THE EVOLUTION OF PEACE AND STABILITY OPERATIONS



Dr. Walter Dorn Canadian Forces College



Joint Command and Staff Programme

Elective

Updated 15 October 2013





"We Remember"

PRESENTED TO THE CANADIAN FORCES
COLLEGE BY CSC 25 IN MEMORY
OF THOSE MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN
FORCES WHO SACRIFICED THEIR
LIVES IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE.
26 JUN 99

ANGLE H.H. UNMOGIP 17 JUL 50

ABBOTT T.E. UNEF II

PRÉSENTÉ AU COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES PÀR LE CCEM 25 EN MÉMOIRE DES MEMBRES DES FORCES CANADIENNES QUI ONT SACRIFIÉ LEUR VIE AU SERVICE DE LA PAIX. 26 JUIN 99

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Canadian Peacekeeping Tradition











1994 1996







10 PATS479469 | FDTS479469 10





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



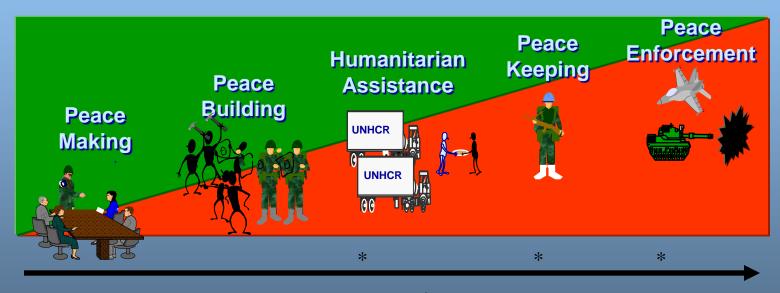
Peace Support Operation (NATO Definition 2010)

An operation that <u>impartially</u> makes use of <u>diplomatic</u>, <u>civil and military</u> 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)



Violence potential for each role

Increasing Force

+ Conflict Prevention



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 nationbuilding.]



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



UNTEA

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



Under-Secretary-General Ralph Bunche







UI

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

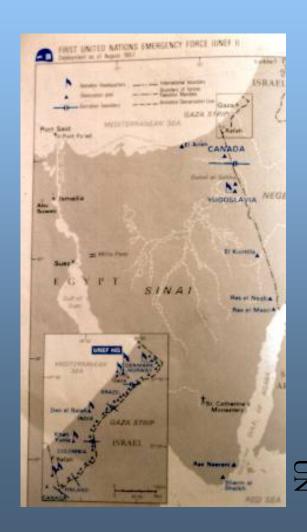




Hammarskjöld inspecting UNEF troops with Force Commander Burns & COS Rikhye

UNEF on patrol

UN Emergency Force (later UNEF II)





UNEF II



06 December 1973, Suez City, UN Photo # 84760

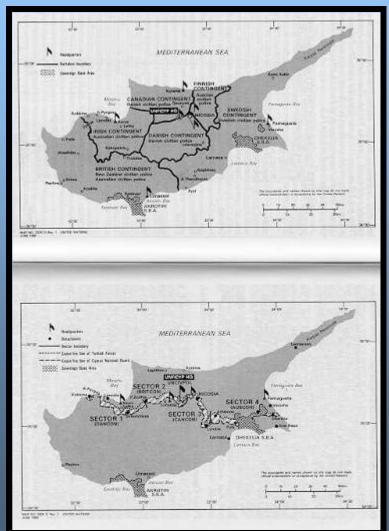
UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

Created 1964

- Enclaves & protected areas
- "Green lines"

