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MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

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United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Challenges and Opportunities

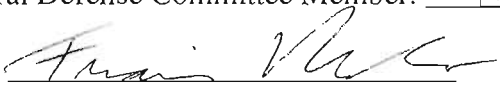
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Executive Summary

Title: “United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Challenges and Opportunities.”

Author: Lieutenant Commander Mohammad Mahabbat Ali, Bangladesh Navy.

Thesis: To strengthen UN peacekeeping capacity the current and future challenges need to be overcome and new opportunities have to be identified concurrently for reinforcing its effectiveness in conducting and sustaining peace operations.

Discussion: Over the years, UN peacekeeping has evolved to meet the demands of different conflicts and a changing political landscape. Increasing resort to the UN for the settlement of disputes has made the peacekeeping operations becoming more and more demanding and complex. With the increased commitments, the challenges to peacekeeping are also on the rise. The new complex and multidimensional missions, massive deployments of military personal, threats to the safety and security of civilians, charges of sexual abuse by the peacekeepers, financial and resource constraints and the increasing interference of regional organizations are some of the emerging challenges for the UN vis-a-vis its peacekeeping operations. In this scenario, the role of UN and its peacekeeping operations have become central focus of attention and enquiry. Over the past few years UN has undergone some profound changes aimed at improving its ability to meet those challenges. The main question for this research is thus, the resiliency of UN to meet the future peacekeeping challenges. To find out the answer, the study begins with explaining the evolution of UN peacekeeping operations to understand both political and military developments related to peacekeeping. The study then provide a careful examination and analysis of some major challenges to find out the inadequacy and complex dynamics involve in the current and future peace keeping missions. The study finally establishes the future strength of UN peacekeeping taking into account the emerging new opportunities to offset some of its weaknesses.

Conclusion: UN has proven itself remarkably adaptable to new challenging environment and changing geopolitical realities. Through various reform measures, it has been striving to overcome the challenges. Taking lessons from past operations, the UN has strengthened its peacekeeping capacity and efficiency in all spheres. With its ability to adapt the challenges and opening up new opportunities, UN will remain the preferred destination for initiating collective security actions for international peace and stability.

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Abbreviations

AMISOM	-	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU	-	African Union
EU	-	European Union
DDR	-	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DFS	-	Department of Field Service
DPKO	-	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
GAO	-	Government Accountability Office
PBC	-	Peace Building Commission
POC	-	Protection of Civilians
MONUC	-	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MINUSTAH	-	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	-	Organization of the American States
OCHA	-	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OIOS	-	Office of Internal Oversight Services
ONUB	-	United Nations Operation in Burundi
OSCE	-	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UNAMID	-	United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur
UNAMSIL	-	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

Abbreviations

UNFIL	-	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNMIK	-	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	-	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIR	-	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNMIS	-	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMIT	-	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNOSOM II	-	United Nations Operation in Somalia II
UNTSO	-	United Nations Truce Supervision Mission
UNPROFOR	-	United Nations Protection Force
UNSAS	-	UN standby arrangement system
UNSC	-	United Nations Security Council
UNTAET	-	UN Transitional Administration in East Timor

Preface and Acknowledgements

I undertook this study as a matter of great personal and professional concern which emanated from my personal experience as a peacekeeper in UNMIS (United Nation Mission In Sudan, 2008–2009). This paper examines the possibility of a strengthened UN peacekeeping capacity in the contemporary and future world. While it is not my intention to provide an exhaustive survey of every debate surrounding peacekeeping operations, I do endeavor to make a conscious effort to reflect those new opportunities that make UN peacekeeping operations more adaptable for the future complex undertakings. The issue under consideration; the peacekeeping operations challenges and opportunities, I believe, should be a matter of attention for every state, and in particular their peace loving people.

I'm pleased to acknowledge the considerable contributions of my mentor Dr. Francis H. Marlo, Ph.D. in particular his role in shaping my work. He invested himself to help steer me through the difficulties of developing a meaningful research paper on a subjective, emotionally-charged issue. I also owe special gratitude to many staff members of the Gray Research Centre who supported the work with references and information. Finally, I'm indebted to my families who have endured the many hours I spent on this work.

As the UN peacekeeping operations creep into increasingly complex and dangerous future conflict zone, the challenges will be forthcoming. But United Nations with its resiliency will continue to be the sole apex body of global community for international peace, security and stability. I dedicate my work to all who have lost their lives as peacekeepers in the service of a more peaceful and just world.

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS: CHALLENGES
AND OPPORTUNITIES

“The constant struggle to close the gap between aspiration and performance...makes the difference between civilisation and chaos”

- Dag Hammarskjöld

Introduction

Peacekeeping has been one of the most visible symbols of the United Nations (UN) role in international peace and security.¹ It had brought a degree of stability to numerous areas of tension around the world. The understanding and application of peacekeeping as a means of conflict resolution, is greatly on the rise today. With the new level of cooperation, which emerged at the end of Cold War, the UN was called more often to mount peacekeeping missions. Increasing resort to the UN for the settlement of disputes and the resolution of conflicts have made the peacekeeping operations more and more demanding. The increase in peacekeeping operations has been accompanied by a transformation from traditional peace keeping to a complex amalgam of challenging interrelated multitask operations, including disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; humanitarian assistance; institution building; strengthening the rule of law; electoral assistance in post-conflict environments and demining activities. Over the past few years UN has undergone some profound changes aimed at improving its ability to meet those challenges. However, the capabilities of the UN are still challenged with increased threats to the safety and security of civilian personnel, financial and resource shortfalls, increasing interference of regional organizations and recent charges of sexual abuse and exploitations. Therefore, to strengthen the UN peacekeeping capacity the current and future challenges need to be overcome and new opportunities have to be identified concurrently for reinforcing its effectiveness in conducting and sustaining peace operations.

