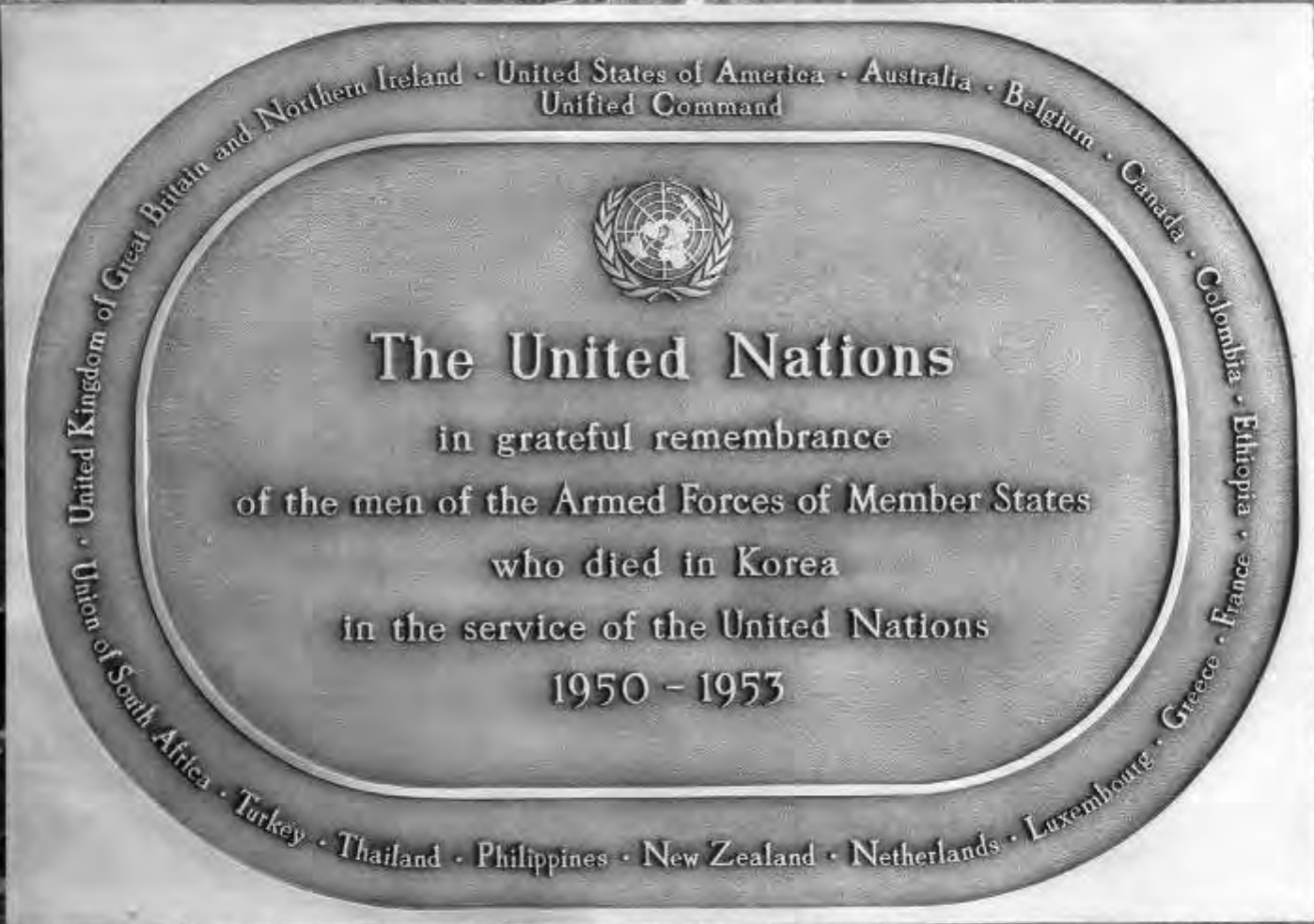
The military actions by North Korean forces are a direct violation of the Principles of the UN Charter. The present situation is a serious one and is a threat to international peace. The Security Council is, in my opinion, the competent organ to deal with it.”