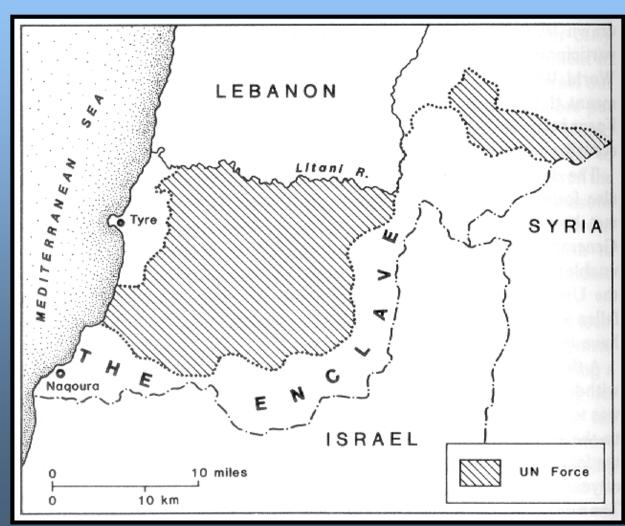
• Turkish invasion 1974

- Division of island into two
- "Green line"





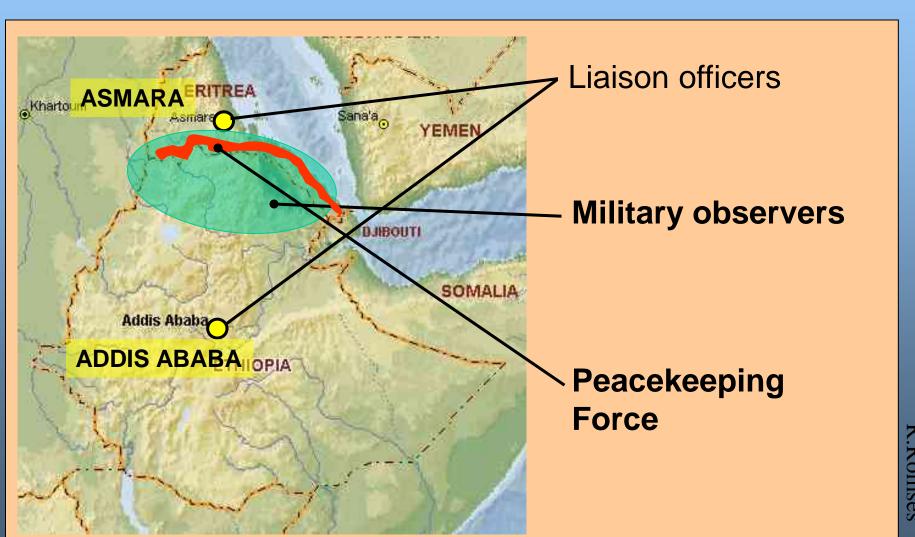
UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-



Man James, 1990



UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (2000-2008)



THIRD TYPE/GENERATION:

MULTIDIMENSIONAL OPERATIONS

CHANGING CONFLICT / CHANGING PEACEKEEPING

	Cold War	Post Cold War
Predominant conflicts	<i>Inter</i> state, interalliance	Intrastate, internal
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 stabily; 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