The purpose of this paper is to support the simple but stark reality that peace operation holds the promise of international peace and stability. The paper will study the evolution of UN peacekeeping operations at the beginning to understand both political and military developments through the historical context and where peacekeeping stands now. After outlining the historical context, the next section make a careful examination and analysis of some major challenges to find out the inadequacy and complexity involve in the current and future peacekeeping missions. In the final part, the future strength of UN peacekeeping will be analyzed taking into account emerging new opportunities and reform initiatives undertaken by UN to offset some of its weaknesses. The study has been focused primarily on the military dimension of peacekeeping operations.

Evolution of Peacekeeping

In the aftermath of the devastating Second World War, the UN was established to help stabilize international relations and give peace a more secure foundation. It was assumed that future conflicts were likely to be caused by aggression of one state against another, and the UN charter therefore gave the Security Council the mandate to “take measures necessary to maintain international peace and security” in Article 51.² Although the term “peacekeeping” was not contained in the UN Charter, its authorization can be found between Chapter VI and Chapter VII. Dag Hammarskjold, the second UN Secretary-General, used to refer to peacekeeping as “Chapter Six and a Half.”³ The idea of peacekeeping was further developed and formulated in the UN during the Cold War by extending the interpretation of the powers in the UN Charter’s Chapter VI on peaceful resolution of conflicts. In this way the notion of peacekeeping emerged as an effective workable substitute to a collective security concept. In 1992 former Secretary General Boutros-Ghali defined peacekeeping as:

the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilian as well. Peacekeeping is an activity that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace. (1992, Agenda for Peace, § 20)

In 2007, United Nations in its “Capstone Doctrine” identified peacekeeping as one of the five peace and security activities. It interprets peacekeeping operation as the use of military, police and civilian personnel to lay the foundation of sustainable peace.⁴ UN peacekeeping missions are approved by the UNSC based on plans and costs developed by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

Most of the early UN peacekeeping operations had been confined merely to the monitoring of ceasefire arrangements, utilization of “good office” and observing the disengagement of opposing forces. The first UN peacekeeping operation, called the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), was fashioned in 1948 employing unarmed observers to supervise the ceasefire between Israel and the alliance of Arab states.⁵ However, the system that was to prevent inter-state aggressions did not function as intended during the Cold War. In most conflicts during this time, one or both of the superpowers had different interest and any joint UN action was then inevitably stopped by the permanent member’s veto in the Security Council. Only on one occasion during the Cold War, the Korean War did the member states join in action against aggression under the flag of the UN and its capacity to play a leading role in collective security through enforcement.⁶ In reality, the UN contribution to world peace during the Cold War did not turn out to be the great success story as hoped in 1945.

In the early 1990s with the end of the Cold War, the world underwent a significant change. This change aroused widespread hopes that the Security Council would now be able to co-operate in joint actions to restore and maintain international peace. The first sign of this kind

of co-operation was Resolution 598 in which all the five permanent members of the Council agreed to try to stop the eight-year war between Iran and Iraq.⁷ The Kuwait crisis in August 1990 constituted a second phase in this new era, when the Security Council for the first time took enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter to deal with the aggression by one member state against another. Succeeding UN interventions in Somalia and Rwanda have turned out to be far less successful than the Kuwaiti one.⁸ However, learning from the past mistakes, the UN gradually managed to achieve success in its peacekeeping operations. For instance, the global body has helped in the independence of the East Timor (1999-2002) after years of turmoil through the UNTAET and in the administration of Kosovo and preparation for self-governance, from 1999 till present through the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). It also helped to end the civil war and rebuild the country in Sierra Leone from 1999-2005 through its mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). In 2006 UN peacekeeping missions has contributed to the successful holding of elections in Afghanistan, Burundi, Liberia, Iraq and in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).⁹ In the same year, UN completed its peacekeeping mandate in Burundi (ONUB) and left behind a democratic local and national structure.¹⁰ UN also successfully completed the referendum in Sudan in 2011(UNMIS) which allowed South Sudan to emerge as an independent country.¹¹

Challenges in Peacekeeping Operations

Over the years, UN peacekeeping has evolved to meet the demands of different conflicts and a changing political landscape. With the end of the Cold War, the strategic context for UN peacekeeping dramatically changed, prompting the organization to shift and expand its field operations from “traditional” missions involving strictly military tasks, to complex multidimensional enterprises designed to ensure the implementation of comprehensive peace

agreements and assist in laying the foundations for sustainable peace. The nature of conflicts has also changed over the years. Modern peace operations deal with many complexities of not only ending conflicts but rebuilding societies, re-establishing institutions, promoting good governance, restoring infrastructures and building sustainable peace.¹² An increasing regard for humanitarian intervention further widened the scope of peacekeeping mandates embracing the necessity to protect civilians. Today, the number of conflicts around the world far exceeds the capacity of UN. Given this reality, many regional organizations have emerged as a plausible alternative that sometimes complement and, sometimes duplicate, the functions of the United Nations. While these circumstances have enabled UN peacekeeping operations to take on a wider range of conflicts than before, they have also created significant challenges. The new complex and multidimensional missions, massive deployments of military personnel, threats to the safety and security of civilians, charges of sexual abuse by the peacekeepers, financial and resource constraints and the increasing interference of regional organizations are some of the emerging challenges for the UN vis-a-vis its peacekeeping operations.

Mandate Gaps and Protection of Civilian: An ambiguous or incomplete mandate can make a straightforward mission difficult, or a difficult mission impossible. The 2004 report of the High Level Panel on ‘Threats, Challenges and Change’ noted that the real challenge, in any deployment of forces of any configuration with any role, is to ensure that they have an appropriate, clear and well understood mandate, applicable to all the changing circumstances that might reasonably be envisaged, and all the necessary resources to implement that mandate fully.¹³ Peace keepers today have been asked to undertake more tasks than simply to monitor a ceasefire or demilitarized zone. The usual lists of their tasks range from electoral supervision, human rights monitoring, civilian protection, assisting the delivery of humanitarian relief, providing security and order, strengthening the rule of law and overseeing disarmament,

demobilization and reintegration (DDR). With such a wide range of responsibilities, Peacekeepers need a robust but clear mandate with appropriate resources and means to discharge it. Due to restrictive mandate, more than 8000 Bosnian muslim and boys are killed by Bosnian Serbs in July 1995 while the town of Srebrenica was designated as safe area and guarded by lightly armored UNPROFOR force.¹⁴ UNPROFOR mandate was not coercive: it had neither the authority nor the means to protect or defend the civilians in the safe areas.¹⁵

