Stories of success

- **ONUMOZ in Mozambique** (1992-94)
  - major violence ceased
  - demobilization implemented
  - overall security improved
  - stable environment for the return and resettlement of refugees

- **UNTAG in Namibia** (1989-90)
  - managed to run free and fair elections
  - ensured the withdrawal of South Africa's troops
  - cooperation of parties, support of the SC, timely provision of resources
  - model operation for many subsequent cases

- **UNTAET in East Timor** (1999-2002) + UNMISET follow-up
  - managed to establish an effective administration
  - enabled refugees to return
  - ensured humanitarian assistance
  - supported capacity building for self-governance

ONUMOZ 1992-1994

- Set up for failure
  - Delayed compliance, soaring budget, obstructions and ineffective command and control, parallel structures by humanitarian UNOHAC, incorrect assets – lacking air support or transport in a country with little infrastructure

FIRST COMMANDER OF THE MILITARY CONTINGENTS WAS ALSO A DISASTER WHO REFUSED TO SHARE INFORMATION WITH ANYONE, INCLUDING AJELLO, OR TO DEFINE HIS RESPONSIBILITIES IN ANYTHING BUT THE NARROWEST POSSIBLE TERMS.

10. IN FACT THE SMALL CONTINGENT OF MILITARY OBSERVERS CARRIED THE MAJORITY OF THE MISSION BURDEN AS THEY STAFFED ASSEMBLY AREAS, ASSISTED DEMOBILIZATION, COLLECTED ARMS CACHES AND VERIFIED WEAPONS DEPOSITS. THE BULK OF THE MILITARY CONTINGENTS, ON THE OTHER HAND, SPENT THEIR TIME PATROLLING TRANSPORTATION CORRIDORS IN A BENIGN SECURITY ENVIRONMENT THREATENED ONLY BY AN OCCASIONAL FLAT TIRE. THEIR BIGGEST CHALLENGE CAME WHEN SOLDIERS DEMANDING DEMOBILIZATION OR FOOD WOULD RIOT. THEN THE BLUE HELMETS WERE USEFUL FOR DIRECTING TRAFFIC AWAY FROM THE DISTURBANCE AND IN DELIVERING SUPPLIES TO PLACATE THE SOLDIERS.

ONUMOZ 1992-1994

- Strong suits
    - high donations, strong leadership (Aldo Ajello), aggressive diplomacy

- Success
    - will to demobilize stronger, than UN capacity – employment of large number of NGOs
    - diligent peace commissions oversight
    - emphasis on observers rather than troop presence 1000/6500
    - media engagement

Story of success to failure and back?

- **MONUC/MONUSCO DRC 1999+**
  - successful elections
  - 2 year peace
  - 22,000 troops

  - repeated violations of the Lusaka agreement
  - rape capitol of the world
  - east controlled by armed groups
  - foreign involvement and support
  - loss of government control (M23, LRA)

Success achieved by UN?

- **UNAMSIL – Sierra Leone 1999-2005**
    - failure of ECOWAS
    - success through peace enforcement? Role of GB – Operation Pallisier
    - enforcement of Lomé Peace Agreements
    - DDR, SSR, Truth and Reconciliation commission
    - economic recovery

- **UNMIL – Liberia 2003+**
    - ECOWAS success, Nigerian mediation
    - Post-violence, post-regional intervention
    - Stabilization and economic recovery
    - SSR

Stories of failure

- **UNOSOM in Somalia** (1992-95)
  - difficult environment of a failed state
  - warlords fighting against the UN presence
  - after the killing of 18 American soldiers, US closed support to the mission
  - US presidential directive → conditions for US involvement in UN peacekeeping: possibility to advance US interests, acceptable risk, clear exit strategy etc.

- **UNAMIR in Rwanda** (1993-96)
  - weak political will in the SC after Somali experience
  - information about genocide overlooked
  - lack of necessary resources
  - withdrawal after 10/2500 troop deaths

- **UNPROFOR in Bosnia** (1992-95)
  - no peace to keep → UN soldiers trapped between the belligerents, frequent target
  - the fall of Srebrenica ("safe haven") → massacre of 8 000 Bosniak men

Causes of failure

Causes of failure

- **lack of political will**
  - intrastate conflict as a domestic issue (principle of non-intervention, to avoid precedents)
  - unwillingness to engage in distant places outside the sphere of interests

- **lack of resources**
  - mismatch between poor resources and broad tasks

- **inadequate mandates**
  - too broad, too vague or out-of-date
  - need for clear, appropriate mandates, reflecting the realities on the ground

- **cooperation of the actors of the conflict**
  - spoilers that are against mission's presence
  - diplomatic or enforcement measures to ensure compliance with mission's mandate

- **suitability of traditional principles?**
  - same principles X different conditions

MODERN CHALLENGES OF UN PEACEKEEPING

Fall 2017

"Lessons learned"

- **"Lessons learned" reports** in cooperation with troop contributing countries, NGOs and academic institutions

- **Lessons Learned Unit** within the DPKO established in 1995

- "**An Agenda for Peace**" (1992) – B. Boutros-Ghali; first comprehensive UN report; early 1990s euphoria about the ability of the UN to accomplish new tasks + warning about the emerging gap between means and ends

- "**Supplement to an Agenda for Peace**" (1995) – step back from radical innovations of the AfP; involvement in peacekeeping only

- **Lessons learned report on Somalia** (1995) – related to the UN in/ability to use force effectively and appropriately; necessity of clear mandates, adequate means, improved coordination, better public information campaigns and humanitarian assistance strategy

"Lessons learned"

- **Lessons learned report on Rwanda** (1996) – avoidance of peace enforcement (reflection of the contraction period); dismissed the argument that UNAMIR should have been able to use force to protect civilians

- **Lessons learned report on Srebrenica** (1999) – unusually frank and detailed appraisal; inadequacy of symbolic deterrence, ambivalence about using force, blind insistence on the ideology of impartiality

„Lessons learned"

- "**Brahimi Report**" (2000) – high-level panel lead by L. Brahimi; the most comprehensive "lessons learned" appraisal; need for clear and achievable mandates, better preventive action and peace building strategy, use of integrated mission planning etc.

