



Whatever Happened to Peacekeeping? The Future of a Tradition

Ву

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PREFACE

Peacekeeping enjoys an excellent reputation both in Canada and worldwide; however, this reputation is based on the perception of peacekeeping inherited from the 60's. At that time, peacekeeping was essentially a UN military activity dedicated to the observance of a cease-fire and to the interposition of troops between states. The use of force was strictly limited to self-defence for Blue Helmets who relied on the goodwill and cooperation of the conflict's parties in order to carry out their mission. This image of the "keeper of the peace" permeates the public's collective imagination and, in some ways, shapes one aspect of foreign policy in many countries, including Canada. These countries forge international reputation on their participation in UN peacekeeping operations. Today, however, what we call "peacekeeping" has evolved and now puts a wide range of tools in the hands of UN and other non-UN actors such as NATO and the European Union, aimed at managing conflicts within states, but now also extending from conflict prevention to peacekeeping and from peace enforcement, to peacebuilding.

The transformation of peacekeeping does not follow a linear path. In its classical period, from 1948-1989, some missions, including that in the Congo from 1960-64, departed from the basic principles established in the fifties: gaining the parties' consent; the use of force only in cases of self-defence; and impartiality. Nevertheless, the traditional peacekeeping model remained until the East-West Détente and the collapse of communism in 1989-1991 changed the international political landscape. The impact in terms of the evolution of peacekeeping is huge. Whereas the occurrence of conflicts between states has lessened, conflicts within states have multiplied, inciting civil wars and the crumbling of both power and state institutions. This requires a new type of intervention in which missions are provided with military, police and civil pillars and are mandated and equipped for peacekeeping, imposing peace by force in certain cases, or consolidating peace using economic, social, political and humanitarian tools provided by the international community. This evolution - one could even say this revolution - is being reconceptualised by diplomats, the military and subject-matter experts in order to establish a new lexicon for the new practices; however, this raises several questions as to the very nature of "peacekeepers" work. The general public and often political authorities and certain experts have difficulty understanding the new forms of "peacekeeping," particularly as the peaceful and easygoing "peacekeeper" of the sixties and seventies has now been eclipsed by a "peacewarrior," authorised in certain circumstances to use force to defend or impose a mandate from the UN or from non-UN players.

Today, a great number of people wonder about what has become of peacekeeping. There is no simple answer, and this study aims at painting the rich, but necessarily complex, picture of peacekeeping in all of its contemporary incarnations. In order to have a good understanding of the basis of peacekeeping, the first part provides a historical overview of the classical era of peacekeeping. The second part deals with the quasi-revolutionary transformation of peacekeeping operations in the nineties. One of the most innovative aspects of this transformation is the emergence and activism of non-UN players. Special attention is given to this inasmuch as Canada and many other Western countries have now essentially abandoned the UN for these new players, specifically NATO and the European Union.

The reader will note that, through the pages, as peacekeeping evolves and changes due to the contingencies of the moment and the adaptations made necessary in the face of the new post-cold war patterns of conflict, our vocabulary transforms itself. At the very beginning of the study, only the term *peacekeeping operations* is used since only the UN is engaged in this type of activity. Then, when the missions become more complex, when they use force to impose their

mandate or when they unfold under non-UN players, the term peace operations is preferred in order to reflect the range of actions undertaken: conflict prevention; and the keeping, reestablishment, imposition, or consolidation of peace. To be sure, this expression is controversial. Indeed, since peacekeeping operations are no longer strictly enclosed within the original principles developed some fifty years ago, diplomats, military members, and experts are looking to rename them to reflect the new realities. Thus a few years ago the Secretary General of the UN suggested to the members of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, also called Committee of the 34, that they should consider this question and suggest a name change, because "the mandate of most of current operations (...) goes well beyond the usual security tasks usually performed by traditional peacekeeping operations. Eventually, it should be more correct to call them Peace operations²." He met with a stiff opposition from the member states, in particular from representatives of China, Russia, India, and the developing countries, who were afraid that the new name would threaten state sovereignty by making it easier to stage military interventions. Those states, therefore, insisted every year that the annual report of the Special Committee call the UN's peace interventions peacekeeping operations whose foundations still rest on the parties' consent, the use of force only in cases of self-defence, and impartiality³.

Whatever the stand one takes on this issue, one must agree that it is essential to clearly identify "peacekeeping" practices and give them clear names. To the authors of this study, there is surely a basic difference between classical armed interventions and interventions in the service of peace. And because these interventions may take different forms, it is necessary to create a typology for them and to find a term – peace operations – general enough to cover what they have in common. This is what is proposed in the third part.

Canadians like to remember that they invented "peacekeeping" in 1956 when Lester B. Pearson proposed the creation of a "Blue Helmet" force to follow through with the settlement of the Suez Crisis. This heritage at times takes on mythical proportions – we are essentially a nation of "peacekeepers,"- and gives rise to political and even commercial inflation as shown by the televised Anglophone publicity of the Molson Brewery in 2000 in which we can see a young man shouting: "I believe in peacekeeping, not policing. I am Joe and I am Canadian!" Reality undoubtedly needs a more nuanced approach. As noted by military historian Sean Maloney,⁴ our participation in peacekeeping seems more in line with Canada's diplomatic posture that masks – or sometimes goes along with – the reality of the country's foreign and defence policy: Canada was, under Pearson and remains under Harper, a country aligned with Western positions and is pre-eminently concerned with ensuring its own security through NATO and its alliance with the United States, rather than with the UN. Yes, Canada believes in some of the virtues of multilateralism embodied in the UN, but it went to war eight times since the beginning of the 20th century⁵ and did not hesitate to participate in the Gulf War in 1991, in Kosovo in 1999, and in Afghanistan since 2001 while refusing to join the Iraq War in 2003. While Canada participated in all of the UN peace missions until the mid 90's, it now focuses its military resources on only one peace mission under the NATO umbrella: the deployment in Afghanistan under ISAF. This has created a grave uneasiness within some political parties and within a public deeply attached to the traditional figure of the "peacekeeper." Some believe that Canada has abandoned peacekeeping in order to dedicate itself to participating in robust military operations alongside the Americans.⁶ This is not false, but we believe it is provisional. Canada plans to withdraw its contingent from Afghanistan in 2011 and already, at National Defense Headquarters, consideration is being given to future military interventions, including re-engaging in peace operations as they unfold today. It is important that Canadians know and accept the terms and conditions of these new peace operations because the tradition established by

Canada in 1956 still has a bright future in our country. This is the subject of the fourth part of the study.

The practices covered by current peace operations are meant to prevent conflicts, end conflicts, and maintain peace. With few exceptions, these practices always depend on diplomacy, negotiation, and consent. They can also consist – sometimes to a considerable degree – of the reconstruction of states, the reweaving of social, cultural and political links between parties, and reintegrating societies within the international community. It is true that these practices have met and are meeting with difficulties, and even dramatic failures, but what can be concluded from a broad evaluation of the results of peace operations in the last twenty years? Recent studies, the impressive multiplication of peace operations mandated by the UN or non-UN players, theoretical research and the surveys we have conducted in the field allow us to conclude that the operations have been effective. This report and the transformation of peace operations over the last 60 years lead us to conclude that it is in Canada's national interest to re-engage in these operations, in their old forms as well as their new ones. This is the goal of this fifth and last part of this study.

Jocelyn Coulon and Michel Liégois November 19, 2009

ABBREVIATIONS

AIUISOM: African Union Mission in Somalia

AMIB: African Mission in Burundi **AUMS**: African Union Mission in Sudan

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States **ECOMOG**: ECOWAS Monitoring and Observing Group

ECOMIL: ECOWAS Mission in Liberia **ECOMICI**: ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire

EULEX - Kosovo: European Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

EU FOR-Tchad / RCA: E.U.: Force in Chad / Central African Republic

EUMM: E.U. Monitoring Mission in Georgia

DOMREP: Mission of the Representative of the Secretary – General in the Dominican Republic

IFOR: Implementation Force in Bosnia & Herzegovina

ISAF: International Security Assistance Force

KFDR: Kosovo Force

MINUSIL: Mission Des Nations Unies en Seirra Leone

MINURCAT: U.N. Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad

ONUB: U.N. Operations in Burundi

SFOR: Stabilization Force in Bosnia & Herzegovina **UIVONIG**: U.N. Observation Mission in Georgia **UNSCOB**: U.N. Special Committee on the Balkans **UNTSO**: U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation

UNMOGIP: U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan

UNEF: U.N. Emergency Force **UNOC**: U.N. Operation in the Congo

UNOGIL: U.N. Observation Group in Lebanon UNSF: U.N. Security Force in West New Guinea UNYOM: U.N. Yemen Observation Mission UNFICYP: U.N. Peacekeeping force in Cyprus UNDOF: U.N. Disengagement Observer Force

UNIFIL: U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon **UNTAG**: U.N. Transition Assistance Group **UNTAL**: U.N. Transitional Authority in Cambodia

UNTAES: U.N. Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium

UNMIK: U.N. Mission in Kosovo

UNTAES: U.N. Transitional Administration in East Timor

UNPROFOR: U.N. Protection Force **UNOSOM**: U.N. Operation in Somalia

UNAMIR: U.N. Assistance Mission for Rwanda

UNAMID: U.N. - A.U. Mission in Darfur

UNITAF: United Task Force

PART ONE: LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF PEACEKEEPING

Peacekeeping, as it is commonly understood, that is deployment of impartial military personnel into a conflict zone for the purpose of observation and/or interposition, recently celebrated sixty years of existence. To grasp the extent of the challenges peacekeeping faces today, a retrospective look is in order. From the operations conducted under the League of Nations to the UN's Blue Helmets, the world has accumulated a great deal of peacekeeping experience and it is appropriate to examine it. This is true, first, because it is always useful to recall that peacekeeping builds upon specific principles which have been validated on the ground on many occasions. And second, because a number of problems and issues that we face today are really not as novel as they may appear.

THE FIRST STEPS: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Because it laid down the methods and procedures to prevent conflict from degenerating into threats to international peace, the League of Nations may be considered the pioneer of peacekeeping. Indeed, the League of Nations was the first international organisation to have played the role of impartial third party in the resolution of crises and conflicts. Although the League had limited means, it demonstrated, specifically under the direction of French Secretary General Jean Monnet, imagination and creativity that were the qualities Lester B. Pearson and Dag Hammarskjöld showed thirty years later.

The League of Nations – that is, in fact, its Secretariat General – was assigned sensitive missions that we would now call "peacemaking." These include the arbitration on the Silesia issue, the international administration of Danzig, the international authority over Saarland, and the political settlement and economic trusteeship over Austria. In various instances a mixed civilian and military strategy, very close to that which characterises contemporary peacekeeping operations, was used. Alan James⁹ has provided us with a detailed account of the first fruits of peacekeeping.

In sum, the years that followed the end of the First World War show well that the League of Nations established a relatively standardised practice to ensure the maintenance of the necessary conditions for political settlement of territorial conflicts. This practice included the following features: the League of Nations decided upon deployment; the military contingents were multinational, made up of the voluntary contributions of the League's member states; the troops were placed under the authority of an Administrator or a Plebiscite Commission; the Allied Force was deployed with the consent of all parties; and, finally, the Force was obligated to be impartial. These features were quite close to the upcoming UN-style peacekeeping characteristics.

THE FIRST UN OPERATIONS

It is difficult to identify the historical point at which what we now call a "United Nations peacekeeping operation" came to be. The first mission of this kind was initiated on December 19, 1946 when UN Security Council Resolution 15 established a committee to clarify the facts related to presumed violations of Greek territory by Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. However, the Cold War had already begun disrupting the Security Council's functions. As a result, the reports containing the conclusions and recommendations of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) could not be adopted because of the veto cast

by the Soviet Union. At that time the United States, in a move that would be well-used in the future, proposed that the issue be withdrawn from the Security Council agenda and be tabled at the General Assembly (UNGA). The UNGA thus created a new Committee on the Balkans to replace the Commission paralyzed at the Security Council.

The new Committee enjoyed prerogatives that were broader than those of the initial Commission. It could conduct its functions anywhere it deemed useful, report to the General Assembly, use its good offices to resolve conflicted issues and observe violations of the peace. Later on, a new provision ordered the Secretary General to provide the Committee with administrative and logistical assistance. He was also tasked with negotiating with each of the four governments concerned and dealing with the legal and material conditions of the Committee members' accommodation and travel. This is the equivalent of what is later referred to as peacekeeping operations' "status agreements." For the first time the UN flag and ID badges were used.

According to the UN itself, however, it is UNTSO (United Nation Truce Supervision Organization, deployed in the Middle East in 1948 after the first Arab-Israeli war) that was the first UN peacekeeping operation. As the first of its kind, it clearly contributed much in shaping the basic features of the Organization's peacekeeping operations. Along with the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP, 1949) and the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I, 1956), it formed the founding triad of peacekeeping operations.

In spite of a very complex situation, the UNTSO met with relative success. The tasks performed were those that would subsequently become typical of UN peacekeeping operations, including observing cease-fire agreements, establishing and supervising demilitarised zones, establishing procedures for managing isolated violations of cease-fire agreements, maintaining contact with the opposing parties, demining and rehabilitation of roadways, transferring prisoners and protecting minorities. The operation was conducted both by mobile patrols and by fixed posts. Count Folke Bernadotte, of Sweden, UN Mediator, had the authority to conduct investigations and to interview witnesses in cease-fire violation cases. The observers were authorised to inspect all types of vehicles.

Two of the basic principles of peacekeeping appear in the apparatus established by Security Council Resolution 73 on August 11, 1949. These are: a ceasefire agreement prior to the commencement of the mission; and the consent of the parties. In addition, the main elements of a UN peacekeeping mission were present; a dual – civil and military – leadership, a military staff and international military contingents.

The United Nations Emergency Force, that deployed following the Arab-Israeli War of October 1956, was the first UN operation to use armed military personnel. It also represented the move from an observation or supervision strategy to an interposition strategy.

The formula that satisfied all involved parties was the result of the imaginative effort of Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Minister Lester B. Pearson and UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld. It used the military instrument in a way that was unheard of in the history of international relations. The idea was to replace Franco-British troops with an international force tasked with ensuring free movement of ships on the Suez Canal and to come between Israeli and Egyptian troops in the Gaza strip and along the Israeli Egyptian border in the Sinai. In this way, the demands from the various parties were met.

The Israelis could hope to be protected from *fedayn's* incursions by the international troops deployed on the Gaza boundary line and in the Sinai. As for the French and the British, they were forced to admit – however reluctantly – that their main demand, the free movement of ships on the Suez Canal, was met. In turn, the Egyptians secured the departure of foreign occupation troops in exchange for an international force that Pearson and Hammarskjöld specified was a neutral force that would have no effect on Egypt's sovereignty and that could only use its weapons in strict cases of self-defence.

Resolution 998 adopted by the General Assembly on November 6, 1956¹⁰ therefore requested the Secretary General to propose a deployment plan. The very next day, Dag Hammarksjöld was able to propose the method of recruitment for the Force, as well as the principle guidelines for its action on the ground. The Secretary General recommended that the Canadian General E.L.M. Burns, then the commander of UNTSO and thus on the scene, be given command of the Force.

One of the first operational concerns was to make sure UN Forces did not look like the soldiers who had previously attacked Egypt; however, many deployed contingents, including the Canadian one, wore British-style uniforms. Blue berets looked like a suitable solution but it appeared impossible to timely supply the mission with enough of them. Finally, it was decided to use the huge stock of US helmets in Europe and to paint them with the UN blue; allowing the first platoons of UNEF to deploy with their blue helmets.¹¹ So were the Blue Helmets born.

Necessity imposed by the circumstances, as well as Pearson's and Hammarskjöld's creative imagination, thus forged the guiding principles of interposition operations: prerequisite cease-fire agreement; consent of the parties; impartiality of the Force; use of force strictly limited to self-defence; and executive responsibility of the Secretary General.

THE MATURITY OF PEACEKEEPING

In the wake of the success of UNTSO, UNMOGIP and UNEF, nine more peacekeeping operations occurred between 1956 and 1978. As a whole, they met their objectives of controlling regional conflicts in an era when the Cold War prevented the Security Council from acting based on the provisions of the Charter.

These nine operations concerned, successively, Lebanon in 1958, the Republic of the Congo between 1960 and 1964, Western New Guinea in 1962 and 1963, Yemen in 1963, Cyprus from 1964 to date, the Dominican Republic in 1965, Egypt and Israel in 1973, the Golan Heights from 1974 to date, and, finally, South Lebanon from 1978 to date. The following table shows the main factual elements of each operation.

Name	Location	Beginning	End	Legal Basis	Maximum Complement	Mandate
UNTSO	Israel	April 1948	October 1973	SC Res. 73	51	Observation
UNMOGIP	India/Pakistan	January 1949	Ongoing	SC Res.47	102	Observation
UNEF I	Egypt	November 1956	May 1967	GA Res. 1000	5,977	Interposition
UNOGIL	Lebanon	June 11 1958	December 1958	SC Res.128	591	Observation
ONUC	Congo	July 1960	June 1964	SC Res.143	14,491	Peace-making, State preservation and State building
UNSF	Western New Guinea	October 1962	April 1963	GA Res.1752	1,500	Peacekeeping
UNYOM	Yemen	June 1963	September 1964	SC Res.179	200	Observation
UNFICYP	Cyprus	March 1964	Ongoing	SC Res.186	6,200	Peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance
DOMREP	The Dominican Republic	May 1965	October 1966	SC Res.203	2	Observation
UNEF II	Egypt	October 1973	July 1979	SC Res.340	4,297	Interposition
UNDOF	Israel/Syria	May 1974	Ongoing	SC Res.350	1,331	Observation Supervision
UNIFIL	Lebanon	March 1978	Ongoing	SC Res.425	6,975	Supervision, Statebuilding, then humanitarian assistance

Upon inspection, the table demonstrates a predominance of the Israeli-Arab conflict as six of the twelve operations concerned it. This is not surprising as the Middle-East was the main focus of tension at that time. Given that a direct military intervention of the great powers in that area was unthinkable without triggering a major clash, peacekeeping operations were a reasonable method of bringing quiet to a battlefield.

The United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) requires a special comment. Often described as a vast failure, that operation nevertheless met its goals in spite of its very high cost¹². As noted by Marrack Goulding,¹³ it also distinguished itself with features that make it particularly instructive within the contemporary context. Indeed, the operation was deployed in a country where the state structures had collapsed. In addition, it included for the fist time a major civilian component and it was the first attempt to move from peacekeeping to peace enforcement.