Another example of mandate constrain was UNOSOM II, where the mandate restricted the use of coercive methods to enforce disarmament and encouraged using force only in self defense.¹⁶ After the 03 Oct 1993 U.S. ranger's tragic incidents against the rebel forces, the mandate was not changed. Instead the Secretary General reiterated UN's stands on the limited use of enforcement measures and did not review the mandate.¹⁷ Although the mandate was under Chapter VII, it did not prevent some of the participating contingents from insisting that theirs was a peacekeeping operation excluding enforcement.¹⁸ Likewise, the scope of UNMIR's Mandate was unsuited to the situation in Rwanda and lacked contingencies which failed to stop the genocide.¹⁹ The mandate of UNMIR appears to have been based on an over-optimistic assessment of the peace process at the time, and thus was inadequate to meet the needs of the real situation in the country.²⁰ There was also confusion within the mission over rules of engagement. All these actions of UN in former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Rwanda clearly suggests that within the context of intrastate and ethnic conflict, strict adherence to the normative principle of consent and the non use of force except in self defense substantially reduces the operational effectiveness of a peacekeeping force. So, to succeed in a clearly measurable ways, all the missions should be equipped with credible and achievable mandates. Sufficient attention should be given to the formulation of clear and achievable mandates, especially to the precise relationship between political objectives and military means and resources.

Closely related to mandate is the issue of ‘protection of civilians’ (POC), which has become the core to the legitimacy and credibility of entire United Nations system. As a result of past events and growing expectations worldwide, UN peacekeepers have been increasingly asked to use force to protect civilians. But many uncertainties over the mandates to protect civilians contributed to the situations, such as the tragic decisions to stand down in the face of atrocities in Rwanda in 1994 and in Srebrenica in 1995.²¹ Today all large missions (at present 10 missions) are mandated to protect civilians from physical violence. Although significant progress has been made in frame-working and codifying the laws for protection, incidents of civilian violence continue to threaten the effectiveness of peace operations. The presence of a peacekeeping mission generated high expectations among the host population and broader international community, but the numbers and capabilities of United Nations peacekeepers in the area of protection are finite and other key mandated tasks assigned to United Nations peacekeepers often put a strain on the human and material resources available for the protection of civilians.²² in 2009 the New Horizons report commented: “[t]he mismatch between expectations and capacity to provide comprehensive protection creates a significant credibility challenge for UN peacekeeping”²³ Another study jointly commissioned by the DPKO and the OCHA on protecting Civilians found that most missions do not have sufficient capacity to collect and analyze the information needed to address day-to-day threats nor to predict potential crises that could lead to rapid escalations of violence.²⁴

Although, from the language of recent mandates, there is little argument on the use of military forces to protect civilians under attack or imminent threat, there is less understanding on where and when force can be deployed and used in a preventive role to deter armed groups from attacking and abusing civilians. There also remain a lack of common understanding and professionalism with respect to the peacekeeper’s duty while implementing such protection

mandates. The idea that the government has the “Responsibility to Protect (R2P)” has often become a rationale for the peacekeepers to avoid their responsibilities.²⁵ Beside this, the concept of POC remained too broad and evolving in nature for UN peacekeepers and other UN agencies. This evolving nature of the concept has created a confusion on the ground. At a fundamental level, all actors of civilian protection still disagree about what civilian protection actually entails; is it about physical protection, protecting livelihoods, or protecting people’s rights? As a result, the UN Secretariat, troop and police-contributing countries, host states, humanitarian actors, human rights professionals and the missions continue to struggle over what it means for a peacekeeping operation to protect civilians, in definition and practice.²⁶ For the military peacekeepers the term of protection has implicitly become a narrow concept of ‘physical’ protection. Although the 2008 ‘Capstone Doctrine’ incorporates the protection of civilians as an important issue, but does not offer any operational definition around which planning for specific missions can be made.²⁷ In practicality, the Security Council Protection mandates authorize the use of force but do not clearly indicate how the objectives and tasks of protecting civilian should be implemented or prioritized against other objectives and tasks. Thus, the implementation of mandates to protect civilians remain as one of the most operationally challenging tasks for UN peacekeepers.

Over the years, significant progress has been made in many areas of civilian protection. But more emphasis on strengthening the chain of activities of all organizations involved in the protection is still needed. Starting from the pre-mandate mission planning, the formulation of mandates, deployment of personnel, and down to the field activities should have to be coordinated across the board. Meanwhile, Peacekeeping operations should be resourced appropriately to have the right combination of speed and mass in order to implement those critical protection mandates. A common understanding of what peacekeepers can and should do in the implementation of such protection mandates is vital for effective protection. Through a

clear operational concept, mission-wide protection strategies and improved predeployment training, the gap between Security Council mandates and their implementation on the protection of civilians can be removed. However as said earlier, such strategies have to be developed in consultation with all humanitarian and human rights actors and should be based on a realistic assessment of the threats and risks to the population. To enhance the professionalism of the peacekeepers, protection of civilians has to be made integral in the pre-deployment training. Every mission should devise an effective system of information gathering and analysis that could detect patterns of atrocities to take preventive actions at the earlier stage of a conflict. Robust coordination among military, police and civilian actors, particularly at the local level is mandatory for effective protection. Without empowering the local government the protection tasks will remain incomplete. Lastly, the Security Council must ensure accountability for perpetrators of war crimes, crimes against humanity and other gross violations of human rights to be effective in civilian protection.