- Lie, *In The Cause of Peace*, p. 330



THE UN RESPONDS





UNCURK 1950-1964

- United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea
- Humanitarian assistance
- Prisoners of War repatriation process
- Ongoing monitoring in S. Korea (UNCOK mandate)
 - Early warning failure about Chinese intervention



UN/DPI Photo 31906

“Orphans being taken to orphanage by UN Welfare Officer, Seoul, Oct. 1950”

KOREAN WAR PHOTOS 1950-53



Korean civilians flee fighting, Jan. 1951

[Source: 32834 UN/DPI/US Army]



UN Photo 36173

Howitzer dropped from C119 Flying boxcar



"88th Inf Special"

CANADIANS IN KOREA

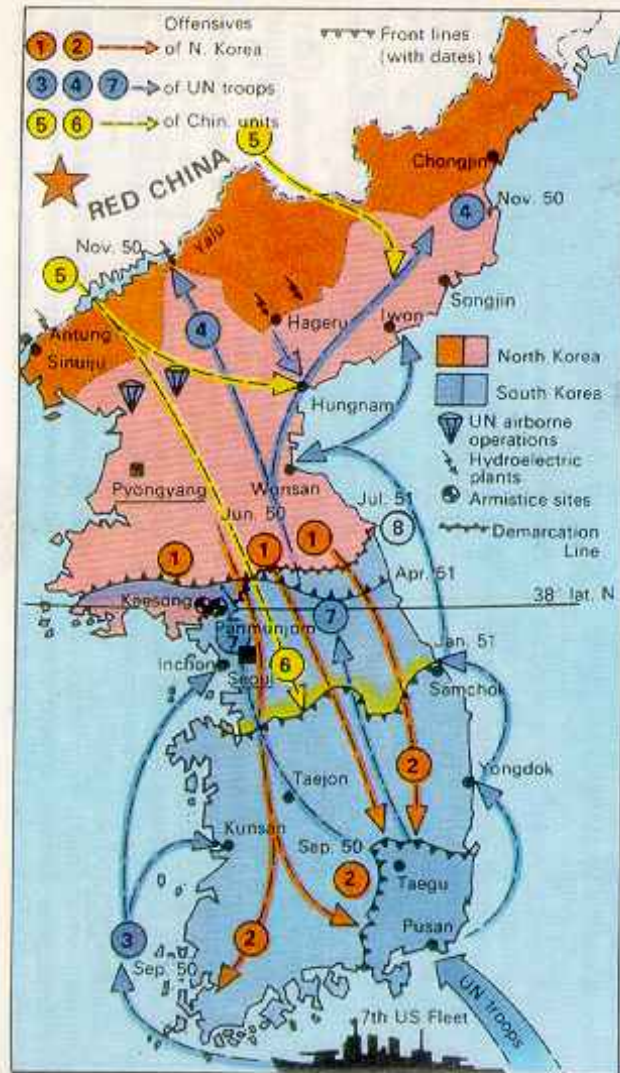


Can. Army Engineer



Raising UN flag, 1951

YO-YO WAR (1950-53)



Korean War, 1950-53

ARMISTICE LINE

July 27, 1953



Peacekeepers' Contributions

- UNTCOK: Elections supervision
- UNCOK: Impartial (consensus) verification that N. Korean attack was aggression

UN Peacekeeping Failures

- Inability to gain access to N. Korea
 - Due to Communist intransigence
- Failure to warn of N. Korean attack (June 1950) and Chinese Intervention (October 1950)
- Encoding machine left to enemy forces (June 1950)
- Korea remains divided

CASE: PALESTINE

- GA creates *UN Mediator in Palestine*, May '48
 - SC P5 choose Count Folke Bernadotte (Sweden)
- SG Trygve Lie requests Ralph Bunche to accompany Bernadotte
 - Appointed “Chief Representative of the Secretary-General in Palestine”
- Bernadotte plane: UN and Red Cross insignia, painted white, “setting style for planes since”
- May 29: Council’s first call for cease-fire and four-week Truce finally accepted by both sides

THE ROLE OF RALPH BUNCHE

- One of the “Founders of Peacekeeping”
- Initial directions to military observers in Palestine
- Nobel Peace Prize 1950 (for mediating negotiations for Arab-Israeli armistice)
- Oversaw Suez (UNEF) & Congo (ONUC) peacekeeping, etc.