The international reaction to the breakdown of order in the Congo was extremely fast. The request for assistance came to the Security Council on July 13, 1960, resolution was adopted on July 14, and the first elements of the ONUC landed in Leopoldville on July 15. This quick action can be credited to both the experience acquired by the General Secretariat's services and the proximity of the countries supplying the first contingents, i.e. Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana and Ethiopia.

However, these two factors were not the only reason for the UN's rapid response. First, the Congo was far enough removed from the East-West confrontation that debate in the Security Council could be spontaneous and consensual. Second, the crisis presented an excellent opportunity for the UN to acquire moral stature and international prestige by coming to the aid of the government of a newly independent country. Dag Hammarskjöld perfectly understood the latter point and made sure that the ONUC was, as much as possible, comprised of African contingents. This was to ensure the support of that Continent's states and to avoid exposing himself to criticism from anti-colonialists. At the same time, the situation offered the Secretary General the opportunity to affirm his role as the executive arm of the UN.

To the complexity of the situation on the ground we must add the precision of the mandate. The ONUC mission, for example, was clearly distinguishable from all precedents, since it was neither a monitoring mission nor an interposition force. It was only the improvisation and initiative of the operational commanders that determined the conduct of the operations. Should the Congolese army be disarmed, since it was badly commanded and adding to the disorder? The British chief of staff of the Ghanaian forces, Henry Alexander, took this initiative personally in Leopoldville. For his part, Ralph Bunche, Special Representative of the Secretary General, tried without success to negotiate the entry of ONUC contingents into the secessionist province of Katanga.

The Congo operation was the first "generalist" operation the UN ever conducted. It remained unique until the end of the Cold War made it possible to implement so-called "second generation" operations. In today's terminology, the ONUC could be called "generalist" or "multifunctional" in the sense that its initial mandate was very unspecific and translated into diverse missions on the ground. At first, the ONUC was tasked with classic missions similar to those conducted in previous UN operations, i.e. observation, separation of forces, and ceasefire monitoring. However, as a civil war broke out following the attempt secession of Katanga province, it quickly became obvious that the ONUC could not operate according to previously accepted principles. First, the parties' consent could not be secured as long as the political situation was unstable. Second, impartiality regarding secession could not be a guideline since

as the Operation's mandate was to bring support to the Congo Government. Finally, due to the political dislocation of the country and to the intervention of foreign mercenaries, the reinstatement of order and the territorial integrity of the Congo could only be assured if the ONUC's contingents were given a coercive-type mandate, with appropriate rules of engagement, to end the secession. The ONUC, therefore, conducted military operations against the rebellions in Katanga and in the Stanleyville region.

The operation's unusually large civilian component reinforced the innovative character of the ONUC. The recently independent Republic of the Congo did not have an Administration, a judiciary system, or any control over the other factors critical to running a state. Therefore, the ONUC had to make up for all these deficiencies. This was the first time the United Nations undertook such large-scale actions aimed at *state-preserving* and *state-building* within a country having only rudimentary and fragile structures.

The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP, 1964) was the first large-scale military operation conducted by the UN after its mission in the Congo. As in the Congo case, the operation concerned internal conflicts within a newly independent country. However, the comparison stops there. The political context, the cause, and the nature of the troubles were radically different.

UNFICYP included many innovative aspects that will eventually appear a quarter century later in "second generation" operations. The first aspect was that UNFICYP's deployment occurred without an established cease-fire agreement. Until then only UN observers had been deployed, with the consent of the parties, in a context of ongoing intense fighting.

The second innovative aspect was the sheer magnitude of the humanitarian tasks completed by UNFICYP soldiers: supply escorts; agricultural crop protection; and reinstatement of essential services such as mail, social services, etc. In the time between the coup against President Makarios on July 15, 1974 to the onset of a ceasefire on August 16, the humanitarian activities of UNFICYP expanded considerably. This translated into the creation of a humanitarian section working in close coordination with the Red Cross within the Force's headquarters. Additionally, on August 20 the Secretary General of the UN appointed the High Commissioner for Refugees as Coordinator for humanitarian assistance operations in Cyprus.

A third innovative aspect of the United Nations Operation in Cyprus was the systematic use of logistical sub-contracting. Until then, various UN operations had to use their own supply and transportation systems. In the case of UNFICYP, the logistical services of the United Nations were heavily supported by the British military facilities located on the island.

In retrospect, the UN Peacekeeping Operation in Cyprus almost appears as the ideal type of peacekeeping through interposition. The main features of peacekeeping – a lightly armed multinational force, the use of force limited to self-defence, deployment with the consent of the parties, an already established ceasefire (even if, in this case, it was not actually in force on the ground) – are all present. The strategy was clear: keeping the peace on the ground to give diplomats both time and appropriate circumstances to negotiate a sustainable political settlement. This mission succeeded so well that it appears that the diplomats grew comfortable with what the Blue Helmets achieved, and seem to have lost the political will to solve the conflict. Hence, every six months the Security Council votes, almost mechanically, for the extension of UNFICYP while the Secretary General periodically attempts to re-launch the political negotiation process, so far unsuccessfully.

The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL, 1978) is a peculiar operation in two respects. First, from a strictly chronological point of view, it appears strangely isolated in the midst of some fifteen years of inactivity that separate the creation of UNDOF (Golan, 1974) from the resumption of Blue Helmet activities in the Middle East in 1987, in the Iran-Iraq conflict. But above all, in many aspects, the Lebanese operation emerges as an exception among the United Nations operations insofar as that it departs from the principles that generally preside over such operations. As noted by Marrack Goulding, ¹⁴ the study of UNIFIL is rich in answers to questions raised by contemporary peacekeeping operations. This was an operation about which the Secretary General and his senior civilian and military advisors had expressed clear reservations. UNIFIL was established by the Security Council following intense pressure from the United States that wanted the negotiations between Israel and Egypt to progress unhindered by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1978. Those negotiations subsequently led to the Camp David Accords.

On the ground several factions had heavy armaments when, on the U.N. side, the rules of engagement, the armaments, and the material available to UNIFIL were in no way adapted to the situation. When the first contingents deployed at the end of March 1979, they were only provided with light armaments meant for self-defence. A French detachment inaugurated France to peacekeeping but nonetheless infringed upon one of the unwritten principles designed by Pearson and Hammarskjöld, no contingents from the permanent members of the Security Council. However, France had solid historical links to the region.

As a consequence of the above factors, "the number of shooting incidents against UN troops was comparable to the worst of the Congo experience. In fact 'low-level war' against the UN seemed to be almost uninterrupted." ¹⁵

In reaction, the behaviour of UNIFIL differed from one contingent to the other. Generally, however, the troops sought to avoid any involvement in the local conflicts. Weapons were used only for self-defence; although the mandate specified less restrictive rules of engagement since using "minimum force [was authorised] when [the Force] was prevented from carrying out its task." The initial conditions of deployment were, however, too far from those of traditional peacekeeping to allow a more dynamic attitude from UNIFIL. In many aspects, UNIFL foreshadowed the difficulties that the Blue Helmets would face in Bosnia, in Somalia, and even in Darfur.

In concluding this quick summary, it is clear that the involvement of the UN in all operations of the 1st generation, if one agrees to consider the Congo operation an exception, deals with surveillance, which comes in two operational modalities: observation and interposition. The term surveillance refers to a purely cognitive function: the UN observes and reports. This basic function of collecting and reporting of information is, nevertheless, essential for the resolution of a conflict because it gives the parties the opportunity to negotiate based on complete and objective data. However, as could be seen in the very first UN operations, i.e. UNTSO and UNMOGIP, observation is by no means limited to its cognitive dimension. Insofar as the presence of military observers from the UN is matched with conciliatory diplomatic activity, the whole of the political-military apparatus has a moderating function not sufficiently accounted for by the term "observation." This function, however, is entirely dependent on the willingness of the conflict's parties to tone down their own actions because the UN mandate of observation forbids the UN Force from directly influencing the behaviour of those parties.

Interposition, as part of observation, was performed for the first time by UNEF I, making up the other operational modality of surveillance. In the cognitive function of observation, interposition

thus adds a symbolic dividing line between the conflict's parties. Parties can no longer attack each other without threatening the Force's security and suffering the consequences in terms of international legitimacy. The interposition of Blue Helmets increases the political cost because those who would violate the ceasefire would be made to pay real consequences. In this way, the Force performs a deterrence function, not because of its own military capacity, since its armaments are light and solely for the purpose of self-defence, but because it symbolises, on the ground, the impartial and non-coercive involvement of the UN in the peace process.

PART TWO: PEACE OPERATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In *The Age of Extremes*, British historian Eric Hobsbawm wrote that the 20th century started in 1914 and ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.¹⁷ He calls this period the short twentieth century. It may be a disputable interpretation, but it has at least enough merit to clearly define the unfolding of an era in the history of humanity that was particularly hectic and violent. It is possible to say the same thing about peacekeeping: the beginning of the 90's marked a radical break in its history. Tensions between East and West ended with the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, liberating the international system from the Cold War. It was a time of cooperation, symbolised by a historic Security Council session on January 31, 1992 in which each of the 15 member states was represented by its Head of State. In Hobsbawmian terms, peacekeeping entered into a new age.

This new style of peacekeeping – what we will describe as "second generation" – is characterised by its multidimensional nature in which civilian and reconstruction activities occupy a central place. Peacekeeping is no longer simply a military tool used to settle conflicts between states; it now has the capacity to intervene within states and, sometimes, to rebuild their civilian, political and security foundations. Over the last 20 years, almost all the peace operations of the UN or other non-UN players took place within states and, in spite of certain setbacks – especially in the 90's with the deadly trilogy of Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda – peacekeeping became borderless: its ambitions are now growing and its expansion continues.

GROWING AMBITIONS

The UN in Command

Most experts deem the deployment of the UN mission in Namibia from 1989 to 1990 as the founding moment of the new peacekeeping era. This assumption is correct as the mission in Namibia was indeed the first peacekeeping operation in which the UN experimented with new methods of intervention and in which it further developed more ambitious mandate is through a lengthy series of peace operations. The assumption is not entirely true either because the UN's experience in the Congo from 1960 to 1964 and, to some extent, in West New Guinea from 1962 to 1963, foreshadowed the multidimensional and robust nature of peacekeeping operations in the last twenty years. But as far as historical segmentation is needed the mission in Namibia is certainly the best starting point for the second generation of peace operations.

In 1978, after years of negotiations, the Security Council voted in favour of a resolution that would monitor Namibia's march towards independence from an "illegal" South-African mandate; it would be ten more years until the mission was effectively deployed on the ground 18. The Namibian issue was resolved only in 1988, when an agreement facilitated by the East-West Détente and the forthcoming end of apartheid was reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The mission in Namibia began the practice in which the international community assumed an ever increasing degree of authority and control in peacekeeping missions. It also served as the testing ground for certain activities that are today at the heart of peacekeeping. The objective of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia was to ensure the transition between South-African trusteeship and independence through free and fair elections. To achieve this, the Security Council modified both the composition of the mission and the powers granted to its Chief, the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the UN. In

addition to the military contingent that supervised the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of South-African troops, the demobilisation and disarmament of the parties, and the formation of a new national army, the UNTAG was, for the first time in the history of peacekeeping operations, given a civilian police force mandated to supervise the local police. Its tasks, however, were barely laid out in the initial mandate of the UNTAG. Instead, as the civilian police were forced to assume new responsibilities according to the moment's contingencies, its tasks were further clarified during the mission and evolved in the field. To the security pillar, a civilian pillar was added, employing some 2000 people with varied tasks such as organising an election, broadcasting impartial information on the rights and duties of Namibians during the transitional period, ensuring that discriminatory laws were repealed, and supervising the return of refugees and the release of political prisoners.

The most interesting innovation of this peacekeeping operation is found in the powers and responsibilities granted to the head of mission, the Secretary General's Special Representative, Maarti Ahtisaari. The Finnish diplomat was appointed to this position in 1978 and remained in it until the end of Namibia's transition. For over a decade he carefully prepared the UN intervention into Namibia and his efforts contributed heavily to the mission's success. He also benefited from the consensus that prevailed then at the Security Council, in which the five permanent members tacitly accepted a subtle constitutional arrangement "whereby the UN would *oversee* a Namibian independence process that would actually be *administered* by the South African-supported government in Namibia."²⁰ It appears that this put the independence process under the absolute control of the South-African General Administrator, but the UN, through its Special Representative, had considerable leeway and a veto over the decisions of the representative from Pretoria. ²¹. This type of power-sharing arrangement is one of the peculiar aspects of the new method of peacekeeping. As we will see further on, it would play a larger role in Cambodia, East Timor, and Kosovo.

The mission in Namibia was barely completed when the UN was requested to intervene in Cambodia. In 1991 the four warring Cambodian factions, the UN and sixteen countries signed an agreement intended to reinstate peace in the country and to reintegrate it into the international community. The Paris Agreement authorised the creation, for an 18-month period, of a United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in order to organise, supervise, and validate a general election to choose a new Constituent Assembly tasked with writing a new Constitution and establishing a new government. "In concept [the UNTAC] was the child of UNTAG," writes Marrack Goulding, a long-time peace operations official for the UN.²² It was given a mandate as complex as that of the mission in Namibia, but on an unheard of scale: whereas the UNTAG had mobilised some 8,000 military and civilian personnel, the UNTAC mobilised some 87,000 military, civilian, and local personnel.²³ The jump was staggering, and so was the expenditure: the UN invested two billion dollars in its most ambitious mission. However, the scale and cost were not the most important elements of the peace mission. Instead, it was the enormous power granted to the UNTAC by the Paris Agreement and the Cambodian State so that it could successfully lead the electoral and political transition. The new Cambodian authority born out of the peace agreement, that is the Supreme National Council (CNS), delegated to the U.N. complete power to enforce it. 24 During the transition period the CNS was to embody the sovereignty of the country, but this sovereignty was de facto suspended for eighteen months. Instead, the Special UN Representative and Head of Mission was the supreme authority, and his power was exerted over five key areas: External Affairs; National Defence; Finance; Public Security; and Information. He could also revoke the membership of any member of the Cambodian administrations.²⁵ It was therefore in Cambodia that the UN took a new step and participated in the governance of a country, because "for the

first time, the international community had empowered the United Nations to undertake key aspects of the civil administration of a member state."²⁶

International governance over a territory did not end with the UNTAC. On the contrary, the break-up of Yugoslavia in the nineties gave the international community the opportunity to launch ambitious missions with the objective of governing directly many territories. As early as 1995, the Dayton Agreement, ending the conflict in Bosnia, installed a regime similar to that established in Cambodia.²⁷ A High Representative was responsible for supervising the implementation of the Accord and for promoting its enforcement. Over the years, he received more power, but the political entities that make up the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Bosniac-Croat Federation and the Serbian Republic of Bosnia) kept a great portion of their sovereignty. Between 1996 and 1998, Eastern Slavonia, a region of Croatia, was also the subject of a complete takeover by the UN through the deployment of a small mission – the United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES).

The year 1999 saw the international community make another qualitative and quantitative jump in temporarily taking over entire territories with the crises in Kosovo and East Timor. In these cases, the UN established a quasi-tutorship over these territories, one led along with many other organizations. Thus, while exercising sovereignty, the UN, NATO, the EU, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and, in the case of East Timor, Australia, deployed considerable means on those territories to ensure security and order, to rebuild infrastructures and institutions, to support political processes, and to re-establish links between factions and communities. The mandates given to each organisation or country describe the magnitude of the task.

In June of 1999, what was left of Yugoslavia after its breakdown in 1991-1992 - that is Serbia and Montenegro - lost de facto, but not de jure, sovereignty over the province of Kosovo after a three month war. The province was placed under the authority of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) that was given considerable power. Until Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence on February 18, 2008, the mission's objective was to implement and supervise institutions of democratic self-administration, to facilitate a political process aimed at determining Kosovo's future, to facilitate reconstruction and the handling of aid, to maintain public order, to promote human rights, and to monitor the return of refugees and displaced people. For that purpose, the UNMIK used executive powers that authorised it to create a judiciary system, a police force and armed forces, to appoint any public servant or local politician, to issue arrest warrants, to create a central bank, and even to arbitrate over the color of the new flag. The UNMIK was supported in its democratization efforts by the OSCE and in its economic reconstruction mandate by the EU. Finally, the security of the territory was, and still is, ensured by a NATO force. At the end of 2008, the EU created a mission – EULEX-Kosovo²⁹ - designed to take over from the UNMIK in order to essentially deal with consolidating a constitutional state. Even independent, Kosovo nonetheless legally continues to be a territory under a quasi-international mandate waiting on the decisions of the Security Council.³⁰ This situation, however, raises a real problem for the UN exercise of executive power since the MINUK Special Representative is not anymore able to enforce it on a day-to-day basis³¹.

A few months after taking over in Kosovo, the international community did the same thing in East Timor, a territory illegally annexed by Indonesia and that, in the summer of 1999, erupted into chaos and violence after the refusal of Indonesian partisans to recognise the results of a referendum in favour of independence. Within a few days, a multinational force under the leadership of Australia entered East Timor and took control of the territory. After negotiations between Indonesia, the forces present, and the Security Council members, the Council

authorised the creation of a United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) that would exercise, until East Timor's independence was proclaimed on May 20, 2002, all legislative and executive powers. The UN and the multinational force shared the responsibility of military and police security in the territory.

A complete assessment of these interim authorities and administrations remains to be done; however, in 2001 Richard Caplan drafted a first report on four specific experiences that were generally positive. Regarding international administrations, he wrote that they are "the Rolls-Royce of conflict-management strategies," and that the international community will probably not have the political or financial will to repeat the experience very often. Caplan may be correct but the collapse of numerous states in many continents (Somalia, Guinea-Bissau, Chad and the Central African Republic in Africa, and the Solomon Islands and Timor in Oceania) transforms these territories into chaos zones where terrorist groups capable of threatening international peace and security can settle, as well illustrated by the pre-September 11 situation in Afghanistan. International administration may be a costly operation, but it could well be the only tool in the hands of the international community that can save entire populations from violence and chaos.

The Deadly Trilogy: Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda

Contrary to first generation operations, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR, 1991-1995, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) and the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM, 1992-1995) plunged the Blue Helmets into ongoing conflicts. Instead of supervising an effective ceasefire or interposing themselves between two warring parties that had agreed to stop hostilities, second generation peacekeepers strive to complete their mission amidst ongoing fighting. Because the continuation of hostilities was affecting the efficiency of the Force, two issues were raised: what attitude should the Force adopt towards the party responsible for rekindling or continuing violence; and were the lightly armed Blue Helmets actually secure?