Sexual Abuse and Exploitation: There have been numerous reports of U.N. personnel committing sexual abuse and misconduct in many peacekeeping missions. These incidents are particularly unacceptable as the United Nations, and personnel associated with it, are supposed to have the highest standards of conduct in their personal and professional behavior. The standard required by the peace keepers are eloquently elaborated in the code of conduct for UN peacekeepers.²⁸ Sexual misconduct allegations present a serious public information problem and challenge the whole UN system. Reports from Human rights investigators and journalists show wide spread abuses in Kosovo and Bosnia in 2001, where UN police operated brothels and trafficked women from Eastern Europe for prostitution.²⁹ The most famous Prince Zeid al-Husseini's report submitted on March 2005, concluded that sexual exploitation of women and girl

by UN security personnel and civilian was significant, wide spread and ongoing.³⁰ Between May and September 2004, the UN peacekeeping mission in the DRC (MONUC) received 72 allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse (68 against military and 4 against civilian personnel), which were subsequently investigated by the Office of Internal Oversight Services.³¹ Such repeated cases of sexual misconduct are tarnishing the image of the UN in general and of peacekeeping in particular. Although numerous orders and instructions have been published for compliance, UN has not been able to stop sexual misconduct so far. One of the reasons is the lack of UN's jurisdiction over the peacekeepers. It is really very difficult for the UN to hold those responsible for such illicit conduct due to the standard memorandum of understanding between the UN and troop contributors, which gives the latter entire jurisdiction. While the UN has limited authority to discipline peacekeepers, it has also failed to take the steps within its power to hold the nations accountable when they fail to investigate or punish their troops' misconduct.³²

Peacekeepers need to realize that they are the protectors and not the violators. Unless the ethical and moral value of peace keepers is raised, instruction and documents alone cannot ensure their compliance. The troops contributing countries should implement strict non fraternization policies through enhanced pre-deployment training, paid leave, recreational facilities and command environment that does not tolerate any aberration from standard conduct. To eliminate such vicious crime, ethical value has to be institutionalized within every element of peace keeping forces. Side by side, monitoring of suspected behaviors is to be ensured and enhanced (where necessary) through a tracking system that can act as a watchdog for the organization. Any alleged member should be dealt with exemplary punishment to prevent future recurrence. Nevertheless, it is the UN who should ultimately be in the driving seat to improve the

overall situation. The UN must work diligently to ensure personnel are clear on the UN rule that strongly discourage such kind of acts.

Financial Constraints and Resource Shortfall: Peacekeeping has become complex and more costly affairs. Over the last decade, UN Peacekeeping activities continued to face the burden of an unstable financial base largely due to member states poor response to their financial obligations. The major actors are divided over the funding of ever-growing number of UN peace operations. The U.S. GAO in 2008 estimated a nine times increase in the troop's level since 1998. Table below shows the detail of expansion in Peacekeeping operations since 1998:

Table 1: Key Characteristics of UN Peacekeeping Operations.

1998 and 2008 Key characteristics	1998	2008
Total ongoing operations	16	16
Operations with multidimensional mandates	6	11
Average number of mandated tasks	3	9
Chapter VII operations	4	9
Missions in sub-Saharan Africa (as percentage of total operations)	2 (13%)	6 (38%)
Total troops, observers and police	14,570 (June)	88,415 (Sept.)
Troops and military observers only	11,586	76,900
Deployed police	2,984	11,515
Civilians (per multidimensional mission)	125	445

Source: GAO Analysis of UN Data³³.

The annual debt and arrear of UN is increasing day by day. As of 31 December 2008, the amount of peacekeeping arrears stood at approximately \$2.88 billion.³⁴ Due to rapid growth in peacekeeping missions the annual budget increased in ten folds from US\$800 million in 1998 to US\$ 7.9 billion in 2010.³⁵ Moreover, the wider and challenging mandates of current UN peacekeeping operations demand more specialized capacities, such as army engineers, logisticians, and heavy lift aircraft, which again increase the overall cost. Hence, the logistical challenges for UN peacekeeping operations are getting immense.

Closely related to financial and resource constraints is the challenge posed by the state of troop contributions by the member states. UN has no standing armed force; it is entirely dependent on member states to donate troops and other personnel to fulfill peace keeping mandates. The unprecedented frequency and size of recent UN deployments and the resulting financial demands have challenged the willingness of many member states to contribute troops and uniformed personnel in support of U.N. peace operations and have overwhelmed the capabilities of the UN DPKO. At present, not enough countries are willing or able to contribute personnel and asset needed for difficult and risky UN peacekeeping operations. In 2008, the UN was about 18,000 troops and military observers below the level of about 95,000 authorized for ongoing operations.³⁶ The countries which contribute the most personnel for UN peacekeeping operations are mostly developing states, and they often need outside material as well as support from the UN and other developed states. The top 10 contributors are: Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Jordan, Rwanda, Nepal and Ghana. Below chart shows top troops and police contributing countries to the UN Peacekeeping Operations in 2012:³⁷

Table 2: List of Troops Contributing Countries

Name Of Countries	Number of Troops and Police
Bangladesh	10,238
Pakistan	9,527
India	8,093
Nigeria	5,775
Ethiopia	6,223
Egypt	4,066
Jordan	3,751
Rwanda	3,713

Source: <http://www.un.org>

On the other hand, many developed states that possess the trained personnel and other essential resources are not willing to take part directly in UN peacekeeping operations. Over the time Western states have significantly reduced the numbers of troops they contribute to UN peace operations.³⁸ In the case of Darfur, no Western country has come forward as a troop contributor. Critiques are also available with regard to the lack of greater willingness within developed countries to share their equipment and render effective training to other states.³⁹ It is no denying the fact that given their capacity for rapid deployment, developed countries more active participation would enhance the credibility and effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping. This state of commitment by member states has created an artificial and unfortunate classification of ‘troop contributors’ and ‘troop funders’ across the board. It is necessary to resist such creeping perception that there are troop-contributing countries on the one hand and troop-funding countries on the other. This perception will pull the global communities

further apart in making multilateral engagement to address threats on international peace and stability.