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

CIMIC



MULTIDIMENSIONAL PEACEKEEPING

Political

Military

Humanitarian

Police









Judicial

Social

Reconstruction

Economic











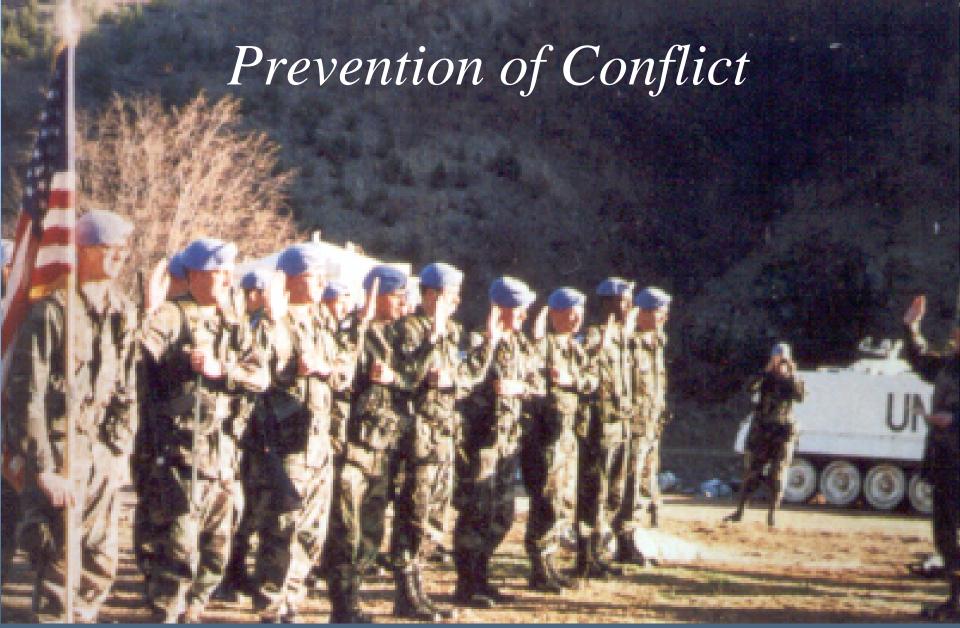




Self-Protection



Hezbollah hostage-takers in Lebanon, after their surrender



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)



UNAMIR

1994







BGen Robin Gagnon UNTMIH 1997



BGen Cam Ross UNDOF 1998

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 & BorderControl
- 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

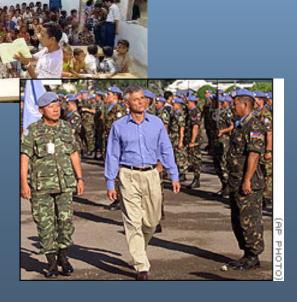
Source: www.unmikonline.org



East Timor: UNTAET









UN membership

... UNMISET

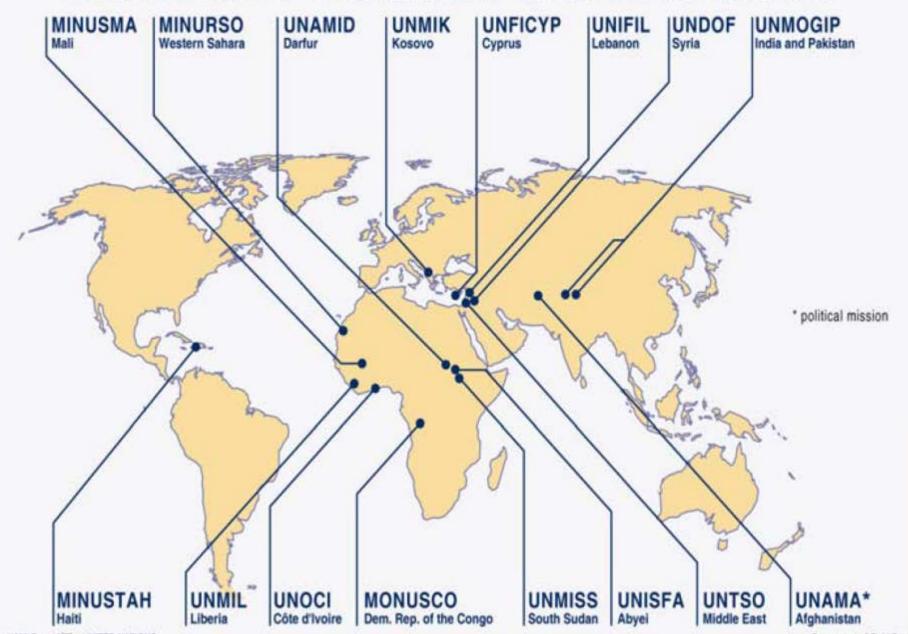
UN Rebuilding ...