In principle, the physical vulnerability of the lightly armed peace soldier creates a kind of structural guarantee of the peacekeeping force's impartiality. In theory, impartiality is the best guarantee of the peace soldier's security. Did this work in the cases of UNPROFOR and UNOSOM? The soldiers on the ground did not think so and therefore various contingents progressively increased their armaments and adopted more dissuasive operational postures. This meant that the security of the Blue Helmet was no longer ensured by the respect owed to his/her impartiality, but rather by the fear of his/her capability to respond to an act of aggression.

Within UNPROFOR, some contingents including Canada's simply acquired heavy armaments such as anti-tank mortars and missiles without UN authorization, thus presenting the Secretary General's military advisors with a fait accompli. Given the UN mission in the Balkans, the UN never did reverse the tendency to reinforce peacekeeping units' firepower, which tendency later on led to "Robust Peacekeeping".

The totally new operational context in which the Blue Helmets carried out their missions in the Balkans had other consequences. Having deployed their contingents in conditions close to war, governments were determined to supply their people with the greatest number of tools to carry out their mission and, above all, to avoid losses. This led to a considerable development of intelligence activities. In addition to aerial and spatial imagery technologies, states such as France and Great Britain did not hesitate to deploy special forces specialised in intelligence, and whose activities were conducted under the direct supervision of those countries, which totally bypassed the UN chain of command.

Crisis emerged at all levels. On the political level, several periods of deep tension between the Secretary General and the Security Council led to disagreements on the very rationale of the operations, and on the definition of the mandate and the terms of conduct. At the strategic level, the differences in interpretation of the mandate led to increasing divergence in the directions from the UN chain of command and from the various contingents' national headquarters. On the operational level, the troops experienced difficulty carrying out an ever changing mandate constantly in the absence of any cooperation between the conflict's parties.

Failure to gain the consent of the parties or a prior ceasefire resulted in the breakdown of unity of command, the tendency to augment the Blue Helmet's armaments, and the emergence of coercive aspects in the operations' mandate. To the conflict's parties – Serbs, Croats, Bosnians – these new features undermined the impartiality of the Force and made it more difficult for the Blue Helmet Force to obtain their consent.

In the Bosnian theatre, the international community made new attempts to adapt peacekeeping operations to a context in which they were never meant to operate. Concerns about the humanitarian situation were a key incentive for such a strategic creativity that developed threefold: delimitation, superposition, and juxtaposition. The delimitation strategy was adapted from the old French idea of a "humanitarian corridor" and consisted of designating safe humanitarian zones in which humanitarian organisations could work in acceptable conditions. Applied to the Muslim enclaves of Bosnia-Herzegovina under the label "Safe Areas," this concept hit numerous obstacles; mostly the refusal of the warring parties to respect them and the fact that UNPROFOR personnel was never sufficiently reinforced to be able to protect them.

It is precisely because of these obstacles that the Security Council deemed it essential to support the safe areas with air support, balancing the zones' vulnerability with a strong deterrent posture. This mechanism, while innovative in its design, was therefore based upon the superposition of a cooperative strategy – the safe areas created by UNPROFOR with (in principle) the consent of the parties – and a coercive strategy that NATO carried out – air strikes against anyone who threatened the safe areas. Here, the failure results from the obvious contradictory nature of the strategy's two components. Instead of reinforcing each other, the cooperative and coercive components developed fratricidal effects: the vulnerability of the Blue Helmets undermined the credibility of air strike threats while the potential use of the strikes brought UNPROFOR's neutrality, a key factor of success, into question.

With the deployment of the Franco-British rapid reaction force (RRF) in the spring of 1995, the third innovation to compensate for UNPROFOR's inadequate mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina was born. This was the juxtaposition of an artillery-based coercive strategy with the other two strategies. The tactical results obtained by the RRF are undeniable because it made safe access to Sarajevo possible again. However, any appreciation of the strategy of juxtaposition must take into account the conflict's overall context. By spring 1995, efforts to find a political settlement to the conflict were giving way to a much more stringent strategy combining air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs with Richard Holbrooke's diplomacy. Thus, by regrouping, the Blue Helmets had already reduced their vulnerability to attack. The RRF also intervened at a time when the UNPROFOR was no longer the major player in Western efforts in Bosnia with the arrival of NATO as a peacekeeping player.

Another peace operation plunged into conflict in Somalia between March 1992 and October 1995. However, the collapse of the Somali State and the imbroglio of inter-tribal warfare made any political settlement illusory, any attempt at a cease-fire vain, and consequently, any traditional type of peacekeeping operation inconceivable.

In April 1992, after three months of difficult negotiations with the parties, UNOSOM I was established by virtue of Resolution 751 of the Security Council. This operation had fifty unarmed military observers responsible for monitoring respect for the ceasefire as well as five hundred Blue Helmets whose mission was to protect the humanitarian aid convoys. This was the first time in the history of the UN that a peacekeeping force was given this kind of primary mission. Unfortunately, UNOSOM I was not able to implement its mandate, and the humanitarian situation in the field led to fears of widespread famine.

The Security Council therefore decided on the use of force on December 3, 1992. It adopted Resolution 794, authorizing a multinational coalition to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to re-establish a secure environment that would allow the resumption of humanitarian assistance in Somalia. "All necessary means" were authorized to allow the member States of the *Unified Task Force* (UNITAF) to carry out their mission. Mediatised under its American code name, *Restore Hope*, it was a UN mission only in its legal basis. The makeup of the military coalition, and its command and control, were outside the UN. The United States provided what was needed from its own resources and controlled the operations.

From the outset, UNITAF was designed to be a transitional operation to establish security. Once this step was taken, that plan was to proceed with a traditional peacekeeping operation, but equipped with a robust mandate. UNOSOM II was created in March 1993 to replace UNITAF. It therefore became the first UN peacekeeping operation to be established under Chapter VII.

The mandate of UNOSOM II was ambitious: at the same time to supervise the implementation of the Addis Ababa accords of January 1993, to prevent hostilities from starting up again; to control the heavy weapons of the factions before their destruction or transfer to a unified Somali army; to seize small arms from uncontrolled groups; to maintain security at the ports, airports, and communication corridors needed for delivering humanitarian assistance; to protect the personnel of the UN, its agencies, and the non-governmental organizations; to clear mines; and finally to assist the return of refugees. To succeed in this multi-faceted mission, Boutros Boutros-Ghali proposed a force of 28,000 men, supported as needed by an American Quick Reaction Force that was not part of UNOSOM II.

From April to the beginning of June 1993, when UNOSOM II - which was still not up to full strength - tried to implement the Addis Ababa accords, tension mounted as accusations of partiality were made against the UN force by the clan of General Aidid. On June 5, during an inspection of heavy weapons storage site, Pakistani Blue Helmets were ambushed. Twenty four of them were killed and fifty six others wounded. In reaction to this, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 837, affirming that under Resolution 814, UNOSOM II was empowered to take all necessary measures against those responsible for armed attacks on UNOSOM II personnel, including, arrest, detention and trial. During the following weeks, a showdown took place between UNOSOM II and the USC/SNA forces led by General Aidid. The efforts of the UN forces to disarm these militias and proceed with the arrest of their leaders were blocked by the determination of the Somalian armed groups, who adopted urban guerrilla tactics including the use of the civilian population as a human shield. These operations had divergent interpretations by the various countries participating in UNOSOM II. The Italians, for example, who suffered losses during the operations, refused to participate any longer, considering that they were going beyond the mandate provided by Resolution 814. The Americans, however, launched a manhunt to capture General Aidid. A lack of coordination between the American Special Forces and the ONUSOM staff led to the drama of October 3, when helicopter-borne Rangers attacked a building where the USC/SNA staff was having a meeting. The destruction of two helicopters during this operation made it impossible to evacuate the elite American soldiers.

Encircled by the forces of General Aidid, the Rangers had to wait for hours before UNOSOM II troops could find a way to get to them. While the operation permitted the arrest of twenty-four USC/SNA leaders, its leader was able to escape. The human price of the intervention was exorbitant: eighteen dead, ninety wounded and an American pilot held prisoner.

The failure of this operation marked a turning point in the US involvement in Somalia and in peacekeeping operations in general. It also demonstrated the catastrophic consequences that result from an absence of unified command. On October 7, 1993, President Clinton announced his intention to withdraw all American troops from Somalia. In the following weeks, other governments declared the same intention. Finally, after a Security Council assessment mission was sent to Somalia in October 1994, there was a complete withdrawal of UNOSOM II.

Unlike the Somalian and Bosnian cases, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR, 1993-1995) was deployed strictly in keeping with the peacekeeping prerequisites; however, less than a year after the deployment, Rwanda would be in the throes of genocide in which almost half a million people lost their lives. The movements of populations following these events shook the stability of the whole Great Lakes Region of Africa and the UNAMIR, then led by General Roméo Dallaire, was rendered impotent.

The trauma created by the genocide in Rwanda and by the fall of the Muslim enclaves in Bosnia in the summer of 1995, all of which happened under the helpless gaze of the UN Blue Helmets, began an effort of introspection of unprecedented magnitude. One right after another, the Secretary General published extremely well-articulated reports on Rwanda³³ and Bosnia,³⁴ and also brought together the most eminent experts under the leadership of Lakhdar Brahimi to scrutinize the very concept of a peacekeeping operation.³⁵ As a result of this effort, the UN substantially reinforced its operational management capabilities, reorganized its Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), and affirmed its responsibility to protect civilians over and above its adherence to impartiality.

A CONTINUOUS EXPANSION

In the middle of the 90's, the fatal trilogy – Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda – to which Angola and Haiti added their difficulties, lessened the UN's enthusiasm and limited the creation of new peace operations. In 1995, the UN left Somalia and Rwanda and gave its military responsibilities in Bosnia to NATO. While the UN had launched 22 peace operations between 1988 and 1994, the Security Council launched 14 such operations (of which 5 were missions that succeeded earlier ones) between 1995 and early 1999. During that period, the number of Blue Helmets dropped from 70,000 to 20,000. Paradoxically, while the UN began the process of withdrawal, non-UN actors bolstered peacekeeping with unexpected strength: some 40,000 military, police, and civilian personnel were deployed by NATO, the OSCE and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). It was the UN's methods that were therefore in crisis, not peacekeeping itself.

The UN depression was, however, short-lived since as soon as 1999, the number of peace operations expanded again; it now continues to do so. According to Bellamy, Williams and Griffin, 1999 is a pivotal year for peace operations for six reasons. First, Western countries were overwhelmed by humanitarian crises at their borders, which explains the interventions of NATO in Kosovo and of Australia in East Timor. Second, Western countries took on leadership roles in the new peace operations through alliances or coalitions, something that is still going on. Third, Africa and some key African states were vigorous in the management of crises on their continent. Fourth, the international community was becoming aware of the important link

between peace and development. Fifth, the emergence of regional and sub-regional organisations and of *ad hoc* coalitions facilitated the participation of countries, such as the United States, that were reluctant to put their troops under UN command. Finally, the renaissance of peacekeeping owed a lot to the creation of rapid reaction forces and to the development of new doctrines and procedures adopted successively by NATO, the EU and the UN.³⁶

The deployment of peace operations has been, and still is, an improvised strategy that responds to circumstances of the moment: a crisis; a case-by-case determination; regional and international situations; and interests of the Security Council's major powers. The strategy is somewhat of a risky leap into the unknown: the former Under-Secretary-General for UN peace operations, Jean-Marie Guéhenno, candidly admitted that in 1999, when the UN deployed to the Democratic Republic of the Congo to solidify a peace accord, "we decided to go ahead knowing [peace] was very fragile but hoping it would turn around. It was a kind of gamble."³⁷ In spite of that *ad hoc* and sometimes disorderly character of the decision process, both UN and non-UN players have attempted to better define, plan, coordinate, and manage their peace operations for over ten years now. In this respect, they accomplished a considerable amount of work that explains the continuing expansion of peacekeeping activities: in September 2009 some 200,000 military, police and civilian personnel were deployed in twenty UN missions and nineteen missions of non-UN players.³⁸ UN and non-UN actors work in four domains to improve the design, planning, coordination and management of peace operations.

The Evolution of the Doctrine

Until the beginning of the 90's, the doctrinal literature on peace operations was limited to documentation of the UN's experience through rare reports from the Secretary General, to internal notes of the DPKO, and to the debates of the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (also known as the Committee of 34). It was not until the *Agenda for Peace* was published in 1992 and the *Supplement to the Agenda for Peace* was published in 1995, that the UN outlined the overall architecture of its peacekeeping activities (preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding), and of its limitations after the debacles in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. In particular, the UN rationalised the use of force by stressing that even if the Organisation is not supposed to conduct peace enforcement operations, it must act more robustly when Blue Helmets or civilians are threatened. Released in 2000, the Brahimi Report confirmed this position: "United Nations do not wage war." Eight years later, in its first real doctrinal document published for use by Member States, the UN restated the distinction between robust peacekeeping and peace enforcement, and underlined that its peace operations fall under the former category. 40

As regional and sub-regional organisations began to participate in peace operations, the doctrinal debate expanded beyond the UN. NATO, the United States, Great Britain, and France are reviewing their military doctrines to make room for the ever increasing range of peace operations. Essentially, these doctrinal exercises are geared towards justifying their military interventions within missions of non-UN actors in which force is increasingly used to impose a UN mandate. This move has not been without controversy – especially in Afghanistan –, and some researchers now note that the line between peace operations and "war-fighting" is increasingly blurred (this will be discussed further in Chapter 3).⁴¹

Planning Peace Operations

As previously described, the launching of a peace operation is an improvised and highly political exercise. Questions arise that stem from the will of the Member States and from the circumstances at the time, including "where are we going?" and "how quickly should we

deploy?" However, in1994, the Security Council indicated its will to also take many other factors into consideration before authorizing the creation of a peace operation.⁴² The Brahimi Report reflects that will, but also engages states to be more responsible when designing, organizing, and launching a peace operation. In particular, the report challenges states to do this by defining clear, credible, and realistic mandates, by equipping personnel appropriately, by reinforcing the UN capacity to deploy its personnel quickly, by inviting regional and sub-regional organisations to participate more actively, by better articulating the peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities, and by reforming the DPKO to provide it with the capacities it needs to undertake bigger and more complex missions. Most of the recommendations from the Brahimi Report have been implemented.⁴³ Moreover, in 2008, the Department of Field Support (DFS) was created in order to focus on administrative and logistic issues. DPKO and DFS also received support from the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) whose mandate is to monitor and evaluate the evolution of the political situation in the world by providing advice to the Secretary General, managing special envoys and political missions, and providing electoral assistance to Member States. In spite of these reforms and the enhanced planning capabilities, the UN still has difficulty deploying peace operations. As witnessed by the deployment of MONUC in the Congo and UNAMID in Darfur, months, if not years, go by in between the moment an operation is launched and when it reaches its full capacity on the ground.

Non-UN actors have also been active in peacekeeping operations. In 1992 the OSCE was recognised as a "regional player," which gave it the opportunity to play a role in world security according to Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. 44 Since then, it has essentially deployed civilian personnel to support electoral processes, promote democracy, and build constitutional states. In 1993, in line with the Petersberg Tasks, the EU made the commitment to participate in peace operations. This resulted in the adoption of a European Security and Defence Policy in 2000 in which the European States affirmed their support for UN action and authorized the EU to create peace operations called "crisis management" missions. The EU provides itself with political and administrative structures to plan and manage its interventions and, since the launch of its first mission in 2003, the EU has created twenty peace operations, the main feature of which is the deployment of police officers or constables and civilians.⁴⁵ For its part, NATO deployed its first peace operation in Bosnia in 1995. In 1999, at the height of the Kosovo crisis, the Atlantic Alliance transformed itself into a security organisation willing to help manage crises. It has deployed tens of thousands of troops in Kosovo since 1999 and in Afghanistan since 2003. Finally, since the beginning of the '90s, many African states have taken several initiatives to reinforce their capabilities to conduct peace operations through the African Union (AU) or subregional organisations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) or the Economic Community of Central Africa States (ECCAS). They have also received massive financial and logistic support from Western countries. As we describe further on, all these efforts from non-UN actors still suffer from many shortcomings, but it must be recognised that they have an increasingly indispensable role to play.

The Integrated Approach

One of the new characteristics of today's peace operations is the great numbers of military and civilian actors on the ground – the more complex the mandate, the greater the number of stakeholders, either UN actors or external partners (World Bank, ICRC, donor countries, etc.). First, to ensure that all players from the UN system share a common vision of the mission, the UN has developed an integrated approach to maximise the efficiency of its intervention, ensure consistency of the different actions, and avoid duplication. This is essential because the UN is the only organization able to employ a mix of civilian, police, and military capacities under a unified leadership. Second, the integrated mission interacts with external partners through dialogue, consultation, and information sharing. Finally, the Peacebuilding Commission was

created in 2005 with the purpose of integrating strategies in view of peace consolidation and post-conflict recovery.

Day-to-Day Management

The UN is second only to the Pentagon in terms of the number of persons deployed throughout the world; however, it does not have the same planning, administration, and management structures as its American counterpart. At the UN, one person monitors 143 Blue Helmets on the ground whereas in the United States, two or three people monitor each soldier deployed in Iraq. Additionally, the UN must accommodate the requirements of 133 contributor States who have forces or contingents deployed according to different levels of self-sufficiency. Finally, the management team of a UN peace operation is comprised of people from different political, military, and religious cultures who, for the most part, have not developed sustained relations or even worked together for a long period of time as have the members of Western staffs or NATO and the EU. Therefore the "bread" is made with whatever "wheat" is available and, given the circumstances, the UN makes out quite well. In the last decade, the UN has created levels of authority at its headquarters and on the ground in order to allow for greater flexibility in the relationships between New York and the various peace operations, and in the decision-making process.

THE NEW REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING PLAYERS

In recent years, the regional and sub-regional organisations, ad hoc coalitions and even individual states have played an increasing role in peacekeeping, both in and outside of their regional spheres of interest. The growing influence of these new players raises questions, provokes debate, and generates concern. The first of which is the risk that the UN's overall role is being diminished. This is linked to the dilemma between launching missions based on proximity or universality. This dilemma is not easy to solve because each type of mission has both benefits and challenges which will be discussed in greater depth further on. Concerns also inevitably arise when a more decentralized and regional method of peacekeeping management is considered. A quick look at the different peacekeeping actors shows us that they vary greatly in their capabilities and hence, in the case of increased regionalism, some regions, Africa in particular, will likely suffer. This is because it will be increasingly difficult to attract states that can supply trained contingents and more advanced equipment to participate in operations in areas in which their interests are not directly at stake.