Whether the contribution is made by developing states or developed ones, reality is that, UN has to increase its troop level as the demands for personnel are likely to increase substantially in the future. For instance, to form a new operation at least 21,000 troops and military observers, 1500 police and 4,000 to 5,000 civilian staffs are required.⁴⁰ In 2006 within just 20 days, UNSC adopted three resolutions: Resolution 1701 on Lebanon, adopted on 11 August 2006 which expanded the UNIFIL by 15,000 troops; Resolution 1704 on Timor-Leste, adopted on 25 August 2006, which created a new and much larger mission there (UNMIT) comprising 1,608 police and 34 military liaison officers; Resolution 1706 on Sudan, adopted on 31 August 2006, which expanded the UNMIS by 17,300 troops, 3,300 civilian police and 16 formed police units comprising an additional 2,000 police.⁴¹ Above examples are sufficient to understand the requirement of a reliable and firm troop contribution by the member states, in absence of which UN may be forced to take a lower profile in handling global crises. UN peacekeeping is an international responsibility to be shared by all member states of the organization in all its aspects.

There is no doubt that UN peacekeeping operations should be properly resourced to continue to be an effective and accepted instrument of collective security. The availability of peacekeepers must grow. The developed states in particular the P-5 has greater responsibilities in this regard and should do more to transform their existing force capacities into suitable contingents for peace operations. UN should devise better stand-by troop arrangement system to tap the resources of member countries for current and future peacekeeping. UN should also revive the idea of creating a Standing Force to overcome the difficulties of managing forces in ad-hoc basis. This idea is not new nor revolutionary; Trygve Lie, the UN first Secretary General,

suggested it in 1948. From 1948 till date dozens proposals have been made in this regard. There have been some efforts to make stand by force but not under the UN auspices but under some regional grouping. In fact, many member states reaction to the idea of standing force have been extremely cautious anticipating such arrangement would diminish their control over UN operation.⁴² However, at present UN is increasingly focusing on streamlining mechanisms to ensure rapid deployment of troops and equipment.

Integration of various state and non-state actors also can reduce the burden of resources. There is a growing interest in the idea of employing regional organizations and similar groupings to conduct peacekeeping operations which can reduce the burden on the UN while ensuring effective collective security. Temporary peacekeeping reserve fund should be increased from initial level of \$150 million to \$250 million to meet initial expenses of any new peacekeeping operation.⁴³ UN should explore alternative sources of fund to meet the present and future financial need. UN can earn money by declaring some of the space at sea and at outer space as global assets. Surcharges can be imposed for airline tickets, ocean maritime transport, user fees for non-coastal fishing, special user fees for activities in Antarctica, parking fees for geostationary satellites, and charges for user rights of the electromagnetic spectrum.⁴⁴ UN can also impose levy on all arms sales and tax on foreign exchange transaction as postulated by former Secretary General Boutros-Ghali.⁴⁵ Above all, a strong campaign should have to be launched to encourage numerous foundations and individuals to make voluntary contribution for UN Peace keeping missions. However, to make these alternative sources of fund a reality, some guiding principles agreed by all the member states is required. Concurrently, UN financial structure has to be reorganized to accommodate the new sources of funds. However, these unorthodox sources should only be supplementary to main effort of assessed contribution by the member

states. So the member states will to support resources will remain as the ultimate concern for resource generation.

Integrating Regional Organization: The importance of regional organizations in UN peacekeeping has been debated since the drafting of the UN Charter at San Francisco in 1945. The arguments against their contribution include the ‘regional organizations’ alleged lack of necessary resources and experience, and their difficulties to overcome intra-regional political differences. Arguments in favour are that the regional peacekeeping operations might receive greater local support due to their geographical proximity and greater knowledge on the region.⁴⁶ In fact, regional arrangements are permitted to take the lead in the peaceful resolution of disputes within their neighborhood but are required to keep the Security Council informed of their activities and seek its authorization to conduct enforcement measures.⁴⁷ Article 24 in Chapter V of Charter provides a role for regional organizations in the maintenance of peace and security in their respective regions.⁴⁸ Chapter VIII, Article 52(1) states that “nothing in the Charter should be understood to preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action.”⁴⁹ The former UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his report “An Agenda for Peace,” envisaged that regional organizations such as NATO, AU, and EU, along with the UN, could play an effective role in the resolution of conflicts among member states.⁵⁰

Since the mid-1990s, there has been a trend towards a variety of regional and sub-regional based peacekeeping missions. This trend holds the promise of developing regional capacity to address the troops and resource shortfalls in current peacekeeping missions. However, such opportunity posed a challenge for the Security Council and regional organizations to devise workable mechanism to mutually support each other’s efforts. Moreover,

the lack of will and lack of necessary military means and the possible lack of impartiality in intra-state conflicts can pose obstacles for the regional organisations to be an effective collective security means. So, the key challenge remains with the ability to organize regional actions within the framework of the Charter and the purposes of the United Nations.

At present, not all the regional organizations have the full resources to make unilateral peacekeeping. UN has to play an important role in strengthening the efforts of regional organizations to overcome those weaknesses. It can cooperate with regional organizations to strengthen capacity-building, confidence-building and enhance crisis-response capacity at the regional level which can serve the best way to end or prevent regional conflicts. The UN should place greater emphasis to provide assistance and policy incentives in terms of institution-building, information exchange and funding of UN mandated regional peacekeeping missions. UN has to devise formal arrangement to finance regional peacekeeping efforts based on their assessed contributions and resource shortfalls. At the same time, UN should objectively use regional organization's advantages so that it complements UN's effort not duplicate. In this regard UN needs to identify the relative strengths of each organ. Coordinated use of logistics sites, inclusion of regional forces capacities in the UN standby arrangements system can be very effective for resource sharing. In addition, sharing of lessons learned and improving the use of early-warning and analytical information as well as harmonizing training and teaching materials can easily be achieved to enhance overall peacekeeping effort. Last but not the least, a holistic and comprehensive approach towards regional integration will bring UN peacekeeping its strengths of legitimacy, burden-sharing, adaptability and reach for maintaining peace and stability.