THE RISE OF RALPH BUNCHE

- Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) 1947
 - “Investigate all issues relevant to problem of Palestine”
 - Ralph Bunche, special assistance to PRSG (Victor Hoo) for UNSCOP
 - Conscientious, political/diplomatic sense, excellent drafting and administrative skills
 - Drafted most of the UNSCOP report
- UN Palestine Commission 1947-48
 - Divided Commission, British obstinance, Arab hostility
 - Bunche appointed Principal Secretary
 - Israel proclaimed 14 May 1948 (citing GA partition resolution); Arabs attack
 - Egyptians entering Palestine “to establish security and order instead of chaos and disorder” (Urquhart, *Bunche*, p.158)

TRUCE COMMISSION

- Truce Commission established 23 April '48
- First “Truce Observers” arrive 11 June '48, directed by Bunche
 - Establishing principles of work
 - Drafted instructions to observers 27 July 1948
- Chiefs of Staff:
 - L. Gen. Count Thord Bonde (Sweden) Jun-Jul 1948
 - Mgen Aage Lunstom (Sweden), Jun-Sept 1948
 - LG William E. Riley (USA), 1948-53
 - Mgen Vagn Bennike (Denmark), 1953-54
 - LGen E.L.M. Burns (Canada), 1954-56
 - Etc.

BUNCHE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO OBSERVERS

“The Observer must be completely objective in his attitudes and judgments and must maintain a thorough neutrality as regards political issues in the Palestine situation. The fundamental objective of the terms of the truce is to ensure to the fullest extent possible that no military advantage will accrue to either side as a result of the application of the truce.”

– Ralph Bunche to UNTSO observers, 27 July 1948



BUNCHE AS ACTING MEDIATOR

- Bernadotte assassinated by Stern Gang on 17 September '48
- Bunche appointed Acting Mediator
 - Responsible to Security Council
- Negotiated the Armistice Agreements
- Nobel Peace Prize 1949
- Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs
 - Major role in creation of Suez and Congo forces

UNTSO PRECEDENTS

- Observers unarmed (“Bunche’s rule”)
- Aerial reconnaissance
 - Mediator’s plane used for observation over Jerusalem, Amman and Haifa
 - Other Small aircraft (Beechcraft type)
- Coastal patrol vessels
 - Three US destroyers and a French corvette
- Vehicles and planes painted white with large “UN” UN armbands (Blue Helmets came only in 1956)
- UN Guard Force (forty recruited in NY) repatriated
- Principles of impartiality and objectivity

**KEY DEVELOPMENT:
“INTERNATIONALIZATION”
OF PEACEKEEPING**

Elements of “Internationalization”

1. Composition

- Members: Nations (governmental body), individuals (in private capacity) 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: degree of independence

4. Logistics & financial

- International organization arranges/provides supplies

Key Development: The Role of the Representative of SG

- Representative of the Secretary-General
 - Palestine, Kashmir
 - Precursor to SRSG
 - Head official in the field in moderns peacekeeping operations
 - Increase in powers

APPOINTMENT OF SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS

“As became my custom in connection with filling of the highest posts in the Secretariat, I felt it was both necessary and desirable to secure nominations from governments ... The decisions were always mine; but I had to try to get the best talent, and that sometimes took persuasion, as good people can seldom be spared.”

– Trygve Lie, *In the Cause of Peace*, p.46



OBSERVER MISSIONS: MORE THAN JUST OBSERVATION

"A Military Observer is as the name implies, an observer and also a reporter and *an umpire*."

- Canadian Brigadier Harry Angle, Chief Military Observer, UNMOGIP, UN Radio broadcast, 17 January 1950. (emphasis added)

EXPERIENCE ON THE GROUND

“Peacekeeping is a form of soldiering that does not depend on the rifle for its answers but on quiet reasoning, infinite patience, and impartial attitude and approach, and above all an understanding of human relationships.”

– Brigadier Harbottle, quoted in Dawson, p. 38.

THE EVOLUTION OF UN OBSERVATION



FUTURE OBSERVATION TECHNOLOGIES