Depending on the context and the experts, the concept of regionalisation describes three different processes that, although linked, must be considered distinct for the purposes of analysis. Most often, the term is used to recognise the growing implication of regional organisations in peacekeeping and international security. The second usage describes the actions of Western powers that now engage in conflict resolutions giving priority to their own regional spheres of interest. Finally, the third meaning of the term is the tendency of peace operations to be essentially made up of contingents from countries within the deployment region.

This development is in stark contrast to the conditions prevailing not even a decade ago. During that time, regional organisations had little involvement in the management of security issues and major powers often became involved in conflict resolutions in areas outside of their regional environment (e.g., France in Cambodia and Canada in Somalia). Additionally, peace operations were firmly international in nature. The participation of troops from outside the deployment region was the rule rather than the exception.

The process of regionalisation can be said to have a negative connotation: the UN's role in the settlement of regional conflicts has receded; Western powers are often disinterested in crises outside of their regional environments; and Western powers have disengaged militarily in certain regions that have become "non-intervention zones." Indeed, discourse on the regionalisation of peacekeeping tends to accuse Western powers of egotistically abandoning the UN version of peacekeeping and of disregarding the Security Council as the central authority on matters of peacekeeping and international security. Does reality confirm these claims?

Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter

Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter establishes a few principles with respect to regional accords. The first paragraph of Article 52 restricts itself to admitting that, "nothing in the present Charter precludes 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." However, the same paragraph, used to establish NATO in 1949, quickly specifies that the activities of the said organisations must be "compatible with the Purposes and Principles of the UN."

It is not until the second paragraph of Article 52 that the Charter promotes the role of regional organisations in the pacific settlement of differences such as those considered in Chapter VI.

The text asks UN Member States to first use these organisations to settle local disputes in a peaceful way "before referring them to the Security Council." Even though the term is not used in the text, the subsidiarity principle is clearly affirmed here and then confirmed in paragraph 3, which directs the Security Council to encourage the peaceful settlement of local disputes through regional organisations: "on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council." Article 53 deals with the special case of the use of coercive measures that come under Chapter VII of the Charter. On the one hand, it allows the Security Council to use regional organisations for the enforcement of such measures. On the other hand, however, the Article states that no coercive action may be taken under regional arrangements or agencies without the Security Council's authorisation.

The provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter were not relevant to peacekeeping during the Cold War either because certain international organisations such as NATO could not function as a peacekeeping actor during the Cold War or because the weakness of such organisations prevented them from taking any significant action (i.e., the former Organization of African Unity). It is quite surprising that the end of the Cold War did not trigger a spectacular renewal of regional organisations. On the contrary, some of them entered into a period of transformation (i.e., the CSCE-OSCE and the EEC-EU) or began to redefine their objectives (i.e., NATO). Others remained in the state of weakness that characterized them during the Cold War. It was only at the UN that an overall review of peacekeeping was conducted.

Section VII of the *Agenda for Peace*, produced by Boutros Ghali in 1992 highlights the increasing role that regional organisations should play in the peacekeeping framework. It states that because regions differ from one another, the models of cooperation and the division of labour should adapt flexibly and creatively to the realities of each specific case. To illustrate the variety of potential modalities, the examples of Cambodia, El Salvador, and the Balkans are cited. Paragraph 63 of *Agenda for Peace* notes that most regional organisations were created to meet the inadequacies of collective security; however, now that these inadequacies no longer remain, regional organisations can still perform valuable services on the condition that their activities are in line with the Goals and Principles of the Charter, and that their relations with the United Nations, specifically the Security Council, draw upon Chapter VIII of the Charter.

While the Charter outlines very positive aspects of regional organisations, its intention is still to preserve both the political primacy of the Security Council in the matters of peacekeeping and international security, and the Council's role as the sole provider of international legitimacy. Other documents including the Supplement to the Agenda for Peace, the Brahimi Report, the General Assembly Resolutions, and those adopted at the conclusion of the Security Council debates reinforce the UN's dedication to this stance and emphasize the need to strengthen the mechanisms of coordination.

It is not easy to answer the question of whether the involvement of regional organisations in peacekeeping provides specific advantages compared to what the UN itself can achieve. Like the Roman god Janus, the regionalisation of peacekeeping has two inseparable faces. One provides the benefits of proximity while the other lacks the legitimacy and universal character of the UN.

The Benefits of Regional Peacekeeping

Proximity: When a regional organisation becomes involved in a conflict in its area of interest, peace operations can benefit from the organisation's geographic proximity.

Speed: The UN has often been accused of reacting slowly to situations but the geographic proximity and the smaller number of concerned states make it possible for regional peacekeeping organisations to react more quickly. This advantage is very important because an early intervention is often a key element of a successful peacekeeping operation.

Implication: Geographic proximity to the conflict makes regional organisations and their member states likely to give strong political commitments to the peacekeeping mission. This is unlike the situation that often prevails when the UN intervenes in a conflict: once a conflict has been contained and stabilised, the political will of the main member states often disappears and a long-term political settlement becomes unattainable. The case of Cyprus illustrates this.

Consensus of the member States: The debates of the UN Security Council have too often been polluted by outside considerations. Rivalries between powers, ideological confrontations, and the member states' broad cultural diversity have prevented the Security Council from properly managing conflicts and crises. On the other hand, there is an expectation that regional organisations will share more cultural similarities as well as a common past and that its view of regional issues will at least be relatively homogeneous.

Consent of the parties: One of the fundamental success factors in achieving a peaceful resolution to a conflict is being able to obtain the parties' consent to intervention by a third party. In many cases this consent is more easily obtained if the third party shares common cultural, linguistic, or religious characteristics with the parties in conflict. It is in this way that regional organisations have undeniable advantages over the UN. In certain cases such as the one in Sudan, the UN can be so demonized by one of the parties that the only acceptable operator is the regional organisation, the actions of which are perceived to be less intrusive and therefore politically less costly for the power in place. This somewhat pernicious tendency to depict the UN as the vehicle of particular interests – read "Western" interests – gives rise to legitimate concerns, including those mentioned in the report by the group of experts led by Lakhdar Brahimi on the security of UN personnel.

Non interference of third powers: One of the essential conditions of a peace operation's success is the support, or lack thereof, of outside powers. Although they are not direct parties to the conflict, these powers closely observe the disagreement's evolution in their sphere of interest and often play major roles as either facilitators or disruptors of the peace process because they are able to exert influence on one or both parties in the conflict. In this respect, the diplomatic consultations needed to ensure support of the regional powers not involved in the conflict are most likely to occur within the framework of regional organisations.

The Drawbacks of Regional Peacekeeping

Impartiality vs. national interest: The success of a third party intervention depends in large part on the degree to which the warring parties cooperate with it and feel loyalty towards it. In turn, this can only occur if the third party maintains strict impartiality that is recognized by the conflicts' parties. It is difficult for regional organisations to meet this condition because the major member states will seldom be indifferent to the outcome of a conflict breaking out within their area of interest. Hence, a regional power can hardly be credited with the impartiality needed to play the role of a third party.

Powerplay: The preceding argument is reinforced by the fact that the majority of regional organisations are dominated by one state. For example, the ECOWAS is dominated by Nigeria and NATO by the United States.

Limitation of capabilities: Apart from NATO, whose case is unique, and the EU, no regional organisation in the world has the capabilities required to conduct long-term and large-scale peace operations alone. These organisations lack adequately equipped troops trained in peacekeeping, as well as operational planning, administrative management, and logistical support capabilities. Without these, peacekeeping operations do not stand a reasonable chance of success.

Legitimacy: No regional organisation has the same level of legitimacy as does the UN in the field of peacekeeping. This legitimacy is primarily the result of the Charter itself, but it also stems from the formidable experience gathered by the Organisation since the first operations were imagined by Pearson and Hammarskjöld. The soldier with the Blue Helmet and the white vehicle painted with the letters "UN" are now familiar images whose symbolic value is universal, similar to the Red Cross. While some regional organisations have developed specific expertise – such as the OSCE's in election supervision capability – none can boast of experience and legitimacy that even come close to that of the UN.

Outside Interferences: The final limitation to a regional organisation's ability to manage is that it cannot take into account any elements that lie outside of its geographic area. Commonly, as is the case when global or former colonial powers become involved in a conflict, certain decisive factors in the resolution lie outside of a regional organisation's field of action. Hence, in these cases, any attempt to resolve the conflict without taking external factors into account will result in failure. The UN, with its universal organisation status, is irreplaceable in this case.

The above arguments are those most often cited in debates over regionalisation of peacekeeping. The problem is that all these arguments are tainted by excess generalisation and for each of them, it is not difficult to find one or more counterexamples. While it can still be constructive to debate in general terms, it is limited. Indeed, observation reveals that reality is so different that the general discourse on regionalisation loses much of its relevance. It could even be asked if there is anything in common between the peacekeeping capabilities jointly deployed by NATO, the EU and the OSCE in the Balkans, and the peacekeeping capabilities of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

From its beginning as a military alliance during the Cold War, NATO has progressively transformed into a security organisation. While it does not formally have the status of a regional organisation able to deploy troops that are well equipped, trained, and prepared for the various peace operations anywhere in the world, the European Union is working towards building a significant force made up of 60,000 personnel that could conduct peace operations far from its territory if needed.

By comparison, the African peacekeeping capabilities remain quite insufficient. Thus, it is worth recalling that the troops⁴⁹ deployed by the African Union to monitor the peace process in Burundi faced a permanent lack of means, including logistical means, and were unable to perform their tasks. The UN therefore took over the mission in June 2004 by deploying 5,650 Blue Helmets. Similarly, the African Union mission in Darfur had to be replaced by a so-called "hybrid" AU-UN mission that is, in reality, a UN mission mostly composed of African contingents. Finally, the present African Union mission in Somalia is totally incapable of dealing with the chaos that has engulfed the country for over a decade. Programs such as EUROCAMP⁵⁰ and ACRI/ACOTA⁵¹ were established by western powers to shore up the AU's capabilities and although they are a step in the right direction and encouraged by the UN, they barely mask Western military disengagement in UN operations in Africa. A quick inventory of existing

capabilities, region by region, makes it possible to measure the extremely heterogeneous nature of these operations.

Africa

The African continent has been, and still is, the theatre of many armed confrontations and because demand creates supply, the proliferation of initiatives aimed at developing conflict management capabilities has not come as a surprise. An inventory of every initiative would easily outgrow the space available to this study and it would not hold much significance since most of them have never gone beyond the stage of aspiration. If we examine only proven capabilities, the inventory radically shrinks.

While originally created for economic and commercial purposes, the ECOWAS transformed itself into a sub-regional security organisation when it created the ECOWAS Monitoring and Observer Group (ECOMOG) aimed at ending the civil war in Liberia that broke out in 1989. ECOMOG's mandate was extended to Sierra Leone where its complement peaked at 10,000 personnel in 1998 before it was transferred under the UN flag within the framework of the UNAMSIL operation⁵². ECOMOG's results are questionable: the organisation did achieve valuable military results while relying on Nigerian troops and funding from Lagos, but its legitimacy was questioned, its behaviour on the ground was far from exemplary, and the civilian component that should have been a part of the peace operation in this context was completely lacking.

The ECOWAS tried to draw lessons from that first experience by modifying its internal decision making process so as to ensure greater collegiality. However, the subsequent operations (ECOMIL in Liberia in 2003 and the ECOMICI in the Ivory Coast in 2003)⁵³ demonstrated above all the inability of the ECOWAS to generate sufficient quantities of forces. This deficiency is a constant problem for African peacekeeping operations.

From its inception in 2002, the African Union has shown great ambition with respect to peace operations. To date this ambition has translated into three operations: the African Mission in Burundi (AMIB) in 2003; the African Union Mission in Sudan (Darfur) (AMIS) in 2006; and the African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in 2007. Even though the AU and its members must be credited with the political courage necessary to deploy forces into complex conflicts and hostile environments, its capabilities are still woefully lacking. Without the technical and logistical support of Western countries including Canada, those deployments would simply not have been possible because an autonomous African peacekeeping capability is still a very distant reality. On site, the contingents are barely mobile and poorly equipped thereby making them incapable of earning the respect of armed groups. Not only are the AU forces not in a position to secure their deployment zones to protect civilian populations, but they themselves are targeted by the warring parties that strip them of their material and vehicles.

It is therefore not surprising that each one of these operations has been relieved by a UN operation. In Burundi, the AMIB was replaced by the UN Operation in Burundi (ONUB). Due to Khartoum's demands, the AMIS could not simply be replaced by a UN mission but a novel formula was devised in the form of a hybrid UN-AU operation that according to the Sudanese government was to represent an "African character."

Hybridity: The case of the UNAMID

In 2006 a peace accord was signed in Darfur that led the way to the eventual replacement of the AMIS by a UN force. The accord was signed by the Sudanese government and the majority branch of the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA), the most important rebel force in Darfur. Before signing the accord, some thirty commanders and political representatives of dissident branches of the minority faction of the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement signed a "declaration of commitment in favour of peace in Darfur", with the SLA.

In spite of successive reinforcements, the AMIS, which deployed in 2004, has never been able to reinstate a minimal level of security in Darfur. The African contingents did not lack courage and good will, but they were poorly equipped, barely mobile, and evolving in an extraordinarily difficult environment. Nevertheless, the Sudanese government was opposed to a non-African force operating on its soil and proposed reinforcing the AMIS rather than replacing it with a UN mission. It was then that the idea of a hybrid AU-UN force of about 20,000 soldiers and police was proposed. After difficult negotiations with the Sudanese government, Security Council Resolution 1761 was adopted in June 2007 and the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) was born.

After two years of existence, what information can be gleaned from this hybrid?⁵⁴ First: this hybrid, dominated by African contingents, only came to exist because of the Sudanese government's requirements. In practice, the UNAMID operates according to UN standards and procedures, its personnel are under the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and its mandate is defined by the Security Council. It is therefore possible to say that the hybridity of UNAMID is cosmetic in nature so that the operation would be acceptable to Sudanese authorities. Thus judgement must be suspended for now so as to avoid harsh criticism of the mission's cosmetic character. Indeed, the Sudanese government only grudgingly gave its consent which remains fragile and the collaboration from Khartoum with UNAMID has long been mediocre (delays in granting visas, reticence in granting the lands necessary for the Force's establishment, restrictions establishing airports and sea ports, endless custom formalities, and all kinds of administrative hassles).

The UNAMID has not yet reached its full capacity and is still waiting for states to supply it with helicopters that, alone, could provide the mission with mobility and the capacity for robust and rapid reactions that it desperately lacks. However, the fact that the International Criminal Court has charged several Sudanese leaders only increased the tension over the mission and made it harder for UNAMID to achieve its goals.

Finally, in Somalia, in spite of the sharp reservations expressed by the Secretary General, upon the insistent request of the AU, the Security Council examined the possibility of deploying a peace operation to relieve AMISOM that suffered heavy losses and was practically reduced to helplessness.

If African peacekeeping aspirations are to materialize, many steps will need to be completed. The top priorities are the creation of training centers, the implementation of stand-by forces and, above all, the improvement of their technical capabilities and equipment. And what of the AU's vague desire to provide itself with the ability to carry out multidimensional operations as mentioned in the protocol dealing with the establishment of the AU's Peace and Security Council? Not only does it appear that this goal cannot possibly be reached for a least a decade, it may not even be a valid option because at the regional level it will duplicate these capabilities at great cost.

Europe

With the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the European Union (EU), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the European continent has a unique concentration of organizations acting in the field of conflict prevention and resolution.

Founded in the context of the Cold War as a defensive military alliance, NATO, after a short period of doubting its usefulness, has progressively transformed into a security organisation. One of the ways it achieved this was by adopting a "new strategic concept" at the Washington Summit in 1999. Since then, NATO became the international organisation with the strongest military capabilities likely to be used in the context of peace operations. In this matter, it has experimented with various modalities: air support and strikes in support of the UNPROFOR in former Yugoslavia; implementation of the military component of the 1995 Dayton Agreement in Bosnia (SFOR, IFOR); coercive air strikes against Serbia (Kosovo) in 1999; and deployment of the KFOR. Today, it has almost totally withdrawn from the Balkans - where the European Union has taken over – and has shifted its efforts to Afghanistan where it conducts an operation that borders between damage control and counter-insurgency (see our typology). While the military capacities of NATO are unequalled, its know-how in terms of multidimensional operations is clearly more limited. NATO is therefore rarely self-sufficient. To be efficient in the context of a conflict resolution and peacebuilding process, it must rely on the capabilities of other organisations such as the UN and the EU that have the necessary know-how to handle the important civilian component of a peace operation.

The European Union's interest in peace operations began in 1992, but at that time the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) did not yet exist. Until then the European Community worked within the framework of the European Political Co-operation (EPC) that was formalised in the Single European Act (SEA) in 1986. Accordingly, European states worked within the Western European Union (WEU) to devise a list of missions that they would consider conducting together. This list is known as the famous "Petersberg Missions", adopted in 1992, that continues to shape Europe's military engagement to this day. The missions included in this list do include "peace restoration" but the focus is actually primarily on the less robust cases of peacekeeping and conflict stabilisation

The passing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 created the pillars that make up the European Union, one of which was the Common Foreign and Security Policy that includes a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 and 1992 exposed the huge gap between the expectations raised by these promising statements and the inability of the member states to agree on their implementation. The European failure in the Balkans was a powerful stimulus to develop a ESCP/ESDP worthy of its name and, in this respect, an essential step was taken at the Saint-Malo Franco-British Summit in 1998 when Great Britain accepted the idea of developing an autonomous European military capability. The following year, however, the war in Kosovo again highlighted European weaknesses and dependence upon American military means. This led to a decision at the 1999 Helsinki Summit to create an intervention force of 60,000 personnel capable of acting anywhere in the world. This "Headline Goal" allows the EU to conduct a systematic inventory of its capability shortcomings and for common solutions to remedy them.

The concept of an autonomous European intervention force remains controversial. The "Berlin Plus" Accords signed in 1999 have temporarily settled this debate by providing the EU with access to NATO's planning capabilities for its own peace operations. The agreements are both pragmatic – why should the means and structures already within NATO be duplicated by the EU? – and political – how much autonomy does the EU want with respect to NATO? The move

towards autonomy took an important step forward in 2003 with the passing of the "European Security Strategy." For the first time, Europeans shared a common vision of their security through the identification of risks and threats to the EU, defining the EU's strategic objectives; and identifying political implications for Europe. Because of this strategy, the EU now focuses on the importance of multilateral management of security issues and on the requirement to reinforce international organisations. Hence, by the following year, the EU concluded a cooperation agreement with the United Nations on the military management of crises. With respect to peace operations, three modalities are considered by that agreement.