Issues: Transitional Administrations

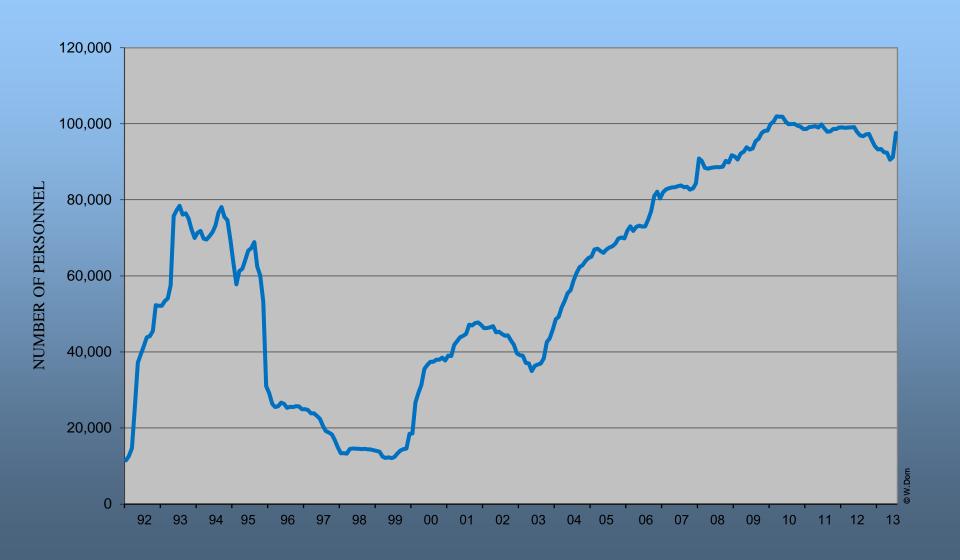
- Future cases?
- Fourth "generation" of peacekeeping?
- Extent of international involvement?
 - UN in Iraq?
- Reasonable transition period?
- New trusteeship or neocolonialism?
- International versus Local Rule
- Transitional laws?
 - Whose? What system? How enforced?
- Creating capacity or dependency?

MISSIONS DIRECTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS



Map No. 4259 Rev. 18(E) UNITED NATIONS May 2013 Department of Field Support Cartographic Section

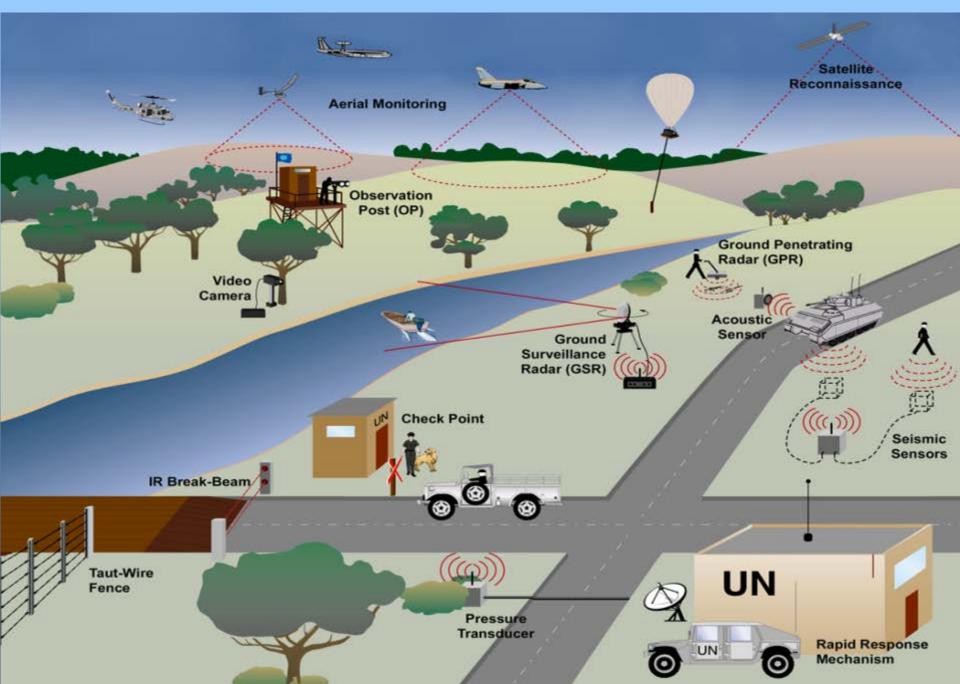
Uniformed UN Peacekeepers (1992-2013)



Technologically equipped for peacekeeping?