- **smaller "lessons learned"** focused on particular missions or issues connected with PK (use of force, gender issues, human rights issues)

- implementation record of these reports = **mixed results**

- **2010 UN GA Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations –** reversal?

Current challenges

- **Same old, same old**

- **Move toward peace enforcement**

- **Local ownership mantra**

- **Outsourcing conundrum**

- **Conditional support**

- **Wrongful conduct**

Same old, same old - resources

- **Authority over armed forces**
  - National contingents may be withheld, reassigned, reconstituted, or withdrawn
- **National caveats**
  - Limitations by national contributors must be observed, fine line of communication
- **Peace doesn't always reflect the situation on the ground, nor is it always inclusive**
  - The character of the peace to keep is fluctuant
  - Victories may leave spoilers
  - Negotiated settlements may leave malcontents

Peace enforcement taking over?

- **Brahimi report replaced by R2P**

- **No peace to keep is overcome**

- **From "robust" mandates to "stabilization"**

- **<u>Robust peacekeeping is not peace enforcement</u>**. Robust peacekeeping is distinct from peace enforcement where use of force is at the strategic level and pursued often without the consent of the host nation/and or main parties to the conflict. **The threat and use of force in robust peacekeeping is at the tactical level**, limited in time and space, and aimed at countering or containing specific spoiler and residual or looming threat in a conflict or post-conflict environment. **Large scale violence or one where the major parties are engaged in violent conflict is no longer a robust peacekeeping context.** Robust missions are not configured or intended to address any systemic breakdown in a political process *(UN General Assembly Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, 2010)*

Peace enforcement taking over?

- Complex political emergencies require **stabilization more often**
  - Coupled with POC mandates, result in the necessity of fast and robust reactions

- **Enforcement includes danger of interstate tensions**, as Africans keep peace next door via peace enforcement
  - main peacekeeper contributors are close to conflicts they invest in (Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia) – fine line to **meddling**

- Drones, intelligence gathering, **counterinsurgency tactics** from other IOs
  - Changing the nature of UN missions under Chapter VII

Local ownership

- **Local ownership and cooperation**
- Outreach
    - Presentations
    - Teams
    - Quick impact projects
        - Building of centers but NOT development
- Increases legitimacy of UN peacebuilding
- Increases peace sustainability
- Increases democratic reform

Local ownership

- **Goes two ways**
- Preventing "engineered" democracy projects promoting strategic interests of present international forces
- vs.
- Preventing overinclusion vs. exclusion

- **Support for local solution vs. local support for international solution?**

- Elections not the best answer?
    - Lessons learned in late 1990s, yet still perpetuated

"Outsourcing" as stopgap

- **Authorizing regional organizations**
  - Coalition Gulf 1991, or AMISOM in Somalia 2007
- **Deployment delays**
  - Serval Mali 2012
- **Enforcement**
- **Funding lack**
  - 1997 ECOMOG, Sierra Leone
- **Strike force requirement**
  - Force Intervention Brigade DRC 2013
- **High risk of combat**
- **Offer acceptance**
  - Libya 2011
- **"Rehatting" going the other way?**

Support conditionality

- Enforcement and conditionality of support since 2010s

- When governments (interim or otherwise) rely on UN support in the field:

- **HRDDP** - **Human Rights Due Diligence Policy** on UN support to non-UN security forces

- Withdraws support if HR aren't respected by supported army (FARDC)
  - Hard bargaining position when accusations mounting

Wrongful conduct

- **Wrongful conduct – who's to blame?**
  - UN may not be held accountable at any court
- Peacekeepers are **guaranteed immunity in the host state** judicial system
  - High recurrence of sexual assault allegations
  - Court martials are a rare occurrence
  - Entire contingents may be affected (DRC units from MINUSCA)
- **Reluctance to assign blame**, official reports may not reflect intelligence
  - Rwandan role in homicides in Mali

Wrongful conduct

- Preying on vulnerable individuals causes **irreparable damage to UN reputation** – as does a lack of repercussions for perpetrators
  - Number of prostitutes in Cambodia rose for 6,000 in 1992 to 25,000 at the height of peace mission (Whitworth 2004:67)

- At the same time Gender is an issue in:
  - Civilian personnel 30%
  - Police forces 20%
  - Armed forces 7%

Pragmatic peace keeping and systems

☐ dealing with **complexity planning**

☐ **pragmatic peace keeping**

☐ benchmarking on-the-fly

☐ adaptive leadership and mandates

☐ flexibility in post-conflict reconstruction and rule of law reform evaluation

READING WEEK

- □ read full report
- □ be able to offer main counterarguments

- □ http://www.heritage.org/report/united-nations-peacekeeping-flaws-and-abuses-the-us-must-demand-reform

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