The decision to participate in UN peace operations falls under the sovereignty of each member states, but to increase efficiency and coordination, the agreement provides for the establishment of a "Clearing House" that can interface between the UN and the EU voluntary states. Since the mid-'90s, however, the UN's member states have been somewhat reluctant to place their soldiers under UN command. It is for this reason that the agreement provides an alternate method of cooperation much more likely to be utilized: the use of EU operations in support of the UN. In turn, there are two operational concepts for this type of coordination: the Bridging Model and the Stand By Model. The former consists of the rapid deployment of an EU force at the request of the UN in the case of a crisis requiring an immediate presence on the ground to avoid degradation of the situation while the UN Force is still being assembled. In this concept, it is the rapid deployment capacity that would make up the value added of the EU components. This capability, however, is not firmly established yet and, in any case, the Force would still be hampered by geographical considerations. While a deployment to Central Africa, for example, would not be a problem due to the numerous agreements already in place (military, cooperation, transit, etc) and because of the French troops already permanently stationed there; to deploy in Sri Lanka would lead to much more logistical embarrassments because of major shortfalls in strategic airlift capacities.

The other operational concept is that of the *Stand By Model*. This consists in holding in reserve an EU force capable of supporting a UN peace force that is facing a serious degradation of the situation on the ground. The rapid reaction force, with its relatively robust profile, generally has a dissuasive effect on hostile parties. Should that fail, however, the EU Force would intervene in support of the Blue Helmets and, as a last resort, may become an extraction force. This type of operation was implemented by the EU during the legislative elections of June 2006 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

An example of the Bridging Model: Chad

One of peacekeeping's noteworthy evolutions that occurred in the last few years is the transfer of responsibilities from one operation to another. This practice began in Somalia between 1992 and 1993 when the UN authorised a multinational coalition, the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), to take over for the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) for six months before handing it back over to the UN (UNOSOM II). In Bosnia in 1995, NATO assumed the peacekeeping responsibility previously assigned to the UN and then transferred it to an EU operation in 2004. In Africa, between 2002 and 2004, four African missions (Burundi, Ivory Coast, Liberia and Sierra Leone) passed the torch to the UN. Transfers are usually done "from the weak to the strong," and the converse is not always successful: when UNITAF transferred its responsibilities to ONUSOM II and withdrew, the country was plunged into chaos. Thanks to experience acquired on the ground over the years, this has begun to change and more and more transfers from "the strong to the semi-strong or the weak" are successful. The peacekeeping players have learned their lessons and handovers now follow a well honed sequence that can be seen in the cases of Bosnia and Kosovo. There, the appeasement of political struggles improved the security situation to the point in which NATO forces were progressively scaled back and replaced with contingents

of EU troops and police officers. Similar scenarios played out in UN missions as well. For example, when the political conflicts died down in Burundi and Sierra Leone, the military operations were scaled back and replaced by much smaller United Nations Integrated Offices.

The transfer of responsibilities from one mission to another is generally made when a mission meets with military or financial difficulties or when a political agreement is reached between two organisations. In 2007, for the first time in the history of peacekeeping, the UN incorporated a transfer of military responsibilities from one structure to another on a set date into the resolution authorising the peace operation in Chad and the Central African Republic.⁵⁶ In view of the renewed outbreak of activities by armed groups in the border regions of Eastern Chad, North-Eastern Central African Republic, and Darfur, the political-military structure of the mission in Chad and the Central African Republic is unique and comprised of three separate elements. The first is a multidimensional UN mission called the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT), consisting of a police unit and civilian personnel mandated to promote human rights and the rule of law, and to recruit, train, advise, and support police officers within the Chadian Police for Humanitarian Protection(PTPH). The second is a contingent of police officers from the PTPH tasked with maintaining law and order in refugee camps, neighbouring areas and centres for displaced persons as well as ensuring the security of humanitarian operations. The final element is the EU force, the EUFOR-Chad/RCA, which was to act in accordance with Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter for a period of one year and assist in the protection of civilians, facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid, and help with the protection of UN personnel. The EUFOR-Chad/RCA was only to operate for a year after which it would transfer its security responsibilities to MINURCAT whose military component would by that time be deployed. This arrangement was criticised for its complexity, the clumsiness of its politicoadministrative management, and the limited nature of its mandate.

The composition of two peace operations drawing legitimacy and mandates from the same Security Council resolution did not occur without clashes on the political, logistical, and operational levels. Even the leaders of EUFOR and MINURCAT admitted that for over 12 months, their staff had to deal with different work modalities and chains of command, the different logistical, administrative and financial services of the UN and the EU. 58 In February 2009, some experts did not believe that the MINURCAT would be ready to inherit the military responsibilities of the EUFOR as it meant the withdrawal of a robust force (with its state-of-the-art armaments, logistics, rules of engagement, and its well-armed and well-trained European military) for a UN mission essentially composed of African and Asian contingents. As it was, the African contingents were not ready to deploy at the time when EUFOR was to withdraw, but due to a lastminute arrangement that made it possible to maintain several European contingents in place, the transition took place as planned on March 15, 2009. While it is certainly too early to analyse the specific experience of cohabitation and transfer of responsibilities between two operations, in this still fragile environment (Chad has been steeped in violence for forty years and the Central African Republic for twenty years), the leaders of both operations have made five observations. First, EUFOR, dominated by the French and perceived as an instrument of France to support the Chadian regime, has adopted and maintained a posture of strict impartiality. Second, the robustness of the EUFOR, its visible presence on the ground, and its shows of force allowed security to be reinstated and humanitarian aid to be delivered in a large part of its area of responsibility. Third, the presence of EUFOR has allowed the UN to focus on the recruiting and training of police officers in the PTPH and on its humanitarian mandate of reinforcing the state of law. Fourth, EUFOR prepared the ground for the deployment of the MINURCAT by providing the UN mission with the necessary infrastructure and by updating it with credible information on the situation in the country and the region. Finally, the presence of the MINURCAT persuaded the Chadian government, initially opposed to the deployment of this mission that a UN force is to be preferred over a European force on political, diplomatic, and symbolic levels.

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

The Cold War has ended but it still affects the evolution of the geographic area formerly under Soviet dominance. This region essentially remains unique in that it manages its security issues internally and does not accept intervention by outside players. In this context, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has been brought to play a growing, although unexpected, role in a number of conflicts.

The first peace operation conducted by the CIS was in Tajikistan in 1993. Six thousand soldiers supplied by Russia and a few UN observers deployed to the area, but two years later, the CIS requested the Secretary General to launch a UN peace operation there. Neither the UN nor any other international organisation wished to engage in that region and this episode foreshadowed the case of Georgia.

Peacekeeping Congestion: The Case of Georgia

Multiple peacekeeping actors in the same theatre is not necessarily synonymous with chaos and paralysis. In Bosnia and Kosovo, NATO, the UN, the OSCE, and the EU have all in their own way played a role in the effort to improve the stability of these territories and their political evolution. In Georgia, however, sixteen years of international operations have not yielded the same results and the responsibility for this lies with the parties present.

As soon as it became independent in 1991 following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Georgia has had to face a double threat: factions that violently fight for power in Tbilisi; and the secession of three regions including Abkhazia and South Ossetia, with the support of Russia. Amidst a civil war, Georgian forces unsuccessfully attempted to regain control of those territories and a ceasefire was eventually reached in South Ossetia in 1992. A peace force comprised of Russians, Ossetians, and Georgians was deployed there as well as a small OSCE mission that included about ten military observers and a hundred civilians tasked with facilitating the return to calm and settlement of the crisis. One year later, in 1993, a ceasefire was concluded in Abkhazia but this time around, the UN Security Council established an observation mission (United Nations Observation Mission in Georgia - UNOMIG) to monitor the accord and supervise military activities in Abkhazia. This mission, however, was only able to deploy one year later, in 1994 the same time a CIS "peace" force made up exclusively of Russians troops deployed. In the meantime, the civil war ended and stability returned to Tbilisi. It was then that the stage was set for events that would accelerate the conflict fourteen years later. The conflicts were frozen and the international community legitimated the Russian presence by accepting the deployment of two peacekeeping forces dominated by Russians, even though these forces did not abide by several cornerstones of peacekeeping (such as acting on a resolution of the Security Council or excluding military personnel from the conflicts' parties). The international community also granted Russia the status of a mediator.⁵⁹

In the summer of 2008 Georgia attempted to regain control of the secessionist republics, leading to a military conflict with Russia. The European Union intervened diplomatically and an agreement was reached between the EU, Moscow, and Tbilisi to end fighting, launch negotiations, and deploy an EU surveillance mission (European Union Monitoring Mission – EUMM Georgia). On October 1, 2008, Georgia opened its territory (including Abkhazia and South Ossetia) to five peace operations: one from the UN; one from the OSCE; one from the EU; and two under Russian authority. In September 2009, only the European mission was in place.

The Georgian theatre was atypical. It was cluttered with peace operations, and, before the withdrawal of four of them in mid-2009, one could legitimately wonder about their respective usefulness. A review of the mandates of OSCE, UN, and EU peace operations there (the two Russian missions never had any functions other than creating a massive presence of Russian troops) reveals two sources of tension: the three missions coordinated their activities very loosely;

and many aspects of their mandates overlapped. There was not in Georgia, as in the case of Bosnia and Kosovo, any Senior Representative of the international community who coordinated the actions of all peacekeeping players. Instead, each mission had a chief who reports directly to his hierarchy in New York, Brussels, or Geneva. Each mission was mandated with "monitoring" a ceasefire, "promoting" negotiations, "helping" stability, "assisting" the government and the parties "in the areas of the state of law, democratisation, human rights compliance and governance" and, finally, acting in "coordination" with other peace missions. Each mission also had specific tasks that ranged from monitoring human trafficking, validating electoral processes, participating in the war against terrorism, facilitating economic development, and environmental protection, to ensuring freedom of expression in the media, etc. These mandates required huge human and financial resources and appeared costly, redundant, and disorganised to many observers. Thus, in October 2008, the management of the Georgian crisis by the European Union was shared between four diplomatic representatives: the Chief of the EUMM Georgia mission, the French Ambassador, the Special Representative of the EU in South Caucasus, and the Special Representative of the EU to the Georgian crisis. In addition to this European presence, the Chief of the UN mission, the Chief of the OSCE mission, and the American, Russian and other special envoys were also involved, leading some people to say that the diplomatic effort of the International Community in Georgia was characterised by cacophony. 60 Some cynical analysts believe the diplomatic chaos serves the parties' interests: Georgia insists on the presence of the greatest number of international players as an insurance policy against Russia; Russia uses the situation to consolidate its presence; and the European Union publicly deplores this situation while discretely calling for consolidation of each organisation efforts under its rule.

In these circumstances, it was not surprising that the renewal of the mandates of the three peace operations came into question in negotiations between Westerners, Georgians and Russians. In the end the Russians obtained the departure of the UN and OSCE and dismantled their two missions in Abkhazia and North Ossetia. The European Union was then left on its own in the Georgian theatre and all signs pointed to a Cyprus-style situation in the Caucasus.

In the above case, to which one might also add that of Transnistria, 62 in Moldova, several competing peace missions were acting in one region and each party in the conflict insists on the continuation of the mission most favourable to itself. It is imperative, however, to note a few essential differences between Russian operations and those deployed by the UN and the EU. Among the operations deployed by the Russians, only the operation in Tajikistan was truly multilateral in the sense that it was under the command of a Russian staff whose leadership rotated. The others missions were also Russian operations authorized by Moscow, but not under its command. Moreover, these other operations did not benefit from any authorisation other than that of Moscow. Was such authorisation necessary? It all depends on the nature of said operations. If it is a matter of enforcing peace, Chapter VIII of the UN Charter requires the authorization of the Security Council. Certainly the CIS does not consider these operations as such.

Beyond the issue of legality is that of the identity of the peace operations contributors. One must first note that in this matter the Russians operations have been innovative, integrating troops from the opposing parties into common patrols in Transnistria and Abkhazia with rather positive results. The main issue remains, however, in the fact that the internationally recognized standards of peace operations require that the contributors have no direct interest in the conflict into which they intervene. The intervention of Russian contingents in this area clearly violates this principle, and it was very naive to think that Moscow was not using these operations as a way to demonstrate its power over what it considers to be its territory. This being said, is it possible to encourage the regionalisation of peace operations while rebutting any intervention by regional powers in their area of influence?

What has just been said reveals the magnitude of discrepancy between regional organisations. Almost all the goals, institutions, and geographical bases differ between them and make it difficult to find any common traits. Moreover, in terms of running peace operations, the differences between these organisations are huge and one must admit that the discourse on the regionalisation of peacekeeping is more wishful thinking than reality. The Table that follows measures the aspirations and proven capabilities of regional organisations on the basis of a six-category typology established in the fourth section of this paper.

	1 Conflict Prevention	2 Peace making	3 Peace keeping	4 Conflict Mitigation	5 Peace enforcement	6 Peace building
UN United Nations	+/++	+++	+++	+++	0/0	+++
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization	+	0	+/++	+/++	+++	+/++
EU European Union	+	+	++	+/++	+/++	++
AU African Union	0/+	+/++	+/++	+/++	0	0
OAS Organization of American States	0	+	0	0	0	0
OIF Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie	0/+	+/++	0	0	0	0
ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations	0	+	0	0	0	0
Commonwealth	0	+	0	0	0	0
CIS Commonwealth of Independent States	0	0	+	0/0	+/+	0

- Proven Capacity / Aspiration
- 0 = no capacity; + = embryonic capacity; ++ = existing capacity, but with weaknesses; +++= first-class capacity

THE RETURN OF THE WESTERN POWERS?

Do the Western powers still believe in the UN version of peacekeeping? It looks doubtful judging by their present reticence to participate in peacekeeping operations under UN command. The sour experiences of the early 1990 have produced a lasting impression on both political and military leaders; the hard lessons learned by the contributing states' governments are much more hard-nosed than those of the Brahimi report. The current peacekeeping precepts held by most Western states reflect this: troops will only intervene under national or multinational command, not the UN's; troops are armed so as to be able to face any situation, and their rules of engagement will allow them to use force against anyone who tries to prevent their mandate from being carried out. The mission will also be limited in time, and all measures will be taken to ensure a quick evacuation if circumstances warrant it. Although Western powers deny it, in reality these rules exclude their participation in current operations under the UN's command. Not until August 2006 with the European reinforcement of the United Nations

Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was there any reversal of this trend. Additionally, the UN also has the problem of political credibility and now very few Western militaries are prepared to wear the Blue Helmet and drive around in white vehicles. These symbols of traditional peacekeeping are now linked to painful memories in which the disrespect given to them by the warring parties resulted not only in mission failures, but also in heavy losses of peace soldiers.

Seen in this light, the debate over regionalisation takes on quite a different tone. The question is no longer about weighing the supposed benefits and the challenges of the involvement of regional organisations in the resolution of conflicts. What is involved in reality is, at the political level, a tendency to push the Security Council into a role of notarial existence, responsible for ratifying decisions made elsewhere and stamping them with the seal of international legality. Similarly, at the military level, the process of regionalisation has seen an extensive disengagement of Western powers in UN operations and their increased participation in Western-controlled operations, either through formal or ad-hoc coalitions.

It is important to note that the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan is outside the classic regionalisation model that would see the Europeans intervene in Europe, the Africans in Africa, etc. This is a new model in which the criteria for involvement are not geographical, but rather political and capability-based. The question now becomes: who is both interested in the conflict being resolved and has the required military capabilities to act? Because the military distribution of power is uneven, this question will very often result in similar answers. One can easily imagine the EU continuing to be strongly involved in the Balkans, but much less so in Africa for lack of sufficient interest, and even less the African Union in Latin America or the ASEAN in the Balkans since, in these two latter cases, there is neither the interest, nor the capability.

The continued shrinkage of the UN's roles could reach its limit quite soon. Indeed, for Canada and EU members, distancing themselves from UN peacekeeping is inconsistent with their calls to bolster the role of the UN in the name of multilateralism. Canada and the EU also share a dislike for U.S. unilateralism along with developing a number of Southern countries and therefore naturally share some ideas on the promotion of the UN and on reinforcing the Security Council's legitimacy through broadening it. Therefore, at the risk of being inconsistent, the European states and Canada will sooner or later have to return to UN peace operations.

This is what happened in August 2006 when UNIFIL was reinforced by contingents that came, for the most part, from EU countries (Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and Belgium); however, this return to the UN was done under conditions dictated by the Europeans since the UN was dependent upon them for reinforcement. This is why the reinforced UNIFIL has an armament that is very robust for a peace operation: heavy tanks; anti-aircraft systems; and even a naval component. The Europeans also demanded, and obtained, firmer rules of engagement, the creation of a strategic military cell (SMC) in New York and, finally, the reinforcement and adaptation of the Force Staff in Naqura.

The return of Western troops operating under the UN banner is one of the conditions that must be met for the Organisation to recover its military credibility. This, in turn, would allow the Security Council to recover a central position in peacekeeping and international security. One nation of specific importance is the United States. Since 1994, under the *Presidential Decision Directive 25*, Washington has not allowed the participation of its soldiers in operations under UN command and it does not seem likely that this will change anytime in the foreseeable future. The United States, however, can still do much for peacekeeping: the UN needs the US' political and logistical support more than its troops. Beyond the United States, rich Western states like

Canada, that have well-equipped and trained troops, and have obtained the organisational and doctrinal reforms they wanted from the UN, find themselves now facing a choice between two world visions. The first one is eminently realistic in all senses of the word. It is a vision of a world essentially dominated by the interests of the powers: a world in which the projection of force on external theatres is sparingly done according to unilaterally defined methods and following criteria dealing with the interests of the intervening, usually Western, powers. Benefiting from the legitimization of the Security Council in this vision is preferable, but not essential because the Council authorization is not considered as an absolute prerequisite. The second vision is more utopian and rests on the primacy of law and, therefore, on the central role of the Security Council in the matter of peacekeeping and international security. It takes root in the principles of universality and the peaceful resolution of conflicts forged by Pearson and Hammarskjöld.

The first vision leads to two categories of regional organisations. The first category is dominated by Western powers (NATO, the EU, and the OSCE) that provide a multinational framework of substitution for the UN. The others, poor and deprived of the required means, are supposed to take charge of the conflicts that break out in their regions, thus excusing the West from risking their troops in situations in which their interests are not at stake. The second vision leads to organisations that are more homogeneous with respect to their regional peacekeeping capabilities. They abide by the primacy of the Security Council and recognize the value of UN intervention in the resolution of a conflict, even a regional one.