PROPOSED OBSERVATION TECHNOLOGIES



Special Committee on Peacekeeping





March 2007 Briefing

ANALYSIS & CONCLUSIONS

Evolution of Peacekeeping

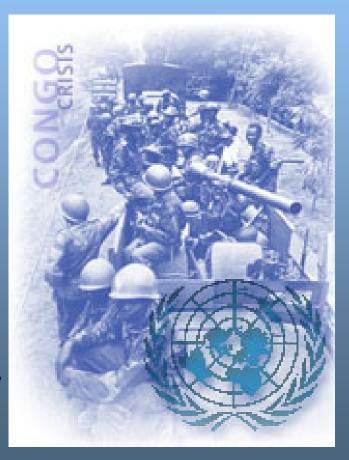
Two, three or four "generations"?

- 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

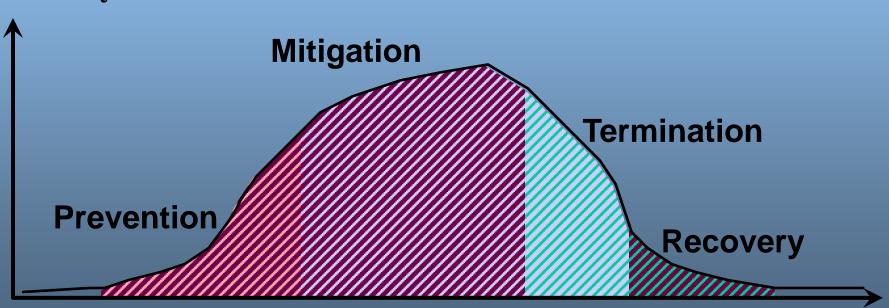
- Important exceptions to the "generational model" in 1960s:
 - Congo operation (ONUC)
 - West Papua (UNTEA & UNSF)
 - UNFICYP (first decade)
- Some recent operations are classical peacekeeping ("first/second generation")
 - UNMEE
- Functions are only one indicator of peacekeeping
 - Other are size, 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)

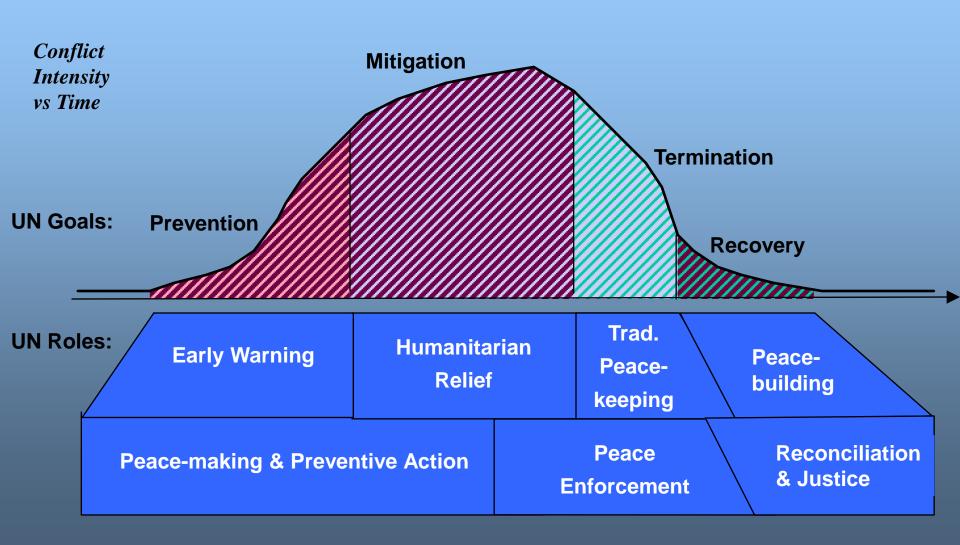




Time

"Generalized Timeline"

GOALS & ROLES



New Sponsors (Regional Organizations)

NATO

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



- Elections and conflict resolution
- EU
 - Bunia (rapid deployment, French-led)
- AU
 - Capacity
 - What future?
- ECOWAS
 - Bias? Capacity?











