The Challenges of UN Peacekeeping

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A Traditional View of UN Peacekeeping
"... and tell 'em if they don't stop we'll send 'em another sharp note from the Security Council".
In The Beginning

• **UN Charter**
• **Traditional PK.** Started in 1948 in Middle East. Response to inter-state conflict

**Characteristics**

Support ceasefires and buffer zones by inter-positioning; observe, verify, report missions; principally static military (led) tasks. 3 traditional principles as doctrinal base.

• **UN Nineties Nadir.** End of cold war (SC able to act). Also shift from inter-state to intra-state conflict. Little PK capacity and no peace to keep. Rwanda, Som, FRY led to doctrinal rethink – Agenda for Peace - Brahimi Report.

• **Multi-Dimensional or Contemporary PK.** Response to intra-state conflict

**Characteristics**
Multi-Dimensional or Contemporary PK.

Characteristics: response to intra-state conflict;

• manoeuverist not static - dealing with whole state (protecting space not line);
• supports parties and comprehensive peace agreements;
• complex lines of operation (political, security, humanitarian, developmental) and complex mandates;
• integration of civilian and security tasks under one political command;
• Focus on POC means increasing use of Chap VII by SC to mandate up to lethal force to protect civilians using “all necessary means”.

Is conflict paradigm changing again? Our response?
Uniformed Personnel in the Field
1991 to Present

- Jul 1993: 78,444
  (Largest missions: UNPROFOR, UNOSOM, UNTAC)
- Oct 2006: 80,976
  (MONUC, UNMIL, UNMIS, UNIFIL)
- Nov 2001: 47,778
  (UNAMSIL, UNTAET)
- Mar 2010: 101,939
  (UNAMID, MONUC, UNIFIL)
- Feb 2011: 99,117
  (UNAMID, MONUSCO, MINUSTAH)

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Development of Peacekeeping

From traditional peacekeeping to multi-dimensional peacekeeping.

or

From observing a peace to keeping a peace and .....

while keeping a peace, on occasions, needing to enforce it.

(if so mandated and working within ROE)

= “robust peacekeeping”

(Neither imposing force nor yielding to force)
Today’s UN Peacekeeping Missions
Contemporary Peacekeeping Operations

• Response in shift from inter to intra-state conflict
• Complex mandates in volatile, polarized, distressed, dysfunctional environment.
• New mandates to protect civilians blurs concept of Chap VI and Chap VII missions.
• Multi-disciplinary and multi-national (need joint planning). Many lines of operation to desired end state.
• Involve a wide range of internal and external actors. Coherence only thro’ integration
• Primacy of political activity – in supported role. Mil/Police in supporting role.
• No purely military solutions. But still lack of civilian and specialist capacities. (Capability-based PK)
Paradigm Not Linear

- Conflict Prevention
- Peacemaking
- Peace Enforcement
- Peacekeeping
- Post-conflict peace-building & preventing relapse to conflict

Conflict

Ceasefire

Political Process
The Compression of UN Levels of Command

- Strategic
  - Security Council
  - Secretary General
  - UN Secretariat

- Operational
  - Head of Mission

- Tactical
  - Mission Headquarters & Leadership Team
  - Component Heads
    - Military units
    - Civilian units
    - Police units
    - Regional Offices
UN’s Comparative Advantage - An Integrated Mission

- SRSG
- DSRSG
- DSRSG RC/HC
- Chief of Staff/Chief Cabinet
- JMAC
- JOC
- Police Commissioner
- Police Advisers
- Formed Police Units
- Chief Integrated Support Services
- Force Commander
- Sector Commanders
- Force Support Elements
- UNDP
- OCHA
- UNICEF
- UNHCR
- OHCHR
- WFP
- WHO
- Nat Org
- NGO
- DDR
- POLITICAL ADV
- LEGAL ADV
- Human Rights
- Rule of Law
- Press/Public Info
- UN Authority
- UN OPCON
- UN TACON
- Coordination
UN PKO Realities

- Fragile triangular dynamics (SC- Sec - MS)
- Complex and variable support of TCCs/PCCs.
- Insufficient rapidly deployable civilian expertise
- UN required to operate bureaucratic budgeting. Little flexibility. Affects logistics and tempo
- Limitations in capability of DPKO as a superior HQ.
- Incoherent interests of member states / international community.
- Ad hoc C3I and difficult passage of info, (compared to media).
- Lack of doctrinal clarity/unity in the use of force.
The Space for DPKO Ops

- **Mission Environment**
  - Benign (Consent)
  - Hostile (No consent)

- **Level of Required Capability**
  - Low
  - High

- **Observation missions**
- **Multi-dimensional Missions**
- **Traditional PK**
- **Enforcement Operations**

- **Danger**
Post-Conflict Tasks & Actors

Post-Conflict Tasks
- ECONOMIC GOV
- INFRA INVESTMT
- CIVIL ADMIN
- ELECTIONS
- POLITICAL
- SECURITY
- DDR
- RULE OF LAW
- CAPACITY BLDG
- HUMANIT ASST

Stabilization
- Peacekeeping Operation

Transition
- IFIs: World Bank/IMF
- UN Country Team, Donors, International and Regional Orgs and NGOs

Long-term Development
- LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

Time
- Conflict
- Sustainable Peace
Changing Context for Peacekeeping

Effects of Global Financial Crisis – “do more with less”.

Tension between FCCs and T/PCCs – impact on delivery of robust peacekeeping and PoC

Erosion of consent for large PKO – focus on transition and peacebuilding (but insufficient expertise)

Changing paradigm of conflict – outpacing structures and doctrinal thinking in UN Secretariat and MS.

All put increased pressure on senior mission leadership and increased need for partnerships.
Take- Aways

- For PKO there must be a peace to keep - but SC decides. However, $x$ should $= y$ especially in mandates.
- Success depends on a united SC and positive regional engagement.
- End states are political, but they must be articulated and agreed at strategic level. Military solutions alone are illusionary.
- PSOs are complex and require integrated planning and multi-agency / dimensional solutions. A comprehensive approach.
- UN PKOs may be militarily "inefficient" but they have unique moral authority/legitimacy - but they are not a universal instrument. Increasing scope for partnerships.
- Short-termism is a blight. Peace is more than absence of war. Long-term supportive relationships/partnerships are needed. Foundations for PB established during PK.