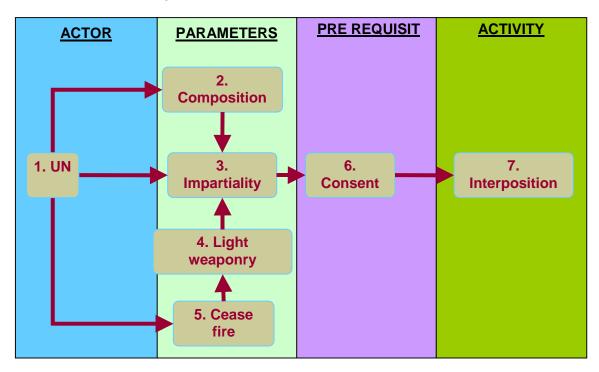
The debate over the regionalisation of peacekeeping is almost irrelevant. In theory, regional organisations can play a useful role in peacekeeping and international security through participating with the UN. This partnership, in turn, should rest on two basic principles: First, the primacy of the UNSC, and second the role of regional organizations to form their own peacekeeping operations. However, this remains highly theoretical because of the diversity between regional organisations. Some organisations widely outclass the UN and provide their members with an ideal substitution to the UN, an organisation whose military credibility was mortally damaged in their view. Conversely, the other regional organisations are handicapped by the lack of political, financial, and military capacities. As a result, these organisations have no choice but to call upon the UN which in turn, is dependent upon Western powers to establish peacekeeping forces of a certain magnitude.

Instead, the real debate is that between solidarity and universality. Are rich countries with adequate military forces prepared to put their assets at the disposal of the UN when their national interests are not at stake? Is the Security Council recognized as the one body that can grant international legitimacy to coercive measures? Does the UN remain the central instance in the definition, the design, the planning and the implementation of peace operations? Presently it is impossible to provide a fully affirmative answer to these questions, but the debate surrounding the regionalisation of peacekeeping can only come to an end when these questions are answered.

PART THREE: A TENTATIVE TYPOLOGY OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING (1ST GENERATION)

The well established practice of first generation peacekeeping missions was developed during the time between the UN's founding missions (UNTSO, UNMOGIP, and UNEF) and the end of the Cold War. While not formally codified in written doctrine, what is now called "traditional" peacekeeping was based on solid principles that formed a coherent strategy. These principles are shown in the below diagram.



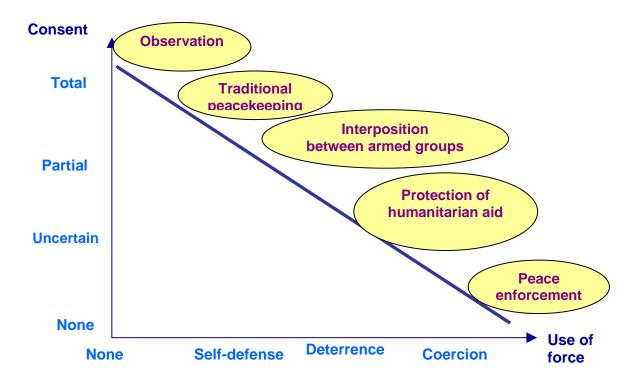
These basic principles were not fundamentally challenged by the first second generation operations in Namibia and Cambodia (UNTAG, UNTAC), which rather used these principles to justify increasing goals and extending their mandates.

The deadly trilogy in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda (UNPROFOR, UNOSOM and UNAMIR), on the other hand, confronted the Blue Helmets with unprecedented situations (the absence of a ceasefire, absent and/or random consent of the parties) that made a reassessment of the basic principles of traditional peacekeeping necessary.

THE CONTINUUM THEORY

The early 90's were shaken by doctrinal debates over the UN's ability to adapt its peacekeeping doctrine to deployment conditions that radically differed from those of first generation operations. Specifically, the debates centered on the issue of consent and the use of force and were dominated by the "continuum theory." This theory considered the different modalities of third party intervention in a conflict as part of a strategic continuum. From deploying unarmed military observers to armed peace enforcement troops, this continuum rested on simple logic: the further a deployment's basic conditions were from those of traditional peacekeeping, the

more a Force needed access to a broader range of military means and the option to use force. The Somali operation, however, rang the death knell for the continuum theory. Experience there showed that some missions need to be converted from a peace enforcement operation (eg., UNITAF) into a peacekeeping operation (eg., UNOSOM II). This in itself is politically problematic due to the intrinsically different nature of each modality. One is fundamentally coercive and the other is cooperative.



WIDER PEACEKEEPING (2ND GENERATION)

It is Charles Dobbie⁶⁴ who conceptualised "wider peacekeeping". Inspired by the situation British Blue Helmets found themselves in when they were deployed to Bosnia under UNPROFOR, this concept differentiates between the various levels of consent. In traditional peacekeeping, peacekeepers stand between regular armed forces that are disciplined and operate under a reliable chain of command. In these conditions, each party's political authority gives consent to intervention by a peace force that flows from the highest levels of government to the units deployed on the ground.

When peace operations are deployed into intra-state conflicts in which the warring parties include armed groups with volatile structures and unpredictable behaviours, political consent no longer guarantees the cooperation of units on the ground. In these conditions, more proactive operational modalities including heavier armament and more permissive rules of engagement, are necessary to allow the peacekeepers to fulfill their mandate and ensure their own security. It must be noted that this type of mission is still not coercive.

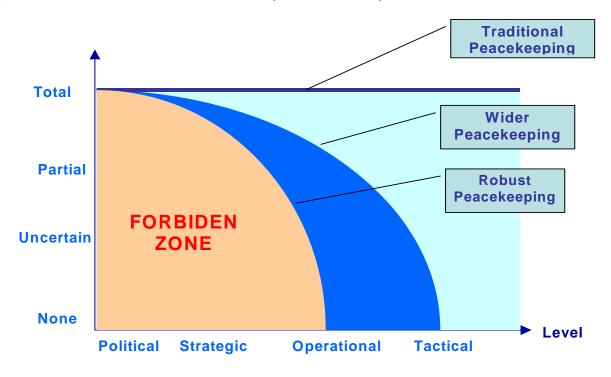
A strict interpretation of impartiality compels peacekeepers to treat each party the same way, even if one or more of the parties does not respect the ceasefire and other agreements. As long as parties refuse to uphold a ceasefire and cede their freedom of movement, this

interpretation dooms the mission to ineffectiveness and may actually lead to catastrophes such as the fall of the Muslim enclaves in Bosnia and the Rwandan genocide. This is why the authors of the Brahimi Report stressed that, "impartiality is not the same as neutrality or equal treatment of all parties in all cases for all time." An operation can therefore remain globally impartial by not supporting any particular party at the politico-strategic level while enacting coercive measures at the local level against parties that use force to oppose the implementation of the mission's mandate. This has produced "robust peacekeeping" whose doctrine was drafted by General Patrick Cammaert on the basis of his experience in the East of the Democratic Republic of the Congo⁶⁶.

With these developments, then, it is impossible to consider "consent" a one-dimensional concept anymore. Instead, the quality of consent must be measured at two different levels. First is the "political level" giving consent, consisting of a political hierarchy in a warring state or a military command in a non-state armed force. Second is the operational level, or, the level of local command.

When dealing with states, chances are good that consent that flows from the political levels to the lower echelons can be obtained. This may not be the case, however, when the state is destabilised and the chain of command is unreliable (as it was in the Congo), or when the government issues formal consent but allows or encourages certain allied paramilitary groups to defy the ceasefire or even act aggressively towards peacekeepers (as is the case in Darfur).

The distinction between levels of consent is even more important when non-state actors are the dominant parties in a conflict. This is because it is highly unlikely that consent given at the political level will translate into reliable cooperation at the operational level.



In a case such as this – despite a lack of consent on all levels – a peace operation could be deployed without all the usual conditions. Officially deployed for peacekeeping, the operation is quickly confronted with the absence of peace – the ink on the peace accord is not yet dry when

fighting begins again, if it ever even stopped. Because of the dangerous and hostile environments these operations deploy into, the missions are large (17,000 personnel for the MONUC 23,000 for the MINAD) and have robust armaments. While waiting for a true political settlement of the conflict, the peacekeepers have no other choice but to limit the damage on two levels: on the military level by protecting displaced persons and refugee camps and by securing the transport of humanitarian aid; and at the political level by trying to create conditions for political dialogue between the warring parties at the local level.

WHAT IS A PEACE OPERATION?

The term "peace operation" is an addition to an already extensive list of terms describing the various forms of interventions aimed at conflict resolution. It also meets the need for a concept wide enough to cover all the various activities involved in supporting a peace process.

Over the last few years, the multiplication of operations and the increase of their size, as well as the variety of the contexts, mandates and players involved in a conflict have resulted in a conceptual inflation difficult to define because the available terms are often politically loaded. Thus, the most frequently used term, "peacekeeping operation," cannot be used today without adding a qualifier: "traditional," "robust," "wider," etc.

Obviously, the term "peace operation" itself cannot be defined without examining the general issue of conflict resolution. Intervention of a third party in a conflict for the purposes of conflict resolution can take many forms but five criteria make it possible to differentiate between them.

Who Performs the Operation?

The diversity of players is one of the noticeable evolutions of the few last years. For a long time only the UN conducted peace operations but today they are conducted by the UN, by regional organisations (eg., EU, AU, and NATO), by states (eg., France and the 1994 Turquoise Operation in Rwanda), by a coalition of states, or by complex constructions such as that created for the UN-AU operation in Darfur.

Who Mandates the Operation?

The authority that gives a mission its mandate is that which assumes political responsibility for the operation and gives it legitimacy. For some actors, the UN Security Council holds the absolute monopoly in this respect. Occasionally the Security Council is unable to do this. At the height of the Cold War, the Security Council was paralysed by the veto and the General Assembly was given the responsibility for peacekeeping and international security under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution. Perhaps, a similar mechanism could impart legitimacy to the operations of regional organisations if the Security Council is unable to do so.

What are the Operational Modalities?

Since the end of the Cold War and the conception of peace operations that resulted from it, there has been a growing awareness that third party interventions must be multidimensional if they are to be effective in conflict resolution. Today's operations operate within an extended multidimensional framework and are no longer restricted with deploying a cordon of peace soldiers tasked with monitoring a ceasefire. Instead, each conflict is specific, each operation must adapt to it through incorporating elements into the operation that allow it to effectively address all the situation's dimensions. Thus, in addition to the security dimension, peace operations today must become involved in diverse areas: the coordination of humanitarian aid, gender issues, social reintegration of child soldiers, security sector reform, support to an election process, demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) of veterans, support in

the reconstruction of the judicial system, .etc.. In short, the range of activities has considerably increased.

What are the Relations Between the Parties?

The first UN operations were deployed with the consent of the conflict's parties following the establishment of a ceasefire. These two criteria define what is called "traditional peacekeeping" today. In these operations, UN Forces limited themselves to strict impartiality to ensure both the durability of consent and the security of the deployed personnel. Forces were also only provided with light armaments that were strictly limited for the purposes of self-defence.

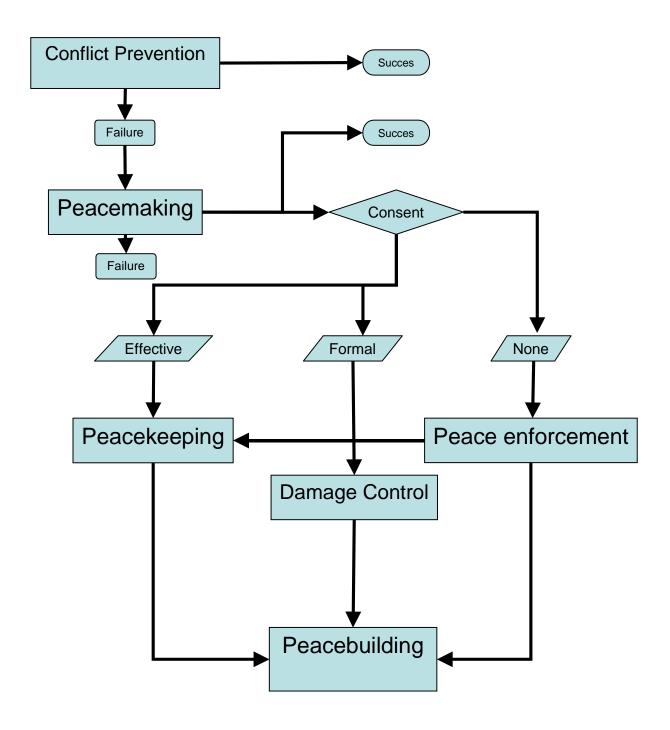
As early as 1960 the UN experimented with another modality in the Congo: it intervened in an intra-state conflict, in the absence of an honoured ceasefire, and without reliable consent from the parties to the conflict. Thirty years later, as the Cold War ended, the Blue Helmets would again be faced with the same type of situation, first in Somalia, in Bosnia, once more in the Congo, and then in Sudan. There is great flexibility in operational mandates now and the relationship between UN Forces and the parties in a conflict can range from cooperation to coercion depending on the quality of consent given by the parties. Experience has shown, however, that while well-trained troops can easily change from peacekeeping to peace enforcement, it is impossible, on the political level, for normal cooperation to occur again once large-scale force has been used. Impartiality is a capital that once spent, cannot be easily regained.

What is the Stage of the Conflict?

Another noteworthy peacekeeping evolution is the expanded timeframe of contemporary operations. Conflicts that occurred in the '90s taught us that peace-building takes a long time and while the suspension of hostilities, the establishment of a ceasefire, and even the signing of a political agreement ending the conflict are necessary stages in this process, they are not alone sufficient in producing lasting peace. As seen in Bosnia, only patient peace construction can prove that. Almost 15 years after the Dayton Accords were signed, international support – today provided by the European Union on the civilian, political and military levels – although notably reduced, is still needed to integrate Bosnia into the EU, thus providing it with a context in which lasting peace can be achieved. The timeframe has also shifted the other way – to the time before a conflict actually breaks out. Indeed, conflict prevention remains the cheapest and the most efficient way to maintain international peace and security. This is why the UN and regional organisations have developed specific tools including rapid alert, arbitration, and conciliation to this effect; however, there is still much progress to be made in this area.

In sum, the field of intervention has widened and with it, the vocabulary used to describe these multiple modalities. There was, however, no term sufficiently general enough to describe what interventions have in common and what radically distinguishes them from a classic armed intervention: the willingness to prevent, re-establish or consolidate peace. We thus define "peace operation" as: "A multinational intervention endowed with international legitimacy, whose aim is to prevent a conflict or to re-establish, maintain, stabilize, consolidate or impose peace through the deployment of military, police, or civilian personnel."

Chronological Typology of Peace Operations



List of Tasks for Each Type of Mission

1. Conflict Prevention

- 1.1. Early alert
- 1.2. Crisis management
- 1.3. Preventative deployment

2. Peace Making

- 2.1. Arbitration
- 2.2. Conciliation
- 2.3. Mediation

3. Peacekeeping

- 3.1. Observation
- 3.2. Interposition
- 3.3. Multidimensional operations

4. Conflict Reduction

- 4.1. Robust actions
- 4.2. Protection of civilians
- 4.3. Humanitarian aid
- 4.4. Multidimensional operations

5. Peace enforcement

- 5.1. Sanctions
- 5.2. Counter-insurgency operations
- 5.3. War operations

6. Peace Building

- 6.1. Security sector reform (SSR)
- 6.2. Disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration (DDR)
- 6.3. Reinforcing the State of Law
- 6.4. Multidimensional operations

PART FOUR: A TRADITION FOR CANADA

THE CANADIAN LEADERSHIP

Since the Second World War, Canada has emphasised participation in UN, and now NATO, operations in its foreign and defence policies. A few years after the United Nations was created, the first post-war Canadian military were deployed from 1948 to 1949 in the Middle East and between India and Pakistan to observe cease-fire accords. In 1956, during the Suez Crisis, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, proposed the creation of a Blue Beret intervention force to monitor a cease-fire between the belligerents. Canada then resolved to continue to be involved in peace operations and Pearson received in 1957 the only Nobel Peace Prize awarded to a Canadian. Canadian peacekeeping operations came to be revered. Peacekeeping shaped our foreign policy and created a myth among Canadians regarding our national identity: Canada is a country of peacekeepers.

The world also believes in this myth - to an absurd degree - including people like Francis Fukuyama. In Nation-Building, whose publication he oversaw, Fukuyama argues that it is impossible for numerous military contingents to graduate from peacekeeping to peace enforcement and imposition because "some contemporary armies," such as the Canadian Army, have been trained specifically in peacekeeping while others, like the American Army, have been trained for classical warfare. 68 Canadian Forces stationed in Cyprus in 1974, in Croatia and Bosnia in the mid 1990s and now in Afghanistan would find this erroneous; the Canadian military is in fact well trained for combat.⁶⁹ We can forgive Fukuyama – he was likely in a hurry to finish his chapter - but can we blame him? Was he not influenced by the central place Canada used to afford peacekeeping in its foreign and defence policies and by the image of Canada as the "keeper of the peace" that the government has promoted to its citizens and to the world? Chapter 6 of the 1994 White Paper on defence declares: "We are the heirs of a remarkable tradition of foreign service and proud of the Nobel Prize awarded to Pearson." This image is not only maintained by the Canadian government, its diplomats and politicians, but by the people who have so assimilated this image that Molson Breweries made it a point of honour in its beer advertisements.

CHANGING ROLES

Ironically, by the time Joe the Canadian adopted peacekeeping as a part of his identity, Canada had already been engaged for years in what could more accurately be described as *peace enforcement*. In fact, the first half of the 1990's was an especially traumatic period for the UN and particularly for the Canadians who took part in UN missions. The deadly trilogy – Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda – shook the conscience of the world and directly affected Canadians because, for the first time, they were confronted by the extreme violence of the new conflicts, as the military could do little but helplessly watch. Two Canadian generals, Lewis MacKenzie and Roméo Dallaire, saw personally and on a daily basis the inefficiency of the UN and the resultant large scale massacres. These events forced the Canadian government – and many other Western governments – to begin to think of traditional peacekeeping as outdated, especially in internal conflicts and civil wars.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had already taken measure of the post-Cold War era changes when, in 1992, he underlined the dangers of increasing nationalism and religious fundamentalism. Two years later, Jean Chrétien and the Liberals did the same and promised

substantial efforts to increase both the military and diplomatic fronts abroad. The 1994 White Paper stated that the maximum number of troops deployed overseas – then 2,000 – had to be increased; the Chrétien government promised that Canada would increase the number of reservists for UN operations to 4,000 and even to deploy up to 10,000 troops if needed. They set the bar so high, however, that the goal was never reached. Indeed, in 1996, when millions of Rwandan refugees were living dramatic days in the forests of the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, Chrétien mooted a rescue operation that he himself then had to renounce due to lack of operational capacity. Meanwhile, Llyod Axworthy became Minister of Foreign Affairs and developed a humanitarian and interventionist program based on human security and human rights. Canada began calling upon the members of the UN to respond strongly to violations of human rights; this campaign led to the creation of the International Criminal Court in 1998, to the justification of the intervention by NATO in Kosovo in 1999, and to the publication of the Responsibility to Protect in 2001. At the same time Canada progressively withdrew from UN peacekeeping operations in order to join the stronger peace operations of NATO in Bosnia. Kosovo and Afghanistan in 2003, and coalitions "of the willing" such as the multinational interventions in Timor in 2003 and in Haiti in 2004. While Canada had some 2,700 troops committed to the UN in 1994, it had only 179 troops and police committed to UN operations in September 2009 and about 2,800 troops deployed under NATO in Afghanistan.