Financial Contributions

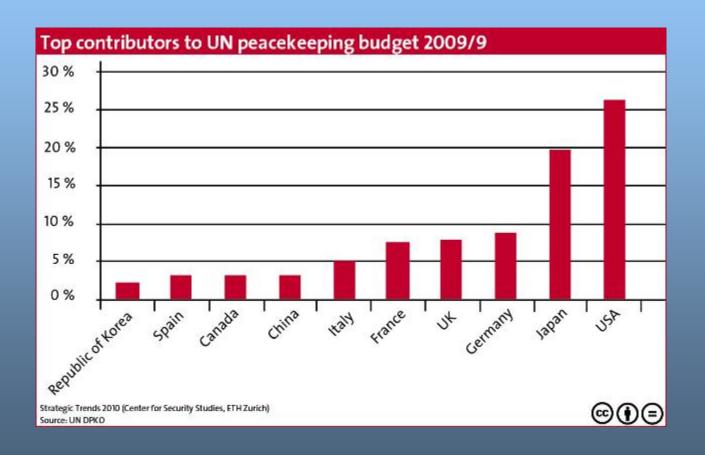
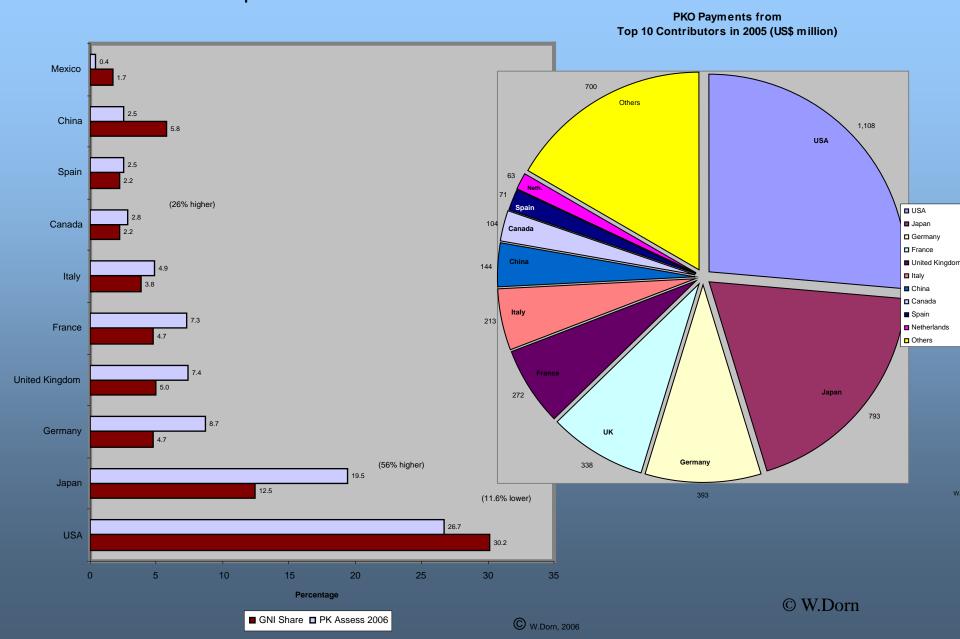
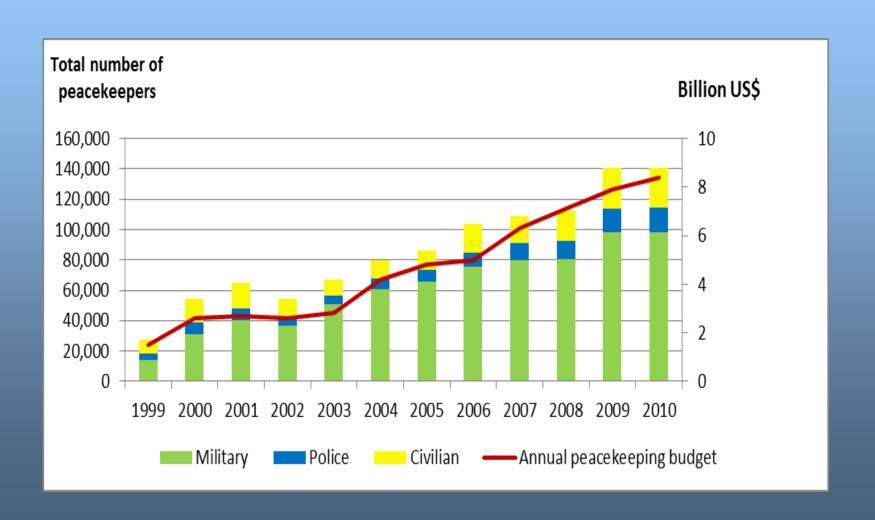