Opportunities to Strengthen UN Peacekeeping

Over the past decade, the UN has undertaken numerous initiatives to strengthen peacekeeping operations to meet new challenges and political realities. The 2000 report, 'Panel on the Peace Operation' (known as the Brahimi Report, S/2000/809) analyzed the shortfalls of UN peacekeeping and introduced several measures to improve decision-making and ensure more efficient deployment of troops and equipment with clear, credible and achievable mandates.⁵¹ Some of the recommendations from the report have already been implemented while others are in the process. Following the *Brahimi Report*, the DPKO was bolstered with staff, logistics and better organized. The UN standby arrangement system (UNSAS) was reorganized to provide forces within 30 to 90 days of a new operations.⁵² On December 2005, the UN General Assembly established a Peace-Building Commission (PBC) in order to help in rebuilding and stabilizing countries and help them emerge from conflict. The PBC include the most important players in peace operations, troop contributors, and financial contributors, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council and the key international organizations and institutional donors, including the World Bank.⁵³

In 2007, the Secretary-General enhanced the support side of field missions by removing logistical, administrative, and technical functions from the UN's DPKO and placing them in a newly created Department of Field Support. In 2008, the UN published its capstone doctrine incorporating "UN Principles and Guidelines" to provide overarching guidance for all actors in the peacekeeping. It highlighted that the core business of UN peacekeeping is to "create a secure and stable environment while strengthening the State's ability to provide security, with full respect for the rule of law and human rights."⁵⁴ DPKO and DFS in 2009 jointly published the 'New Horizon Report' which proposes initiatives to provide sufficient resources and better planning for peacekeeping operations. This reform process consists of four main areas: policy

development clarifying the critical roles and responsibilities of peacekeepers and developing practical guidance in specific areas like robustness and protection of civilians), capability development, global field support strategy and planning and oversight.⁵⁵ Through all these reform measures, UN is striving to keep pace with the emerging challenges of the future.

Over the last decade, the protection of civilians in armed conflict has become an explicit responsibility and a primary operational task for UN peacekeeping operations. Security Council mandates have improved in strength and clarity since the early days of peacekeeping and rules of engagement are now very detailed. The protection of civilians is now a mandated concern for almost all the large missions. The first mission provided with this explicit mandate language, UNAMSIL, was authorized in 1999, to afford protection to civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.⁵⁶ The mandate of the Haiti mission (MINUSTAH) also includes Chapter VII powers to support the transitional government in providing a secure and stable environment.⁵⁷ The entire mandate of UNMIL is under Chapter VII, even though it was conceived as a consent-based multidimensional operation.⁵⁸ Since 1999, the UN General Assembly has passed three resolutions on the protection of civilians in armed conflict: 1265 (in 1999), 1296 (in 2000), and 1674 (in 2006) for improved planning and implementation of the protection of civilians.⁵⁹ In addition, the UN has begun to act on the recommendations of DPKO/OCHA independent study '*Protecting Civilians in the Context of Peacekeeping Operations*', which suggests ways to address the inadequate capacity and preparedness of peacekeeping operations protecting civilians.⁶⁰

UN is also working to devise effective systems and strategies together with operational approach to effectively deal with civilian protection. Taking the guideline from the 'New Horizon' initiative in 2011, the 'Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations' prepared a strategic framework with elements and parameters for mission-wide POC strategies, training

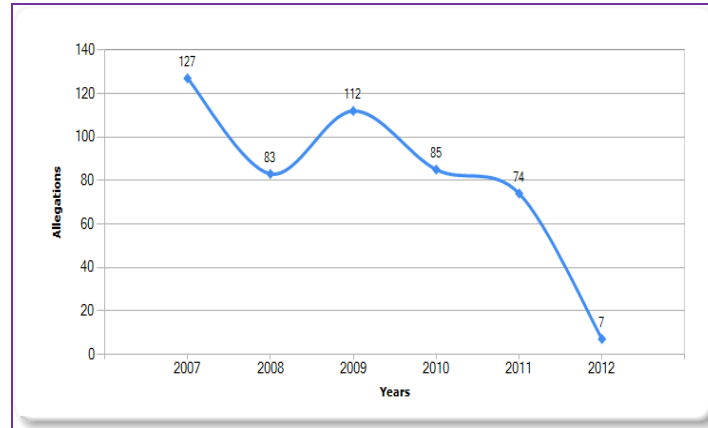
modules, and identification of resource and capability requirements. DPKO/DFS have continued their work with all the missions for developing and implementing comprehensive POC strategies in concert with all human rights and humanitarian partners.⁶¹ UN has enhanced its responsibility to ensure accountability for individuals who commit war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and other serious violations of international human rights law.

Since 2005, the UN has instituted a “zero tolerance” policy and strong measures to combat sexual exploitation, abuse, and other misconduct by peacekeepers. The Secretary General’s statement in this regard reflects the UN’s commitment against such vicious crime:

*“Let me be clear: the United Nations and I personally, are profoundly committed to a zero tolerance policy against sexual exploitation or abuse by our own personnel. This means zero complacency. When we receive credible allegations, we ensure that they are looked into fully. It means zero impunity.”*⁶²

Besides adopting policies, DPKO is working earnestly in their practical implementation. It has established a three-pronged strategy to eliminate sexual exploitation and abuse: prevention of misconduct, enforcement of UN standards of conduct and remedial action.⁶³ At present the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations' Conduct and Discipline Unit provides mandatory conduct, discipline, and awareness training for all troops and staff. The UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) thoroughly investigates any allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse. In recent times there has been a strong consensus prevailing among the member states to prevent such acts, and member states are taking stern actions with the violators. In an interview the Under Secretary General for Field Support Susana Malcorra mentioned that there has been significant progress in preventing sexual abuse and exploitation.⁶⁴ From 2007-2012 statistics proved a decline in such activities⁶⁵:

Figure 1: Allegation of Sexual Abuse 2007-2012



Source: Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS).

Partnership with regional organizations remains as a new source of strength for UN peacekeeping. Over the years, UN has developed an effective cooperation with regional organizations to make the best use of their available resources for regional peace and stability. Today, the regional organizations are much more capable to overcome the difficulties they faced in the past. The recent initiatives of establishing UN liaison office in regional organizations is a good step towards regional capacity building and information sharing. The hybrid mission concept (comprising UN and regional actors) are helping to bypass the challenges posed by the troop and resource constraints while providing a more rapid response to the crises. In fact, hybrid missions have proved to be more robust and capable than a traditional UN peacekeeping mission in many aspects. Hybrid missions may be the best option for the future, owing to their combination of UN legitimacy and regional capacity. Recently, UN has increased its cooperation with regional actors, such as NATO, EU, OSCE, AU, ECOWAS or OAS. In Somalia, the United Nations is delivering a logistical support package to AMISOM, an AU mission in Somalia and providing technical expertise to the AU headquarters in planning and managing the mission.