Many factors explain the change in the official Canadian attitude to UN peacekeeping since the On the international level, post-Cold War conflicts have generally been characterized by civil wars and massacres and to meet these challenges, "peacekeepers" must adopt a new and more robust stance. As the UN was unable to do this, NATO and regional organizations were called in all too pleased to find a new role after the fall of the Berlin Wall. NATO's engagement has three advantages for Western countries: first, the organization is more homogeneous than the UN and its members have been working together since 1949; second, NATO can deploy considerable military force to implement a robust mandate; and third, it ensures the engagement of the US in an intervention. In this way the UN benefited from the ability of NATO to engage in stronger peace mandates in Bosnia. Kosovo and Afghanistan. Another reason for Canada's change in position is due to the division of labour that was struck between countries who preferred peacekeeping and those who were more able to undertake more forceful missions. This division was based on the reality that not all countries have the same military and logistic capabilities or the political will to engage in missions in which the use of armed force is a real possibility.⁷¹ Another factor is that the growing number of peace operations requires quantitative and qualitative increases in the number of contributing countries, mostly from the South. This is being realised. In 1982, of the first ten countries contributing troops to the UN, seven were Western, but in 1994, the proportion was reversed: six were (define) Southern countries.⁷² This trend accelerated as NATO and the EU continue to embark upon peace enforcement operations. In this regard Canada enthusiastically followed other Western countries because it has seen its own General Roméo Dallaire forced to stand by and witness the genocide of hundreds of thousands of Rwandans while in the service of the UN. Never again! said Ottawa. This change in attitude became even more emphatic after the events of September 11th 2001. The day after the attacks, Canada decided to join the American led coalition in upsetting the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and in 2002 it deployed the first contingent of 800 troops to Kandahar while special commandos and air and maritime forces also took part in anti-terrorist campaign operations. 73 9/11 accelerated Ottawa's thinking on Canada's military position in the world. In particular, Canadian military leaders sought to deepen their relations with their American colleagues. The focus on the defence of North America and of conducting military operations with the Americans became much more politically acceptable 74. To do this, the military need a tool that is adapted to new missions and well-financed, which it was not at that time. For decades, in fact, military expenses have been diminishing as well as

the number of troops in the Canadian Forces. Studies published by the Auditor General, the House of Commons, the Senate, universities and research centres have exposed the sad state of the Canadian military tool. This reality was particularly exposed by the publication in 2003 of an extensive study by Douglas Bland, which claimed that, within a few years, Canada would effectively be disarmed and unable to conduct national and international military operations⁷⁵ (in consideration of our engagement in Afghanistan since 2002, it appears that the announced death of Canada's defence was somewhat premature).

Whatever the situation, the mission in Afghanistan has been the moment that numerous Canadian troops have awaited to demonstrate that they can conduct actual combat operations and therefore do something other than keep the peace⁷⁶. General Rick Hillier, Commander of the NATO forces in Kabul in 2003, then Chief of the Defence Staff of the Canadian Forces from 2005 to 2008, symbolizes this aspiration. He convinced the Canadian government of the importance of reconfiguring the Canadian Forces in order to meet new challenges. In this respect, Afghanistan has become a concrete example of conflicts to come; it is a test.⁷⁷ As Canada further engaged in this country, it withdrew its troops from other theatres. The 2005 publication of Canada's International Policy Statement (IPS) reflects the reformatting of the Canadian Forces and the new position of Canada in the world. Paul Martin's government did not deny its engagement with the UN or its peace missions, but it emphasised its North American commitment, the fight against terrorism, and the military's capability to support expeditionary forces in order to rebuild fallen states and avoid massacres and genocides.

CONFUSION

The mission in Afghanistan demonstrates Canada's new position – at least that is how it is presented to Canadians. By intervening in this country, Canada is pursuing its noble tradition of peacekeeping by helping the "victims of failures of their states," as stated by the government in its introductory publication to the IPS.⁷⁸

Between 2003 and 2005 this description was consistent with reality. Canadian soldiers were in fact deployed in Kabul where there was relative peace and where they undertook to maintain and consolidate peace in cooperation with other NATO contingents. Elsewhere in the country, a coalition (Operation Enduring Freedom) led by the US conduced a war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. But in the summer of 2005 the Canadian government decided to transfer its military operations to Kandahar, the most violent region of Afghanistan. This was presented to Canadians as a simple re-positioning of the troops in that country. As Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang found, "no official, civilian or military, used the word war to describe what was going on in southern Afghanistan."⁷⁹ In their briefing notes, the high authorities of National Defence described the mission "as a more robust peace support role." The government presented the mission as the on-site realization of its three-D strategy (defence, diplomacy and development) designed to help failed states. The Minister of National Defence, Bill Graham, maintained that "in order to be efficient in robust peacekeeping operations today, it is obvious that our troops must at once be warriors, diplomats and humanitarian workers. The image of the warrior-diplomat-humanitarian conforms with the government's 3-D approach to international affairs - that is the integration of diplomatic efforts, defence and development". 81 With the election of the Harper government in early 2006, the nomenclature was changed from "3D" to "whole of government." The intent was the same. Two examples demonstrate how the Conservative government and the Canadian Forces continued to downplay the "war" aspect of the Afghan mission. Firstly, in the section dedicated to Afghanistan in his first speech to the UN in October 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper never mentioned NATO, but declared that "all our actions in Afghanistan - civil and military - are led according to the mandate of the United Nations' Security Council."⁸² The expression "the UN mission" was constantly reiterated in his speech. Secondly, the Secteur Québec de la Force de Terrestre (the Army) of the Canadian Forces has developed an electronic presentation describing the activities of the Canadian military in Afghanistan.⁸³ In its introduction, the first slide presents two true comments that, taken together, lead to confusion: "Canada invented the Blue Helmets" and "Canada is one of the countries that have elected to conduct warfare against terrorism."

Considering Canada's particular history on the international scene and its relationship with the UN, when Canadians listen to the Prime Minister or view the Army's slide presentation, they are led to believe that there are Blue Helmets with the UN in Afghanistan and that they are fighting terrorism. In part, this confusion is understandable because there are, in fact, three missions with distinct mandates operating in Afghanistan. First is a minute UN political mission comprised of a few hundred people charged with framing the Afghan political process. Second is a NATO operation bringing together 38 countries and 60,000 troops whose activities cover all aspects of peace operations in some provinces. This is the ISAF force that prevents conflicts in some regions, maintains peace in other regions, and in certain regions of the country is engaged in all out combat. Finally, there is the anti-terrorism Operation Enduring Freedom – the US Mission. It is therefore difficult to grasp the complexity of the Afghan scene. Even the leaders of the UN and NATO contradict each other. When one of the authors of this study asked some of these leaders if the mission in Afghanistan was a *peacekeeping* operation, he received both positive and negative answers.⁸⁴ In Canada, politicians and indeed, some of the experts, have emphasized the UN rather than NATO, and this has caused some confusion. The unwillingness to recognise its heavy involvement with NATO and the refusal to clearly and precisely comment on the nature of the activities in Afghanistan is not specific to Canada. In France, the day after the death of ten French soldiers near Kabul in August 2008, the Minister of Defence launched into acrobatic semantics trying to explain the French role in Afghanistan. He refused to use words such as "war" or "counterinsurgency" and insisted on saying that France is involved in a peace mission in that country. This induced a scathing reply from an eminent deputy in his own party. Pierre Lellouche, who is also a French specialist in military affairs. When asked what he thought of the emotions evoked by the death of ten soldiers, he replied: "The reproach we can make of the French political and military authorities is that they have not clarified the presence of our country in Afghanistan. Contrary to the claims of the Minister of Defence, Hervé Morin, this is a war and not a policing operation". 85 This refusal to state things as they are led to some confusion among the French. The parents of one soldier killed near Kabul declared that they believed "that Afghanistan, like Kosovo, was a Blue Helmet type of mission."86

Canadians do not think differently, and historian Jack Granatstein does not hesitate to strongly underline the contradictions of his countrymen. "Most Canadians and too many of their leaders prattle about their values and say, loudly, that peacekeeping is what we do in the world – except that we don't....The bulk of our troops overseas are fighting terrorists in peace-enforcement missions or wars. Somehow Canadians don't understand this reality, except when a soldier's coffin returns home," he writes.⁸⁷ Granatstein is right. Canada has concentrated almost all of its offshore troops on the Afghan mission. In fact, Canada is one of the few countries among its allies to maintain such a military posture. The following chart demonstrates this.

Distribution of personnel deployed in peace operations in September 2009									
	UN	NATO-ISAF	NATO-Other	EU	Other	Total			
Canada	179	2800	5	5	31	3021			
United States	82	29950	1483	77	715	32307			
France	2021	3160	1368	284	32	6865			
GB	263	9000	84	147	6	9500			
Germany	512	4050	2350	379	23	7314			
Italy	2602	2795	1935	554	99	7985			
Spain	1110	780	542	364	20	2806			
The Netherlands	47	1770	8	141	7	1973			
Australia	105	1090	0	0	1194	2382			

Data: Réseau francophone de recherche sur les opérations de paix.

This concentration of Canadian troops on a single deployment exposes the government to criticism. Ottawa cannot offer Canadians – who cherish the Blue Helmet image – any other example of current "peacekeeping" deployment whereas Canada's other allies can. This causes suspicion among some that Canada has truly abandoned peacekeeping.⁸⁸

It was stated above that Canada's decision to engage in peacekeeping operations outside of the UN was motivated in great part by the institution's inability to manage missions deployed in territories in which peace was either tenuous or simply nonexistent. In this regard, the UN has evolved considerably since the 1990's and the current operation in Lebanon (UNIFIL II) is a good example, is one that should incite Canada to return to operations under the UN flag. When European countries were called upon to contribute reinforcements to UNIFIL in August 2006. they saw an opportunity to get involved with the Middle-East conflict. Until that time, EU diplomacy, based on equilibrium between Israel and its Arab opponents (as well as financial support to the Palestinian Authority) was struggling to produce dividends while Europeans remained marginalized in that region. Most of the European countries likely to provide significant contingents to UNIFIL II had, like Canada, avoided UN operations since the mid '90s. They had decided they would only work under the NATO flag or that of the EU, but not that of the UN. Thus, when discussions began during the Israel-Lebanon war in the summer of 2006 around reinforcing the UNIFIL mission in Lebanon, the Europeans agreed to do so but imposed their own conditions on the mission. Since the UN was heavily dependent on the EU, it had no choice but to accept those conditions.

The result was, to say the least, innovative. UNIFIL II is effectively a UN peacekeeping operation. Its mandate does not appear to differ significantly from so-called traditional operations, but in fact the differences are considerable on all levels: the mission is equipped with heavy arms such as artillery, tanks, anti-air missiles, and a naval component, and uses reinforced rules of engagement. It has a Force staff adapted to NATO standards; a "strategic military cell" has been created within the UN Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO); and the Commanding Officer of UNIFIL II is not subordinate to the UN Head of Mission. ⁸⁹ If this serves as the pattern for the future UN peacekeeping operations Canada will no longer have anything to fear from putting its troops under UN command. In fact, the experience Canada has acquired in Afghanistan could be of significant use in operations in which force may be required. ⁹⁰

In the Afghan mission, the refusal of Western countries in general, and of the Canadian Government in particular, to distinguish between peacekeeping and peace enforcement in defining their military operations is undoubtedly the result of a political strategy aimed at having a reluctant public opinion accept a robust intervention. In 2007, The Strategic Counsel advised the Harper government to present the military intervention in Afghanistan in a manner that placed it within the Canadian peacekeeping tradition. 91 It suggested avoiding "negative" expressions and using more positive words such as "peacekeeping," "reconstruction," "stability," and helping "women and children." In short, they advised speaking of peace and not of war the strategy that Granatstein specifically denounces. Apparently the strategy did not work. By mixing up these concepts, the government risked not only causing confusion, but also provoking rejection of the Canadian mission in Afghanistan. The Department of National of Defence knows something of this. In March 2008 it received the results of a broad survey that it commissioned from the firm Ipsos Reid on the attitude of Canadians towards the Canadian Forces and their missions⁹². The survey was never officially made public and was only mentioned in a short article after the Canadian Press obtained it through a leak. The results should make the government and military think seriously. Canadians "are unsure of the difference between maintaining peace and re-establishing peace." They interpret the latter as "a diplomatic or political role that consists of making peace" even though combat may be necessary to implement a mandate. When Canadians were asked to establish priorities between three types of missions for Canadian Forces, they chose the following sequence: strictly humanitarian missions; observation and surveillance roles; and operations that involve combat. The polling firm commented that the "recent attempts to reposition this traditional role (of peacekeepers) into a role directed more at re-establishing peace, raised little interest and even less approval among Canadians."

Canadians do not shy away from the necessity to use force to establish peace. The majority of Canadians supported the engagement of their country in the Gulf War 1991 and in the NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999. For them, these interventions were clear and just. The mission in Afghanistan is different. Canadians want to help the people of Afghanistan but are profoundly divided on the role of the Canadian Forces in that country.

PART FIVE: CONCLUSION

In light of what we have just examined, one may wonder if the peace operations of the UN or other non-UN players are useful and efficient tools in managing and settling conflicts. We can also ask, given the important changes that have occurred in peace operations, if Canada should be involved more actively in them. Before considering the particular situation of Canada, however, we should take a brief look at 60 years of peace operations.

THE MEASURE OF FAILURE AND SUCCESS

Critics of these missions, especially vocal in the 1990s, believe that peacekeeping is a failure⁹³. The Blue Helmets have been in Cyprus since 1964 with no peace agreement there. Nor was peacekeeping able to prevent genocides in Bosnia and in Rwanda, or massacres in Darfur. The critics of peacekeeping are not wrong. But the measure of failure is not simply the sum of the fiascos, whatever their magnitude. Here, the musings of Dennis C. Jett, written at the end of the 1990s, seem pertinent: "one could ask whether…peacekeeping, when done unsuccessfully, is worse than no peacekeeping at all." To which some at the UN reply: "No one knows what would have happened if we had not been there."

Did the controversy over the efficiency of peacekeeping, or lack thereof, occur too early? We believe that it did. At the time when this controversy occupied a good part of the public debate, the UN had only a few truly robust peacekeeping experiences. At the end of the 1990's there were both traditional peace operations, with simple intervention mandates that were accepted by all parties, and new multi-dimensional complex peace operations, with which the international community has less than ten years of experience. There is simply no comparison between a UN force charged with observing the disengagement of the Golan Heights with a few hundred men - UNDOF - and the temporary UN Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) with its 87,000 personnel working on the total rehabilitation of the country. In January 1989 there were eight traditional peace operations directed by the UN and one, the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) in the Sinai, under the command of an ad hoc coalition. 96 Between 1989 and the end of 1999 fifty-eight peace operations were deployed in thirty countries or regions: thirty-eight from the UN; three from NATO; three from ECOWAS; three from Russia; two from the African Union; and nine under the leadership of states or coalitions. 97 The spectacular failures were the result of conflicts in four countries: Somalia: Bosnia: Angola: and Rwanda. Since January 2000, the UN and other entities have launched thirty-five new peace operations.98

The multiplication of peace operations in the last fifteen years is not a result of thoughtless decision-making. Peacekeeping has become such a popular political tool for international and regional organizations and state decision-makers in the management or resolution of conflicts because it has had positive, measurable and quantifiable results. With the establishment of some eighty peace operations since 1989, researchers now have a rich and varied sample of cases to work with. During the last five years many studies have tempered, if not discredited, negative evaluations compiled ten years earlier; they have demonstrated that peacekeeping works.

Two studies by the Rand Corporation analyze the American role in the rebuilding of states after the Second World War and that of the UN since 1960.⁹⁹ It is risky to compare these situations: the cases of Germany and Japan were unprecedented in scope, while others were modest in comparison (East Timor and Eastern Slovenia). Still, the Rand Corporation experts took on the

challenge. The two Rand studies compared eight missions conducted by the US and eight by the UN using information on the number of military and police deployed, financial assistance, length of intervention and the objectives set. Rand found that out of eight situations managed by the UN, seven were resolved, and of the eight situations managed by the US, four were resolved. A study by the Human Security Centre in Vancouver on the reduction of conflicts and human rights violations in the world between 1990 and 2005 points to the positive role of UN interventions in reducing international violence. Several factors explain this phenomenon. The study indicates, three in particular: the end of colonialism and the conclusion of Cold War; the multiplication of democracies; and the impressive and decisive role of the UN. The study paid homage to the UN this way: "We maintain that the UN played a crucial role in/by opening the door to considerable progress in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace consolidation" of the UN this way: "The study progress in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace consolidation" of the UN this way: "We maintain that the UN played a crucial role in/by opening the door to considerable progress in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace consolidation"

According to the Rand experts, the length of an intervention, and the resulting long-term reconstruction, are the key factors that explain the success of both the US and the UN. 102 Furthermore, all international actors are now considering the notion of long-term reconstruction because it is generally accepted that half of the states having received assistance relapse into conflict within five years. 103 The members of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty used this concept as a central principle of their report, *The Responsibility To Protect*, while recognizing the dangers of a prolonged presence. 104 The Organization for Cooperation and Economic Development (OECD) has, for its part, adopted a series of principles for engagement in fragile states, inviting the international community to remain on site for "at least ten years" to strengthen the capacity of vanguard institutions. 105 So does the new UN doctrine on peacekeeping published in February 2008. 106

Because peacekeeping today is essentially intended to resolve or manage intra-state conflicts, Virginia Page Fortna, an expert in civil wars, has long researched the processes intended to end them. In particular, she has sought to find out if peacekeeping, as a "policy tool for maintaining peace" actually provides results. 107 Her last book, an in-depth study of peace operations, poses two questions: "Does peacekeeping work? And if so, how?" In order to answer these questions she analyzed data from three particular conflicts: Sierra Leone; Mozambique (where peace operations have been deployed) and the conflict in the high mountains of Chittagong in Bangladesh where the parties settled their differences themselves. According to Fortna, peacekeeping works and her conclusions agree with, or complete, those of previous studies. Fortna begins by dispelling many myths rooted in public opinion and even among peacekeeping researchers. The first is that peacekeeping only occurs in easy situations. On the contrary, she writes: "peacekeepers tend to deploy to more difficult cases rather than to easier ones" 109 because the international community is not reluctant to intervene in civil wars and fragile states. The second myth is that consent-based peacekeeping is not efficient in solving violent conflicts. She maintains that "consent-based peacekeeping is as effective as more robust enforcement missions." The third myth is that peacekeeping operations in civil wars occur only when the international community decides to mount them. Fortna says that those studies which claim this "pay almost no attention to the choices made by the belligerents themselves in determining whether peacekeeping missions happen or not."111. Popular belief would have it that President Clinton's declaration before the UN General Assembly in 1993¹¹² incited the UN to be more selective in its interventions and to reject some; however, Fortna accurately writes that the international community rarely refuses a call for intervention.