Figure 7. Gross National Income (GNI) Share and PK Rate 2006 for the Top 10 Contributors.



Peacekeeping: Numbers and Dollars



UN Operations



Ops since 1948: 68 Current Ops: 16



Mil. + Civpol: 96,877

Countries contrib: 116

Int. civ. Personnel: 5,032

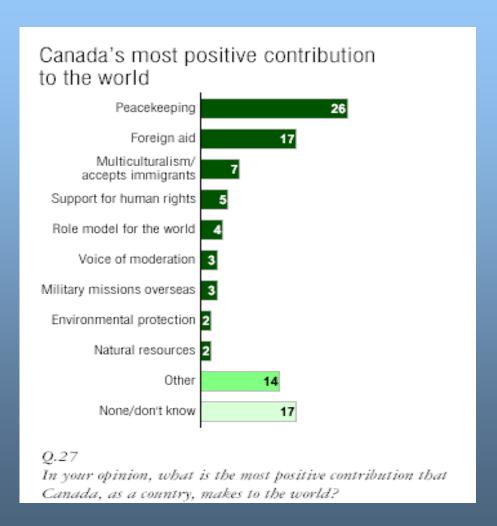
Local civ personnel: 11,693

Total: 117,404

Fatalities: 3,143

Source: www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm, 31 Aug 2013

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

THE CANADA'S WORLD POLL ENVIRONICS

Canadian Contributors to UN PKOs (1948-1997)

	UNISO	UNMOGIP	UNEFI	UNDCEIL.	ONUC	UNSF	UNYOM	UNFICYP	DOMREP	UNITROM	UNIEF II	UNDOF	UNITED	UNGGOMAP	UNIDAÇE	UNAVENTI	UNTAG	ONLICA	MINURSO	UNIKOM	UNAVEM II	CONTISAL,	UNAMIC	UNPROFOR	UNTAC	UNOSOMI	CAUDADE	TEMPERATE	TNOMEG	TWOMIT	TINNIT	UNAMIR	UNASOG	UNMOT	UNAVEM III	UNCRO	UNPREDÉP	UNMIBH	UNTAES	UNMOR	MONUA	UNIMBE
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Source: www.ciaonet.org/book/ccp01/appdx3.html, Blue Helmets, 1997



Canadian Uniformed Personnel in UN PKO

(Total Military and Police, 1990-2011)



Myths and Realities

- Myth: Peacekeeping isn't real soldiering
 - Majority of Cdn international operations are PSOs
 - Dangerous assignments
 - Requires skill, tact, courage
 - Requires combat capability
 - Wide range of tasks
 - Protection of civilians since 2000
 - Negotiation/mediation ("soldier-diplomat")
 - Military has a vital role

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

- FM 3-24 "Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency operations"

"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 our trust."



Lester B. Pearson

Nobel Prize acceptance speech

Oslo, Dec. 11, 1957

Peace Support Operations: A Continuing Adventure



THE END ...

of the Beginning



Extra Slides



1 March 1957, El Arish, Egypt, Photo # 145550

Figure: Simplified view of conflict intensity over time and the UN's corresponding goals and roles