To institutionalize the regional and sub-regional arrangement, UN in 2005 adopted resolution 1631 and expressed its determination to take appropriate steps to the further

development of cooperation between the United Nations and regional and sub-regional organizations to maintain international peace and security.⁶⁶ In 2010 the Security Council expresses its intention to consider further steps to promote closer and more operational cooperation between the UN and regional organizations in order to ensure the coherence, synergy and collective effectiveness of their efforts.⁶⁷ With all, these resolutions the Security Council clearly shows that today the Council is fully aware of the need and benefits of a closer interaction between UN and regional crisis management efforts. As a result, many of current UN operations do not have a military component but carry out its mandates alongside or through a non-UN regional or multinational peacekeeping force. An example which illustrates the effectiveness of such partnership is the UNAMID (Darfur) where the African Union and the United Nations is working alongside under Security Council mandate. Thus, UN continues to support the initiative of the regional organizations and expresses its determination to strengthen and make more effective cooperation with relevant organs of regional organizations.

Concluding Remarks

UN peacekeeping has dramatically evolved today and its scope has expanded significantly since the end of the Cold War. In the last two decades, UN has covered a wide spectrum of peacekeeping operations worldwide and achieved many successes. Today, peacekeeping operations involve new complex tasks that ask for more than securing a ceasefire, and require creating conditions for long-term peace and stability. These new dimensions of peacekeeping produced a host of challenges, such as the need for a clearer mandate to protect civilians, resources and financial sufficiency, and prevention of sexual misconduct by peace keepers that put great stress on its effectiveness. Under these circumstances, it is more necessary than ever to establish a clear and achievable mandate and the effectiveness of various actors that

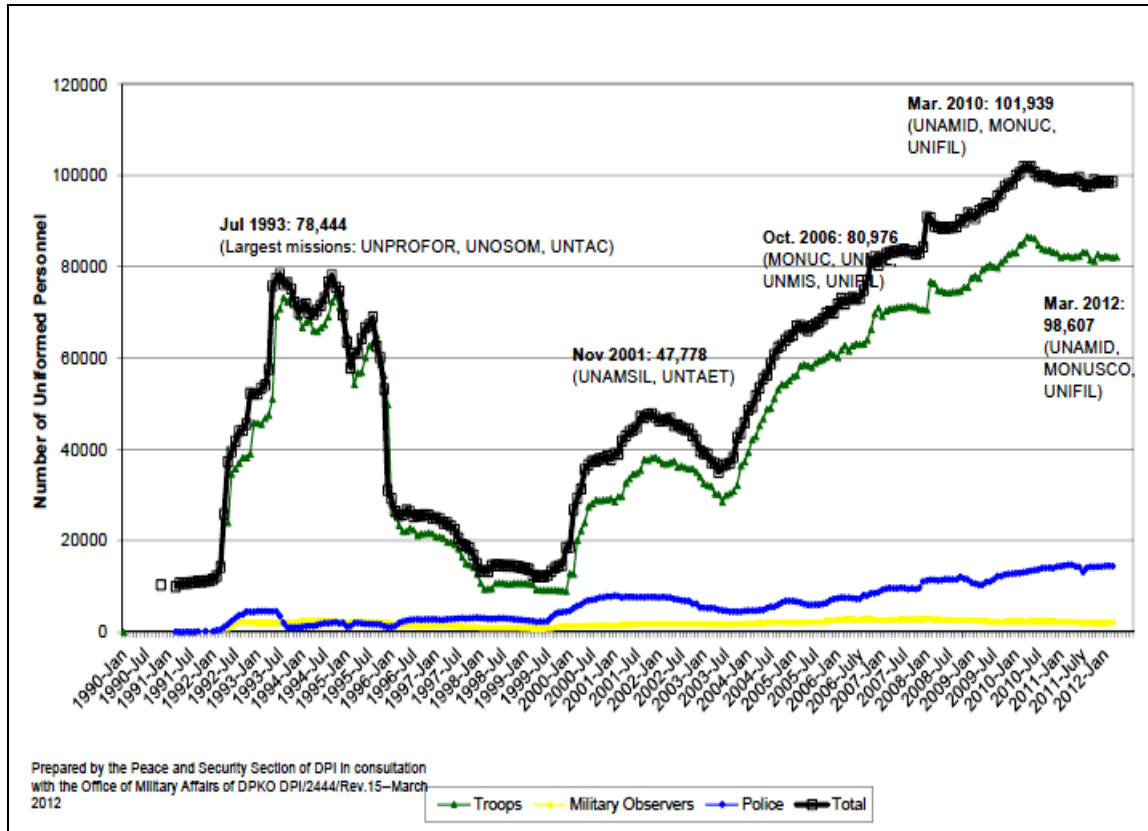
implement the mandates. The protection of civilians is now a mandated concern for all of the large UN peacekeeping missions and greater emphasis has been put on a concerted effort in policy formulation and practical implementation in field missions. The charges of sexual abuse raised the question of UN credibility in the global forum, which remains as a great concern for the global community. The financial and resource constraints have often driven the UN to take a lower posture in many conflict resolutions. Although, there are opportunities to integrate regional resources, lack of will and lack of necessary military means and the possible lack of impartiality in intra-state conflicts, pose obstacles in the integration process of some regional organisations.