Fortna also tries to determine what links there are between an operation's deployment and its success or failure. This has rarely been the subject of study, she writes, and other than a very few people, no one asks: "What difference does it make having peacekeepers present rather

than absent? ¹¹³" Fortna argues that the presence of a peace operation on site makes a big difference and produces positive results. A peace operation's presence reduces the risks and increases the costs of new aggressions; it condition aid and/or recognition on compliance; it provides peace dividends such as jobs, public works, development, etc.; it reduces uncertainty and fear; it prevents the escalation of violence and controls accidents; and it avoids political abuses by supervising military and police forces, by organizing elections, by installing neutral intermediate administrations, and by transforming militias into political organizations. ¹¹⁴ Even after an operation departs it reduces the risk of the recurrence of war by 80% to 100%. ¹¹⁵ In the end, "peacekeepers make an enormous difference to the prospects for peace, not only while they are present, but even after they depart", she writes ¹¹⁶. After this rich analysis, Fortna concludes a "resounding yes" to the central question posed by her book, does peacekeeping succeed in restoring peace? ¹¹⁷

THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF CANADA

Our study has shown that Canadians have not yet understood the extent of change that the new conflicts of the 21st century have brought to multinational military interventions. This finding is partly the result of the refusal or inability of politicians, soldiers and various experts to clearly explain this particular environment, and its modes of intervention. In the third part of this study we offer a distinction between a classic armed intervention and a typology of peace operations in order to avoid confusion. We are convinced, therefore, that it is in Canada's national interest to re-engage in peace operations. It is always difficult to clearly define the national interest of a country. Thus, when they develop and implement Canada's foreign policy, "the representatives of the State, politicians and civil servants of the various departments involved, can have very different, even contradictory, concepts of the national interest, and opinions on how to proceed; and these divergent opinions depend largely on the respective position of each of these actors in the government structure. 118" At first glance, Canada's national interest should be obvious: its geographical position in North America and its deep economic ties with the United States make alignment with the United States incontestable. Nevertheless, Canada has never been mechanically aligned with the United States, as successive governments have always defended a larger vision of the national interest: Canada is also an actor on the international scene, and it has good reason to be, as explained clearly by Gerald Helleiner, economic professor at the University of Toronto: "The first priority for a country like Canada, which depends in such a large measure on the stability and predictability of the international economic system, must assuredly be the stability and order of the international system. 119" The stability and order of the international system depend above all on peace. On this basis, since the Second World War Canada has opted for multilateralism, through membership in NATO, the UN, the OCSE, and many other organizations. Canada has also taken particular care to participate in military interventions (wars or peace mission) as a member of coalitions. This explains its involvement in peace operations.

In the particular case of its participation in peace operations, one may ask what Canada brings to peacekeeping, and what it receives in return. A RAND Corporation study on the UN experience in eight complex peace operations concluded that peace now prevails in seven of these theatres of operations. Canada participated to various degrees in all of these missions and therefore has a right to share their success. Tens of millions of people are able to live in peace; this not negligible. While the link between cause and effect is difficult to establish and document, Canada has nevertheless had certain benefits, according to some historians and analysts. In general, the Canadian government has long thought, and with reason, that peace operations "have effectively prevented a brushfire from becoming a nuclear holocaust. Our involvement in the Congo in 1960 can be seen in this light: it served both our interests and

those of NATO very well during that Cold War period. Lyndon Johnson recognized our participation in the Cyprus peace mission in 1964 when he signed an automobile pact in January 1965 that was favourable to our interests. Our commercial ties and our contracts with Algeria have increased from \$600 million per year in 2000, when it's President, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the head of the former Organization for African Unity, asked Jean Chrétien to send soldiers to intervene between Ethiopia and Eritrea, to \$4 billion in 2007. Since 2002, the involvement of Canadian troops in the re-establishment of peace in Afghanistan, first in the stabilization mission in Kabul, then in a combat mission in the Kandahar region, has been saluted around the world.

This brief assessment brings together important aspects of our foreign policy: assuring our prosperity and our security through peacekeeping, reinforcing democracy and the respect of human rights, and participating in the economic and social development of part of humanity.

Canada's participation in peace operations has never been and is not the alpha and omega or our foreign policy. During the last ten years, Canadian governments have preferred to commit Canada to military interventions outside the UN structure, and in the particular case of Afghanistan, in a counter-insurgency mission. This choice is perfectly legitimate. But Canadians and their elites must also remember that Pearson left a heritage that has gone through astonishing transformation and continues to show surprising vitality. The world has made peace operations – in the old and new versions – a key instrument for managing or regulating conflicts. Canada, with this great tradition and the exceptional and courageous experience of our soldiers in Afghanistan, is in a good position to re-engage in peace operations.

² Implementation of the recommendations of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, Report of the Secretary General, 15 December 2004, A/59/608, paragraph 6.

³In this respect, see the statements by the representatives of Burkina Faso, China, Lybia, Nigeria, and Morocco (representing all non-aligned States) at a meeting of the Security Council on peacekeeping operations, UN document, S/PV.6075, 23 January 2009.

⁴ Sean M. Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping. Cold War by Other Means 1945-1970*, Toronto, Vanwell, 2002.

⁵ Kim Richard Nossal, Stéphane Roussel, Stéphane Paquin, *Politique internationale et défense au Canada et au Québec*, Québec, Montréal, Les Presses Universitaires de Montréal, 2007, p. 141.

⁶ Allan Thompson "Rejecting request to lead peacekeepers indicates Ottawa abandoning traditional role, ex-envoy says", *Toronto Star*, June 2, 2008.

⁷ Interviews conducted by Jocelyn Coulon with civilian and military senior executives of the National Defense in Ottawa and Kingston on April 15 and 30, and May 8, 2009.

⁸ Alexandra Novosseloff, "Les opérations de maintien de la paix des Nations Unies en 2009: crise de croissance ou crise de maturité?", *Bulletin du Maintien de la paix*, numéro 92, January 2009.

⁹ Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics*, London, Macmillan and IISS, 1990.

According to the "Union for Peace" or "Acheson Resolution" a resolution that transfers peacekeeping and international security competence to the General Assembly when the Security Council cannot act by reason of a veto by a permanent member. In this case, neither France nor Britain were willing to vote for a resolution which demanded that they withdrew their troops.

¹¹ Brian Urquhart, Ralph Bunche. An American Life, W.W. Norton & Co., New York, 1993, p.269.

The total cost of the ONUC was \$400,193,793; 234 blue helmets lost their lives; Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld was killed in a plane crash over Rhodesia in circumstances that were never completely clarified.

¹³ Marrack Goulding, "The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping", *International Affairs*, n°69, Vol.3, 1993, p. 452-453.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 453.

¹⁵ Indar Jit Rikhye, *The Theory and Practice of Peacekeeping*, London, C.Hurst and Company, 1984, p.107.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.110.

¹⁷ Eric Hobsbawn, Age of Extreme:. The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991, Michael Joseph, Editor, London, 1994.

¹⁸ Lise Morjé Howard, *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 52-87.

¹⁹ Hobsbawn, p. 73-77.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 61.

²¹ Ibid., p. 67.

²² Marrack Goulding, *Peacemonger*, John Murray Publishers, London 2002, p. 247.

²³ Lise Morjé Howard, p. 131.

²⁴ Sandrine Barbier, *Cambodge 1991-1993*, *MIPRENUC*, *APRONUC*, Éditions Montchrestien, collection L'ONU et les opérations de maintien de la paix, 1999, p. 90.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 85.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 86.

²⁷ Richard Caplan, "A New Trusteeship? The International Administration of War-torn Territories", IISS, *Adelphi Paper* number 341, 2001, p. 16.

²⁸ Hans Corell, "The Role of the United Nations in Peacekeeping – Recent Developments from a Legal Perspective", a speech made in Washington D.C. on December 1st, 2000.

²⁹ European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo.

³⁰ Odile Perrot, "La construction délicate du statut du Kosovo", in *Guide du maintien de la paix 2009*, (ed.) Jocelyn Coulon, Athéna Éditions, Montréal 2008, p. 56.

³¹ United Nations, *Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo*, S/2008/692, 24 November 2008, paragraph 21.

³² *Op. cit*, Caplan, p. 84.

¹ Andrew F. Cooper, *Canadian Foreign Policy: Old Habits and New Directions*, Scarborough, Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon, 1997, p. 173.

- ³³ United Nations, Report of the Independent Inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, 15 December 1999, S/1999/1257.
- Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 53/35: the Fall of Srebrenica, A/54/549, 15 November 1999.
- ³⁵ U.N. Secretary-General Report on the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, A/55/305, S/2000/809, 21 August 2000.
- ³⁶ Alex J. Bellamy, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2008, p. 85-88.
- Robert Block and Alix M. Freedman, "U.N Peacekeeping Is a Troubled Art, Congo Mess Shows", The Wall Street Journal, October 1, 2003, page A15.
- ³⁸ Consultation of the www.operationspaix.net website under tab *Opérations en cours*, September 15, 2009. As for the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, it counts thirty-one peace operations under non-UN players: see Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2009, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008, p. 170.
- ³⁹ U.N. Secretary-General Report on the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, S/2000/809, 21 August 2001, para. 53, "The United Nations does not make war".
- ⁴⁰ United Nations, "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines," February 2008, p. 34.
- ⁴¹ William J. Durch and Madeline L. England, "The Purposes of Peace Operations," in *Annual Review of* Global Peace Operations 2009, p. 10.
 - ⁴² Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/1994/22, 3 May 1994, p. 2.
- ⁴³ Jean-Marie Guéhenno, "Le Rapport Brahimi: cinq ans plus tard," in *Guide du maintien de la paix* 2006, Jocelyn Coulon (éd.), Athéna Éditions, Montréal, 2005, p. 19-33.
- ⁴⁴ Victor-Yves Ghébali, "Les opérations de maintien de la paix de l'OSCE. Une pratique au coup par coup," in Guide du maintien de la paix 2007, Jocelyn Coulon (éd.), Athéna Éditions, 2006, Montréal, p. 127.
- ⁴⁵ "The EU and Peacekeeping", EU Focus, November 2008, Special Advertising Supplement in Foreign Policy, November-December 2008.
- ⁴⁶ United Nations, "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines," February 2008, p. 69.
 - ⁴⁷ Elizabeth Dickinson, "Soldiers of Misfortune," *Foreign Policy*, May-June 2009, p. 41.
- ⁴⁸ These elements have been published in a more exhaustive form in Michel Liégeois, "pérations de paix: la question de la régionalisation,"in Jocelyn Coulon (dir.), Guide du maintien de la paix 2005, Montréal, Athéna Éditions, 2004, p.17-33.
 - ⁴⁹ 2,700 South Africans, Ethiopian, and Mozambican soldiers.
- ⁵⁰ EUROCAMP stands for "Renforcement des capacités africaines de maintien de la paix," initiated by France.
- ⁵¹ "African Crisis Response Initiative" later changed to 'African Contingency Operations Training Initiative," initiated by the United States and Great Britain.
 - ⁵² United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone.
 - ⁵³ ECOWAS Mission in Liberia and the ECOWAS Mission in Cote d'Ivoire.
- ⁵⁴ Michel Liégeois went on a research mission in Sudan in November 2008, during which he spoke with military and civilian representatives of UNAMID.
 - ⁵⁵ EUROPA, "European Security Strategy,", Brussels, 12 December 2003,
- http://europa.eu/legislation summaries/justice freedom security/fight against terrorism/r00004 en.htm.

 56 Security Council Resolution 1778, September 25, 2007, para. 6a.

 57 Dr Winrich Kuehne, How the EU Organizes and Conducts Peace Operations in Africa Eufor-MINURCAT, Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF), Berlin 2009.
 - ⁵⁸ Interviews by Jocelyn Coulon from February 6 to March 6, 2009 in N'djamena and Abéché.
- ⁵⁹ Victor-Yves Ghébali, "Le difficile maintien de la paix en Géorgie," www.opérationspaix.net, 6 October 2008, retrieved on 12 March 2009.
 - ⁶⁰ Confidential interview by Jocelyn Coulon. Tbilisi, 1 November 2008.
- ⁶¹ During Jocelyn Coulon's stay in Tbilissi, from October 31 to November 6, 2008, members of the UN and the OSCE complained about the "arrogant" behaviour of the EUMM Georgia. Essentially, they said that the EU has been on site for sixteen years but still understands nothing of the situation. In return, EUMM Georgia members say that after sixteen years on site, the UN and the OSCE have done very little. They even state that the UN and OSCE

mandates are obsolete and charge that these organisations only want to perpetuate their presence. At EUMM Georgia they say that in peace operations, "We find the designing of programs to provide direction to children ridiculous, inefficient, and uninteresting."

62 Transnistria is by law part of Moldova, but is a de facto independent state.

⁶³ See for example: Mackinlay John and Chopra Jarat, "Second Generation Multinational Operations," in *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 1992, p. 113-131.

⁶⁴ Dobbie Charles, "A Concept for Post-Cold War Peacekeeping," *Survival*, Vol.36, n°3, Autumn 1994, p.121-148.

65 Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, Chapter II, Paragraph 50, http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace operations/.

⁶⁶ General Patrick Cammaert, *Learning to use force on the hoof of Peacekeeping – Reflections on the experience of the MONUC's Eastern division*, Institute for Security Studies, Situation Report, April 2007.

- Moreover, the conceptual inertia within the UN is one of its consequences. Within the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, a majority of the States (Non-aligned, G77) are opposed to an evolution of the word "peacekeeping," which doesn't cover the reality of the UN operations anymore. Therefore, they oppose those who wish to use the word "peace operation," fearing that this conceptual change might lead to more interventions.
- ⁶⁸ Francis Fukuyama, "Guidelines for Future Nation-Builders," in *Nation-Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq*, Francis Fukuyama (ed.), The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2006, p. 233.

⁶⁹ Interview with senior officials of the National Defence, Ottawa, 16 April 2009.

- ⁷⁰ James Appathurai et Ralph Lysyshin, "Lessons Learned from the Zaïre Mission," *Canadian Foreign Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Winter 1998, p.100.
- ⁷¹ Conversations by Jocelyn Coulon with civilian and military senior personnel of National Defence in Ottawa on 15 and 30 April, as well as 8 May 2009.

⁷² Jocelyn Coulon, *Soldiers of Diplomacy: The United Nations, Peacekeeping and The New World Order*, University of Toronto Press, 1998, p. 165.

⁷³ Jocelyn Coulon, "Le Canada s'engage en Afghanistan", in *Guide du maintien de la paix 2004*, Jocelyn Coulon (dir.), Athéna Éditions, Montréal, 2003, p. 71-88.

⁷⁴ Danford W. Middlemiss and Denis Stairs, "The Canadian Forces and the Doctrine of Interoperability: The Issues", IRPP, Col. 3, No. 7, June 2002, page 23.

⁷⁵ Douglas Bland, *Canada Without Armed Forces?*, Claxton Papers, number 4, Queen's University, Kingston, 2003.

⁷⁶ Concerning the events and the reasons why Canada was led to engage in Afghanistan, see Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*, Viking Canada, Toronto 2007.

'' Ibid., p. 260.

- ⁷⁸ Canada's International Policy Statement, Overview, Ottawa, 2005.
- ⁷⁹ Stein and Lang, p. 185.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 186.

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- ⁸¹ Bill Graham, Department of National Defence, May 13, 2005.
- ⁸² Speech by the Canadian Prime Minister to the General Assembly of the UN, September 21, 2006.

⁸³ Presentation about the Joint Task Force Afghanistan, East Sector, Montreal, 10 October 2008.

- ⁸⁴ Discussions and conversations conducted by Jocelyn Coulon in Kabul from 24 to 27 September 2008.
- ⁸⁵ Pierre Lellouche: "C'est une guerre, pas une opération de police," *Le Monde*, 14-15 September 2008, p.

⁸⁶ Florence Aubenas, "Sur les traces des fils morts," Le Nouvel Observateur, 18-24 September 2008, p. 98.

- ⁸⁷ Jack L. Granatstein, *Whose War Is It? How Canada can Survive in the Post-9-11 World*, HarperCollins Publishers, Toronto, 2007, p. 207.
- ⁸⁸ Allan Thompson, "Rejecting request to lead peacekeepers indicates Ottawa abandoning traditional role, ex-envoy says," *Toronto Star*, 2 June 2008.

⁸⁹ So as not to repeat the Janvier/Akashi opposition that had paralyzed the UNPROFOR in Bosnia.

- ⁹⁰ Interviews by Jocelyn Coulon with civilian and military senior officials of National Defence in Ottawa, on 15 and 30 April, and 8 May 2009.
 - ⁹¹ Jean-Simon Gagné, "Guerre de mots et d'images," Le Soleil, 15 January 2008, p. 8.
 - ⁹² Views of Canadian Forces, Ipsos Reid Corporation, March 2008, p. 8-15.

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 - ⁹⁴ Jett, Ibid., p. 2.
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- ⁹⁷ Operations deployed in Afghanistan, Albania, Central America, Angola, Bosnia, Croatia, El Salvador, Georgia, African Great Lakes, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran-Iraq, Kosovo, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Macedonia, Moldavia, Mozambique, Namibia, Papua New Guinea, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Western Sahara, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tadjikistan, Chad, East Timor.
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- Michael Barnett, Hunjoon Kim, Madalene O'Donnell and Laura Sitea, "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?," *Global Governance* 13 (2007), p. 35. ¹⁰⁴ *Op.cit.*, paragraph 5.2.

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