Nevertheless, UN has proven itself remarkably adaptable to new challenging environment and changing geopolitical realities. Through various reform measures, it has been striving to overcome those challenges mentioned above. Taking lessons from the past operations, UN has strengthened its peacekeeping capacity and efficiency in all spheres. The capstone doctrine, challenges projects, and new horizon initiatives, are all aimed at enhancing its capacity. Mandates of peacekeeping have become quite robust now to formulate realistic rules of engagement appropriate to the ground situation. Recent doctrines and guidance on civilian protection have given ample clarity on how the tasks of protecting civilians are to be implemented by different components of peace operations. Various training and awareness measures by the UN Conduct and Discipline Unit have improved the overall situation with regard to sexual abuse and exploitation. Partnerships with regional arrangement have opened a new avenue of approach to meet up the shortfall of human and financial resources. In the wake of the surge in demand and complexity of peacekeeping operations, regional and sub-regional organizations are complementing UN role in ensuring a more effective and comprehensive response to conflict situations. However, it is undeniable fact that like any human institution, the UN organization and procedures may have limitations, but can be improved.

As new challenges are bound to appear in the future, it is important to view these challenges as positive obstacles for further strengthening the United Nations response to crises. While trying to tackle these challenges, it is imperative to realize that overcoming them can only strengthen the United Nations organization and UN peace operations in particular. Similarly, it is also crucial to identify opportunities for reinforcing the UN, which can then enhance its capacity and effectiveness in conducting and sustaining peace keeping operations. The challenges of peace-operations are indeed many, and quite formidable. But that should not divert the international community from the essential fact that peace-keeping, on the whole, is an effective tool for maintaining international peace and stability. With its ability to adapt the challenges and opening up new opportunities, UN will remain the preferred destination for initiation of collective security actions. International peace keeping under the aegis of the UN, collaborating regional organizations or multi-national groupings, are the only answer to conflict resolution.

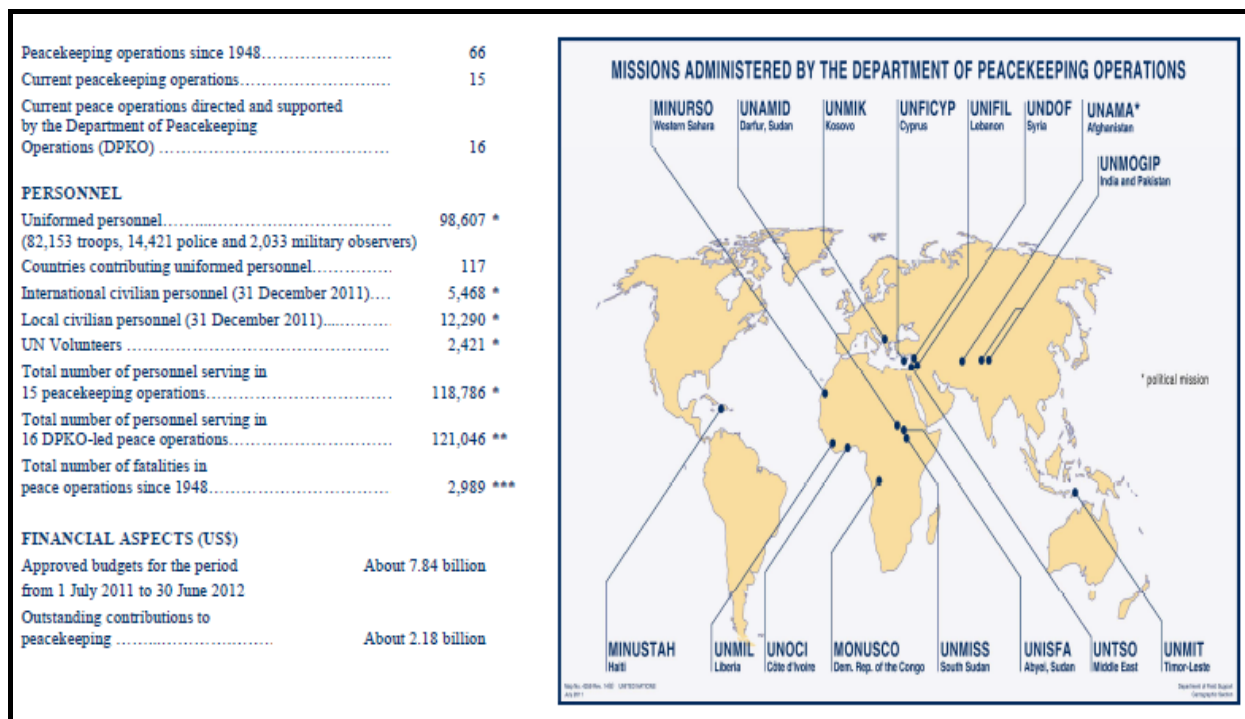
Appendix A

Surge in Uniformed UN Peacekeeping Personnel from 1991- Present



Source: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/chart.pdf>

United Nations Peacekeeping Operation Fact Sheet- 31 March 2012



Source: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/chart.pdf>

Appendix C

Thematic Security Council Resolutions on Protection of Civilians

- **S/RES/1894** (11 November 2009) focused on compliance, humanitarian access and implementation of protection mandates in UN peacekeeping.
- **S/RES/1738** (23 December 2006) condemned intentional attacks against journalists, media professionals and associated personnel, and requested the Secretary-General to include as a sub-item in his next reports on protection of civilians the issue of the safety and security of journalists, media professionals and associated personnel.
- **S/RES/1674** (28 April 2006) *inter alia* reaffirmed the responsibility to protect as formulated in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document and expressed the Council's intention to ensure that protection is clearly outlined and given priority in peacekeeping mandates.
- **S/RES/1502** (26 August 2003) condemned all violence against humanitarian and UN and associated personnel, recalled obligations to protect such personnel under international humanitarian, refugee and human rights law, and called for unimpeded humanitarian access.
- **S/RES/1296** (19 April 2000) reaffirmed the Council's commitment to protection of civilians and requested another report on the issue from the Secretary-General.
- **S/RES/1265** (17 September 1999) was the Council's first thematic resolution on protection of civilians, condemning targeting of civilians, calling for respect for international humanitarian, refugee and human rights law, expressing willingness to take measures to ensure compliance and to consider how peacekeeping mandates might better address The Security Council

Source:

http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/site/c.glKWLeMTIsG/b.6354965/k.BD14/Selected_UN_Documents_Useful_Additional_Resources_and_Annexes.htm

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